

Modern History:

OR, THE

PRESENT STATE

OF

All NATIONS.

DESCRIBING

Their respective Situations, Persons, Habits, Buildings, Manners, Laws and Customs, Religion and Policy, Arts and Sciences, Trades, Manufactures and Husbandry, Plants, Animals and Minerals.

By Mr. *SALMON*.

VOL. XXXI.

Being the fourth and last Volume of *AMERICA*, continues the Description of *Virginia*, and contains *The Present State of,*

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| I. <i>Maryland.</i> | VII. <i>Carolina and Georgia.</i> |
| II. <i>New-England.</i> | VIII. <i>Jamaica.</i> |
| III. <i>Nova Scotia and Acadie.</i> | IX. <i>Barbadoes.</i> |
| IV. <i>New-Britain.</i> | X. <i>The Caribbee Islands.</i> |
| V. <i>New York and New-Jersey.</i> | XI. <i>The Bahama Islands, Bermudas, and Newfoundland.</i> |
| VI. <i>Pensylvania.</i> | XII. <i>French-America.</i> |

The whole illustrated with MAPS and CUTS.

L O N D O N :

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MDCCXXXVIII.



T H E
P R E S E N T S T A T E
O F
V I R G I N I A.



Ppaconcanough was a Man of Virginia. large Stature, noble Presence, and extraordinary Parts; tho' he had no Advantage of Literature (that being no where to be found among the *American Indians*) yet he was perfectly skill'd in the Art of governing his rude Countrymen. He caused all the *Indians* far and near to dread his Name, and had them all entirely in Subjection.

This King, in *Smith's History*, is call'd Brother to *Powhatan*, but by the *Indians* he was not so esteem'd: For they say he was a Prince of a foreign Nation, and came to them a great way from the South-West. And by their Accounts we suppose him to have come from the *Spanish-Indians*, somewhere near *Mexico* or the Mines of *St. Barbe*. But be

Vol. XXXI.

A

that

Virginia. that matter how it will, from that time till his
 Captivity there never was the least Truce between the *Indians* and the *English*.

Sir *William Berkley* upon his Arrival shew'd such an Opposition to the unjust Grants made by Sir *John Harvey*, that very few of them took effect, and such as did were subjected to the settled Conditions of the other Parts of the Government, and made liable to the Payment of the full Quit-rents. He encouraged the Country in several Essays of Pot-Ash, Soap, Salt, Flax, Hemp, Silk, and Cotton. But the *Indian* War ensuing upon this last Massacre, was a great Obstruction to these good Designs, by requiring all the spare Men to be employ'd in Defence of the Country.

Oppaconcanough, by his great Age and the Fatigues of War (in which Sir *William Berkley* followed him close) was now grown so decrepid that he was not able to walk alone, but was carry'd about by his Men wherever he had a mind to move. His Flesh was all macerated, his Sinews slackened, and his Eyelids became so heavy that he could not see but as they were lifted up by his Servants. In this low Condition he was when Sir *William Berkley* hearing that he was at some distance from his usual Habitation, resolv'd at all Adventures to seize his Person, which he happily effected; for with a Party of Horse he made a speedy March, surpris'd him in his Quarters, and brought him Prisoner to *James-Town*, where by the Governor's Command he was treated with all the Respect and Tendernefs imaginable. Sir *William* had a mind to send him to *England*, hoping to get Reputation by presenting his Majesty with a royal Captive, who at his Pleasure could call into the Field
 ten

*Oppacon-
 canough*
 taken
 Prisoner.

of VIRGINIA.

3

ten times more *Indians* than Sir *William Berkley* had *English* in his whole Government. Besides, he thought this ancient Prince would be an Instance of the Healthiness and long Life of the Natives in that Country. However, he could not preserve his Life above a Fortnight; for one of the Soldiers resenting the Calamities the Colony had suffer'd by this Prince's Means, basely shot him through the Back after he was made Prisoner, of which Wound he died. Virginia. Killed.

He continued brave to the last Moment of his Life, and shew'd not the least Dejection at his Captivity. He heard one Day a great Noise of the treading of People about him, upon which he caused his Eye-lids to be lifted up, and finding that a Crowd of People were let in to see him, he called in high Indignation for the Governor, who being come, *Opaconcanough* scornfully told him, that had it been his Fortune to take Sir *William Berkley* Prisoner he should not meanly have expos'd him as a Shew to the People.

After this Sir *William Berkley* made a new Peace with the *Indians*, which continued for a long time unviolated, insomuch that all Thoughts of future Injury from them were laid aside; but he himself did not long enjoy the Benefit of this profound Peace, for the unhappy Troubles of King *Charles* the First increasing in *England*, proved a great Disturbance to him and all his People. They, to prevent the Infection from reaching that Country, made severe Laws against the Puritans, tho' there were as yet none among them. But all Correspondence with *England* was interrupted, the Supplies lessen'd, and Trade obstructed. A Peace with the Indians. The grand Rebellion in England.

Virginia. In a word, all People were impatient to know what would be the Event of so much Confusion.

At last the King was traiterously beheaded in *England*, and *Oliver* install'd Protector. However, his Authority was not acknowledg'd in *Virginia* for several Years after, till they were forced to it by the last Necessity. For in the Year 1651, by *Cromwell's* Command, Captain *Dennis*, with a Squadron of Men of War, arrived there from the *Caribbee-Islands*, where they had been subduing *Barbadoes*. The Country at first held out vigorously against him, and Sir *William Berkley*, by the Assistance of such *Dutch* Vessels as were then there, made a brave Resistance. But at last *Dennis* contrived a Stratagem which betray'd the Country. He had got a considerable Parcel of Goods aboard which belonged to two of the Council, and found a Method of informing them of it. By this means they were reduced to the Dilemma either of submitting or losing their Goods. This occasion'd Factions among them, so that at last, after the Surrender of all the other *English* Plantations, Sir *William* was forced to yield to the Usurper on the Terms of a general Pardon. However, it ought to be remember'd to his Praise, and to the immortal Honour of that Colony, that it was the last of all the King's Dominions that submitted to the Usurpation, and afterwards the first that cast it off; and Sir *William* never took any Post or Office under the Usurper.

Virginia
the last of
the King's
Dominions
that
submitted
to the
Usurper.

Oliver had no sooner subdu'd the Plantations but he began to contrive how to keep them under, that so they might never be able for the time to come to give him farther Trouble. To this End he thought it necessary to break

break off their Correspondence with all other Nations, thereby to prevent their being furnished with Arms, Ammunition, and other war-like Provisions. According to this Design he contriv'd a severe Act of Parliament, whereby he prohibited the Plantations from receiving or exporting any *European* Commodities but what should be carry'd to them by *Englishmen* and in *English*-built Ships. They were absolutely forbid corresponding with any Nation or Colony not subject to the Crown of *England*; neither was any Alien suffer'd to manage a Trade or Factory; in all which Things the Plantations had been till then indulged for their Encouragement.

Virginia.
The Ordinance concerning Navigation to the Plantations.

Notwithstanding this Act of Navigation, the Protector never thought the Plantations enough secur'd, but frequently changed the Governors to prevent their intriguing with the People; so that during the Time of the Usurpation they had no less than three Governors there, namely, *Diggs*, *Bennet*, and *Matthews*.

The strange arbitrary Curbs he put upon the Plantations exceedingly afflicted the People. He had the Inhumanity to forbid them all manner of Trade and Correspondence with other Nations at a time when *England* itself was in Distraction, and could neither take off their Commodities nor supply them sufficiently with its own. Neither had they been ever used to supply them with half the Commodities they expended, or to take off above half the Tobacco they made. Such violent Proceedings made the People desperate, and inspir'd them with a Desire to use the last Remedy to relieve themselves from the lawless Usurpation. In a short time afterwards a fair Opportunity happen'd; for Governor *Matthews* dy'd, and

no

Virginia. no Person was substituted to succeed him in the Government. Whereupon the People apply'd themselves to Sir *William Berkley* (who had continued all this time upon his own Plantation in a private Capacity) and unanimously re-chose him their Governor.

The *Vir-*
ginians first
throw off
the Usur-
per's Yoak. Sir *William Berkley* had all along retain'd an unshaken Loyalty for the royal Family, and therefore generously told the People, that he could not approve of the Protector's Rule, and was resolved never to serve any body but the lawful Heir to the Crown; and that if he accepted the Government it should be upon their solemn Promise, after his Example, to venture their Lives and Fortunes for the King, who was then in *France*.

This was no great Obstacle to them, and therefore with an unanimous Voice they told him, that they were ready to hazard all for the King. Now this was actually before the King's Return to *England*, and proceeded from a brave Principle of Loyalty, for which they had no Example. Sir *William Berkley* embrac'd their Choice, and forthwith proclaim'd *Charles* the Second King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, *Ireland*, and *Virginia*, and caused all Process to be issued in his Name. Thus his Majesty was actually King in *Virginia* before he was so in *England*. But it pleas'd God to restore him soon after to the Throne of his Ancestors, and so that Country escap'd being chastis'd for throwing off the Usurpation.

Upon the King's Restoration he sent Sir *William Berkley* a new Commission with Leave to return to *England*, and a Power to appoint a Deputy in his Absence; for his Majesty in his Exile had received Intelligence of this Gentleman's

of VIRGINIA.

7

Gentleman's Loyalty, and during that time Virginia.
had renewed his Commission. ~

Upon this Sir *William Berkley* appointed Colonel *Francis Morrison* Deputy-Governor, and went for *England* to wait on his Majesty, by whom he was kindly receiv'd. At his Return he carry'd his Majesty's pressing Instructions for encouraging the People in Husbandry and Manufactures, but more especially to promote Silk and Vineyards. There is a Tradition that the King, in Compliment to that Colony, wore at his Coronation a Robe made of the Silk that was sent from thence. But this was all the Reward the Country had for their Loyalty; for the Parliament was pleas'd to renew the Act contriv'd by the Usurper for discouraging the Plantations, with severer Restraints and Prohibitions by Bonds, Securities, &c.

During the time of Sir *William Berkley's* Absence, Colonel *Morrison* had, according to his Directions, revised the Laws, and compiled them into one Body, ready to be confirmed by the Assembly at his Return. By these Laws the Church of *England* was confirmed the establish'd Religion, the Charge of the Government sustain'd, Trade and Manufactures were encourag'd, a Town projected, and all the *Indian* Affairs settled.

Several
beneficial
Laws confirm'd
after the
Restoration.

The Parishes were likewise regulated, competent Allowances were made to the Ministers to the Value of about fourscore Pounds a Year, besides Glebes and Perquisites; and the Method of their Preferment was settled. Convenient Churches and Glebes were provided, and all necessary Parish-Officers instituted. Some Steps were made also towards a Free-School
and

Virginia. and College, and the Poor were effectually provided for.

Duties. For Support of the Government, the Duty of two Shillings *per* Hogthead on all Tobacco's, and that of one Shilling *per* Tun Port-Duty on Shipping, were made perpetual ; and the Collectors were oblig'd to account for the same to the General Assembly.

Silk and Linnen Manufactures encouraged. For Encouragement of Manufactures, Prizes were appointed for the Makers of the best Pieces of Linnen Cloth, and a Reward of fifty Pounds of Tobacco was given for each Pound of Silk. All Persons were enjoin'd to plant Mulberry-Trees for the Food of the

Leather. Silk-worm, according to the Number of Acres of Land they held. Tan-Houses were set up in each County at the County Charge, and publick Encouragement was given to a Salt-work on the Eastern Shore. A Reward was appointed in Proportion to the Tonnage of Salt. all Sea Vessels built there, and an Exemption allowed from all Fees and Duties payable by such Shipping.

Ship building. The King had commanded that all Ships trading to *Virginia* should go to *James-Town* and there enter before they broke Bulk ; but the Assembly, from the Impracticableness of that Command, excused all except the *James-River* Ships from that Order, and left the others, in the Rivers they were bound to, to ride dispersed as the Commanders pleased ; by whose Example the *James-River* Ships were no sooner entered with the Officer in *James-Town* but they all dispersed themselves to unload and trade all over the River. By this means the Design of Towns was totally baulked, and this Order proved only an Ease to the

Officer

Officer of *James-River*, and a Means of Virginia. creating a good Place to him.

Peace and Commerce with the *Indians* was The settled by a Law, and their Boundaries pre- Limits be- scrib'd. Several other Acts were made suiting tween the the Necessity of the Government, so that no- *English* and the thing then seem'd to remain but the Improve- *Indians* ment of the Country and Encouragement of settled. those Manufactures the King had been pleased to recommend, together with such others as should be found beneficial.

Sir *William Berkley*, at his Return, gave a Sanction to this Body of Laws, and being then again in full Possession of his Government, and at perfect Peace with the *Indians*, set all Hands industriously to work in making Coun- try Improvements. He passed a new Act for The only Encouragement of *James-Town*, whereby way to promote the build- ing of several Houses were built therein at the Charge of several Counties. However, the main Ingredient for the Advancement of Towns Towns. was still wanting, namely, the Confinement of all Shipping and Trade to them only; by Defect of which all the other Expedients avail'd nothing, for most of the Buildings were soon converted into Houses of Enter- tainment.

Anno 1663, diverse Sectaries in Religion Laws a- beginning to spread themselves there, great gainst the Restraints were laid upon them under severe Sectaries. Penalties to prevent their Increase.

This made many of them fly to other Colonies, and prevented abundance of others from going over to seat themselves among them. And as the former ill Treatment of my Lord *Baltimore* kept many People away, and drove others to *Maryland*, so the present Severities towards the Nonconformists kept

Virginia. off many more who went to the neighbouring Colonies.

A Plot of
the Repub-
licans a-
gainst the
Govern-
ment

The rigorous Circumscription of their Trade, the Persecution of the Sectaries, and the little Demand of Tobacco, had like to have had very fatal Consequences: For the poor People becoming thereby very uneasy, their Murmurs were watch'd and fed by several mutinous and rebellious *Oliverian* Soldiers that were sent thither as Servants. These depending upon the discontented People of all Sorts, formed a villainous Plot to destroy their Masters and afterwards to set up for themselves.

This Plot was brought so near to Perfection that it was the very Night before the design'd Execution e'er it was discover'd, and then it came out by the Relenting of one of their Accomplices, whose Name was *Birkenhead*. This Man was Servant to Mr. *Smith* of *Purton* in *Gloucester* County, near which Place, (*viz.*) *Poplar-Spring*, the Miscreants were to meet the Night following, and put in execution their horrid Conspiracy.

detected.

Upon this Discovery by *Birkenhead*, Notice was immediately sent to the Governor at *Green-Spring*; and the Method he took to prevent it was by private Orders that some of the Militia should meet before the time at the Place where the Conspirators were to rendezvous, and seize them as they came singly up to it; which Orders being happily executed their devilish Plot was defeated. However, there were but a few taken, because several of them making their Escape turn'd back such of their Fellows as they met on the Road, and prevented most of them from coming up or being discover'd.

of VIRGINIA.

II

Four of these Rogues were hang'd, but *Birkenhead* was gratify'd with his Freedom and a Reward of two hundred Pounds Sterling.

For the Discovery and happy Disappointment of this Plot an anniversary Thanksgiving was appointed on the 13th of *September*, the Day it was to be put in execution: And it is great Pity some other Days are not commemorated as well as that.

The News of this Plot being transmitted to King *Charles* the Second, his Majesty sent his royal Commands to build a Fort at *James-Town*, for the Security of the Governor, and to be a Curb upon all such traiterous Attempts for the future; but the Country thinking the Danger over, only rais'd a Battery of some small Pieces of Cannon.

Another Misfortune happen'd to the Plantations this Year, which was a new Act of Parliament in *England*, laying a severer Restraining upon their Supplies than formerly. By this Act they could have no foreign Goods which were not first landed in *England*, and carry'd directly from thence to the Plantations; the former Restraining of importing them only by *Englishmen* in *English*-built Shipping not being thought sufficient.

The Plantations to receive their Merchandise and Provisions only from *England*.

This was a Misfortune which cut with a double Edge, for 1st, it reduc'd their Staple Tobacco to a very low Price, and 2^{dly}, it rais'd the Value of *European* Goods to what the Merchants pleased to put upon them.

For this their Assembly could think of no Remedy but to be even with the Merchants, and make their Tobacco scarce by prohibiting the planting of it for one Year, and during that idle Year to invite the People to enter upon manufacturing Flax and Hemp. But

The *Virginians* prohibit the planting Tobacco.

Virginia. *Maryland* not concurring in this Project, they were oblig'd in their own Defence to repeal the Act of Assembly again, and return to their old Drudgery of planting Tobacco without profiting by it.

The Country thus miss'd of their Remedy in the Stint of Tobacco, which on the contrary multiply'd exceedingly by the great Increase of Servants. This, together with the abovemention'd Curbs on Trade, exasperated the People, because now they found themselves under a Necessity of exchanging their Commodities with the Merchants of *England* on their own Terms. The Assembly therefore again attempted the Stint of Tobacco, and pass'd another Act against planting it for one Year; and *Carolina* and *Maryland* both agreed to it. But some Accident hindering the Agent of *Carolina* from giving Notice thereof to *Maryland* by the Day appointed, the Governor of that Province proclaim'd the Act void, altho' every body there knew that *Carolina* had fully agreed to all things requir'd of them. But he took Advantage of this nice Punctilio because of the Loss such a Diminution would have been to his annual Income, and so all People relaps'd again into the Disease of planting Tobacco.

Virginia was more nettled at this ill Usage from *Maryland* than at her former absolute Denial; but was forced to take all patiently, and by fair Means get Relief if she could. They therefore appointed Agents to re-assume the Treaty, and submitted so low as to send them to *St. Mary's*, then the Residence of the Governor of *Maryland*, and the Place where the Assemblies met. Yet all this Condescension could not hold them to their Bargain. The Governor

Governor said, he had observ'd his Part of the Agreement, and would not call an Assembly any more upon that Subject. Virginia.

In this manner two whole Years were spent, and nothing could be accomplish'd for their Relief. In the mean while *England* was studious to prevent their receiving Supplies from any other Country. To do that more effectually, it was thought expedient to confine the Trade of that Colony to one Place. But that being not found practicable because of the many great Rivers that divide their Habitations, and the extraordinary Conveniences of each, his Majesty sent Directions to build Forts in the several Rivers, and enjoin'd all the Ships to ride under those Forts: And farther order'd, that those Places should only be the Ports of Trade. Ports order'd on the several Rivers for Ships to ride under.

This Instruction was punctually observ'd for a Year, and Preparations were made for Forts by casting up Breast-works in such Places as the Assembly appointed, and the Shipping did for that time ride at those Places. But the great Fire and Plague happening in *London* immediately upon it made their Supplies that Year very uncertain; and the Terror the People were in lest the Plague should be brought over with the Ships from *London*, prevented them from residing at those Ports, for fear of being all swept away at once; and so every body was left at liberty again. Which took place for one Year only.

Still no Favour could be obtain'd for the Tobacco Trade, and the *English* Merchants afforded but a bare Support of Cloathing for their Crops. The Assembly was full enough of Resentment, but overlook'd their right way of Redress. All they could do was to cause Looms and Work-houses to be set up in the several

Virginia. several Counties at the County Charge. They renew'd the Rewards of Silk, and put great Penalties upon every Neglect of making Flax and Hemp. About this time they sustain'd some Damage by the *Dutch* War, for which Reason they order'd the Forts to be re-built with Brick. But having yet no true Notion of the Advantage of Towns they did not oblige the Ships to ride under them; which thing alone, well executed, would have answer'd all their Desires.

Further
Discoveries
attempted.

Sir *William Berkeley*, who was always contriving and industrious for the Good of the Country, was not contented to set a useful Example at home by the Essays he made of Pot-ash, Flax, Hemp, Silk, &c. but was also resolv'd to make new Discoveries abroad amongst the *Indians*.

The Apa-
lathian
Mountains

For this End he employ'd a small Company of about fourteen *English* and as many *Indians*, under the Command of Captain *Henry Batt*, to go upon such an Adventure. They set out together from *Appamattox*, and in seven Days March reach'd the Foot of the Mountains. The Mountains they first arriv'd at were not extraordinary high or steep, but after they had pass'd the first Ridge they encounter'd others that seem'd to reach the Clouds, and were so perpendicular and full of Precipices, that sometimes in a whole Day's March they could not travel three Miles in a direct Line. In other Places they found large level Plains and fine Savanna's three or four Miles wide, in which were an infinite Quantity of Turkeys, Deer, Elks, and Buffaloes, so gentle and undisturb'd that they had no Fear at the Appearance of the Men, but would suffer them to come almost within Reach of their Hands.

There

There they also found Grapes so prodigiously large that they seem'd more like Bullace than Grapes. When they travers'd these Mountains they came to a fine level Country again, and discover'd a Rivulet that descended backwards. Down that Stream they travel'd several Days till they came to old Fields and Cabbins where the *Indians* had lately been, but were suppos'd to have fled at the Approach of *Batt* and his Company. However, the Captain follow'd the old Rule of leaving some Toys in their Cabbins for them to find at their Return, by which they might know they were Friends. Near to these Cabbins were great Marshes where the *Indians* which Captain *Batt* had with him made a Halt, and would positively proceed no farther. They said, that not far from that Place lived a Nation of *Indians* that made Salt and sold it to their Neighbours; that this was a great and powerful People which never suffer'd any Strangers to return that had once discover'd their Towns. Captain *Batt* used all the Arguments he could to get them forward, but in vain; and so to please those timorous *Indians* the Hopes of this Discovery were frustrated, and the Detachment was forced to return. In this Journey it is suppos'd that *Batt* never cross'd the great Ridge of Mountains, but kept up under it to the Southward; but of late Years the *Indian* Traders have discover'd on this Side the Mountains, about five hundred Miles to the Southward, a River they call'd *Oukfusky*, full of broad sunken Grounds and Marshes, but falling into the Bay or great Gulph between Cape *Florida* and the Mouth of the *Mississippi*, which I suppose to be the River where *Batt* saw the *Indian* Cabbins and Marshes, but

Discoveries as far as the Gulph of Mexico.

Virginia. but is gone to from *Virginia* without ever piercing the high Mountains, and only encountering the Point of an Elbow, which they make a little to the Southward of *Virginia*.

Upon Captain *Bart*'s Report to Sir *William Berkley* he resolv'd to make a Journey himself, that so there might be no Hindrance for want of sufficient Authority, as had been in the aforesaid Expedition. To this End he concerted Matters for it, and had pitch'd upon his Deputy-Governor. The Assembly also made an Act to encourage it. But all these Preparations came to nothing by the Confusion which happen'd there soon after by *Bacon*'s Rebellion: And since that, there has never been any such Discovery attempted from *Virginia*, unless when Governor *Spoftwood* found a Passage over the great Ridge of Mountains and went over them himself.

*Bacon's
Rebellion.*

The Occasion of this Rebellion is not easy to be discover'd; but 'tis certain there were many things that concur'd towards it; for it cannot be imagin'd that upon the Instigation of two or three Traders only, who aim'd at a Monopoly of the *Indian* Trade, as some pretend to say, the whole Country would have fallen into so much Distraction, in which People did not only hazard their Necks by Rebellion, but endeavour'd to ruin a Governor whom they all entirely loved, and had unanimously chosen; a Gentleman who had devoted his whole Life and Estate to the Service of the Country, and against whom, in thirty-five Years Experience, there had never been one single Complaint. Neither can it be suppos'd that upon so slight Grounds they would make Choice of a Leader they hardly knew, to oppose a Gentleman that had been

been so long and so deservedly the Darling of ^{Virginia.} the People. So that in all Probability there was something else in the wind, without which the Body of the Country had never been engag'd in that Insurrection.

Four Things may be reckon'd to have ^{The} been the main Ingredients towards this intestine Commotion, (*viz.*) *First*, The extreme low ^{Grievances which occasion'd} Price of Tobacco, and the ill Usage of the Planters in the Exchange of Goods for it, which the Country, with all their earnest Endeavours, could not remedy. *Secondly*, The splitting the Colony into Proprieties, contrary to the original Charters, and the extravagant Taxes they were forced to undergo to relieve themselves from those Grants. *Thirdly*, The heavy Restraints and Burdens laid upon their Trade by Act of Parliament in *England*. *Fourthly*, The Disturbance given by the *Indians*; of all which in their Order.

First, Of the low Price of Tobacco, and the Disappointment of all sort of Remedy, I have spoken sufficiently before.

Secondly, Of splitting the Country into Proprieties.

King *Charles* the Second, to gratify some Nobles about him, made two great Grants out of that Country. These Grants were not of the uncultivated Wood-Land only, but also of Plantations; which for many Years had been seated and improv'd under the Encouragement of several Charters granted by his royal Ancestors to that Colony. Those Grants were distinguish'd by the Names of the Northern and Southern Grants of *Virginia*, and the same Men were concerned in both. They were kept dormant some Years after they were made, and in the Year 1674 begun to be put

Virginia. in execution. As soon as ever the Country came to know this they remonstrated against them, and the Assembly drew up an humble Address to his Majesty, complaining of the said Grants as derogatory to the previous Charters and Privileges granted to that Colony by his Majesty and his royal Progenitors. They sent to *England* Mr. Secretary *Ludwell* and Colonel *Park* as their Agents to address the King to vacate these Grants: And the better to defray that Charge, they laid a Tax of fifty Pounds of Tobacco *per* Poll for two Years together, over and above all other Taxes, which was an excessive Burden. They likewise laid Amercements of seventy, fifty, or thirty Pounds of Tobacco, as the Cause was, on every Law Case try'd throughout the Country. Besides all this, they apply'd the Ballance remaining due upon account of the two Shillings *per* Hogshead and Fort-Duties to this Use; which Taxes and Amercements fell heaviest on the poor People, the Effect of whose Labour would not clothe their Wives and Children. This made them desperately uneasy, especially when after a whole Year's Patience under all these Pressures they had no Encouragement from their Agents in *England* to hope for Remedy, nor any Certainty when they should be eased of those heavy Impositions.

Thirdly, Upon the back of all these Misfortunes came out the Act of 25 *Car.* II. for better securing the Plantation Trade. By this Act several Duties were laid on the Trade from one Plantation to another. This was a new Hardship, and the rather because the Revenue arising by this Act was not apply'd to the Use of the Plantation wherein it was rais'd,

rais'd, but given clear away; nay, in that Country it seem'd to be of no other Use but to burden the Trade, or create a good Income to the Officers, for the Collector had half, the Comptroller a quarter, and the remaining quarter was subdivided into Salaries till it was lost.

By the same Act also very great Duties were laid on the Fisheries of the Plantations, if manufactured by the *English* Inhabitants there, while the People of *England* were absolutely free from all Customs: Nay, tho' the Oil, Blubber, and Whalebone, which were made by the Inhabitants of the Plantations, were carry'd to *England* by *English* and in *English*-built Ships, yet it was held to a considerable Duty more than the Inhabitants of *England* paid.

These were the Afflictions that Country labour'd under when the fourth Accident happen'd, viz. the Disturbance offer'd by the *Indians* to the Frontiers.

This was occasion'd, *First*, By the *Indians* on the Head of the Bay. *Secondly*, By the *Indians* on their own Frontiers.

First, The *Indians* at the Head of the Bay drove a constant Trade with the *Dutch* in *Monadas*, now call'd *New-York*, and to carry on this they used to come every Year by the Frontiers of *Virginia* to hunt and purchase Skins and Furs of the *Indians* to the Southward. This Trade was carry'd on peaceably while the *Dutch* held *Monadas*, and the *Indians* used to call on the *English* in *Virginia* on their Return, to whom they would sell part of their Furs, and with the rest go on to *Monadas*. But after the *English* came to possess that Place, and understood the Advantages the *Virginians* made

Virginia. made by the Trade of their *Indians*, they inspir'd them with such a Hatred to the Inhabitants of *Virginia*, that instead of coming peaceably to trade with them, as they had done for several Years before, they afterwards never came but only to commit Robberies and Murders among them.

Secondly, The *Indians* upon their own Frontiers were likewise inspir'd with ill Thoughts of them; for their *Indian* Merchants had lost a considerable Branch of their Trade they knew not how, and apprehended the Consequences of Sir *Willeam Berkley's* intended Discoveries (espoused by the Assembly) might take away the remaining Part of their Profit. This made them very troublesome to the neighbouring *Indians*, who, on their Part, observing an unusual Uneasiness in the *English*, and being terrify'd by their rough Usage, immediately suspected some wicked Design against their Lives, and so fled to their remoter Habitations. This confirmed the *English* in their Belief that they had been the Murderers, till at last they provok'd them to be so in earnest.

This Addition of Mischief to Minds already full of Discontent, made People ready to vent all their Resentment against the poor *Indians*. There was nothing to be got by Tobacco, neither could they turn any other Manufacture to Advantage; so that most of the poorer sort were willing to quit their unprofitable Employments and go Volunteers against the *Indians*.

At first they flock'd together tumultuously, running in Troops from one Plantation to another without a Head, till at last the seditious Humour of Colonel *Nathaniel Bacon* led him to be of the Party. This Gentleman had
been

been brought up at one of the Inns of Court in *England*, and had a moderate Fortune. He was young, bold, active, of an inviting Aspect, and powerful Elocution. In a word, he was every way qualify'd to head a giddy and unthinking Multitude. Before he had been three Years in the Country he was, for his extraordinary Qualifications, made one of the Council, and in great Honour and Esteem among the People. For this Reason he no sooner gave Countenance to this riotous Mob but they all presently fix'd their Eyes upon him for their General, and accordingly made their Addresses to him. As soon as he found this he harangu'd them publicly: He aggravated the *Indian* Mischiefs, complaining that they were occasion'd for want of a due Regulation of their Trade: He recounted particularly the other Grievances and Pressures they lay under, and pretended that he accepted of the Command with no other Intention but to do them and the Country Service, in which he was willing to encounter the greatest Difficulties and Dangers. He farther assur'd them he would never lay down his Arms till he had reveng'd their Sufferings upon the *Indians*, and redress'd all their other Grievances.

By these Insinuations he wrought his Men into so perfect an Unanimity that they were one and all at his Devotion. He took care to exasperate them to the utmost, by representing all their Misfortunes. After he had begun to muster them he dispatch'd a Messenger to the Governor, to whom he aggravated the Mischiefs done by the *Indians*, and desir'd a Commission of General to go out against them. This Gentleman was in so great Esteem at that time with the Council that the Governor


Virginia.

did not think fit to give him a flat Refusal, but sent him Word he would consult the Council and return him a farther Answer.

In the mean time *Bacon* was expeditious in his Preparations, and having all things in readines began his March, depending on the Authority the People had given him. He would not lose so much Time as to stay for his Commission, but dispatch'd several Messengers to the Governor to hasten it. On the other hand, the Governor, instead of a Commission, sent positive Orders to him to disperse his Men and come in Person to him on pain of being declar'd a Rebel.

This unexpected Order was a great Surprise to *Bacon*, and not a little Trouble to his Men; however, he was resolv'd to prosecute his first Intentions, depending upon his Strength and Interest with the People; nevertheless he intended to wait upon the Governor, but not altogether defenseless. Pursuant to this Resolution he took about forty of his Men down with him in a Sloop to *James-Town*, where the Governor was with his Council.

Matters did not succeed there to Mr. *Bacon*'s Satisfaction, wherefore he express'd himself a little too freely, for which being suspended from the Council, he went away in a huff with his Sloop and Followers. The Governor fill'd a long Boat with Men and pursu'd the Sloop so close that Colonel *Bacon* removed into his Boat to make more haste: But the Governor had sent up by Land to the Ships at *Sandy-Point* where he was stopped and sent down again. Upon his Return he was kindly received by the Governor, who knowing he had gone a Step beyond his Instructions in having suspended him, was glad to admit him

him again of the Council, after which he ^{Virginia.} hoped all Things might be pacify'd. 

Notwithstanding, Colonel *Bacon* still insisted upon a Commission to be General of the Volunteers, and to go out against the *Indians*, from which the Governor endeavour'd to dissuade him but to no purpose, because he had some secret Project in view. He had the Luck to be countenanced in his Importunities by the News of fresh Murders and Robberies committed by the *Indians*. However, not being able to accomplish his Ends by fair means, he stole privately out of Town, and having put himself at the Head of six hundred Volunteers, marched directly to *James-Town*, where the Assembly was then sitting. He presented himself before the Assembly, and drew up his Men in battalia before the House wherein they sat. He urged to them his Preparations, and alledg'd, that if the Commission had not been delay'd so long, the War against the *Indians* might have been finished.

The Governor resented this insolent Usage worst of all, and now absolutely refused to grant him any thing, offering his naked Breast against the Arms of his Followers. But the Assembly fearing the fatal Consequence of provoking a discontented Multitude ready arm'd, who had the Governor, Council, and Assembly entirely in their Power, addressed The Governor to grant *Bacon* his Request. They prepared themselves the Commission, constituting him General of the Forces of *Virginia*, and brought it to the Governor to be sign'd. The Governor compell'd to sign *Bacon's* Commission of General.

With much Reluctancy the Governor sign'd it, and thereby put the Power of War and Peace into *Bacon's* Hands. Upon this he marched

Virginia. marched away immediately, having gain'd his
 End, which was in effect a Power to secure a
 Monopoly of the *Indian Trade* to himself and
 his Friends.

As soon as General *Bacon* had marched to
 such a convenient Distance from *James-Town*
 that the Assembly thought they might delibe-
 rate with Safety, the Governor, by their Ad-
 vice, issued a Proclamation of Rebellion against
 him, commanding his Followers to surrender
 him and forthwith disperse themselves, giving
 Orders at the same time for raising the Militia
 of the Country against him.

But pro-
 claims him
 a Rebel
 afterwards.

The People being much exasperated, and
 General *Bacon* by his Address and Eloquence
 having gain'd an absolute Dominion over
 their Hearts, they unanimously resolved, that
 not a Hair of his Head should be touched,
 much less to surrender him as a Rebel. There-
 fore they kept to their Arms, and instead of
 proceeding against the *Indians* they marched
 back to *James-Town*, directing their Fury a-
 gainst such of their Friends and Countrymen
 as should dare to oppose them.

The
 Governor
 forced to
 fly from
*James-
 Town*,
 which the
 Rebels
 burnt.

The Governor seeing this fled over the Bay
 to *Acomack*, whither he hoped the Infection
 of *Bacon's* Conspiracy had not reached: But
 there, instead of that People's receiving him
 with open Arms in Remembrance of the for-
 mer Services he had done them, they began
 to make Terms with him for Redress of their
 Grievances, and for the Ease and Liberty of
 Trade against the Acts of Parliament above-
 mention'd. Thus Sir *William*, who had been
 almost the Idol of the People, was, by rea-
 son of their Calamity and Jealousy, abandon'd
 by all except some few who went over to him
 from the Western Shore in Sloops and Boats,
 among

among which Major *Robert Beverly* was the most active and successful Commander ; so that it was some time before he could make head against *Bacon*, but left him to range through the Country at Discretion.

General *Bacon* at first held a Convention of such of the chief Gentlemen of the Country as would come to him, especially of those about *Middle Plantation*, who were near at hand. At this Convention they made a Declaration to justify his unlawful Proceedings, and oblig'd People to take an Oath of Obedience to him as their General. Then by their Advice, on Pretence of the Governor's Abdication, he call'd an Assembly by Writs sign'd by himself and four others of the Council.

Bacon
takes an
Oath of
his Fol-
lows and
summons
an Assem-
bly.

By this time the Governor had got together a small Party to side with him. These he furnish'd with Sloops, Arms and Ammunition under Command of Major *Robert Beverly*, in order to cross the Bay and oppose the Malecontents. By this means there happen'd some Skirmishes, in which several were kill'd, and others taken Prisoners. Thus they were going on by a Civil War to destroy one another, and lay waste their infant Country, when it pleas'd God, after some Months Confusion, to put an End to their Misfortunes as well as to *Bacon's* Designs by his natural Death.

Bacon dies,
which puts
an End
to the
Rebellion.

He dy'd at Dr. *Green's*, in *Gloucester* County, but where he was bury'd was never yet discover'd ; tho' afterwards there was great Enquiry made with Design to expose his Bones to publick Infamy.

In the mean while those Disorders occasion'd a general Neglect of Husbandry, and a great Destruction of the Stocks of Cattle, so that People had a dreadful Prospect of Want and

Virginia. Famine. But the Malecontents being thus disunited by the Loss of their General, in whom they all confided, they began to squabble among themselves, and every Man's Business was how to make the best Terms he could for himself.

Lieutenant General *Ingram* (whose true Name was *Johnson*) and Major General *Walklate* surrender'd on Condition of Pardon for themselves and their Followers, tho' they were both forced to submit to an Incapacity of bearing Office in that Country for the future.

Peace being thus restor'd, Sir *William Berkley* return'd to his former Seat of Government, and every Man to his several Habitation.

While this intestine War was fomenting there, the Agents of the Country in *England* could not succeed in their Remonstrance against the Propriety-Grants, tho' they were told that those Grants should be revoked; but the News of their Civil War reaching *England* about the same time, the King would then proceed no farther in that Matter; so the Agents thought it their best way to compound with the Proprietors. Accordingly, they agreed with them for four hundred Pounds a Man, which was paid, and so all the Clamour against those Grants ended, neither was any more heard of them till above a dozen Years afterwards.

But all those Agents could obtain after their Composition with the Lords was merely the Name of a new Charter, granting only so much of their former Constitution as mention'd a Residence of the Governor and Deputy, a Granting of Escheat Lands for two Pounds of Tobacco *per Acre* Composition, and that the

the Lands should be held of the Crown in the same Tenure as *East-Greenwich*, that is free and common Soccage, and have their immediate Dependance on the Crown. Virginia.

When this Storm, occasion'd by *Bacon*, A Regiment was blown over, and all things quiet again, ^{ment arriv'd} Sir *William Berkley* called an Assembly for ^{rives in} settling Affairs of the Country, and for making ^{Virginia} Reparation to such as had been oppress'd. ^{from} At-*England*. After which a Regiment of Soldiers arriv'd from *England*, which were sent to suppress the Infurrection; but they coming after the Business was over had no occasion to exercise their Courage. However, they were kept on foot there about three Years after, and in the Lord *Colepepper*'s time paid off and disbanded.

The Confusion occasion'd by the Civil War, and the Advantage the *Indians* made of it in butchering the *English* upon all their Frontiers, caused such a Defolation and put the Country so far back that to the Year 1704 they had seated very little beyond the Boundaries that were then inhabited. At that time *James-Town* was burnt down to the Ground by *Richard Laurence*, one of *Bacon*'s Captains, who, when his own Men, that abhorred such Barbarity, refused to obey his Command, he himself became the Executioner and fir'd the Houses with his own Hands.

This unhappy Town did never after arrive to the Splendour it then had, and now it is almost deserted, by removing, in Governor *Nicholson*'s time, the Assembly and General Court from thence to *Williamsburgh*, an inland Place about seven Miles from it.

With the Regiment above mention'd arriv'd Commissioners, to enquire into the Occasion and Authors of this Rebellion; and Sir *William*

Virginia. *Berkley* came to *England*, where from the time of his Arrival his Sickneſs obliged him to keep his Chamber till he dy'd; ſo that he had no Opportunity of kiſſing the King's Hand. But his Maſteſty declared himſelf well ſatiſfy'd with his Conduct in *Virginia*, and was very kind to him during his Sickneſs, often enquiring after his Health, and commanding him not to hazard it by too early an Endeavour to come to Court.

Jeffreys Governor. Upon Sir *William Berkley's* Voyage to *England*, *Herbert Jeffreys*, Eſq; was appointed Governor. He made formal Articles of Peace with the *Indians*, and held an Aſſembly at *Middle Plantation*, wherein they ſettled and allowed a free Trade with the *Indians*, but reſtrain'd it to certain Marts to which the *Indians* ſhould bring their Commodities; and this alſo to be under ſuch certain Rules as were by that Aſſembly directed. But this Method was not agreeable to the *Indians*, who had never before been under any Regulation. They thought that if all former Uſages were not reſtor'd the Peace was not perfect, and therefore did not much relye upon it, which made thoſe new Reſtrictions uſeleſs.

Governor *Jeffreys's* time was very ſhort there, he being taken off by Death the Year following.

Chicheley Governor. After him Sir *Henry Chicheley* was made Deputy-Governor in the latter End of the Year 1678. In his time the Aſſembly, for the greater Terror of the *Indians*, built Magazines at the Heads of the four great Rivers, and furniſhed them with Arms, Ammunition, and Men in conſtant Service.

This Aſſembly alſo prohibited the Importation of Tobacco, which *Carolina* and ſometimes *Maryland*

Maryland were wont to send thither in order ^{Virginia.} for its being shipp'd off for *England*. But in that I think *Virginia* mistook her Interest ; ^{The} for had they permitted this Custom to become ^{Virginians} habitual, and thus ingross'd the Shipping, as ^{mistake} would soon have happen'd, they could easily ^{their} have regulated the Trade of Tobacco at any time, without the Concurrence of those other Colonies, and without submitting to their perverse Humours as formerly. ^{Interest.}

The Spring following, *Thomas Lord Cole-* Lord *pepper* arriv'd there Governor, and carry'd ^{Colepepper} with him some Laws which had been drawn ^{Governor.} up in *England* to be enacted in their Assembly: And coming with the Advantage of restoring Peace to a troubled Nation, it was not difficult for him to obtain whatever he pleased from the People. His Influence too was the greater by the Power he had of pardoning those who had a hand in the Disorders committed in the late Rebellion.

In his first Assembly he pass'd several Acts very obliging to the Country, (*viz.*) *First*, An Act of Naturalization, whereby the Power of naturalizing Foreigners was placed in the Governor. *Secondly*, An Act for Cohabitation and Encouragement of Trade and Manufactures, whereby a certain Place in each County was appointed for a Town, in which all Goods imported and exported were to be landed and shipp'd off bought and sold ; which Act was kindly brought to nothing by the Opposition of the Tobacco Merchants of *England*. *Thirdly*, ^{The} An Act of general Pardon and Oblivion, where ^{Engliff} by all the Transgressions and Outrages com- ^{Merchants} mitted in the Time of the late Rebellion were ^{discourage} entirely remitted, and Reparation allowed to ^{the build-} People that should be evil spoken of on that Ac- ^{ing Towns} count. ^{in Virginia.}

By

Virginia.

The
Governor
obtains a
Salary of
2000 l.
per Annum.

By passing some Laws that obliged the Country, the Lord *Colepepper* carry'd on that which was very pleasing to himself, (*viz.*) the Act for raising a publick Revenue for the better Support of the Government. By this he got the Duties contained therein to be made perpetual, and that the Money, which before used to be accounted for to the Assembly, should from thenceforth be disposed of by his Majesty's sole Direction, for the Support of the Government. When this was done, he obtain'd of the King, out of the said Duties, a Salary of two thousand Pounds *per Annum* instead of one thousand, which was formerly allow'd. Also one hundred and sixty Pounds *per Annum* for House-Rent, besides all the usual Perquisites.

In those submissive Times his Lordship reduced the greatest Perquisite of his Place to a Certainty, which before that was only gratuitous, that is, instead of the Masters of Ships making Presents of Liquors or Provisions towards the Governor's House-keeping, as they were wont to do, he demanded a certain Sum of Money, remitting that Custom. This Rate has ever since been demanded of all Commanders as a Duty, and is twenty Shillings for each Ship or Vessel under an hundred Tons, and thirty Shillings for each Ship upwards of that Burden, to be paid every Voyage or Port-clearing.

Coin.

This noble Lord seem'd to lament the unhappy State of the Country in relation to their Coin. He was tenderly concern'd that all their Cash should be drained away by the neighbouring Colonies, which had not set so low an Estimate upon it as *Virginia*, and therefore he propos'd the raising of it.

This

This was what the Country had formerly desir'd, and the Assembly was about making a Law for it ; but his Lordship stop't them, alledging it was the King's Prerogative, by virtue of which he would do it by Proclamation. This they did not approve of, well knowing if that were the Case, his Lordship and every other Governor would at any time have the same Prerogative of altering it, and so People should never be at any Certainty, as they quickly after found from his own Practice ; for his Drift was only to make Advantage of paying the Soldiers. Money for that Purpose being put into his Lordship's Hands, he provided light *Pieces of Eight*, which he with this View had bought at a cheap Rate. When this Contrivance was ripe for Execution he extended the royal Prerogative, and issued forth a Proclamation for raising the Value of *Pieces of Eight* from five to six Shillings, and as soon as they were admitted current at that Value he produc'd an Order for paying and disbanding the Soldiers. Then those poor Fellows and such as had maintain'd them were forced to take their Pay in those light *Pieces of Eight* at six Shillings. But his Lordship soon after himself found the Inconvenience of that Proclamation, for People began to pay their Duties and their Ship-Money in Coin of that high Estimate ; which was like to cut short his Lordship's Perquisites, and so he was forced to make use of the same Prerogative to reduce the Money again to its former Standard.

Virginia.

An Artifice of the Governor to defraud the People.

which affects his own Salary.

In less than a Year the Lord *Colepepper* return'd to *England*, leaving Sir *Henry Chicheley* Deputy-Governor.

The

Virginia.

The Country being then settled again, made too much Tobacco or too much trash Tobacco for the Market, and the Merchants would hardly allow the Planter any thing for it.

This occasion'd much Uneasiness again, and the People from former Experience despairing of succeeding in any Agreement with the neighbouring Governments, resolv'd a total Destruction of the Tobacco in that Country, especially of the sweet-scented, because that was planted no where else. In pursuance of which Design they contriv'd that all the Plants should be destroy'd while they were yet in the Beds, and after it was too late to sow more.

The
Virginians
destroy
their To-
bacco.

Accordingly the Ring-leaders in this Project began with their own first, and then went to cut up the Plants of such of their Neighbours as were not willing to do it themselves. However, they had not Resolution enough to go through with their Work.

This was adjudg'd Sedition and Felony. Several People were committed upon it, and some condemn'd to be hang'd: And afterwards the Assembly pass'd a Law to make such Proceedings Felony for the future (whatever it was before) provided the Company kept together after Warning by a Justice.

After this Accident of Plant-cutting, the Lord *Colepepper* return'd and held his second Assembly, in which he contriv'd to gain another great Advantage over the Country. His Lordship, in his first Voyage thither, perceiving how easily he could twist and manage the People, conceiv'd new Hopes of retrieving the Propriety of the *Northern Neck*, as being so small a Part of the Colony. He conceiv'd that while the Remainder escap'd free, which was far the greater Part, they would not engage
in

in the Interest of the lesser Number, especially *Virginia*. considering the Discouragements they had met with before in their former Solicitation; tho' all this while and many Years afterwards his Lordship did not pretend to lay publick Claim to any Part of the Propriety.

It did not square with this Project that Appeals should be made to the General-Assembly, as till then had been the Custom. He feared the Burgeses would be too much in the Interest of their Countrymen, and adjudge the Inhabitants of the *Northern-Neck* to have an equal Liberty and Privilege in their Estates with the rest of *Virginia*, as being settled upon the same Foot. In order therefore to make a better Pennyworth of those poor People, he studied to overturn this odious Method of appealing to the Assembly, and to fix the last Resort in another Court.

To bring this Point about, his Lordship contriv'd to blow up a Difference in the Assembly between the Council and the Burgeses, privately encouraging the Burgeses to insist upon the Privilege of determining all Appeals by themselves exclusive of the Council, because they having given their Opinions before in the General-Court, were for that Reason unfit Judges in Appeals from themselves to the Assembly. This succeeded according to his Wish, and the Burgeses bit at the Bait under the Notion of Privilege, never dreaming of the Snake that lay in the Grass, nor considering the Danger of altering an old Constitution so abruptly. Thus my Lord gain'd his End, for he represented that Quarrel with so many Aggravations that he got an Instruction from the King to take away all Appeals from the General-Court to the Assembly, and cause them

Lord
Colepepper
promotes
Divisions
among the
Virginians.

Deprives
the Assembly
of the
Privilege
of hearing
Appeals.

Virginia.

to be made to him in Council, if the Thing in Demand was of 300*l.* Value, otherwise no Appeal from the General-Court.

Of this his Lordship made sufficient Advantage; for in the Confusion that happen'd in the End of King *James* the Second's Reign, viz. in *October* 1688, he having got an Assignment from the other Patentees, gain'd a favourable Report from the King's Council at Law upon his Patent for the *Northern-Neck*.


When he had succeeded in this, his Lordship's next Step was to engage some noted Inhabitant of the Place to be on his Side. Accordingly he made use of his Cousin, Secretary *Spencer*, who lived in the same *Neck*, and was esteem'd as wise and great a Man as any of the Council. This Gentleman did but little in his Lordship's Service, and only gain'd some few Strays that us'd to be claim'd by the Coroner in Behalf of the King.

Upon the Death of Mr. Secretary *Spencer*, he engag'd another noted Gentleman, an old Stander in that Country, tho' not of the *Northern-Neck*, Colonel *Philip Ludwell*, who was then in *England*. He went over with this Grant in the Year 1690, and set up an Office in the *Neck*, claiming some Escheats; but he likewise could make nothing of it. After him Colonel *George Brent* and Colonel *William Fitz-Hugh*, that were noted Lawyers and Inhabitants of the said *Neck*, were employ'd in that Affair, but succeeded no better than their Predecessors. The People in the mean while complain'd frequently to their Assemblies, who at last made another Address to the King, but there being no Agent in *England* to prosecute it, that likewise miscarry'd. At last

last Colonel *Richard Lee*, one of the Council, ^{Virginia.} a Man of Note and Inhabitant of the *Northern-Neck*, privately made a Composition with the Proprietor for his own Land. This broke the Lord Ice, and several were induced to follow so ^{*Colepepper* gains the Propriety of the} great an Example; so that by Degrees they were generally brought to pay their Quit-Rents into the Hands of the Proprietor's Agents. ^{*Northern-Neck* by Artifice.} And at last it was manag'd for them by Colonel *Robert Carter*, another of the Council, and the greatest Freeholder in that Propriety.

To return to my Lord *Colepepper's* Government. I cannot omit a useful thing which his Lordship was pleased to do with relation to their Courts of Justice. It seems Nicety of Pleading, with all the Juggle of *Westminster-Hall*, was creeping into their Courts. The Clerks began in some Cases to enter the Reasons with the Judgments, pretending to set Precedents of inviolable Form to be observ'd in all future Proceedings. This my Lord ^{Shortens Proceedings at Law.} found fault with, and retrenched all dilatory Pleas as prejudicial to Justice, keeping the Courts close to the Merits of the Cause, in order to bring it to a speedy Determination, according to the Innocence of former Times, and caused the Judgments to be entered up short, without the Reason, alledging, that their Courts were not of so great Experience as to be able to make Precedents to Posterity, who ought to be left at liberty to determine according to the Equity of the Controversy before them.

In his Time also were dismantled the Forts ^{Forts} built by Sir *Henry Chicheley* at the Heads of the ^{demolish'd} Rivers, and the Forces there were disbanded, ^{and Guards of light} as being too great a Charge. The Assembly ^{Horse in} appointed small Parties of light Horse in their stead.

Virginia. stead, to range by turns upon the Frontiers; these being chosen out of the neighbouring Inhabitants, might afford to serve at easier Rates, and yet do the Business more effectually. They were rais'd under the Title or Name of *Rangers*.

After this the Lord *Colepepper* return'd again for *England*, his second Stay not being much longer than the first, and Sir *Henry Chicheley* being dead, he proclaim'd his Kinsman Mr. Secretary *Spencer* President, tho' he was not the eldest Member in the Council.

Lord

Howard of
Effingham
Governor.

His Ex-
tortions
and Op-
pressions.

The next Year, being 1684, upon the Lord *Colepepper*'s refusing to return to *Virginia*, *Francis* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham* was sent over Governor. In order to increase his Perquisites, he impos'd the Charge of an Annual under Seal of twenty Shillings each for School-Masters, five Pounds for Lawyers at the General-Court, and fifty Shillings each Lawyer at the County Courts. He also extorted an excessive Fee for putting the Seal to all Probates of Wills and Letters of Administration, even where the Estates of the Deceased were of the meanest Value. Neither could any be favour'd with such Administration or Probate without paying that Extortion. If any body presum'd to remonstrate against it his Lordship's Behaviour towards that Man was very severe. He kept several Persons in Prison and under Confinement from Court to Court without bringing them to Trial; which Proceedings and many others were so oppressive, that Complaints were made thereof to the King, and Colonel *Philip Ludwell* was appointed Agent to appear against him in *England*; whereupon the Seal-Money was taken off.

During

During the first Session of Assembly in this noble Lord's Time the Duty on Liquors imported from the other *English* Plantations was first impos'd. It was then laid on Pretence of lessening the Levy by the Poll for Payment of publick Taxes, but more especially for rebuilding the State-House, which had not rebuilt since *Lawrence* burnt it in *Bacon's* Time.

This Duty was at first laid on Wine and Rum only at the Rate of Three-pence *per* Gallon, with an Exemption of all such as should be imported in the Ships of *Virginia* Owners; but the like Duty has since been laid on other Liquors also, and is raised to Four-pence *per* Gallon on Wine and Rum, and one Penny *per* Gallon on Beer, Cyder, Lime-juice, &c. and the Privilege of *Virginia* Owners taken away, to the great Discouragement of their Shipping and home Trade.

This Lord, tho' he pretended to no great Skill in legal Proceedings, yet he made great Innovations in their Courts, pretending to follow the *English* Forms. Thus he created a new Court of Chancery distinct from the General-Court, which had ever before claimed that Jurisdiction. He erected himself into a Lord Chancellor, taking the Gentlemen of the Council to sit with him as meer Associates and Advisers, not having any Vote in the Causes before them. And that it might have more the Air of a new Court, he would not so much as sit in the State-House where all the other publick Business was dispatch'd, but took the Dining-room of a large House for that Use. He likewise made arbitrary Tables of Fees peculiar to this high Court. However, his Lordship not beginning this Project very long before

Virginia. before he left the Country, all these Innovations came to an End upon his Removal, and the Jurisdiction returned to the General-Court again in the Time of Colonel *Isaiah Bacon*, whom he left President.

During that Gentleman's Presidency, which began in 1689, the Project of a College was first agreed upon. The Contrivers drew up their Scheme and presented it to the President and Council. This was by them approv'd and referred to the next Assembly; but Colonel *Bacon's* Administration being very short, and no Assembly call'd all the while, this pious Design could proceed no farther.

Nicholson
Governor.

Anno 1690, *Francis Nicholson*, Esq; being appointed Lieutenant Governor under the Lord *Effingham*, arriv'd there. This Gentleman discoursed freely of Country Improvements, instituted publick Exercises, and gave Prizes to all those that should excel in the Exercises of Riding, Running, Shooting, Wrestling, and Cudgel-playing. When the Design of a College was communicated to him he promised it all imaginable Encouragement. The first thing desired of him in its Behalf was the calling of an Assembly; but this he could by no means agree to, being under Obligations to the Lord *Effingham* to stave off Assemblies as long as he could for fear there might be farther Representations sent over against his Lordship, who was conscious to himself how uneasy the Country had been under his despotick Administration.

When that could not be obtain'd, then they propos'd that a Subscription might pass through the Colony, to try the Humour of the People in general, and see what voluntary Contributions they could get towards it. This

he

he granted, and he himself, together with the Council, set a generous Example to the other Virginia.
Gentlemen of the Country; so that the Subscriptions at last amounted to about two thousand five hundred Pounds, in which Sum is included the general Benevolences of several Merchants of *London*.

Anno 1691, an Assembly being call'd, this Design was moved to them, and they espoused it heartily, and soon after made an Address to King *William* and Queen *Mary* in its Behalf, and sent the Reverend Mr. *James Blair* their Agent to *England*, to solicit their Majesties Charter for it.

It was propos'd that three Things should be taught in this College, *viz.* Languages, Divinity, and Natural Philosophy.

The Assembly was so fond of Governor *Nicholson* at that time, that they presented him the Sum of three hundred Pounds as a Testimony of their good Disposition towards him. But he having an Instruction to receive no Present from the Country, they drew up an Address to their Majesties, praying that he might have Leave to accept it, which was granted, and he gave one half thereof to the College.

Their Majesties were well pleas'd with that pious Design of the Plantation, and granted A College erected.
a Charter according the Desire of Mr. *Blair* their Agent.

Their Majesties were graciously pleased to give near two thousand Pounds Sterling, the Ballance then due upon the Account of Quir-Rents, towards the Founding the College, and towards the Endowing of it they allowed 20000 Acres of choice Land, together with the Revenue arising by the Penny *per* Pound on

Virginia. on Tobacco exported from *Virginia* and *Maryland* to the other Plantations.

It was a great Satisfaction to the Archbishops and Bishops to see such a Nursery of Religion founded in that new World, especially for that it was begun in an episcopal Way, and carry'd on wholly by zealous Conformists to the Church of *England*.

In this first Assembly, Lieutenant-Governor *Nicholson* pass'd Acts for Encouragement of the Linnen Manufacture, Tanning, Curryng, and Shoe-making. He also in that Session pass'd a Law for Cohabitation and Improvement of Trade.

The
Building
Towns in
Virginia
discourag-
ed again.

Before the next Assembly he tack'd about, and was quite the reverse of what he was in the first, as to Cohabitation. Instead of encouraging Ports and Towns, he spread abroad his Dislike of them, and went among the People finding fault with those things which he and the Assembly had unanimously agreed upon the preceding Session: Such a violent Change there was in him that it proceeded from some other Cause than barely the Inconstancy of his Temper. He had receiv'd Directions from those *English* Merchants, who well knew that Cohabitation would lessen their consign'd Trade.

Andros
Governor.

In *February* 1692, Sir *Edmund Andros* arriv'd Governor. He began his Government with an Assembly which over-threw the good Designs of Ports and Towns: But the Ground-work of this Proceeding was laid before Sir *Edmund's* Arrival. However, this Assembly proceeded no farther than to suspend the Law till their Majesties Pleasure should be known. But it seems the Merchants in *London* were dissatisfy'd and made publick Complaints

Complaints against it, which their Majesties ^{Virginia.} were pleas'd to hear, and afterwards refer'd the Matter back to the Assembly again, to consider if it were suitable to the Circumstances of the Country, and to regulate it accordingly. But the Assembly did not then proceed any farther in it, the People themselves being infected by the Merchants Letters.

At this Session Mr. *Neal's* Project for a Post-Office, and his Patent of Post-Master General in those Parts of *America* were presented. The Assembly made an Act to promote that Design, but by reason of the inconvenient Distance of their Habitations and Want of Towns this Project fell to nothing.

With Sir *Edmund Andros* was sent over the College Charter, and the subsequent Assembly declar'd that the Subscriptions which had been made to the College were due and immediately demandable. They likewise gave a Duty on the Exportation of Skins and Furs for its more plentiful Endowment, and the Foundation of the College was laid.

The Subscription Money did not come in with the same Readiness with which it had been underwritten. However, there was enough given by their Majesties and gathered from the People to keep all Hands at Work and carry on the Building, the Foundation whereof they then laid, and the rest upon Suit had Judgment given against them.

Sir *Edmund Andros* was a great Encourager of Manufactures. In his Time Fulling-Mills were set up by Act of Assembly. He also gave particular Marks of his Favour towards the propagating of Cotton, which since his Time has been much neglected. He was likewise a great Lover of Method and Dispatch

Virginia. in all Sorts of Business, which made him find fault with the Management of the Secretary's Office; and indeed with very good Reason, for from the Time of *Bacon's* Rebellion till then there was never any Office in the World more negligently kept: Several Patents of Land were enter'd blank upon the Record, many original Patents, Records, and Deeds, with other Matters of great Consequence, were thrown loose about the Office, and suffer'd to be dirted, torn, and eaten by the Moths and other Insects. But upon this Gentleman's Accession to the Government he immediately gave Directions to reform all these Irregularities; he caused the loose and torn Records of Value to be transcrib'd into new Books, and order'd Conveniences to be built within the Office for preserving the Records from being lost and confounded as before. He prescrib'd Methods to keep the Papers dry and clean, and to reduce them into such Order as that any thing might be turned to immediately. But all these Conveniences were burnt soon after they were finish'd in *October* 1698, together with the Office itself and the whole State-House: But his Diligence was so great in that Affair, that tho' his Stay afterwards in the Country was very short, yet he caused all the Records and Papers which had been saved from the Fire to be sorted again, and register'd in better Order than ever they had been before. In this Condition he left them at his quitting the Government.

He made several Orders to rebuild the State-House in the same Place; and had his Government continu'd six Months longer, 'tis probable he would have effected it after such a manner as might have been least burthensome

of VIRGINIA.

43

to the People, designing the greatest Part at his own Cost. Virginia.

Sir *Edmund Andros* being upon a Progress one Summer, call'd at a poor Man's House in *Stafford* County for Water; there came out to him an ancient Woman, and with her a lively brisk Lad about twelve Years old. The Lad was so ruddy and fair that his Complexion gave the Governor a Curiosity to ask some Questions concerning him, and to his great Surprise was told that he was the Son of that Woman at seventy-six Years of Age. His Excellency, smiling at this Improbability, enquired what sort of Man had been his Father. To this the good Woman made no Reply, but instantly ran and led her Husband to the Door, who was then above an hundred Years old. He confirmed all that the Woman had said about the Lad, and notwithstanding his great Age was strong in his Limbs and Voice, but had lost his Sight. The Woman, for her Part, was without Complaint, and seem'd to retain a Vigour very uncommon at her Years. Sir *Edmund* was so well pleased with this extraordinary Account, that after having made himself known to them he offered to take care of the Lad; but they would by no means be persuaded to part with him: However, he gave them twenty Pounds.

In November 1698, *Francis Nicholson, Esq;* *Nicholson*
Governor
again. was removed from *Maryland* to be Governor of *Virginia*; but he went not then with that Smoothness on his Brow he had carry'd with him when he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor. He talked then no more of improving Manufactures, Towns, and Trade; but instead of encouraging the Manufactures, he sent over inhuman Memorials against them;

Virginia.

opposite to all Reason. In one of these he remonstrates, *that the Tobacco of that Country often bears so low a Price that it would not yield Cloaths to the People that make it; and yet presently after in the same Memorial he recommends it to the Parliament to pass an Act forbidding the Plantations to make their own Cloathing, which in other Words is desiring a charitable Law that the Planters shall go naked.* In a late Memorial concerted between him and his Creature Colonel Quarry, 'tis most humbly propos'd, That all the *English Colonies on the Continent of North-America* be reduced under one Government and under one Vice-roy, and that a Standing-Army be there kept on foot to subdue the Queen's Enemies, furnishing that they were intending to set up for themselves.

Propos'd
to have
one Vice-
roy over
all the
Colonies,
and a
Standing-
Army in
America.

Two Sides
of the
Quadrangle
of the
College
finish'd.

He began his Government with a Shew of Zeal for the Church. In the latter End of his Time one half of the intended Building, that is, two Sides of the Square, were carry'd up and finish'd, in which were allotted the publick Hall, the Apartments and Conveniences for several Masters and Scholars, and the publick Offices for the Domesticks; the Masters and Scholars were also settled in it; and it had its regular Visitations from the Visitors and Governors thereof.

The Seat
of the Go-
vernment
remov'd.

Soon after his Accession to the Government, he procur'd the Assembly and Courts of Judicature to be removed from *James-Town*, where there were good Accommodations for People, to *Middle-Plantation* where there were none. There he flattered himself with the fond Imagination of being the Founder of a new City. He marked out the Streets in many Places so as that they might represent the

the Figure of a W, in Memory of his late Majesty King *William*, after whose Name the Town was called *Williamsburgh*. There he procured a stately Fabrick to be erected, which he placed opposite to the College, and graced it with the magnificent Name of *The Capitol*. Virginia.

In the second Year of this Gentleman's Government there happen'd an Adventure very fortunate for him, which gave him much Credit, and that was the taking of a Pyrate within the Capes of that Country. The Town House nam'd *The Capitol*.

It fell out that several Merchant-Ships were got ready and fallen down to *Lynhaven Bay*, near the Mouth of *James-River*, in order for sailing. A Pyrate being informed of this, and hearing that there was no Man of War there except a Sixth Rate, ventured within the Capes and took several of the Merchant Ships. But a small Vessel happened to come down the Bay, and seeing an Engagement between the Pyrate and a Merchant-Man, made a shift to get into the Mouth of *James-River* where the *Shoram*, a Fifth-Rate Man of War, was newly arriv'd. The Sixth-Rate, commanded by Captain *John Aldred*, was then on the Caren in *Elizabeth-River*, in order for her Return to *England*.

The Governor happen'd to be at that time at *Kiquotan* sealing up his Letters, and Captain *Passenger*, Commander of the *Shoram*, was a-shore to pay his Respects to him. In the mean while News was brought that a Pyrate was within the Capes; upon which the Captain was in haste to go aboard his Ship, but the Governor stay'd him a little, promising to go along with him. The Captain soon after asked his Excuse and went off, leaving him another Boat if he pleas'd to follow. It was about

Virginia. about one o' Clock in the Afternoon when the News was brought, but it was Night before his Excellency went on Board, staying all that while a-shore upon some weighty Occasions." At last he followed, and by Break of Day the Man of War was fairly out between the Capes and the Pyrate, where, after ten Hours sharp Engagement, the Pyrate was oblig'd to strike and surrender upon the Terms of being left to the King's Mercy.

Now it happen'd that three Men of this Pyrate's Gang were not on Board their own Ship at the time of the Surrender, and so were not included in the Articles of Capitulation, but were try'd in that Country. In summing up the Evidence against them (the Governor being present) the Attorney-General extol'd his Excellency's mighty Courage and Conduct, as if the Honour of taking the Pyrate had been due to him. Upon this Captain *Passenger* took the Freedom to interrupt Mr. Attorney in open Court, and said he was Commander of the *Shoram*, that the Pyrates were his Prisoners, and that no body had pretended to command in that Engagement but himself. He farther desir'd, that the Governor, who was then present, would do him the Justice to declare whether he had given the least Word of Command all that Day, or directed any one thing during the whole Fight. This his Excellency acknowledg'd was true, and fairly yielded the Honour of that Exploit to the Captain.

This Governor likewise gain'd some Reputation by another Instance of his Management, whereby he let the World know the violent Passion he had to publish his own Fame.

To

To get Honour in *New-York*, he had zealously recommended to the Court of *England* the Necessity that *Virginia* should contribute a certain *Quota* of Men, or else a Sum of Money towards the Building and maintaining a Fort at *New-York*. The Reason he gave for this was, because *New-York* was their Barrier, and as such it was but Justice they should help to defend it. This was by Order of his late Majesty King *William* proposed to the Assembly; but upon the most solid Reasons they humbly remonstrated, *That neither the Forts then in being, nor any other that might be built in the Province of New-York, could in the least avail to the Defence and Security of Virginia; for that either the French or the Northern Indians might invade that Colony and not come within an hundred Miles of any such Fort.* The Truth of these Objections are obvious to any one that ever looked on the Maps of that Part of the World: But the Secret of the whole Business in plain Terms was this: Those Forts were necessary for *New-York*, to enable that Province to engross the Trade of the neighbouring *Indians*, which *Virginia* had sometimes shar'd in when the *Indians* rambled to the Southward.

Now the Glory Colonel *Nicholson* got in that Affair was this: After he had represented *Virginia* as republican and rebellious for not complying with his Proposal, he said publicly, that *New-York* should not want the nine hundred Pounds tho' he paid it out of his own Pocket, and soon after took a Journey to that Province.

When he arriv'd there he blamed *Virginia* very much; but pretending earnest Desires to serve *New-York*, gave his own Bills of Exchange

A Gasconade of Governor Nicholson's.

Virginia.



change for nine hundred Pounds to the afore-said Use, but prudently took a Defiance from the Gentleman to whom they were given, specifying, *That till her Majesty should be graciously pleased to remit him the Money out of the Quit-Rents of Virginia, those Bills should never be made use of.* This was an admirable piece of sham Generosity, and worthy of the great Pains he took to proclaim it. I myself have frequently heard him boast that he gave this Money out of his own Pocket, and only depended on the Queen's Bounty to repay him; tho' the Money is not paid by him to this Day.

Neither was he contented to spread abroad this Untruth there, but he also foisted it into a Memorial of Colonel Quarry's to the Council of Trade, in which are these Words; *As soon as Governor Nicholson found the Assembly of Virginia would not see their own Interest, nor comply with her Majesty's Orders, he went immediately to New-York, and out of his great Zeal to the Queen's Service and the Security of her Province, he gave his own Bills for nine hundred Pounds to answer the Quota of Virginia, wholly depending on her Majesty's Favour to reimburse him out of the Revenues of that Province.*

Certainly his Excellency and Colonel Quarry, by whose joint Wisdom and Sincerity this Memorial was composed, must believe that the Council of Trade have very imperfect Intelligence how Matters pass in that Part of the World, or else they would not presume to impose such a Banter upon them.

But this is nothing if compared to some other Passages of that unjust Representation, wherein they took upon them to describe the People

People of *Virginia* to be both numerous and *rich*, of republican Notions and Principles, *such as ought to be corrected and lower'd in time*; and that then or never was the time to maintain the Queen's Prerogative, and put a Stop to those wrong pernicious Notions which were improving daily, not only in *Virginia* but in all her Majesty's other Governments. A Frown now from her Majesty will do more than an Army hereafter, &c.

Virginia.
He misrepresents the Virginians and the rest of the Plantations at Court.

With these inhuman false Imputations did those Gentlemen afterwards introduce the Necessity of a Standing-Army.

Thus did Governor *Nicholson* continue to rule till *August* 1705, when *Edward Nott*, Esq; arriv'd Governor and gave Ease to the Country by a mild Rule. His Commission was to be Governor-General, but Part of his Salary was paid my Lord *Orkney* as chief. Governor *Nott* had the general Commission given him because it was suggested that that Method, viz. the supreme Title would give the greater Awe, and the better put the Country to rights.

Governor *Nott*.

Governor *Nott* called an Assembly the *Fall* after his Arrival, who pass'd the general Revival of the Laws which had been too long in hand: But that Part of it which related to the Church and Clergy Mr. Commissary could not be pleas'd in, wherefore that Bill was dropt, and so it lies at this Day.

This Assembly also pass'd a new Law for Ports and Towns, grounding it only upon Encouragements, according to her Majesty's Letter to that Purpose; but it seems this also could not please the *Virginia* Merchants in *England*, for they complain'd against it to the Crown, and so it was also suspended.

Virginia.

Slaves
made a
real Estate.

This Assembly also pass'd the Law making Slaves a real Estate ; which made a great Alteration in the Nature of their Estates, and becomes a very good Security for Orphans, whose Parents happen to die intestate.

This Assembly also voted a House to be built for the Governor's Residence, and laid Duties to raise the Money for it ; but his Excellency lived not to see much effected therein, being taken off by Death in *August* 1706. In the first Year of his Government the College was burnt down to the Ground.

After this Governor's Death, there being no other nominated by her Majesty to succeed him, the Government fell into the Hands of *Edmund Jennings*, Esq; the President, and the Council, who held no Assembly during his Time, neither did any thing of Note happen here, only we heard that Brigadier *Robert Hunter* receiv'd Commission to be Lieutenant-Governor under *George Earl of Orkney* the chief, and set out for *Virginia*, but was taken Prisoner into *France*.

Earl of
Orkney
Governor.


During Brigadier *Hunter's* Confinement in *France*, a new Commission issued to Colonel *Alexander Spotswood* to be Lieutenant-Governor, who arriv'd in *Virginia* Anno 1710, and improv'd the Colony beyond Imagination. His Conduct, according to Colonel *Beverley*, produced Wonders. And it was the Happiness of *Virginia* that this Gentleman's Administration was of a longer Duration than usual, whereby he had an Opportunity of putting in practice the prudent Schemes he had laid, in which he was supported and encourag'd by the Earl of *Orkney*, who dy'd Governor of *Virginia* this present Year 1737.

Spotswood
Deputy-
Governor.



CHAP. VII.

*Of the Civil Government of Virginia
both Indian and English.*

 EFORE I proceed to describe their Civil Government, give me Leave to observe, that the Boundaries of the several Counties in *Virginia* have been much altered since they were first laid out, and some others added to them, as Colonel *Beverley* informs us. The Description therefore already given of them, which was taken from Mr. *Oldmixon's* History of this Country, must of necessity be corrected by the Colonel's *Present State of Virginia*, who relates, that in the new modelling of the Subdivisions of this Province they contrived it so that each County might be situated on some single River for the Benefit of Trade and Shipping.

Virginia.
The Boundaries of the Counties corrected by *Beverley*.

That in the Northern Neck of Land, which lies between the Rivers *Patoimack* and *Rappahannock*, which is the Property of the Lord *Colepepper's* Family, are contained six Counties, 1. *Lancaster*, in which are two Parishes, namely, *Christ-Church* and *St. Mary White-Chapel*. 2. *Northumberland*, two Parishes, viz. *Fairfield-Boutracy* and *Wiccocomoco*. 3. *Westmoreland*, two Parishes, viz. *Copely* and *Washington*. 4. *Stafford*, two Parishes, viz. *St. Paul* and *Overtworton*. 5. *Richmond*, one Parish, viz. *North-Farnham*, and part of another, viz.

Virginia. *Sittenburn.* 6. *King George* County, one Parish, named *Hanover*, the other Part of *Sittenburn*.

In the Neck between *Rappahannock* and *York* Rivers are contained six other Counties, viz. 1. *Gloucester*, in which are four Parishes, viz. *Pesso*, *Abingdon*, *Ware*, and *Kingston*. 2. *Middlesex*, only one Parish, viz. *Christ-Church*. 3. *King and Queen*, two Parishes, viz. *Stratton-Major* and *St. Stephen's*. 4. *King William*, two Parishes, viz. *St. John's* and *St. Margaret's*. 5. *Effex*, three Parishes, viz. *South-Farnham*, *St. Anne*, and *St. Mary's*. 6. *Spotsylvania*, one Parish, viz. *St. George*.

In the Neck between *York* and *James* Rivers there are seven Counties and part of an eighth; the seven entire Counties are, 1. *Elizabeth City*, in which is only one Parish, named also *Elizabeth City* Parish. 2. The County of *Warwick*, in which are two Parishes, viz. *Denby*, and *Mulberry-Island*. 3. *York*, in which are two Parishes, viz. *Charles* and *York-Hampton*, and part of a third call'd *Bruton*. 4. *James-City*, in which are three Parishes, and part of two others, viz. *James-City*, part of *Wilmington*, *Merchants Hundred*, and the other half of *Bruton*. 5. *New-Kent*, two Parishes, viz. *Blisland* and *St. Peter's*. 6. *Charles City*, two Parishes, viz. *Westover* and part of *Wilmington*. 7. *Hanover*, one Parish, viz. *St. Paul's*; and 8. part of *Henrico*. County on the North Side of *James-River*, by which River the Parishes are also divided, there being two Parishes in the whole County, viz. *Henrico* and *St. James's*, and part of a third call'd *Bristol*.

On the South Side of *James-River* are seven Counties, and the other Part of *Henrico*; the seven

seven Counties beginning at the Bay, as I have ^{Virginia.} done in all the rest, are 1. *Princess Anne*, in which is but one Parish, namely, *Lynhaven*. 2. *Norfolk*, also one Parish, call'd *Elizabeth-River*. 3. *Nansamund*, in which are three Parishes, viz. *Lower-Parish*, *Upper-Parish*, and *Chickaluck*. 4. *Isle of Wight*, in which are two Parishes, viz. *Warwick-Squeeke Bay* and *New-Port*. 5. *Surrey*, two Parishes, viz. *Lyon's-Creek* and *Southwark*. 6. *Prince George*, in which is one Parish, viz. *Martin-Brandon*, and the other Part of *Bristol* Parish in *Henrico*. 7. *Brunswick*, a new County, constituted towards the Southern Pass of the Mountains on purpose that by extraordinary Encouragements the Settlements may send up that Way first, as is given also to *Spotsylvania* County for the Northern Pass. It is made one Parish by the Name of *St. Andrew*.

On the Eastern Shore, that is, on the East Side of the great Bay of *Chesapeake*, the Place where Sir *William Berkley* retir'd to in the Rebellion, without withdrawing from his Government (as Mr. *Oldmixon* declares he did) are two Counties. 1. *Northampton*, having one Parish, named *Hungers*. 2. *Accomack*, having one Parish, named also *Accomack*.

In all there are at present twenty-nine Counties and fifty-four Parishes.

The Colonel also, in his Preface to his *Other Present State of Virginia*, points out some ^{Mistakes} other Mistakes Mr. *Oldmixon* has made in the ^{of Mr.} Geography of *Virginia*, observing that *Prince George* County, which lies on the South Side ^{Oldmixon} of *James-River*, Mr. *Oldmixon* places on the ^{corrected} North; and that he places some part of *James-City* County on the South Side of *James-River*, ^{Beverly.} whereas

Virginia. whereas not an Inch of it has been placed on that Side of the River these threescore Years.

That the same Gentleman makes *Elizabeth* and *Warwick* Counties lie upon *York-River*, whereas both of them lie upon *James-River*, and neither of them comes near *York-River*: That he placed *King William* County on both sides of *Pamunky-River*, whereas it lies all on the North Side of *Pamunky-River*; and tho' he placed *King* and *Queen* County upon the South of *New-Kent*, at the Head of *Chickahomony-River*, that County lies North of *New-Kent*, and there are two large Rivers and two entire Counties between the Head of *Chickahomony-River* and *King* and *Queen* County: And whereas he says that *York* and *Rapahanock* Rivers issue out of low Marshes, it is very certain those Rivers have their Sources in the highest Ridge of Mountains, as he (Colonel *Beverley*) avers upon his own View of them,

Some of these Mistakes of Mr. *Oldmixon* I was so unfortunate to follow in describing the *Virginian* Counties; but since I have added Colonel *Beverley's* Corrections I hope I shall be forgiven. I should not have followed this Gentleman of all Men in his Essays on Religion or Politicks, or in his *History of the Stuarts*, but as there was nothing of Party in describing the Situation or Subdivisions of an *American* Province, I thought I might have given some Credit to him, especially when he assures us, p. 278 of his History, *That he was well acquainted with the modern Surveys of that Country*. If I was cautious how I took his Word before, I shall be much more so after he has led me into these Errors, which I committed before I could get the last Edition of Colonel *Beverley's Present State*, or I had laid Mr.

Mr. *Oldmixon's History of Virginia* entirely Virginia. aside; for what he has valuable relating to that Country I perceive he was oblig'd to the Colonel for.

I proceed now to enquire into the *Virginian* Govern-
Government; and first of that of the *Indians*, ment of
which, according to Colonel *Beverley*, is mo- the *Virgi-*
narchical, but the Crown descends to the next *nians*.
Brother, and not to the Son of the preceding
Monarch: And if there are no Sons, to the
Sisters successively and their respective Issue,
according to their Seniority. The Prince is
restrain'd by no Laws, but acts arbitrarily;
and the usual Punishment for capital Offences
is the knocking out the Offender's Brains with
Clubs. But tho' the Civil Power is lodg'd in
the King, there is another *Weroance*, or great
Man, who is their General, and has the Con-
duct of all military Affairs: And neither the
one or the other of these transacts any thing of
Consequence without consulting their Priests
and Prophets (or Conjurers) as our People call
the latter: But the same Person, I perceive,
is sometimes Priest, Prophet and Physician;
and in some Parts of *Florida* the Priest is their
General also.

But to qualify any Man for a Post, either *Huska-*
in the State or Army, he is oblig'd to undergo *narwing* a
very severe Discipline, which is called *Huska-* necessary
narwing. The Sons of some of the best Fa- Quali-
milies at sixteen or eighteen Years of Age are fication for an
carry'd by their Priests into some solitary Wood Officer in
and there shut up for several Months in a the State
kind of Cage of a Conick Form; not suffer'd or Army.
to converse with any Man but their Tutors, or
to eat any thing more than will just keep them
alive; but they are obliged to drink a certain
intoxicating Liquor, which makes them rave
like

Virginia. like Madmen, and forget every thing that ever happen'd, if we may believe them. But whatever Effect the Liquor may have, or how great soever the Change may be that is wrought in their Pupils, the End of all this is (as the *Indians* themselves relate) to extinguish all childish Impressions, and that Partiality to Persons and Things which is so natural to all Men; and to eradicate such Prepossession and unreasonable Prejudices as they may have imbibed, alledging, that till this is done they are by no means fit for Ministers or Magistrates. These Gentlemen, thus disciplin'd, are call'd *Cockrouses*, and of them the King's Council is always compos'd, and no others are ever advanc'd to any Post in the Government civil or military.

Properties. As to their Goods or personal Estate, every Man claims a Right to what he possesses as well as to the Fruits of his Labour and his Cloathing: His Plantation and the Buildings he erects on it are esteem'd his Property also so long as he remains in that Part of the Country but no longer; for the whole Territory belonging to one King or Tribe is really no more than one great Common, no Man claiming a distinct Property in any Part any longer than while he actually uses it. When he removes, another is at liberty to settle on the same Spot of Ground: But every Prince or Tribe has their respective Territories bounded by some Wood, River, or other natural Fence, and will not suffer their Neighbours to encroach upon them; tho' I can't perceive they made any other Use of their Lands before the Arrival of the *English* than to hunt and take the wild Beasts, Game and Fowl they found upon them, unless it were that every Man had
a little

a little Garden or Spot of Ground wherein he planted just Corn and Roots enough for the Use of his own Family. They had no sort of tame Cattle to graze in their Fields till the *English* arriv'd.

As to the Government of the *English* in *Virginia*, this is formed upon the same Model as that of *England*, and has a very near Resemblance to it. The legislative Authority is lodg'd in the Governor, the Council, and the House of Representatives: And the Governor has a Negative as the King has here, but their Acts must be ratify'd afterwards by his Majesty in *England*: However, they are of Force in *Virginia* immediately upon receiving the Governor's Assent until his Majesty's Pleasure is known.

The Governor is appointed by his Majesty during Pleasure, and is oblig'd to act according to his Instructions. He calls Assemblies by the Advice of the Council, but prorogues or dissolves them by his own Authority: He presides in all Councils of State, where he also has a Negative.

He appoints Commissioners or Justices to administer Justice in the County Courts by the Consent of the Council: He grants Commissions to all the Officers of the Militia, and is himself vested with the Title and Office of Lieutenant-General, having the sole Command of that Body.

He tests all Proclamations, disposes of all unpatented Lands agreeably to his Instructions and the Laws of the Country; and the Seal of the Colony for this and all other Matters of State is in his Keeping.

He is also constituted Vice-Admiral by a Commission from the Admiralty of *England*:

Virginia.

The Issues of the publick Revenue must bear his Test; and his Salary is 2000 *l. per Annum*, besides Perquisites, computed to amount to near 1000 *l.* more.

On the Death of the Governor, the Administration devolves on the President and Council. The Members of the Council are appointed by Letters or Instructions from his Majesty, which only directs them to be sworn of that Body: Their usual Number is twelve, and if there happen to be under nine resident in the Country, the Governor is impower'd to swear such Gentlemen as he thinks fit to make up that Number.

All Bills which come from the Assembly must have their Assent; but I don't find any Bills brought in by the Council and sent down to the lower House, as is practis'd in the *English* House of Lords frequently. There is an annual Sum of 350 *l.* distributed among the Members of the Council, in proportion to the Trouble they are at in attending General Courts and Assemblies.

General
Assembly.

The Free-holders of every Country elect two Burgesses to represent them in the General Assembly. *James-City* elects one, and the College one, so that there are in all sixty Burgesses. They are summoned by Writs issued from the Secretary's Office under the Seal of the Colony, and tested by the Governor, being directed to the respective Sheriffs, and bearing Date forty Days before the Return: The Writs and Notice of the intended Election being publish'd in every Church and Chapel of each County two *Sundays* successively, and controverted Elections are determin'd by the House, as in *England*.

A Speaker is also chosen, and Freedom of Speech and other Privileges allowed the Assembly on the Speaker's Application to the Governor, as in the *British* Parliament by the King: And a Speech is made, acquainting them with the Occasion of their meeting, which is usually once a Year, or oftner if the Governor sees fit.

Having treated of their Assembly or High Court of Parliament, I come naturally to enquire into the Constitution of their other Courts, which are chiefly two, *viz.* the General Court and their respective County Courts.

The General Court consists of the Governor and Council, or any five of them, who are the Judges of it, and take Cognizance of all Causes, whether civil, criminal, or ecclesiastical, from whence there is no Appeal, unless the Matter in Dispute exceed the Value of 300 *l.* Sterling, and then there lies an Appeal to the King and Council, and is there determined by a Committee of the Privy-Council, call'd the Lords of Appeals; but in criminal Cases there is no Appeal from this Court, only the Governor is empower'd to pardon all Crimes but Treason and Murder, and even in these Instances may reprieve the Criminal from time to time till the King's Pleasure is known.

The General Court is held annually on the 15th of *April* and the 15th of *October*, each Term or Session continuing eighteen Days, exclusive of *Sundays*, and these were formerly the only Times of Goal-Delivery, but at this Day the Governor appoints Commissioners for the Trial of criminal Causes.

Virginia. In the General Court civil Causes are not
 Trials. try'd by a Jury of the County where the Parties live, but by Gentlemen summoned from all Parts to attend the General Court; but in criminal Cases the Sheriff is order'd to summon six of the nearest Neighbours to the Prisoner, who may be supposed to be best acquainted with his Life and Conversation; to which six are added six more of the Gentlemen summoned to attend the Court; and the Prisoner is allowed his Challenges, as in *England*.

Civil Causes are usually brought to a Trial and determin'd in the third Term or Session; so that a Year and half puts an End to Suits in the General Court, and three or four Months in the County Court, the latter being held monthly: And where any one appeals from the County Court to the General Court, the Appeal is try'd and determin'd at the next General Court.

Every one is allow'd to plead his own Cause by himself or his Friends, or by his Attorney or Council, at his Option; and tho' the Suitor may appeal from the County Court to the General Court, the General Court does not take Cognizance of any Cause originally, where the Matter in Dispute is not of the Value of 10 *l.* Sterling, or two thousand Pounds of Tobacco.

Judges of the County Courts. The Judges or Commissioners of the County Courts receive their Commissions from the Governour, and are Justices of Peace in their respective Counties, being eight or more in Number. They are authoriz'd to determine all civil Causes in Law or Equity, and such criminal Causes as do not affect Life or Member; and in the Case of Hog-stealing they are empower'd

empower'd to condemn the Offender to lose ^{Virginia.} his Ears for the second Offence ; their Proceedings resembling those of the General Court, except that here every Cause is try'd by a Jury of the same County where the Parties live, or the Facts are committed.

This monthly Court hath also the Care of Orphans. Orphans, and of their Estates and Effects, and put out Apprentices, and provide for such Orphans as are in low Circumstances : And in *September* annually audit the Accounts of Orphans, and enquire into their Education and Maintenance, putting some to School and others to Trades, as they see proper : And where they find Children neglected or hardly used, they remove them to other Masters ; and when poor Orphans have served the Time they were bound for, their Masters are oblig'd to furnish them with a Stock of Cattle, Tools, &c. to enable them to begin the World with to a certain Value ; the Boys being bound till twenty-one, and the Girls till eighteen Years of Age, when the Maids, if they behave well, usually get good Husbands and live plentifully.

Of the publick Officers there are three besides the Governor, which have their Commissions immediately from his Majesty, *viz.* the Auditor of the Revenue, the Receiver-General, and the Secretary of State. ^{Publick Officers.}

1st, The Auditor audits all the publick ^{Auditor.} Accounts, and transmits the State of them to *England* ; his Salary being 6 *per Cent.* of the publick Money.

2^{dly}, The Receiver-General sells the publick ^{Receiver-General.} Tobacco, and issues the Money or the Produce of it by the King's Order ; his Salary also being 6 *per Cent.*

3^{dly},

Virginia. 3dly, The Secretary, who keeps the publick Records, viz. all Judgments of the General Court, and Deeds and other Writings proved therein; issues all Writs relating thereto; makes out and records all Patents of Lands, and takes the Returns of all Inquests of Escheat. In his Office also is kept a Register of all Commissions of Administration and Probates of Wills, of Marriages, Births, and Burials; of all Persons who leave the Country, and of all Houses of Entertainment, &c. From this Office issues the Writs for electing Burgeſſes, and here are kept authentick Copies of all Proclamations. His Revenue arises from Fees for Business done in his Office, and amounts one Year with another to seventy thousand Pounds of Tobacco, out of which he pays twelve hundred and fifty to Clerks.

The Bishop's Commissary. There are two other publick Officers, viz. the Ecclesiastical Commissary; who visits the several Churches of the Province, and receives his Authority from the Bishop of London, Ordinary of all the Plantations; and, 2. The Treasurer of the Province, who is appointed by the General Assembly to receive such Sums as are rais'd by their Acts.

Judge of the Admiralty. There is also a Judge of the Admiralty, but he is appointed from time to time, as Business happens, and is not a standing Officer. Other Officers. The rest of the publick Officers are Escheators, Sheriffs of Counties, Coroners, Collectors, Surveyors of Lands, Clerks of Courts, and others of less Moment.

Revenues of Virginia. The constant publick Revenues are of five sorts, 1st, A Rent reserv'd by the Crown out of all Lands granted by Patent, which is call'd his Majesty's Quit-Rent, being two Shillings for every hundred Acres so granted, and Twopence

pence an Acre for all Lands escheated to the Crown (which is paid by all except the Inhabitants of the *Northern Neck*, who hold of my Lord *Colepepper's* Family, the Proprietors of that District) which Quit-Rents amount to about 1500*l.* Sterling *per Annum*, and are left in Bank there against any sudden Emergency, except it be sent for to *England*.

Virginia.

2dly, A Revenue granted by an Act of Assembly for the Support of the Government arising first by two Shillings *per Hoghead* for every Hoghead exported. 2dly, By a Rate of Fifteen-pence *per Ton* for every Voyage a Ship makes. 3dly, By a Duty of Six-pence *per Head* for every Passenger brought into the Country. 4thly, By Fines and Forfeitures imposed by several Acts of Assembly; by Waifs and Strays, Compositions for escheated Lands and Goods, &c. which Revenue amounts to 3000*l.* *per Annum* and upwards, and is disposed of by the Governor and Council for defraying the Expences of the Government, which Accounts may be inspected by the General Assembly.

A Duty of 2 s. *per* Hoghead.

15 d. *per* Ton.

6 d. *per* Passenger.

Fines, Waifs and Strays, Compositions.

3dly, Revenues arising by Act of Assembly reserved to their own Disposal, *viz.* a Duty on Liquors imported from the neighbouring Plantations, and upon all Slaves and Servants imported. The Duty on Liquors Four-pence *per Gallon* for Rum, Brandy or Wine, and one Penny for Beer, Syder, and other Liquors. The Duty on Servants and Slaves twenty Shillings for each Servant not a Native of *England*, and five Pounds for each Slave or *Negro*.

A Duty on foreign Liquors. On Slaves and Servants.

4thly, The Revenue granted to the College by a Duty on Skins and Furs exported, raising about an hundred Pounds *per Annum*.

A Duty for the College on Skins and Furs.

5thly,

Virginia.

1 d. per
Pound on
Tobacco
for the
College.

Duties laid
on Tobac-
co in Eng-
land.

Poll-Tax
in Virginia
on all
titheable
Persons.

5thly, The Revenue raised by *British Acts* of Parliament on the Trade there, being a Duty of one Penny *per* Pound on all Tobacco exported to the Plantations and not carry'd directly to *England*, which was given by an Act of *W. & M.* to the College, but does not raise 200 l. *per Annum*.

But these are Trifles compar'd to the Duties laid upon Tobacco imported into *England* by Act of Parliament, which do not amount to less than 200,000 l. Sterling one Year with another, which is all apply'd to the Support of the Crown and Government of *England*, its Mother Country; which no doubt will have a suitable Regard for a Daughter that makes such noble and grateful Returns.

The most usual way of raising Money in *Virginia* next to those already mention'd (of laying Duties upon Trade and Shipping) is by a Poll-Tax, assessing a certain Rate or Portion of Tobacco on the Head of every taxable or titheable Person, as they call them.

Titheable Persons are all *Negroes* Male and Female, above sixteen Years of Age, and white Men of that Age; but white Women and white Children under sixteen are not deem'd titheable or subject to a Poll-Tax, either for the Support of the Government, or towards any County or Parish-Rates.

And that it may be known what titheable Persons there are in each County, every Master of a Family is oblig'd, under a severe Penalty, to bring a true List of every titheable Person in his Family to the Justices of Peace at their respective Sessions. These Poll-Taxes and Levies are of three kinds. 1st, Such as are enacted by the General Assembly for the Support and Defence of the Government. 2^{dly}, Such

Such as are order'd to be rais'd by the Justices of Peace of each County at their respective Sessions for building and repairing their Court-Houses, Prisons, &c. and, 3dly, Parish Levies, which are assess'd by the Vestries of the respective Parishes, for the building and adorning Churches and Chappels, building Parsonage-Houses, buying Glebes, and raising a Revenue for the Minister, Reader, Clerk, and Sexton.

The next Head proper to be treated of in this Place is that of Tenures. And it appears that their Lands are holden by free and common Soccage, according to the Custom of *East-Greenwich*, and are granted by Letters-Patents under the Seal of the Colony test'd by the Governor. And these Grants are obtain'd by Petition; 1st, Upon a Survey of Lands that have never been granted to any one before; 2dly, On a Lapse; and 3dly, Where Lands are escheated to the Crown.

Virginia.

Tenures of Lands.

How a Right to Land is obtain'd.

Lands are said to be laps'd when any Man who has obtain'd a Patent or Grant of them does not plant them within three Years, as his Patent requires. But if within three Years after the Date of his Patent, or before another prefers a Petition for them, he plant the Lands, they cannot afterwards be forfeited unless by Attainder, when they return to the Crown, and the Governor and Council grant them to whom they please, reserving only a Rent of two Pounds of Tobacco *per Acre* to the Crown for such escheated Lands.

Every Man has a Right to a Grant of fifty Acres of Land in Consideration of his personal Transportation to *Virginia*; and if he carries his Family with him, he is entitled to the like Number of Acres for his Wife and every one

Virginia. of his Children: But where there is nothing of this Nature stipulated with the Person who transports himself, a Right to fifty Acres of Land may be purchased for five Shillings when he comes there.

It is the Business of the Surveyor to lay out and mark the Boundaries of every Man's Plantation who has obtain'd a Right, a Copy whereof, with the Surveyor's Certificate, being brought to the Secretary (if there be no Objection to it) a Patent is made out of course, which gives the Patentee an Estate in Fee-simple, subject to a Quit-Rent of Twelve-pence for every fifty Acres, provided he plant three Acres of every fifty within three Years, and build a House, and keep a Stock of black Cattle, Sheep or Goats thereon; which Conditions if he does not perform, the Land lapses, and the Governor grants it to whom he sees fit upon a Petition prefer'd.

Naturalization.

Foreigners are naturalized, and have all the Privileges of *Englishmen* allow'd them in *Virginia* on taking the Oaths to the Government there.

Laws.

The Laws of *England* are generally in Force in *Virginia*; and not only the Acts of Parliament of *Great-Britain*, but even Orders of Council have the Force of Laws in most of the Plantations.

Some of the Laws enacted by their General-Assembly, and peculiar to *Virginia*, are these that follow.

Acts of Assembly.

When a Person is sued for a Debt he may discount whatever appears due to him from the Plaintiff, and shall be oblig'd to pay no more than the Ballance of the Account.

Upon Suspicion of any Person's Intention to remove out of the County, in order to conceal or withdraw himself from his Creditors, any

any Justice of Peace, upon Complaint, may issue out an Attachment against so much of his Estate as amounts to the Value of the Debt claimed by the Creditor, he giving Security to pay the Defendant such Damages as shall be awarded in case he (the Creditor) be cast. Virginia.

None shall practise as an Attorney unless Attornies licensed by the Governor ; and no licensed Fees. Attorney shall demand or receive for bringing any Cause to Judgment in the General Court more than five hundred Pounds of Tobacco, and in the County Court one hundred and fifty ; and if any Attorney refuse to plead for the said Fees he shall forfeit as much as his Fees should have been.

No Man shall be debar'd by this Act from pleading and managing his own Cause.

Every Person refusing to have his Child Baptism. baptized by a lawful Minister forfeits two thousand Pounds of Tobacco.

The Baptizing Slaves or their Children shall Slaves. not alter their Condition as to Bondage or Freedom.

No County shall send above two Burgeffes Burgeffes. to the General-Assembly, provided that James-City, being the Capital, may elect one ; and every County that will lay out an hundred Acres of Land, and people it with an hundred titheable Persons, shall have the like Privilege.

A Burgefs not appearing in the Assembly on the Day of the Return forfeits three hundred Pounds of Tobacco. No Burgefs is to be arrested during a Session, or within ten Days after a Diffolution or Adjournment.

None but Free-holders and House-keepers to have Voices in Elections.

Virginia. Every County not sending two Burgeffes forfeits ten thousand Pounds of Tobacco.

The Allowance to every Burgefs is one hundred and twenty Pounds of Tobacco *per Diem*, and for travelling Charges, ten Pounds of Tobacco *per Diem* for every Horfe, or the Charges of a Water-Paffage.

Horfes. No Horfe or Mare to be imported from any other Plantation on Pain of Forfeiture.

Physicians Fees. Surgeons and Physicians are oblig'd to declare upon Oath what Drugs have been taken by the Patient, and then the Court will allow 50 *per Cent.* above the Value of the Drugs, and as much for Cure and Attendance as the Court fees fit : And if any one neglects his Patient he shall be fined at difcretion.

Church. *For Laws relating to the Church, fee the Chapter of Religion.*

Circuits. The Governor, and one or two of the Council commiffion'd by him, fhall go the Circuit annually in *Auguft*, and vifit the County Courts, hearing and determining the Caufes depending in them.

Manufac- Encouragements were enacted, *Anno 1682*, tures. for the planting and manufacturing Hemp and Flax, and for thofe that fhould make Hats and Stockings ; but they ftill receive thefe and almoft every other kind of Manufacture from *England*.

Debts. A Debt acknowledged before two Commiffioners (*Quor un*) to be of the Nature of a Judgment.

Convey- Conveyances of Lands in *Virginia* made in ances. *England* to be fent over thither by the firft Shipping, and recorded there, or otherwife to be deem'd fraudulent.

Corn. Every Man, for each titheable Perfon in his Family, fhall plant two Acres of Corn or Pulfe

Pulse on Pain of five hundred Pounds of Tobacco for every Acre neglected, provided that the sowing one Acre of *English* Wheat shall excuse the planting two Acres of *Indian* Corn or Pulse as aforesaid. Virginia.

The Court held by the Governor and Council, and call'd the General Court, to be held three times a Year: The first on the 20th of *March*, and continue eighteen Days besides *Sundays*; the second on the 20th of *September*, and continue twelve Days; and the third on the 20th of *November*, and sit twelve Days.

Four Gentlemen at least to be commission'd by the Governor to act as Justices of the Peace in every County: And the Courts of the said Justices to be call'd County Courts; which shall not take Cognizance of any Cause under the Value of two hundred Pounds of Tobacco, or twenty Shillings Sterling; but Matters under that Value shall be determin'd by a single Justice of Peace. County Court.

Two Men shall be chosen in every Parish, who being return'd by the Church-Wardens shall sit in the several County Courts, and have equal Voices with the Justices for making of By-Laws. By Laws.

Any Person who shall steal or unlawfully kill a Hog that is not his own shall forfeit a thousand Pounds of Tobacco to the Owner and as much to the Informer; and he that brings home a Hog without his Ears shall be adjudged a Hog-stealer, and the Receiver shall be punish'd as the Thief. Hog-steal-
ing.

The second Offence of Hog-stealing to be punish'd with Loss of Ears, after two Hours standing in the Pillory; and the third is made Felony.

Every

Virginia. Every Planter shall make a sufficient Fence
 Fences. about his Ground, at least four Foot and a
 half high.

Servants. Where a Freeman is punishable by a Fine,
 a Servant shall receive corporal Punishment,
viz. for every five hundred Pounds of Tobac-
 co twenty Lashes, unless his Master will pay
 the Penalty.

Fornica- A Man and Woman committing Fornication
 tion. shall pay each of them five hundred Pounds
 of Tobacco; and if either of them be a Ser-
 vant, the Master to pay the five hundred
 Pounds of Tobacco, and the Servant to serve
 half a Year beyond his Time; and if the Ma-
 ster refuse to pay it, the Servant is to be
 whip'd. If a Bastard be born of a Woman
 Servant, she shall serve her Master two Years
 beyond her Time, or pay him two thousand
 Pounds of Tobacco, and the Father shall
 give Security to keep the Child.

Convey- Conveyances of Lands, Cattle, or Goods,
 ances. shall be register'd in the General Court or
 County Court within six Months after Aliena-
 tion, or be deem'd fraudulent.

Hides, Wool, and Iron, are prohibited to
 be exported.

Indians. No *Englishman* shall purchase Land of an
Indian; and whoever shall defraud or injure
 them shall make them Satisfaction.

No Person shall buy or receive any Com-
 modity of an *Indian* without the Governor's
 License.

No Person, of what Quality soever, shall
 presume to imprison an *Indian* King without a
 special Warrant from the Governor and two
 of the Council: And no Encroachments shall
 be made on the *Indians* Lands.

No

No *Indian* shall come into the *English* Bounds Virginia.
without a Badge in their Company to shew
what King they belong to; and if any Injury
be done by them, his King or Chief shall be
answerable for it.

When a tributary *Indian* King has Notice
of the March of any strange *Indians* near the
English Colonies, he shall acquaint the next
Officer of the Militia with it; and if the friend-
ly *Indians* desire Assistance, a Party shall be
immediately sent to support them by the Co-
lonel of the Militia.

No *Indian* Servant shall be sold for a Slave,
and no *Indian* shall be entertain'd by any one
without the Leave of the Governor.

No Man shall sell Arms, Powder or Shot
to the *Indians*. on Pain of forfeiting ten thou-
sand Pounds of Tobacco.

Where an *Englishman* is murder'd by *Indi-
ans*, the next *Indian* Town shall be answerable
for it with their Lives and Liberties.

The *Weroance*, or General of the *Indians*,
shall not be chosen by them, but the *English*
Governor shall appoint such Persons as he can
confide in to be Commander in chief of the
Indian Towns; and in case any Town dis-
obey such Commands, they shall be treated as
Rebels.

No *Indian* or *Negro*, baptiz'd and enfran-
chis'd, shall be capable of purchasing a Chris-
tian Servant.

Proof by *Indians* shall be good to convict
other *Indians* of Hog-stealing; and the *Indians* Hog-steal-
ing.
who keep Hogs shall put such a Mark on
them as shall be appointed by the adjacent
Counties.

No Marriage shall be reputed valid which Marriage.
is not solemnized by a lawful Minister, accord-
ing

Virginia. ing to the Book of *Common-Prayer*; and none shall marry without a License from the Governor or his Deputy, or Banes thrice publish'd. The Children of other Mariages deem'd illegitimate, and their Parents to be punish'd as for Fornication. Servants who procure themselves to be marry'd without the Consent of their Masters, shall each of them serve their respective Masters a Year beyond their Time: And if a Freeman marries a Servant without the Master's Leave he shall forfeit fifteen hundred Pounds of Tobacco to the Master, or one Year's Service.

Militia. Forty Titheables oblig'd to set out one Man and Horse in the Militia.

Ministers, see Religion.

Slaves. Children begotten by an *Englishman* on a *Negro* Woman to be Slaves, or free, according to the Condition of the Mother: And if a Christian commits Fornication with a *Negro* the Offender shall pay double the Fine impos'd on Fornication.

Negro Women, tho' enfranchis'd, liable to pay Taxes.

No *Negro* may carry any Weapon or Club, or go off his Master's Ground without a Certificate from his Master or Overseer.

A *Negro* or Slave lifting up his Hand against any Christian, to receive thirty Lashes.

If a *Negro* or Slave hide himself from his Master's Service, and resist those that are authoriz'd to apprehend him, it shall be lawful to kill him.

Notice to be given when any one leaves the Country. No Master of a Ship shall transport any Person out of the Country without a Pass from the Secretary, on Pain of paying all his Debts and a thousand Pounds of Tobacco to the Secretary: And all Persons, before they can obtain

obtain Passes, must set up their Names at the ^{Virginia.} Monthly Court ten Days before their Departure, or have their Names publish'd two *Sundays* in every Parish of the County, or give Security for the Payment of their Debts.

Five Years peaceable Possession shall be deem'd a good Bar to any Claim of Lands, except as to Orphans, *Feme covert*s, and Persons out of the Country, or *Non sane*.

Scolds are order'd to be duck'd by an Act of Assembly.

Servants, coming into the Country without Indenture, shall serve five Years if upwards of sixteen, and all under that Age till they are twenty-four.

Servants absenting themselves from their Masters Service shall make Satisfaction by serving after their Times expir'd double the time of the Service so neglected, or longer if the Court so determine.

If an *English* Servant run away in Company with *Negroes*, who cannot make Satisfaction by an Addition of Time, the *English*, after their own Time is expir'd, shall serve the Masters of the said *Negroes* as long as the *Negroes* should have done if they had not been Slaves.

Servants receiving immoderate Correction, or not being provided with competent Cloathing, Diet, or Lodging, may complain to a Commissioner of the County, who is impower'd to redress the Grievance.

A Servant laying violent Hands on his Master, to serve a Year beyond his Time.

None may traffick with a Servant without his Master's Leave under severe Penalties.

Servants bringing Goods with them, or having Goods assign'd to them in the Country,

Virginia. shall have the Property thereof and Liberty to dispose of them to their own Use.

A Woman Servant got with Child to serve two Years after her Time expir'd.

No Master shall make any Bargain with his Servant but before a Justice of Peace.

Religion. *Servants and Sacraments, see Religion.*

Sheriffs. None but a Commissioner shall be Sheriff of a County, and such Commissioners shall execute the Office successively.

Commissioners of every County shall be answerable for all publick Levies and Taxes laid on the County, and for the Sheriff's due Performance of his Office ; and are empower'd therefore to take Security of him on his Admission.

Any one of the Council of State may sit in any Court in *Virginia*, and have a Voice as the Justices have.

No Person to have any Post till he has been resident three Years. Convicts disabled. Ships. No Person not born in this Country shall have an Office here till he has been resident three Years, unless by the King's immediate Commission.

No Person convicted of Felony in *England* or elsewhere shall be capable of bearing any Office civil or military.

Whoever shall build a Vessel, and fit her out for Sea in this Country, shall receive of the Publick a *Premium* of fifty Pounds of Tobacco *per Ton*.

Masters of Ships shall provide four Months Victuals for their Passengers in setting out from *England*, and take care that poor Servants do not want Bedding during the Voyage.

Guns. For the better taking Alarms on the Approach of an Enemy, the Firing Guns at merry Meetings are prohibited.

In

of VIRGINIA.

75

In the Year 1662 the Planters were en-join'd to plant a certain Number of Mulberry-Trees in order to set up a Silk Manufacture, and Encouragements were given for the making of Silk; but they have long since laid aside all Attempts of this Nature.

If a Slave resist his Master, or those who correct him by his Master's Orders, and he, by the Extremity of the Correction, chance to die, the Persons correcting him shall be indemnify'd.

All Servants imported by Shipping, who are not Christians, shall be Slaves for Life; and such as come by Land shall serve twelve Years, and if Boys and Girls till they are thirty.

All Ministers officiating in any publick Cure, and six of their respective Families, shall be exempted from publick Taxes.

None shall buy or sell but by *English* Weights and Measures.

The Widow may make choice of any third Part of the real Estate, where her Husband dies intestate, and shall have a Third of the personal Estate, where there are not more than two Children; but where there are more the personal Estate shall be divided equally between the Mother and the Children.



C H A P. VIII.

Of the Religion both of the Indians and English ; and of their Marriages, Women, Children, Slaves, and Funeral Rites.

Virginia.

Religion
of the
Virginians.



Harriot's
Account
of their
Faith.

Of the
Creation.

THE first Account we meet with of the Religion of the *Virginians* is that given us by Mr. *Harriot*, an Officer of Sir *Walter Raleigh's*, whom he employ'd in the Discovery of that Country.

Mr. *Harriot* relates, that the *Indians* believed there were many Gods of various Orders and Degrees, tho' but one only supreme GOD, who had existed from all Eternity, and by whom every thing in the Universe was produced into Being: That he first made Gods of a superior Order to be his Ministers and Instruments in the succeeding Creation and Government of the World: That he afterwards created the Sun, Moon, and Stars, which are Gods of an inferiour Class, who were to be Ministers and Agents of those of the higher Order: That then the Waters were created, out of which the Gods formed all other Creatures, visible and invisible; but last of all, a Woman, who being impregnated by one of the Gods, had Children, from whom all the rest of Mankind proceeded; but how long it was since the Creation they do not pretend to know.

They

They believed that all their Gods were of ^{Virginia.} human Form, and therefore represented them as such in the Images they made, and placed ^{Gods of} in their Temples; in some of which he had ^{human} seen one, and in others two or three; and that ^{Form.} the *Indians* worshipped, pray'd, sung, and Devotion. made Offerings to them.

They believe, that as soon as the Soul is ^{A State of} departed from the Body (according to its ^{Rewards} Behaviour in this World) it is either carry'd ^{and Punish-} to Heaven, the Habitation of the Gods, to enjoy perpetual Happiness, or else to a great Pit or Gulph; which, as well as their Paradise, they take to be in the most Western Part of the World, there to burn and be tormented for ever, which Place of Torment they call *Popogosso*; and for the Confirmation of their Opinion, they related, that a few Years before the Arrival of the *English* the Grave of a certain wicked Man, who had been bury'd the Day before, being seen to move, he was taken up alive, and declared that his Soul had been carry'd to the very Entrance of *Popogosso*; but that he was saved by one of the Gods, who order'd him to return and tell his Friends what they should do to avoid that Place of Torment: That another, who was bury'd the same Year the *English* came thither, being taken in like manner out of his Grave, declared that his Soul, immediately after Death, was conducted along a spacious Road, planted on each Side with beautiful Groves and the most delicious Fruits, such as he had never seen before, or was able to describe. This Road led him to magnificent Buildings, near which he met his Father, who commanded him to return to his Friends, and instruct them what they should do to obtain the Pleasures of that Place. That

Virginia.


The Opinion the
Indians at
first entertained
of the English
and their
Religion.

That this he learn'd from their Priests (with some of whom he was very intimate) and this he took to be the Sum of their Religion: That upon his acquainting them with the Principles of the Christians, they gave that Religion the Preference to their own; nay, the *Weroances* and great Men, when they were sick, would desire the *English*, whom they looked upon as a Kind of inferior Deities, to meditate with Heaven, that their Lives might be spared, or that after Death they might enjoy eternal Bliss: Such was the Opinion they at first entertained of the *English*; and had it not been for the unhappy Conduct of some of our first Adventurers, it had been then the easiest Matter in the World to have brought the *Indians* to have embraced our Religion and submitted to our Government, without using any manner of Force. Our Ships and Artillery, our Fire-arms, our Clocks and other Pieces of Mechanism were so amazing, so much beyond any thing they were acquainted with, that they looked upon them as more than human Productions; esteeming them either the Works of Gods, or of Men exceedingly favoured and instructed by the Gods. *Hakluyt*, Vol. III. p. 276, 277.

Mr. *White*, who was Governor of one of the first Colonies, sent to *Virginia* by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, relates, That they worshipped the Sun with great Solemnity: That at Break of Day, before they eat or drank, Men, Women and Children upwards of ten Years of Age, went to the Water and bathed till the Sun arose, and then offered Tobacco to this Planet; and that they did the like at Sun-set. *Purchase*, Vol. V. p. 842.

Worship of
the Sun.

The

The next Gentleman who gives us an Account of the Religion of the *Virginians*, is Captain *Smith*, who was very instrumental in establishing the first Colony at *James-Town*, and had the Government of it a considerable time. Virginia. 

But as Colonel *Beverley* has included great part of Mr. *Smith*'s Narrative in the Relation he gives of the Religious Rites and Ceremonies of the *Virginians*, I shall in the first place present the Reader with what the Colonel has given us on this Head.

I do not pretend (says Colonel *Beverley*) to have dived into all the Mysteries of the *Indian* Religion, nor have I had such Opportunities of learning them as Father *Henepin* and Baron *Lobontan* had by living much among the *Indians* in their Towns; and because my Rule is to say nothing but what I know to be truth, I shall be very brief upon this Head. Col. *Beverley*'s Account of their Religion.

In the Writings of these two Gentlemen I cannot but observe direct Contradictions, altho' they travelled the same Country and the Accounts, they pretend to give, are of the same *Indians*. One makes them have very refined Notions of a Deity; and the other don't allow them so much as the Name of a God: For which Reason I think myself obliged sincerely to deliver what I can warrant to be true upon my own Knowledge, it being neither my Interest nor any part of my Vanity to impose upon the World.

I have been at several of the *Indian* Towns and conversed with some of the most sensible of them in *Virginia*, but I could learn little from them, it being reckoned Sacrilege to divulge the Principles of their Religion; however, the following Adventure discovered something of it: As I was ranging the Woods with

Virginia.

with some other Friends, we fell upon their *Quioccosan* (which is their House of Religious Worship) at a time when the whole Town was gathered together in another Place, to consult about the Bounds of the Lands given them by the *English*.

Thus finding ourselves Masters of so fair an Opportunity (because we knew the *Indians* were engaged) we resolved to make use of it and to examine their *Quioccosan*, the Inside of which they never suffer any *Englishmen* to see; and having removed about fourteen Logs from the Door, with which it was barricado'd, we went in, and at first found nothing but naked Walls and a Fire-place in the Middle: This House was about eighteen Foot wide and thirty Foot long, built after the Manner of their other Cabbins, but larger, with a Hole in the middle of the Roof to vent the Smoke, the Door being at one End. Round about the House, at some distance from it, were set up Posts, with Faces carved on them and painted. We did not observe any Window or Passage for the Light, except the Door and the Vent of the Chimney. At last we observed that at the farther End about ten Foot of the Room was cut off by a Partition of very close Mats, and it was dismal Dark behind that Partition. We were at first scrupulous to enter this obscure Place; but at last we ventured, and groping about we felt some Posts in the middle; then reaching our Hands up these Posts we found large Shelves, and upon these Shelves three Mats, each of which was rolled up and sewed fast: These we handed down to the Light, and to save time in unlacing the Seams we made use of a Knife, and ripped them without doing any damage to the Mats. In
one

They were
not so shy
when the
first Ad-
venturers
arrived.

one of these we found some vast Bones, which we judged to be the Bones of Men, particularly we measured one Thigh Bone, and found it two Foot and nine Inches long. In another Mat we found some *Indian* Tomahawks finely graved and painted. These resembled the wooden Faulchion used by the Prize-Fighters in *England*, except that they have no Guard to save the Fingers. They were made of a rough heavy Wood, and among these Tomahawks was the largest that ever I saw. There was fastened to it a wild Turkey's Beárd, painted red, and two of the longest Feathers of his Wings hung dangling at it by a String of about six Inches long, ty'd to the Head of a Tomahawk. In the third Mat there was something which we took to be their Idol, tho' of an underling sort and wanted putting together. The Pieces were these, first, a Board three Foot and a half long, with one Indenture at the upper End like a Fork, to fasten the Head upon; from thence half way down were half Hoops nailed to the Edges of the Board, at about four Inches distance, which were bowed out to represent the Breast and Belly: On the lower Half was another Board, of half the Length of the other, fastened to it by Joints or Pieces of Wood, which being set on each Side stood out about fourteen Inches from the Body, and half as high. We supposed the Use of those to be for the Bowing out of the Knees when the Image was set up. There were packt up with these things red and blue Pieces of Cotton Cloth, Rolls made up for Arms, Thighs, and Legs bent too at the Knees. It would be difficult to see one of these Images at this Day, because the *Indians* are extreme shy of exposing them. We put

Virginia. the Cloaths upon the Hoops for the Body, and fastened on the Arms and Legs, to have a View of the Representation; but the Head and rich Bracelets which it is usually adorn'd with were not there, or at least we did not find them. We had not Leisure to make a very narrow Search, for having spent about an Hour in this Enquiry, we feared the Business of the *Indians* might be near over, and that if we staid longer we might be caught offering an Affront to their Superstition; for this Reason we wrapt up those holy Materials in their several Mats again, and laid them on the Shelf where we found them. This Image, when dressed up, might look very venerable in that dark Place where 'tis not possible to see it but by the glimmering Light that is let in by lifting up a Piece of the Matting, which we observ'd to be conveniently hung for that Purpose; for when the Light of the Door and Chimney glance in several Directions upon the Image through that little Passage, it must needs make a strange Representation, which these poor People are taught to worship with a devout Ignorance. There are other things that contribute towards carrying on this Imposture. *First*, the chief Conjuror enters within the Partition in the dark, and may, undiscerned, move the Image as he pleases. *Secondly*, A Priest of Authority stands in the Room with the People to keep them from being too inquisitive, under the Penalty of the Deity's Displeasure and his own Censure.

How does
our Author
know this?

Their Idol bears a several Name in every Nation, as *Okee*, *Quiccos*, *Kiwasa*. They do not look upon it as one single Being, but reckon there are many of the same Nature. They

They likewise believe that there are titular ^{Virginia.} Deities in every Town.

There are still some things in Captain *Smith's* Relation that Colonel *Beverley* has not mention'd as I remember, or at least in the manner the Captain expresses himself, particularly, that the *Virginians* do not only worship the Devil, whom they call *Okee*, but converse familiarly with him. ^{Captain *Smith's* Account of their Religion.}

That they adore every thing they fear, as Fire, Water, Thunder, great Guns, Fire-Arms, and Horses; and some of them seeing an *English* Boar, according to *Smith*, appear'd ready to adore him.

He makes also the Head-dress and Ornaments of their Priests to be the same with those Mr. *Beverley* assigns to their Conjurers, and says their Devotions are generally sung; that they assemble about a great Fire singing and dancing, shouting and making a most hideous Noise with their Rattles for some Hours, after which they sit down and spend the rest of the Day in Feasting, having made an Offering of the first Piece to the Fire, as 'tis said the better Sort do at every Meal, Some relate, that they do not so much as take a Pipe of Tobacco but they offer the first Fumes of it to the Sun or to the Fire, as Incense. ^{They usually dance with Rattles in their Hands.}

From these several Accounts of the Religion of the *Virginians*, it may be observed, that there are some things in which all Travellers agree, tho' they differ in many, and there is scarce any one Writer consistent with himself throughout. ^{Remarks on these several Relations,}

They all agree, that the *Indians* acknowledge one God, the Creator of all Things, who is infinitely happy in himself, but has

Virginia. little or no Regard to the trifling Concerns of Men, having committed the Government of the World to certain inferiour Deities or Dæmons, to whom therefore they pay their Devotions ; and these our Travellers have denominated Devils : But if the *Indians* pray to these Dæmons, and depend on them for Health, Victory, and fruitful Seasons, which they dispense to Mankind, in their Opinion, as well as Afflictions and Calamities, why we may not call these imaginary Deities Gods as well as those the *Greeks* and *Romans* paid their Devotions to, I can't conceive ; tho' we admit both the one and the other to be false Gods, or rather no Gods.

Again ; their Priests are frequently called Conjurers, and some make the Priest and the Conjurer distinct Officers ; but it is admitted that both of them perform the same religious Rites sometimes ; both pretend to foretell future Events, to command the Elements, and do abundance of supernatural things, and both of them are Physicians ; so that I am apt to think they are of the same Tribe and Order, and only receive different Denominations according as they apply themselves to this or that Part of their Office ; tho' it seems probable from these Relations, that before a Priest is admitted to be a Prophet, or *Pawawer*, he is oblig'd to undergo a very severe Discipline : And for aught I perceive, he is neither allow'd to act as Priest or Prophet till he is advanced in Years. Those Writers seem to be under a Mistake who relate, that their Priests are elected out of the best Families ; for it is very evident the Priesthood is hereditary amongst them. Those young Noblemen that undergo the Discipline of *Huskanawing*, it appears,
are

are designed for *Cockrouses*, or Ministers of *Virginia*.
State, and Generals, and not for the Priesthood.

Nor is the *Indian* Creed, in all Particulars, consistent with itself; for if they apprehend God to be unconcerned at their Behaviour in this Life, how comes it to pass that they believe he consigns the Good to Paradise and the Wicked to an Eternity of Torments? If he does this he must inspect their Actions, and have a Regard to their everlasting Welfare, tho' it should be admitted he has committed the Conduct of their Affairs in this Life to his Angels, or, in the Language of the Vulgar, to Devils.

As to the State of the Christian Religion in *The State of Virginia*, Colonel *Beverley* has given us the following Account of it.

There is in each Parish a convenient Church built either of Timber, Brick, or Stone, and decently adorn'd with every thing necessary for the Celebration of Divine Service.

If a Parish be of greater Extent than ordinary, it hath generally a Chappel of Ease, and some of the Parishes have two such Chapels, besides the Church, for the greater Convenience of the Parishioners. In these Chapels the Minister preaches alternately, always leaving a Reader to read Prayers when he can't attend himself.

The People are generally of the Church of *England*, which is the Religion established by Law in that Country, from which there are very few Dissenters; yet Liberty of Conscience is given to all other Congregations pretending to Christianity, on Condition they submit to all Parish Duties. They have but one set Conventicle amongst them, namely, a Meeting of Quakers in *Nansamund* County; others

Virginia. others that have lately been being now extinct :
 And 'tis observ'd by letting them alone they
 decrease daily.

The Maintenance for a Minister there is appointed by Law at sixteen thousand Pounds of Tobacco *per Annum* (be the Parish great or small) as also a Dwelling-House and Glebe, together with certain Perquisites for Marriages and Funeral-Sermons. That which makes the Difference in the Benefices of the Clergy is the Value of the Tobacco, according to the distinct Species of it, or according to the Place of its Growth. Besides, in large and rich Parishes, more Marriages will probably happen, and more Funeral-Sermons.

The Fee, by Law, for a Funeral-Sermon is forty Shillings, or four hundred Pounds of Tobacco; for a Marriage by License twenty Shillings, or two hundred Pounds of Tobacco; and where the Banes are proclaim'd only five Shillings, or fifty Pounds of Tobacco.

When these Salaries were granted, the Assembly valued Tobacco at ten Shillings *per* Hundred, at which Rate the sixteen thousand Pounds comes to fourscore Pounds Sterling; but in all Parishes where the sweet-scented grows, since the Law for appointing Agents to view the Tobacco was made, it has generally been sold for double that Value, and never under.

In some Parishes likewise there are, by Donation, Stocks of Cattle and *Negroes* on the Glebes, which are also allow'd the Minister for his Use and Encouragement, he only being accountable for the Surrender of the same Value when he leaves the Parish.

For the well-governing of these and all other Parochial Affairs, a Vestry is appointed in each Parish,

Parish. These Vestries consist of twelve Gentlemen of the Parish, and were first chosen by the Vote of the Parishioners, but upon the death of any have been continued by the Survivor's electing another in his place. These in the Name of the Parish make Presentation of Ministers, and have the sole Power of all Parish Assessments. They are qualified for this Employment by subscribing to be conformable to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*. If there be a Minister incumbent, he always presides in the Vestry.

For the Ease of the Vestry in general, and for discharging the Business of the Parish, they chuse two from among themselves to be Church-wardens, which must be annually changed, that the Burthen may lie equally upon all. The Business of these Church-wardens is to see the Orders and Agreements of the Vestry performed, to collect all the Parish Tobacco, and distribute it to the several Claimers; to make up the Accounts of the Parish, and to present all Profaneness and Immorality to the County-courts, and there prosecute it.

By these the Tobacco of the Minister is collected, and brought him in Hogheads convenient for Shipping, so that he is at no farther Trouble but to receive it in that Condition. This was ordained by the Law of the Country for the Ease of the Ministers, that so they being delivered from the Trouble of gathering in their Dues, may have the more time to apply themselves to the Exercises of their holy Function, and live in a Decency suitable to their Order. It may here be observed, that the Labour of a dozen *Negroes* does but answer this Salary, and seldom yields a greater Crop

Virginia. Crop of sweet scented Tobacco, than is allowed to each of their Ministers.

Probates of Wills and Administrations are, according to their Law, petitioned for in the County-courts, and by them Security taken and certified to the Governor, which, if he approves the Commission, is then signed by them without Fee. Marriage Licenses are issued by the Clerks of these Courts and signed by the Justice in Commission, or by any Person deputed by the Governor, for which a Fee of twenty Shillings must be paid to the Governor. The Power of Induction upon Presentation of Ministers is also in the Governor.

In the Year 1642, when the Sectaries began to spread themselves so much in *England*, the Assembly made a Law against them, to prevent their preaching and propagating the Doctrines in that Colony. They admitted none to preach in their Churches but Ministers ordained by some reverend Bishop of the Church of *England*; and the Governor for the time being, as the most suitable publick Person among them, was left sole Judge of the Certificates of such Ordination, and for he has continued ever since.

The Clergy's Condition precarious here.

The only thing I have heard the Clergy complain of there, is what they call Precariousness in their Livings; that is, they have not Inductions generally, and therefore are not intituled to a Freehold; but are liable, without Trial or Crime alledged, to be put out by the Vestry: And tho' some have prevailed with their Vestries to present them for Induction, the greater Number of their Ministers have no Induction, yet they are very rarely turned out without some great Provocation; and then, if they have not been abominably scandalous, they immediately

immediately get other Parishes: For there is no Benefice whatsoever in that Country that remains without a Minister if they can get one, and no qualified Minister ever yet returned from that Country for want of Preferment. They have frequently several vacant Parishes.

The College, as has been hinted, was founded by their late Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary* in the Year 1692, towards the Founding of which they gave one thousand nine hundred eighty-five Pounds, fourteen Shillings and Ten-pence. They gave more towards the Endowment of it twenty thousand Acres of Land, the Revenue of one Penny per Pound on Tobacco exported to the Plantations from *Virginia* and *Maryland*, and the Surveyor-General's Place of that Colony then void, and appointed them a Burgeſſ to represent them in the Assemblies. The Land hitherto has yielded little or no Profit, the Duty of one Penny per Pound brings in about two hundred Pounds a Year, and the Surveyor-General's Place about fifty Pounds a Year, to which the Assembly have added a Duty on Skins and Furs exported, worth about one hundred Pounds a Year.

By the same Charter likewise their Majesties granted a Power to certain Gentlemen, and the Survivors of them as Trustees, to build and establish the College by the Name of *William and Mary College*, to consist of a President, and six Masters or Professors, and an hundred Scholars, more or less, Graduates or Non-Graduates, enabling the said Trustees as a Body-corporate to enjoy Annuities spiritual and temporal of the Value of two thousand Pounds Sterling per Ann. with a Proviso to convert it to the building and adorning the College, and

Virginia. then to make over the Remainder to the President and Masters, and their Successors, who are now become a Corporation, and by the said Patent enabled to purchase and hold to the Value of two thousand Pounds a Year, and no more.

Visitors of the College. The Persons named in the Charter for Trustees are made Governors and Visitors of the College, and to have a perpetual Succession by the Name of *Governors and Visitors*, with Power to fill up their own Vacancies happening by the Death or Removal of any of them. Their complete Number may be Eighteen, but not to exceed Twenty, of which one is to be Rector, and annually chosen by themselves on the first *Monday* on the 25th of *March*.

These have the Nomination of the President and Masters of the College, and all other Officers belonging to it, and the Power of making Statutes and Ordinances for the better Rule and Government thereof. The Building is to consist of a Quadrangle, two Sides of which are not yet carried up. In this Part are contained all Conveniencies of Cooking, Brewing, Baking, &c. and convenient Rooms for the Reception of the President and Masters, with many more Scholars than are as yet come to it; in this Part are also the Hall and School-room.

The College was intended to be an entire Square when finished; two Sides of this was finished at the latter End of Governor *Nicholson's* time, and the Masters and Scholars, with the necessary Housekeepers and Servants were settled in it, and so continued till the first Year of Governor *Nott's* time, in which it happened to be burnt (no-body knows how) down to the Ground, and very little saved that was in it, the

the Fire breaking-out about ten a Clock at Night in a publick time. Virginia.

The Governor and all the Gentlemen that were in Town came up to the lamentable Spectacle, many getting out of their Beds; but the Fire had got such Power before it was discovered, and was so fierce, that there was no Hopes of putting a Stop to it, and therefore no Attempts made to that End.

In this Condition it lay till the Arrival of Colonel *Spotswood*, in whose time it was raised again to the same Bigness as before, and settled.

There had been a Donation of large Sums of Money by the honourable Mr. *Boyle*, Esq; to this College, for the Education of *Indian* Children therein. In order to make use of this, they had formerly bought half a Dozen captive *Indian* Children Slaves, and put them to the College; this Method did not satisfy this Governor, as not answering the Intent of the Donor; so to work he goes among the tributary and other neighbouring *Indians*, and in a short time brought them to send their Children to be educated, and brought new Nations, some of which lived four hundred Miles off, taking their Children for Hostages and Education equally, at the same time setting up a School in the Frontiers convenient to the *Indians*, that they might often see their Children under the first Management, where they learn'd to read, paying fifty Pounds *per Annum* out of his own Pocket to the School-master there; after which many were brought to the College, where they were taught till they grew big enough for their Hunting and other Exercises, at which time they were returned home, and smaller taken in their stead.

Schools erected for the Natives.

Virginia.

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There are large Tracts of Land, Houses, and other things granted to Free-Schools for the Education of Children in many Parts of the Country; and some of these are so large that of themselves they are a handsome Maintenance to a Master: But the additional Allowance which Gentlemen give with their Sons renders them a comfortable Subistence. These Schools have been founded by the Legacies of well-inclined Gentlemen, and the Management of them hath commonly been left to the Direction of the County Court, or to the Vestry of the respective Parishes. In all other Places where such Endowments have not been already made, the People join and build Schools for their Children, where they may learn upon very easy Terms. As to the Condition of the Poor in this Country, they live in so happy a Climate, and have so fertile a Soil, that no body is poor enough to beg or want Food; tho' they have abundance of People that are lazy enough to deserve it. I remember the time when five Pounds were left by a charitable Testator to the Poor of the Parish he lived in, and it lay nine Years before the Executors could find one poor enough to accept of this Legacy; but at last it was given to an old Woman. So that this may in truth be termed the best poor Man's Country in the World. But as they have no body that is poor to Beggary, so they have few that are rich, their Estates being regulated by the Merchants in *England*, who, it seems, know best what is Profit enough for them in the Sale of their Tobacco and other Trade.

The Condition of the Poor in Virginia.

When it happens that by Accident or Sickness any Person is disabled from working, and so is forced to depend on the Alms of the Parish,

Parish, he is then very well provided for, not at the common Rate of some Countries (I presume he means *England*) that give but just sufficient to preserve the Poor from perishing; but the unhappy Creature is receiv'd into some charitable Planter's House, where he is at the publick Charge boarded plentifully.

Many when they are crippled, or by long Sickness become poor, will sometimes ask to be free from Levies and Taxes; but very few others do ever ask for the Parish Alms, or indeed so much as stand in need of them.

Mr. *Beverley*, in speaking of the *Virginian* Women, says, that their Dress is but little different from that of the Men, except in the tying of their Hair: But the Ornaments of Women of Distinction are deep Necklaces, Pendants, and Bracelets made of small Cylinders of Conch-Shell, which they call *Peak*: That they keep their Skins clean and shining with Oil, whereas the Men are usually daubed all over with Paint or Grease.

That the Women are remarkable for their small round Breasts, which scarce ever hang down, even when they come to be old: And as they commonly go naked from the Navel upward, and from the middle of the Thigh downward, they have the Advantage of discovering their fine Limbs and Shape.

The *Indians* solemnize their Marriages publicly, and esteem their Vows made at that time as sacred and inviolable, Mr. *Beverley* informs us, but does not give us any Account of the Manner of solemnizing them. He adds, that either Man or Woman may obtain a Divorce where they can't agree: But so great is the Scandal of a Divorce, that marry'd People very seldom let their Quarrels proceed

Virginia. proceed to a Separation. However, when this does happen, they esteem all the Ties of Matrimony dissolved, and either Party is at liberty to marry elsewhere ; but while the Contract continues Disloyalty is esteem'd the most unpardonable Crime in either Party.

Upon a Divorce the Children go with the one or the other, according to the Affections of the Parents for them ; for Children are not reckon'd a Burthen here, but rather a Part of their Treasure ; but if they happen to disagree about dividing their Children, they part them as equally as may be, allowing the Man his Choice.

And whereas it is reported that young *Indian* Females may prostitute themselves for Peak, Beads, or almost any Toy, he looks upon this to be a Calumny ; for if a single Woman have a Child, it is such a Disgrace that she can never get her a Husband afterwards. But the Colonel seems to except some Cases, for p. 159 he says, where an *Indian* of Quality visits a Neighbour, after he has been entertain'd with Feasting and Dancing, a Brace of young beautiful Virgins are chosen to wait upon him at Night, who undress the happy Man, and as soon as he is in Bed gently lay themselves down by him ; and they esteem it a Breach of Hospitality not to submit to every thing he desires. But he adds, that this kind Ceremony is only used to Men of great Distinction : And the young Women are so far from suffering in their Reputations by this piece of Civility, that they are envy'd by their Companions, as having had the greatest Honour in the World done them when they were singled out for that Purpose.

When

When a Child is born, instead of keeping it warm, and swaddling it up in a great many Cloaths, as *European* Nurses do, they plunge it over Head and Ears in cold Water, and then bind it naked to a Board with a Hole for Evacuation; but the Board is lined with Cotton, Wool, Furs, or other soft Covering to make the Child's Lodging the easier; for it remains thus fastened to the Board several Months, being only taken off every Day to be washed and cleaned. While the Child is thus fastened to the Board, they either lay it flat on its Back, or set the Board leaning against something, or else they hang it up by a String on the Bough of a Tree, or against a Wall: And when it is let loose from the Board they suffer it to crawl about on all fours till it is able to go alone, except when the Woman goes abroad, and then she takes her Child at her Back, naked if it be in Summer, having one of the Legs under her Arm, and the opposite Hand of the Child in hers over her Shoulder, the Child hanging about the Neck with the other Hand; but in the Winter she carries her Child in her Mantle or Watchcoat, as our Beggars do theirs in Blankets, leaving only the Head expos'd to the Air.

Virginia.
Children.

As to the *English* Women, Mr. *Beverley* *English* observes, that the Colony was at first put to *Women* hard Shifts, very few going over with the Adventurers, who seem'd to have an Aversion to the *Indian* Women, either on account of their Paganism or their Complexions; and some, perhaps, were apprehensive such Wives would conspire with their Relations and Countrymen to destroy the Colony. But so soon as the Colony was settled, and the Planters were in good Circumstances, a great many Girls

Virginia. Girls went over thither from *England* in expectation of making their Fortunes, carrying Certificates with them of their chaste Behaviour on this side the Water ; for without such Certificates, the Colonel insinuates, the cautious Planters, tho' in never so much Distress for Wives, would not admit them to their Beds. If they were but moderately qualify'd in other Respects in those Days they might depend upon being well marry'd. The Planters were so far from expecting Money with a Woman that it was a common thing to buy a deserving Wife, who came over thither a Servant, at the Price of a hundred Pounds, if she carry'd good Testimonies with her. But afterwards, when the Fruitfulness of *Virginia* was better known, and the Dangers incident to an infant Settlement were over, People in good Circumstances went over thither with their Families, either to improve their Estates, or avoid Persecution at home : And particularly in the time of the grand Rebellion several good Cavalier Families retired thither, as those of the other Side did upon the Restoration of King *Charles* the Second : But *Virginia* had but few of the latter, having distinguish'd herself by her Loyalty in adhering to the royal Family after all other People had submitted to the Usurpation. The Round-heads, for the most part, therefore went to *New-England*.

Servants and Slaves, the Difference between them. The Distinction usually made between Servants and Slaves is, that the first are but temporary Servants, and usually 'Christians, whereas the latter with their Posterity are perpetually Slaves, unless they happen to be enfranchis'd.

The Custom, in relation to temporary Servants, where they have no Indentures that limit

limit the Time of their Service is, that if such Servants be under nineteen Years of Age, they must be brought into Court to have their Ages adjudg'd, and from the Age they are adjudg'd to be of they must serve till twenty-four, but if they be adjudg'd upwards of nineteen, they are then only to be Servants for five Years.

Male Servants and Slaves of both Sexes are employ'd together in tilling and manuring the Ground, in sowing and planting Tobacco, Corn, &c. Some Distinction is made between them in their Cloaths and Food, but the Work of both is no other than what the Overseers, the Freemen, and the Planters themselves do.

Sufficient Distinction is also made between the Female Servants and Slaves; for a white Woman is rarely or never put to work in the Ground if she be good for any thing else: And to discourage all Planters from using any Woman so, their Law makes Female Servants working in the Ground Titheables, while it suffers all other white Women to be absolutely exempted; whereas on the other hand it is a common thing to work a Woman Slave out of doors, nor does the Law make any Distinction in her Taxes, whether her Work be abroad or at home.

Because I have heard (adds the Colonel) how strangely cruel and severe the Service of this Country is represented in some Parts of *England*, I can't forbear affirming that the Work of their Servants and Slaves is no other than what every common Freeman does: Neither is any Servant requir'd to do more in a Day than his Overseer. And I can assure you, with great Truth, that generally their



Map of the
BRITISH PLANTATIONS
on the Continent of
AMERICA

ATLANTIC
OCEAN

TROPICK of CANCER

Virginia. Slaves are not worked 'near so hard nor so many Hours in a Day as the Husbandmen and Day-Labourers in *England*. An Overseer is a Man that hath served his Time, and acquired the Skill and Character of an experienc'd Planter, and is therefore intrusted with the Direction of the Servants and Slaves.

But to complete this Account of Servants, I shall give you a short Relation of the Care their Laws take that they may be used as tenderly as possible.

By the Laws of their Country.

1st, All Servants whatsoever have their Complaints heard without Fee or Reward ; but if the Master be found faulty the Charge of the Complaint is cast upon him, otherwise the Business is done *Ex Officio*.

2^{dly}, Any Justice of Peace may receive the Complaint of a Servant, and order every thing relating thereto till the next County Court, where it will be finally determin'd.

3^{dly}, All Masters are under the Correction and Censure of the County Courts, to provide for their Servants good and wholesome Diet, Cloathing, and Lodging.

4^{thly}, They are always to appear upon the first Notice given of the Complaint of their Servants, otherwise to forfeit the Service of them until they do appear.

5^{thly}, All Servants Complaints are to be receiv'd at any time in Court without Process, and shall not be delay'd for want of Form ; but the Merits of the Complaint must immediately be enquir'd into by the Justices, and if the Master cause any Delay therein, the Court may remove such Servants if they see cause until the Master will come to Trial.

6^{thly},

6thly, If a Master shall at any time disobey an Order of Court made upon any Complaint of a Servant, the Court is impower'd to remove such Servant forthwith to another Master who will be kinder, giving to the former Master the Produce only (after Fees deducted) of what such Servants shall be sold for by publick Outcry.

7thly, If a Master should be so cruel as to use his Servant ill that is fallen sick or lame in his Service, and thereby render'd unfit for Labour, he must be remov'd by the Church-Wardens out of the way of such Cruelty, and boarded in some good Planter's House till the time of his Freedom (the Charge of which must be laid before the next County Court, which has Power to levy the same from time to time upon the Goods and Chattels of the Master) after which the Charge of such Boarding is to come upon the Parish in general.

8thly, All hir'd Servants are intituled to these Privileges.

9thly, No Master of a Servant can make a new Bargain for Service or other Matter with his Servant without the Privy and Consent of the County Court, to prevent the Master's over-reaching or terrifying such Servant into an unreasonable Compliance.

10thly, The Property of all Money and Goods sent over thither to Servants, or carry'd in with them, is reserved to themselves, and remains entirely at their disposal.

11thly, Each Servant, at his Freedom, receives of his Master ten Bushels of Corn (which is sufficient almost for a Year) two new Suits of Cloaths, both Linnen and Woollen, and a Gun of twenty Shillings Value, and then becomes as free in all Respects, and as much

Virginia. intitled to the Liberties and Privileges of the Country as any other of the Inhabitants or Natives are if such Servants were not Aliens.

12^{thly}, Each Servant has then also a Right to take up fifty Acres of Land where he can find any unpatented.

This is what the Laws prescribe in Favour of Servants, by which you may find that the Cruelties and Severities imputed to that Country are an unjust Reflection ; for no People more abhor the Thoughts of such Usage than the *Virginians*, nor take more Precaution to prevent it now, whatever it was in former Days.

As to convicted Malefactors, who are transported to the Plantations to serve a certain Number of Years, Mr. *Beverley* observes, that the greedy Planter is always ready to buy them ; but he is of opinion they will in the End prove very destructive to that Country, there having been many Robberies and Murders committed there of late Years, which he looks upon as the Effect of that Law.





C H A P. IX.

*Of their Fortifications, Wars and Forces;
and of their Shipping, foreign Trade,
and Coin; as also of their Roads and
Way of Travelling; and of their Stones,
Earths, and Minerals.*



THE Fortifications of the *Indians* Virginia. consist only of a wooden Pallisado or Stockade, about ten or twelve Foot high, and when they would make themselves very safe (says Colonel *Beverley*) they have a triple Pallisado, with which they sometimes encompass their whole Town, but for the most part only their Kings Houses, and as many more as they judge sufficient to harbour all their People upon the Approach of an Enemy: And within these Fortresses they never fail to secure their Idols and sacred Relicks, with the embalmed Bodies of their deceased Princes. In choosing the Ground for their Fort, they always take care to have Water enough, and a spacious Parade to draw up their Troops, in which they make a Fire every Evening and dance round it, either in Devotion or for their Diversion, or both; for I find Travellers are not agreed about it.

The same Writer informs us, that when the *Indians* are about to enter upon a War, or any other important Enterprize, the King summons a Convention of his great Men to assist

Virginia. assist at a grand Council, which, in their
 language, is call'd a *Matchacomoco*. At
 these Assemblies 'tis the Custom, especially
 when a War is expected, for the young Men
 to paint themselves irregularly with black,
 red, white, and several other motly Colours,
 making one half of their Face red (for In-
 stance) and the other half black or white, with
 great Circles of a different Hue round their
 Eyes, with monstrous Mustachoes, and a
 thousand fantastical Figures all over the rest
 of their Body; and to make themselves appear
 yet more ugly and frightful, they strow Fea-
 thers, Down, or the Hair of Beasts upon the
 Paint while it is still moist and capable of
 making those light Substances stick fast on.
 When they are thus formidably equip'd, they
 rush into the *Matchacomoco*, and instantly
 begin some very grotesque Dance, holding
 their Arrows or Tomahawks in their Hands,
 and all the while singing the ancient Glories
 of their Nation, and especially of their own
 Families, threatening and making Signs with
 their Tomahawks what a dreadful Havock
 they intend to make amongst their Enemies.

Notwithstanding these terrible Airs they
 give themselves, they are very timorous when
 they come to Action, and rarely perform any
 open or bold Feats; but the Execution they
 do is chiefly by Surprise and Ambuscade.

As in the Beginning of a War they have
 Assemblies for Consultation, so Colonel *Be-
 verley* observes, upon any Victory or other great
 Success, they have publick Meetings again
 for Processions and Triumphs, which are ac-
 company'd with all the Marks of a wild and
 extravagant Joy.

They

They use formal Embassies for treating, and are very ceremonious in concluding of Peace, burying a Tomahawk, raising an Heap of Stones, or planting a Tree on the Place in Token that all Enmity is bury'd with the Tomahawk, that all the Desolations of War are at an End, and that Friendship shall flourish among them like a Tree.

Virginia.

Treaties
and Embassies.

They have a peculiar way of receiving Strangers, and distinguishing whether they come as Friends or Enemies, tho' they do not understand each others Language: And that is by a singular Method of smoaking Tobacco, in which these things are always observ'd:

The Pipe,
or Calamet
of Peace.

1st, They take a Pipe much larger and bigger than the common Tobacco-Pipe, expressly made for that Purpose, with which all Towns are plentifully provided; they call them *the Pipes of Peace*.

2^{dly}, This Pipe they always fill with Tobacco before the Face of the Strangers and light it.

3^{dly}, The chief Man of the *Indians*, to whom the Strangers come, takes two or three Whiffs, and then hands it to the chief of the Strangers.

4^{thly}, If the Stranger refuses to smook in it, 'tis a Sign of War.

5^{thly}, If it be Peace, the chief of the Strangers takes a Whiff or two in the Pipe, and presents it to the next great Man of the Town they come to visit. He, after taking two or three Whiffs, gives it back to the next of the Strangers, and so on alternately until they have passed all the Persons of Note on each Side, and then the Ceremony is ended.

After a little Discourse, they march together in a friendly manner into the Town, and then proceed


Virginia.

proceed to explain the Business upon which they come. This Method is as general a Rule among all the *Indians* of those Parts of *America* as the Flag of Truce is among the *Europeans*. And tho' the Fashion of the Pipe differ as well as the Ornaments of it, according to the Humour of the several Nations, yet 'tis a general Rule to make those Pipes remarkably bigger than those for common Use, and to adorn them with beautiful Wings and Feathers of Birds, as likewise with Peak, Beads, or other Toys.

Such a Pipe is a Pass and safe Conduct among the Allies of the Nation which has given it: And in all Embassies the Ambassador carries that Calamet or Pipe, as the Symbol of Peace, which is always respected; for the Savages are generally persuaded that some great Misfortune would befall them if they violated the publick Faith of the Calamet.

Fortifications of the
English.

I come in the next place to treat of the Forts and Forces of the *English* in *Virginia*: And I find they formerly had Forts at the Heads of the Rivers in the up-land Country, to defend them against the Incursions of the *Indians*, and others at the Mouths of the Rivers, and at the Entrance of the Bay of *Chesapeake*, for the Security of their Shipping against Pyrates and Enemies; but these have been suffered to decay, and they at this Day depend altogether on the Militia at Land, and the Men of War that are sent thither from *England*, to defend them against any Attacks from the Sea-ward. Having nothing therefore to observe in regard to their Fortifications, give me Leave, before I enquire into their Militia, to take notice of some elegant publick Buildings they have erected of late Years at *Williamsburgh*, which may

may now very well be deem'd the Capital of Virginia. *Virginia*, as it is the Seat of the Government. 

There are, according to Mr. *Beverley*, three fine publick Buildings lately erected, which, according to his Opinion, are the most magnificent of any in *English-America*, viz. 1. The College, which has been already describ'd. 2. The Capitol, or State-House, where the General Assembly sits; and, 3. The Governor's House. Some publick Buildings lately erected.

In the Capitol the Council and General Courts are held, and here are Apartments for the great Officers and others; and not far from it stands the publick Prison for Criminals, having a large open Yard contrived for the Health of the Prisoners; and at the End of it is another Prison for Debtors. The Governor's House is not the largest of these Buildings, but by far the most beautiful. This was enacted to be built by the General Assembly in Governor *Nott's* Time, but was finish'd and elegantly adorn'd, in the manner we see it at present, by Governor *Spotswood*. In his Time also was built a new Brick Church and Magazine of Arms; he also altered the Plan of the Town, which had been laid out in the whimsical Form of a W and M, giving it quite another Face.


All these Buildings are of Brick, and cover'd with Shingle, except the Debtors Prison, which is flat-roofed: Their private Buildings also were much improv'd in the Time of Governor *Spotswood*, several Gentlemen building themselves large Brick Houses many Rooms on a Floor; for they do not affect to have them high as they have Room enough to build upon, and are in this way of building less expos'd to the high Winds which rage on

Virginia. this Coast at some Seasons of the Year: But tho' they have not many Stories in their Houses they delight in spacious Rooms, and of late have made them much loftier than formerly; their Windows are large and sashed with Crown-Glass, and their Apartments adorn'd with rich Furniture; their Daries, Kitchens, and other Offices stand at a Distance from the Dwelling-house.

Their Tobacco-Houses are built all of Wood as open and airy as possible, which sort of Building is the most convenient for curing their Tobacco. These Houses are cover'd with Clap-board, as the others are with Shingle, that is, oblong Squares of Cypress or Pine-wood; tho' they have Slate enough in some Parts of the Country, and good Clay for making Tiles, they have very few Slate or tile'd Houses.

*The Eng-
lish Forces
in Virginia.* The Militia are the only Forces in *Virginia*. They are happy (according to Colonel *Beverley*) in the Enjoyment of an everlasting Peace, which their Poverty and Want of Towns secure to them. They have the *Indians* round about in Subjection, and have no sort of Apprehension from them: And for a foreign Enemy it can never be worth their while to carry Troops sufficient to conquer the Country, and the scattering Method of their Settlements will not answer the Charge of an Expedition to plunder them; so that they feel none but the distant Effects of War, which, however, keep them so poor that they can boast of nothing but the Security of their Persons and Habitations.

The Governor is Lieutenant-General by his Commission, and in each County does appoint the Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Major,

Major, who have under them Captains and other commissioned subaltern Officers. 

Every Freeman (by which Denomination they call all but indented or bought Servants) from sixteen to sixty Years of Age is listed in the Militia, which by a Law is to be muster'd in a general Muster for each County once a Year, and in single Troops and Companies four times more at least. Most People there are skillful in the Use of Fire-Arms, being all their Lives accustomed to shoot in the Woods. This, together with a little Exercising, would soon make the Militia useful.

The exact Number of the Militia is not now known, there not being any Account of the Number taken of late Years; but I guess them at this time (1722) to be about 18,000 effective Men in all.

And whereas by the Practice of former times upon the Militia Law, several People were oblig'd to travel sometimes thirty or forty Miles to a private Muster of a Troop or Company, which was very burdensome to some more than others to answer only the same Duty, this Governor (*Spotswood*) just and regular in all his Conduct, and sufficiently experienc'd to put his Designs in execution, so contrived it, that by dividing the Counties into several Cantons or military Districts, forming the Troops and Companies belonging to each Canton, and by appointing the Muster-fields in the Center of each, none are now oblig'd to travel above ten Miles to a private Muster, and yet the Law is duly executed.

Instead of the Soldiers they formerly kept constantly in Forts, and of the others after them by the Name of *Rangers*, to scour the Frontiers clear of the *Indian* Enemy, they

Virginia.

have by Law appointed the Militia to march out upon such Occasions under the Command of the chief Officer of the County, on receiving Advice of any Incursion or Invasion: And if they upon such Expedition remain in Arms three Days and upwards, they are then entitled to the Pay for the whole Time; but if it prove a false Alarm, and they have no Occasion to continue out so long, they can demand nothing.

The Number of Soldiers in each Troop of Light-Horse are from thirty to sixty, as the Convenience of the Canton will admit, and in a Company of Foot about fifty or sixty. A Troop or Company may be got together at a Day's Warning.

As to their Forces by Sea, they are not suffer'd in any of our Plantations to build Men of War: But small Guard-ships are sent from *England* from time to time, which just serve to defend them against Pyrates, and hardly that, for Ships have been carry'd away by Pyrates within the Capes of *Virginia*: Nor do the *Virginians* apply themselves to build Merchant-Ships themselves, tho' several are built by others in their Country. Their only foreign Trade worth mentioning is that to *England*, and that indeed is very great and very profitable to *England*, but not so to themselves, the Merchants beating down the Price of their Tobacco to little or nothing.

Foreign
Trade and
Shipping.

They had also a Trade to the *Leeward-Islands*, whither they sent Lumber, Corn, and Flesh, for which they took Rum, Sugar, and Molasses in Return; but *New-England*, *New-York*, and *Carolina* have in a manner beaten them out of that Branch of Business.

All

All sorts of naval Stores are produced here ; *Virginia.*
 but these and a thousand other Advantages which this Country naturally affords, says the Colonel, the Inhabitants make no use of ; they see their naval Stores daily enrich the *English*, who send hither to build Ships, while they, instead of promoting such Undertakings among themselves, discourage them : They see also what Advantages the neighbouring Plantations make of their Grain and Provisions, while they, who can produce them infinitely better, not only neglect the making a Trade thereof, but even a necessary Provision against an accidental Scarcity, contenting themselves with a Supply of Food from Hand to Mouth ; so that if it should please GOD to send them an unseasonable Year, there would not be found in the Country Provision sufficient to support the People for three Months extraordinary.

By reason of the unfortunate Method of the Settlement and Want of Cohabitation, they *Manufactures.*
 cannot make a beneficial Use of their Flax, Hemp, Silk, Silk-Grafs and Wool, which might otherwise supply their Necessities, and leave the Produce of Tobacco to enrich them when a gainful Market can be found for it.

Thus they depend altogether upon the Liberality of Nature without endeavouring to improve its Gifts by Art or Industry ; they sponge upon the Blessings of a warm Sun and a fruitful Soil, and almost grudge the Pains of gathering in the Bounties of the Earth. I should be ashamed to publish this slothful Indolence of my Countrymen (says Colonel *Beverley*) but that I hope it will some time or other rouse them out of their Lethargy, and excite them to make the most of all those
 happy

Virginia. happy Advantages which Nature has given them; and if it does this, I am sure they will have the Goodness to forgive me.

Coin. Instead of Silver and Gold Coin the *Indians* made use of Shells before the *English* arriv'd, of which they had two sorts (*viz.*) *Peak* and *Roenoke*, and these serv'd them for Ornaments as well as Money.

Peak and *Roenoke* descr.b'd. Their *Peak* is of two sorts, or rather two Colours, for both are made of one Shell tho' of different Colours; one is a dark purple Cylinder, and the other white. They are both made in Size and Figure alike, and commonly resemble the *English* Bugles, but are not so transparent nor so brittle. They are wrought as smooth as Glass, being one Third of an Inch long, and about a quarter diameter, strung by a Hole drill'd through the Center. The dark Colour is the dearest, and distinguish'd by the Name of *Wampom-Peak*. The *Englishmen* that are call'd *Indian* Traders value the *Wampom-Peak* at Eighteen-pence per Yard, and the white *Peak* at Nine-pence. The *Indians* also make Pipes of this two or three Inches long, and thicker than ordinary, which are much more valuable. They also make *Runtees* of the small Shells and grind them as smooth as *Peak*. These are either large like an oval Bead, and drill'd the Length of the oval, or else they are circular, and flat almost an Inch over, and one Third of an Inch thick, and drill'd Edge-ways. Of this Shell they also make round Tablets of about four Inches diameter; which they polish as smooth as the other, and sometimes they etch or grave thereon Circles, Stars, a Half-Moon, or any other Figure suitable to their Fancy. These they wear instead of Medals before or behind

behind their Neck, and use the *Peak*, *Runtees*, and *Virginia*. Pipes, for Coronets, Bracelets, Belts, or long Strings hanging down before the Breast, or else they lace their Garments with them and adorn their Tomahawks and every thing else they value with them.

The *Roenoke* also is current among them as Money, but of far less Value than the former. This is made of the Cockle-shell broken into small Bits with rough Edges, drill'd through in the same manner as Beads, and this they use also as *Peak* for Ornament.

As to the Money that passes among the *English* Money. Mr. *Beverley* informs us, it is either Gold of the Stamp of *Arabia*, or Silver and Gold of the Stamp of *France*, *Portugal*, or the *Spanish-America*. *Spanish*, *French*, and *Portuguese*-coin'd Silver is settled by Law at Three-pence three Farthings the Penny-Weight. Gold of the same Coin, and of *Arabia*, at five Shillings the Penny-Weight. *English* Guineas at twenty-six Shillings each; and the Silver, Two-pence in every Shilling Advance. *English* old Coin goes by Weight as the other Gold and Silver.


Their Weights and Measures are enacted to be of the same Standard as in *England* by their General Assembly.

And here I shall take an Opportunity of giving a further Description of their Earths, Stones, and Minerals, from Mr. *Beverley*. This Gentleman informs us, that there are found in this Country a great Variety of Earths for Physick, Cleansing, Scouring, and making all sorts of Potters Ware, such as Antimony, Talk, yellow and red Oker, Fullers-Earth, Pipe-Clay, and other fat and fine Clays, Marle, &c.

They

Virginia. They have besides in these upper Parts Coal
 for Firing, Slate for Covering, and Stones
 Coal and for Building and flat Paving in vast Quanti-
 Slate. ties, as likewise Pebble-Stones ; nevertheless
 it has been confidently affirm'd, by many who
 have been in *Virginia*, that there is not a
 Stone in all the Country. If such Travellers
 (says Colonel *Beverley*) knew no better than
 they said, my Judgment of them is, that either
 they were People of extreme short Memories,
 or else of very narrow Observation : For tho'
 generally the lower Parts are flat, and so free
 from Stones that People seldom shoe their
 Horses, yet in many Places, and particularly
 near the Falls of the Rivers, are found vast
 Quantities of Stone fit for all kinds of Uses.
 However, as yet there is seldom any use made
 of them, because commonly Wood is to be
 had at much less Trouble. And as for Coals,
 it is not likely they should ever be used there
 in any thing but Forges and great Towns, if
 ever they happen to have any ; for in their
 Quick Country Plantations the Wood grows at every
 Growth of Man's Door so fast that after it has been cut
 Wood. down it will, in seven Years time, grow up
 again from Seed to substantial Fire-wood, and
 in eighteen or twenty Years it will come to
 be very good Board-Timber.

Iron and other Minerals. For Mineral Earths it is believ'd they have
 great Plenty and Variety, that Country being
 in a good Latitude, and having great Ap-
 pearances of them. It has been proved too
 that they have both Iron and Lead, as appears
 by what was said before concerning the Iron
 Work set up at *Falling-Creek* in *James-River*,
 where the Iron proved reasonably good : But
 before they got into the Body of the Mine the
 People were cut off in that fatal Massacre, and
 the

the Project has never been set on foot since ^{Virginia.} till of late ; but it has not had its full Trial. 

The Gold Mine, of which there was once so much Noise, may, perhaps, be found hereafter to be some good Metal when it comes to be fully examin'd. But be that as it will, the Stones that are found near it in great Plenty ^{Bristol} are valuable, their Lustre approaching nearer ^{Stones.} to that of the Diamond than those of *Bristol* or *Kerry*. There is no other Fault in them but their Softness, which the Weather hardens when they have been some time expos'd to it, they being found under the Surface of the Earth. This Place has now Plantations on it.

The *Indians* have some Pearl amongst them ^{Pearl.} and formerly had many more, but how they came by them is uncertain: *Beverley* is of opinion they found them in the Oyster-Banks which abound in this Country.

The *Indians* perform all their Journies on Foot, the Fatigue of which they endure to ^{Their way} Admiration. They make no other Provision ^{of Travel-} for their Journey but their Gun or Bow, to supply them with Food many hundred Miles together. If they carry any Fleth in their Marches they barbacue it, or rather dry it by degrees at some Distance over the clear Coals of a Wood Fire, just as the *Charibees* are said to preserve the Bodies of their Kings and great Men from Corruption. Their Sauce to this dry Meat (if they have any besides a good Stomach) is only a little Bears Oil, or Oil of Acorns, which last they force out by boiling the Acorns in a strong Lye. Sometimes also in their Travels each Man takes a Pint or Quart of *Rockabomony*, that is, the finest *Indian* Corn parch'd and beaten to Powder. When they find their Stomach empty (and

Virginia.

cannot stay for the tedious Cookery of other things) they put about a Spoonful of this into their Mouths and drink a Draught of Water upon it, which stays their Stomachs, and enables them to pursue their Journey without Delay. But their main Dependance is upon the Game they kill by the Way, and the natural Fruits of the Earth. They take no care about Lodging in these Journies, but content themselves with the Shade of a Tree, or a little high Grass.

When they fear being discover'd or follow'd by an Enemy in their Marches, they every Morning, having first agreed where they shall rendezvous at Night, disperse themselves into the Woods, and each takes a several Way, that so the Grass or Leaves being but singly press'd may rise again and not betray them: For the *Indians* are very artful in following a Track, even where the Impressions are not visible to other People, especially if they have any Advantage from the Looseness of the Earth, from the Stiffness of the Grass, or the Stirring of the Leaves, which in the Winter Season lie very thick upon the Ground, and likewise afterwards if they do not happen to be burned.

When in their Travels they meet with any Waters which are not fordable, they make Canoes of Birch Bark by slipping it whole off the Tree in this manner: *1st*, They gash the Bark quite round the Tree at the Length they would have the Canoe of, then slit down the Length from End to End; when that is done they with their Tomahawks easily open the Bark and strip it whole off. Then they force it open with Sticks in the middle, slope the under Side of the Ends and sew them up, which

which helps to keep the Belly open ; or if the Birch-Trees happen to be small, they sew the Bark of two together. The Seams they daub with Clay or Mud, and then pass over in these Canoes by two or three or more at a time, according as they are in Bigness. By reason of the Lightness of these Boats they can easily carry them over Land if they foresee they are like to meet with any more Waters that may impede their March, or else they leave them at the Water-side, making no farther Account of them, except it be to re-pass the same Waters in their Return.

The *Indians*, when they travel ever so small a Way, being much embroil'd in War one with another, use several Marks painted upon their Shoulders to distinguish themselves by and shew what Nation they are of. The usual Mark is one, two, or three Arrows. One Nation paints these Arrows upwards, another downwards, a third side-ways ; and others again use other Distinctions, from whence it came to pass that the *Virginia* Assembly took up the Humour of making Badges of Silver, Copper or Brass, of which they gave a sufficient Number to each Nation in Amity with the *English*, and then made a Law that the *Indians* should not travel among the *English* Plantations without one of these Badges in their Company, to shew that they are Friends.

The *English* Inhabitants are very courteous to Travellers, who need no other Recommendation but the being human Creatures. A Stranger has no more to do but to enquire upon the Road where any Gentleman or good House-keeper lives, and there he may depend upon his being received with Hospitality. This Good-nature is so general among their

Virginia.

Hospitality of the Natives supplies the Place of Inns.

Virginia. People that the Gentry, when they go abroad, order their principal Servant to entertain all Visitors with every thing the Plantation affords. And the poor Planters, who have but one Bed, will very often sit up or lie upon a Form or Couch all Night to make room for a weary Traveller to repose himself after his Journey.

If there happen to be a Churl that either out of Covetousness or Ill-nature won't comply with this general Custom, he has a Mark of Infamy set upon him, and is abhor'd by all.

Roads. As to the Roads, there are no where better, the Country being for the most part level, and scarce any rugged or deep Ways, insomuch that it is a common thing to ride forty or fifty Miles in an Afternoon, and sometimes an hundred in a Summer's Day.

Land and Water Carriage. As the *Indians* travel on Foot, so the *English* generally ride on Horseback, or go by Water from one Part of the Country to the other, their numerous Rivers and Creeks affording them Water Carriage to every Plantation almost; which renders Stage-Coaches and Waggon perfectly useless in most Places: And I don't find they have any other Way of carrying their Merchandize or Baggage by Land than on the Backs of Porters or Pack-horses.



T H E
P R E S E N T S T A T E
O F
M A R Y L A N D.

C H A P. I.

*Of the Name, Situation, and Extent of
Maryland; and of the Face of the Coun-
try, its Mountains, Forests, Seas, Bays,
Rivers and Springs.*



I N G Charles I. was pleased Maryland. to give this Province the Name of *Maryland* in Honour to his Name. Queen *Henrietta-Maria*, Daughter of *Henry IV.* of *France*, when he granted it by Patent to *George Calvert*, Lord *Baltimore*, Anno 1631.

Maryland is situated between the 38th and 40th Degrees of Northern Latitude, and between the 74th and 78th Degrees of Western Longitude, as is generally computed; but it must be confess'd the Western Boundaries are very

Maryland. very uncertain, some extending them beyond the *Apalathean* Mountains. Our first Adventurers particularly were of opinion that *Virginia*, under which Name they comprehended all the *British* Plantations, extended Westward as far as the *Pacifick Ocean*, tho' later Discoveries have convinced us that the Continent to the Westward of our Plantations is more than two thousand Miles broad ; and should we continue to enlarge our Western Frontier for a thousand Years to come, without any Opposition from the Natives, the *French* or *Spaniards*, I doubt we should not be able to people or plant one half of it.

The North End of the Bay of *Chesapeake* divides *Maryland* into two Parts, called the *Eastern* and *Western Shores*. It is bounded at present by Part of *Pensylvania* on the North, by another Part of *Pensylvania* and the *Atlantick Ocean* on the East ; by *Virginia Proper* on the South, and by the *Apalathean* Mountains on the West. It is separated from *Virginia* on the South, by the River *Patowmack* on the Western Shore, and the River *Pocomoac* on the Eastern Shore. The Length from North to South being about an hundred and forty Miles, and the Breadth from East to West, if we extend it no further than the Country already planted, will not be so much, tho' its future Limits possibly may extend much farther.

As to the Face of the Country, this, as well as *Virginia*, may be divided into, 1st, The low Lands next the Sea ; 2^{dly}, The hilly Country towards the Heads of the Rivers ; and 3^{dly}, The *Apalathean* Mountains beyond, which are exceeding high, and run parallel to the *Atlantick Ocean*, viz. from the North-East to the South-West.

The

The low Lands heretofore consisted of Swamps or Woods, being one continued Forest almost till the *English* cleared a good Part of it, either to make room for their Plantations, or for the building of Ships and Houses, and the making Tobacco-Casks and Pipe-Staves for Exportation, which has made such Havock among their Woods, that some of them begin to apprehend the Want of Timber, especially near their Ports and Rivers; for as to that which lies remote from the Water, it is of little Use to them, the Price of the Carriage exceeding the Value of the Wood.

Towards the Heads of the Rivers there are a Mixture of Hills and Vallies as in *Virginia*, well planted with a Variety of Timber and Fruit-Trees; and where these are wanting there are large Meadows or Savannahs, where the Grass grows to a surprising Length.

This Country, like *Virginia*, also is watered with innumerable Springs, which form a great many fine Rivers, of which the chief are, 1. *Patowmack*, which rising in the Mountains on the North-West runs to the South-East, and separates *Maryland* from *Virginia* on the South-West, falling into the middle of the Bay of *Chesapeake*. 2. The River *Pocomoac*, which rising near the Ocean runs almost directly South, and then turning to the West falls into the Bay of *Chesapeake*, near *Watkins's Point*; and a Line drawn from the Mouth of this River directly East to the *Atlantick Ocean* is the true Boundary between *Maryland* and *Virginia* on the Eastern Shore. 3. The River *Patuxent*, which rising in *Anne Arundel County* runs to the South-East, and falls into the Bay of *Chesapeake*, about twenty Miles to the Northward of the Mouth of *Patowmack River*. 4. *Severn River*,

Maryland.

and Rivers.

Patowmack.

Pocomoac.

Patuxent.

Severn River.

Maryland. River, which rises on the North-West Part of *Maryland*, and running South-East falls into the upper Part of the said Bay. 5. *Cheptonk*, which rising on the Eastern Shore runs to the South-West and falls into the same Bay. 6. *Sassafras.* *Sassafras* River, which rises in the North-East of *Maryland*, and running almost due West falls into the North End of the said Bay. *Wicomo.* 7. *Wicomo* River, which rising on the Eastern Shore runs to the South-West, and falls into the Bay almost against the Mouth of *Patowmack* River. The 8th and last River I shall mention is *St. George's*, on the West Side of the Bay, which running from North to South falls into the Mouth of the River *Patowmack*: Here the *English* first settled and built the Town of *St. Mary's*. There are a great many more Rivers capable of receiving large Ships, which with the numerous Bays and Creeks that indent the Land on every side, give the Seamen an Opportunity of bringing their Vessels up to the very Planters' Doors to receive their Freight, as in *Virginia*. As to that Part of the Coast of *Maryland* which lies upon the *Atlantick Ocean*, the same may be said of it which Colonel *Beverley* says of *Virginia*, that it is a bold even Coast with regular Soundings, and open all the Year round; so that having the Latitude, which can hardly be wanted where there is so much clear Weather, any Ship may go in by Soundings alone by Day or Night, in Summer or Winter, and need fear no Disaster if the Mariners understand any thing. Let the Wind blow how it will, and chop about never so suddenly, they will find an Opportunity by the Evenness of the Coast either of standing off and clearing the Shore, or of running into a safe Harbour within the Capes of *Virginia*, to which Conveniences there is the Addition of good Anchorage without the Capes.



CHAP. II.

Of the Air, Seasons, Winds and Tides.




THE Air of this Country, I perceive, is excessive hot some part of the Summer, and equally cold in Winter when the North-West Wind blows: But the Natives, who would have us believe their Country a perfect Paradise, tell us they are happily situated between the Extremes of Heat and Cold; that their Heats are very seldom troublesome, and then only by Accident in a perfect Calm, but that this does not happen above two or three Days in a Year, and then lasts but a few Hours at a time, and even that Inconvenience is made very tolerable by their cool Shades, their open and airy Rooms, Arbours and Grotto's; and in Spring and Fall the Weather is as pleasant as can be wish'd.

That their Winters are not of more than three or four Months Duration, and in these they seldom have one Month of bad Weather, all the rest they are happy in a clear Air and a bright Sun, and are scarce ever troubled with Fogs. It is acknowledg'd they have hard Frosts sometimes, but they last no longer than while the Wind blows from the North and North-West Points, which is seldom more than three or four Days. At other times they have no Frost at all; and their Frosts are always attended with bright serene Weather;

Vol. XXXI.

Q

And

Maryland. And in the Spring, Summer and Winter these
 Winds are only cool pleasant Breezes.

Their Rains, except in the Depth of Winter, are very agreeable and refreshing. In Summer they last but a few Hours and then bright Weather succeeds. However, it is acknowledged that the Showers which fall in Summer are very heavy for the time they last, and that Part of the Country which lies on the Bays of the Sea and the Mouths of Rivers, which is much the best peopled, is certainly hot and moist, and consequently unhealthful: Indeed higher up the Country, whither their Plantations are now extended, the Air is much more healthful, especially since their Lands are clear'd of Wood. They have here however dreadful Thunder in the Heat of Summer, but as it cools and refreshes the Air, they rather wish for it than fear it, they tell us, tho' it sometimes does much Mischief.

Tides.

Their Tides are very small as well on the Coast bordering on the Ocean as in the Bay of *Chesapeake*, as was observ'd in treating of *Virginia*, to which I must refer the Reader for further Satisfaction on these Heads, these Countries being situated almost in the same Latitude and on the same Bay of *Chesapeake*.



CHAP. III.

Of the Provinces and chief Towns of Maryland ; and of the Buildings of the Indians.



WHEN the *English* planted this *Maryland* Country they found a King or Chief called a *Weroance*, upon almost every River as in *Virginia*, but the Limits of their respective Countries are not exactly known : Since the *Indians* transfer'd or yielded this Province to the *English*, it has been divided into ten Counties, six on the West Side of the Bay and four on the East Side of it : Those on the West Side taking them from South to North are, 1. *St. Mary's* County. 2. *Charles* County. 3. *Prince George* County. 4. *Calvert* County. 5. *Anne Arundel* County ; and, 6. *Baltimore* County.

The Counties on the East Side of the Bay, beginning also from the South, are, 1. *Somerset* County. 2. *Dorchester* County. 3. *Talbot* County. 4. *Cecil* County. As for the County of *Kent*, that or the greatest Part of it is now held to be in *Pennsylvania*.

St. Mary's, the Capital of the County of the same Name, and for some time of the whole Province, is situated on the East Side of the River *St. George*, in 38 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude. This, as has been intimated, was the first Town in *Maryland*, built by the *English*.

Maryland. *Engliſh*, who raiſed a Fort for its Defence; but I don't perceive in its moſt flouriſhing State it had more than three or four ſcore Houſes in it, and ſince the Seat of the Government has been remov'd to *Annapolis*, ſeems to be upon the decline; for the ſame Humour prevails here as in *Virginia* of living on their reſpective Plantations and not in Towns. In this County alſo are the Pariſhes of *Hervington*, *St. Clement's*, and *St. John's*; and here is a noble Seat of the Lord *Baltimore*, the Proprietor, call'd *Mettapany*, ſituate near the Mouth of the River *Patuxent*.

In Prince *Charles* County, which lies North of *St. Mary's*, are the Pariſhes of *Briſſol* and *Piſcataway*; and in that of Prince *George* the Pariſh of *Maſterkout*. In *Calvert* County, which is divided from *Charles* County by the River *Patuxent*, are the Pariſhes of *Abington*, *Warrington*, and *Calverton*. In the County of *Anne Arundel*, which lies North of *Charles* County, the chief Town is *Annapolis*, now the Capital of the Province, and formerly call'd *Severn*, being ſituate on the River of that Name, in 39 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude: Here the Courts of Juſtice and the General Aſſemblies were order'd to be held in the Year 1699, and this has ever ſince been the Reſidence of the Governor, notwithstanding which, 'tis ſaid there are not yet an hundred Houſes built in the Town. In *Baltimore* County, which lies between *Anne Arundel* County and the Province of *Penſylvania*, is the Pariſh of *Baltimore*, ſituate on the North-Weſt Part of the Bay of *Cheſapeake*.

In *Somerſet* County, which is the moſt Southerly County on the Eaſt Side of the Bay, are the Town and Pariſh of *Somerſet*. In *Dorcheſter* County,

County, which lies North of *Somerset*, are the *Maryland*. Town and Parish of *Dorchester*, besides a great many *Indian* Towns. In *Talbot* County, which *Talbot* lies North of *Dorchester*, are the Parishes of *County*. *Oxford*, *St. Michael's*, and *Bolingbroke*; and *Cecil*, the most Northerly County on the East *Cecil* Side of the Bay, is bounded both on the North *County*. and East by the Province of *Pensylvania*; but the Limits hereof will be more particularly describ'd when I come to treat of *Pensylvania*.

In this Province are more *Indian* Towns and better peopled than in *Virginia*, especially on the East Side of the Bay, there never having been any Wars, and scarce any Misunderstanding between the *English* and the Natives. The Houses of the *Indians*, which they call *Wigwams*, or *Wigwangs*, are of two Sorts, the smaller resembling a Bee-Hive, and the larger being of an oblong Form, are roofed like a Barn, and both built with green Poles and cover'd with Bark, which they tie together with the Fibres of Roots, or the Rind of Trees. Their Windows are only Holes in the Sides of the House, which they close with Shutters of Bark in bad Weather, leaving only the Windows open to the Leeward. Their Fire-hearth is in the middle of the House, and a little Hole at the top of it to let out the Smoke; but it not being confin'd, as in a Chimney, the Smoke often spreads all over the House, and can only be borne by those who have been bred up in such Places from their Infancy. Their Door is no more than a Piece of Matting hung upon a String, and when they go far from home they barricade the Door with great Pieces of Timber, to keep out wild Beasts. The House seldom has more than one Room, unless it be a great Man's Palace, which

Maryland. which has usually some Partitions in, it made with Poles and Matts.

Furniture. As to their Furniture, the better Sort have Matts or Carpets to sit on, and usually sit with their Legs stretch'd out, and not cross-leg'd, like the Eastern Nations : Their Lodging is upon a Couch of Boards or Reeds, fix'd to the Side of the House, and cover'd with Matts or Skins. In Winter they will lie upon the Skin of a Bear or some other Animal about the Fire, covering themselves with their Watch-coats, but in warm Weather they lie only on a Matt, rolling up another Matt for their Pillow. When they are at war, or apprehensive of the Approach of an Enemy, they surround their Towns with Pallisadoes, or at least the Houses of their *Weroances* or Chiefs, within which they all retire with their Families and Effects, as in *Virginia*, upon receiving any Alarm.





CHAP. IV.

Of the Persons and Habits of the Indians; their Genius and Temper, Manufactures, Food, Exercises and Diversions; the Diseases they are subject to, and their Remedies.



THE Stature of the *Indians*, as Maryland. has been observed in treating of *Virginia*, is not different from ^{Persons of the Mary-} that of the *English*. Their ^{land In-} Bodies are strait, and well ^{dians.} proportioned; their Features tolerable; their Complexion

would be the same as that of the People in the same Latitude in *Europe*, if they did not take a great deal of Pains to make them darker by greasing, and then exposing themselves to the Sun from their Infancy: The Features of their Women are not very engaging, and following the same Custom of anointing themselves, and lying in the Sun as the Men do, their Complexions are very dark, and some have observed they have an odd Cast with their Eyes, which are generally black.

The Hair of both Sexes is black; the Men cut theirs short in various Forms, and either grease or paint it, and Persons of Distinction leave a long Lock behind. The Men pull off the Hair of their Beards by the Roots with Tweezers made of Shells, and neither Men

Maryland. or Women suffer any Hair to grow on their Bodies: The Women wear the Hair of their Heads very long; sometimes flowing down their Backs, and at others tied up with a Fillet, or Coronet of Shells and Beads; and Men of Distinction, as well as the Women, wear Coronets of Shells and Beads of various Colours: The Women also have Chains of the same about their Necks, and Bracelets on their Arms.

Habits. The common People go bare-headed, only sticking some beautiful Feathers on their Crowns; and when they are at work, or employ'd in Hunting, Shooting, and other Exercises, they wear only a Piece of Skin, wrapped about their Loins, being naked from the Waist upwards, and from the middle of the Thigh downwards; but when they are dressed, especially in cold Weather, they have a Mantle about their Shoulders, made of the Skin of a Deer, or some other Animal, which they sometimes wear loose, and at others tied close about them, and they seldom go abroad without their Bow, their Quiver of Arrows, and their Tomahawk, or Hatchet: They have a kind of Shoes made of a Piece of Deer-Skin, which they lace, or fasten with a Thong on the Top of the Foot. The Dress of the Women does not differ from that of the Men, except it be in their Ornaments, *viz.* their Necklaces, Bracelets, &c. and in the wearing of their Hair.

Their Priests have a Garment different from other Men, resembling a short Cloak, hung upon one Shoulder, which being fastened about the Neck reaches down to the middle of the Thigh; but this Garment having been described in *Virginia*, I shall not trouble the Reader with it again.

The

The *Indians* of *Maryland* are allowed to be *Maryland*.
Men of quick and sprightly Parts, like their
Neighbours of *Virginia*, but want like them ^{Genius}
the Advantage of Letters and Education. They ^{and Tem-}
are nimble, active, and indefatigable in their
warlike Expeditions, Hunting and Journies.
There are also Men of Courage amongst them,
but they are generally timorous, revengeful
and implacable; and when they gain a Victory,
or get an Advantage of an Enemy, destroy Man,
Woman and Child. Their little Kingdoms and
Tribes are perpetually in a State of War, which
very much lessens their Numbers; and if one Man
kills another of the same Clan, the Quarrel is never
forgotten or forgiven, but they endeavour to
retaliate Injury for Injury, from Generation to
Generation. I don't find their Princes interpose
in these Cases, but leave every Man to take his
own Revenge. Mr. *Hugh Jones*, in his Account
of the *Indians* of *Maryland*, says, though they
are timorous and cowardly in Fight, yet when
they are taken Prisoners, and condemned to death,
they die like Heroes, braving the most exquisite
Torments, and singing even upon the Rack.

As to their Manufactures and Mechanick ^{Mechanick}
Arts, if we consider the Badness of their Tools, ^{Arts.}
they might be esteem'd excellent Workmen,
especially as they had no particular Trades
amongst them; but every Man was his own
Artificer, and did the Work of a Carpenter,
Taylor, Shoe-maker, &c. for himself.

When the *English* arrived there, they had
no sort of Iron Tools or Instruments; their
Axes were sharp Stones set in Wood, with these
they made their Bows of the Locust-Tree, an
excessive hard Wood when it is dry, but they
fashioned

Maryland. fashioned them therefore while it was green and pliant : Their Arrows they made of Reeds or Sticks, that wanted but little fashioning ; and fledged their Arrows with Turkeys Feathers, which they glued to the small End of the Shaft, and armed the Head with a white transparent Stone, a Bone or the Spur of a wild Turkey.

They procured Fire, by rubbing a Stick of hard Wood upon a Piece that was soft and dry : They felled Trees of a prodigious Size, by making a little Fire about the Root, and keeping the Flame from ascending, till they burnt away so much of the Basis, that the least Blast of Wind brought it down ; and as it lay on the Ground, they burnt it of what Length they pleased : Then they raised it to a convenient Height to work upon, and burnt it hollow, when they intended to make a Boat of it, removing the Fire from Place to Place, till they had made it as deep as they designed ; after which, they scraped it smooth, and the Canoe, or Boat, was finished, being all of a Piece : These Canoes are from ten to forty Foot in Length.

In order to clear the Ground for a Plantation, they used to chop the Trees round with their Stone-Hatchets, or Tomahawks, which killed them in two or three Years, and the Trees fell of themselves ; but they were glad to change their Tomahawks for *European* Axes, which make much quicker Dispatch.

Utenfils.

Their Household Utenfils were earthen Pots, in which they boiled their Meat. Baskets made of Silk-Grass, with Gourds or Calabashes, served them for Dishes and Bowls ; a Shell was there Spoon, and their Knife an edged Reed or Flint. Their Matts were

were made of Rushes ; their Mantles of the ^{Maryland.} Skins of Beasts, which served them also for Bedcloaths ; and as they never troubled themselves to shape their Cloaths to their Bodies, it did not require much Skill or Pains to finish them. The Fibres of the Bark of Trees, as well as Silk-Grafs, served them for Thread and Cordage, and their Needle was a Thorn, or the Bone of a Fish.

The *Indians* here have no set Meals, but ^{Their} eat all Day long when they have Plenty of ^{Diet.} Provisions, especially when they have such Food as they like: However, no Men endure Hunger with more Patience in a Time of Scarcity ; and this they make more tolerable, 'tis said, by girding up their Bellies, which make them not so sensible of the Want of Food as they would otherwise be.

They eat Fish, Flesh and Fowl of almost all Sorts, and even some species of Snakes and Insects, such as Grubs, the Nymphs of Wasps ; some sorts of Scarabæi, Cicade, &c. They eat also Peas, Beans, and all manner of Pulse parch'd and boil'd. Their Bread is made of *Indian* Corn, wild Oats, or the Seed of the Sun-flower ; but they never eat Bread with their Meat. They had no Salt, but used the Ashes of Hicory Stick-Weed, or some other Plants that afforded a Salt-Ash, to season their Meat: And there is no Food they seem fonder of than the green Ears of *Indian* Corn roasted ; for which Reason they plant it at different Times in the Spring, that the Season may last the longer.

They stew their Meat most commonly : ^{Various} They also broil and toast it against the Fire, ^{Ways of} and frequently put Fish and Flesh into their ^{dressing} Hommony (which is *Indian* Corn stewed over ^{their Food.}

Maryland.

a gentle Fire for ten or twelve Hours, till it is as thick as Furmety or butter'd Wheat.) They either broil their Meat upon the Coals, or on a hot Hearth, and frequently dry it upon a wooden Grate, which stands very high above the Fire, which they call barbacuing it; and this dry'd Flesh they usually take with them on a March, or in their hunting Expeditions, and stew it as they want it. They flea and embowel their Venison and other Meat as the *Europeans* do, and pull and draw their Fowls, but they dress their Fish without gutting or scaling; however, they do not eat the Guts as the *Europeans* do those of Woodcocks and Larks.

The stewed Umbles of a Deer is a great Dish with them, and the Soup made thereof much admired. Their Desert consists of dry'd Peaches and other Fruits. They eat no kind of Sallads or Sauce with their Meats, but boil Roots with it, and make it pretty savoury with Pepper, &c. in the dressing. They eat also Trubs, Earth, Nuts, wild Onions, and a tuberos Root called Tuckaboe, which grows in boggy Grounds and is about the bigness of a Potatoe, which it resembles in Taste.

Liquor.

As for Liquor, I don't find they drank any thing but Water, till the *English* taught them better (or rather worse;) and it is remarkable that though they had a great Variety of fine Springs, they always chose Pond-Water, or any other that had been expos'd to the Air and Sun, to drink, rather than Fountain or Well-Water. They are now very fond of every kind of strong Liquor the *English* have, and will be drunk with it as often as they can get it. They sit drinking, and at their Meals, on a Matt on the Ground, with their Legs stretch'd out

out at Length before them, and the Cup or Dish between their Legs; and for this Reason seldom more than two eat together.

As-to their Exercifes and Diversions, there are no People more constantly employ'd in Hunting, Fishing, and Fowling than the *Indians* of this Country, during the respective Seasons; but these may be looked upon rather as their Business than Diversions, as they supply their Families with Food by these Means the greatest Part of the Year: Their Domestick Diversions are Singing, Instrumental Musick, and Dancing; which not differing from the Musick and Dancing of the *Virginia Indians* already described, I shall not weary the Reader with the Repetition of what has been already said upon that Head. The Diversions of the *English* both here and in *Virginia* are chiefly Hunting, Fishing and Fowling; some use Stalking-horses, whereby they cover themselves from the Sight of the Deer, till they come within reach of them; others cut down Trees for the Deer to browse upon, and lie in wait behind them: Others again set Stakes in Pits near their Fences, where the Deer have been used to leap over into a Field of Peas, which they love extremely. These Stakes they so place as to run into the Body of the Deer when he pitches, by which means they impale him; and for a Temptation to the Leap, take down the Top-part of the Fence.

They hunt their Hares (which are very numerous) on Foot with Mungrils or swift Dogs, which either catch them quickly, or force them to hole in a hollow Tree whither all their Hares generally tend when they are closely pursued. As soon as they are thus hol'd and have crawl'd up into the Body of the Tree, they kindle a Fire,

Maryland.

Fire, and smother them with Smoak, till they let go their hold, and fall to the Bottom stifled, from whence they take them: If they have a mind to spare their Lives, upon turning them loose, they will be as fit as ever to hunt at another time, for the Mischief done them by the Smoak immediately wears off again.

They have another sort of Hunting which is very diverting, and that they call Vermine-Hunting. It is perform'd on Foot with small Dogs in the Night, by the Light of the Moon or Stars. Thus in Summer-time they find abundance of Raccoons, Opossums and Foxes, in the Corn-Fields, and about their Plantations; but at other times they must go into the Woods for them. The Method is to go out with three or four Dogs, and as soon as they come to the Place, they bid the Dogs seek out, and all the Company follow immediately. Wherever a Dog barks, you may depend upon finding the Game, and this Alarm draws both Men and Dogs that Way. If this Sport be in the Woods, the Game, by that time you come near it, is perhaps mounted on the Top of an high Tree, and then they detach a nimble Fellow up after it, who must have a Scuffle with the Beast before he can throw it down to the Dogs; and then the Sport increaseth to see the Vermine encounter those little Curs. In this sort of Hunting they also carry their great Dogs out with them, because Wolves, Bears, Panthers, wild Cats, and all other Beasts of Prey, are abroad in the Night.

For Wolves they make Traps, and set Guns baited in the Woods, so that when he offers to seize the Bait, he pulls the Trigger, and the Gun discharges upon him. They have
many

many pretty Devices besides the Gun to take Maryland.
wild Turkeys.

The *Indian* Invention of Weirs in Fishing. is mightily improv'd by the *English*, besides which they make use of Seins, Trolls, Casting-Nets, Setting-Nets, Hand-fishing, and Angling, and in each find abundance of Diverſion. Like thoſe of the *Euxine* Sea they alſo fiſh with Spilyards, which is a long Line ſtaked out in the River, and hung with a great many Hooks on ſhort Strings, faſtened to the main Line about three or four Foot aſunder, ſupported by Stakes, or buoy'd up with Gourds. They uſe likewiſe the *Indian* way of ſtriking by the Light of a Fire in the Night.

Their Fowling is anſwerable to their Fishing Fowling.
for Plenty of Game in its proper Seaſon. Some Plantations have a vaſt Variety of it.

The admirable Œconomy of the Beavers Beavers.
deſerves to be particularly remember'd. They cohabit in one Houſe, are incorporated in a regular Form of Government, ſomething like Monarchy, and have over them a Superintendent, which the *Indians* call *Pericu* : He leads them out to their ſeveral Employments, which conſiſts in felling of Trees, biting off the Branches, and cutting them into certain Lengths ſuitable to the Buſineſs they deſign them for ; all which they perform with their Teeth. When this is done, the *Pericu* orders ſeveral of his Subjects to join together and take up one of thoſe Logs, which they muſt carry to their Houſe or Damm, as Occaſion requires. He walks in State by them all the while, and ſees that every one bears his equal Share of the Burden, while he bites with his Teeth and laſhes with his Tail thoſe that lag behind and do not lend all their Strength. Their way of Carriage

Maryland. Carriage is upon their Tail. They commonly build their Houses in Swamps, and then to raise the Water to a convenient Height, they make a Damm with Logs and a binding sort of Clay so firm that tho' the Water runs continually over, it cannot wash it away. Within these Damms they will inclose Water enough to make a Pool like a Mill-pond; and if a Mill happen to be built on the same Stream below their Damm, the Miller, in a dry Season, finds it worth his while to cut it to supply his Mill with Water; upon which Disaster the Beavers are so expert at their Work, that in one or two Nights time they will repair the Breach and make it perfectly whole again. Sometimes they build their Houses in a broad Marsh, where the Tide ebbs and flows, and then they make no Damm at all. The Doors into their Houses are under Water. I have been at the demolishing one of these Houses, that was found in a Marsh, and was surpris'd to find it fortify'd with Logs that were six Foot long and ten Inches through, and had been carry'd at least one hundred and fifty Yards: This House was three Stories high, and contain'd five Rooms, that is to say, two in the lower, two in the middle Storie, and but one at the top. These Creatures have a great deal of Policy, and know how to defeat all the Subtilty and Stratagems of the Hunter, who seldom can meet with them tho' they are in great Numbers all over the Country.

Wild
Horses. They have many Horses foal'd in the Woods of the Up-lands that never were in hand, and are as shy as any savage Creature: These having no Mark upon them belong to him that first takes them. However, the Captor commonly purchases these Horses very dear by

by spoiling better in the Pursuit, in which Case he has little to make himself amends, besides the Pleasure of the Chase: And very often this is all he has for it, for the wild Horses are so swift that 'tis difficult to catch them, and when they are taken, 'tis odds but their Grease is melted, or else being old they are so fullen that they can't be tamed.

The Diseases of the *Indians* proceed from Heats and Colds, and are usually remov'd by Sweating; but if the Humour fixes, and occasions a Pain in any of their Limbs, they endeavour to cure it by burning the Part with a live Coal, with which having made a Sore, they keep it running till the Humour is drawn off.

They also scarify the Part and suck the Sore, and sometimes make use of Reeds for Cauterizing, which they heat over the Fire till they are ready to flame, and then apply them upon a piece of wet Leather to the griev'd Part, which makes the Heat more intense. As for the rest of their Remedies, I must refer the Reader to *Virginia*, and consider, in the next Place, the Diseases the *English* are subject to in this Part of the World.

Distempers come not here (says my Author) by choaking up the Spirits with a foggy and thick Air, as in some Northern Climes, nor by a stifling Heat, which exhales the Vigour of those that dwell in a more Southerly Latitude, but by a wilful and foolish indulging themselves in those Pleasures which in a warm and fruitful Country Nature lavishes upon Mankind for their Happiness, and not for their Destruction.

Thus I have seen Persons impatient of Heat lie almost naked upon the cold Grass in the
Vol. XXXI. S Shades,

Maryland } Shades, and there often forgetting themselves
fall asleep ; nay, many are so imprudent as to
do this in an Evening, and perhaps lie so all
Night, when between the Dew from Heaven,
and the Damps from the Earth, such Im-
pressions are made upon the Humours of their
Body as occasion fatal Distempers.

Thus also I have seen Persons put into a
great Heat by excessive Action, and in the
midst of that Heat strip off their Cloaths and
expose their open Pores to the Air : Nay,
I have known some mad enough in this hot
Condition to take huge Draughts of cold
Water, or perhaps of Milk and Water, which
they esteem much more cold in Operation than
Water alone.

And thus likewise have I seen several Peo-
ple (especially new Comers) so intemperate in
devouring the pleasant Fruits, that they have
fallen into dangerous Fluxes and Surfeits. These
and such like Disorders are the chief Occasion
of their Diseases.

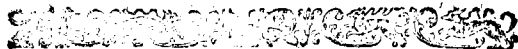
The first Sicknefs that any new Comer hap-
pens to have there he unfairly calls a *Seasoning*,
be it Fever, Ague, or any thing else that his
own Folly or Excesses bring upon him.

Their Intermitting-Fevers as well as their
Agues are very troublesome if a fit Remedy
be not apply'd ; but of late the Doctors there
have made use of the *Cortex Peruvian* with
Success, and find that it seldom or never fails
to remove the Fits. The Planters too have
several Roots natural to the Country, which
in this Case they cry up as infallible ; and I
have found by several Examples a total Im-
mersion in cold Spring Water, just at the
Accession of the Fit, an infallible Cure.

When

When these Damps, Colds and Disorders ^{Maryland.} affect the Body more gently, and do not seize People violently at first, then for want of some timely Application (the Planters abhorring all Physick, except in desperate Cases) these small Disorders are suffer'd to go on until they grow into a Cachexy, by which the Body is over-run with obstinate scorbutick Humours: And this in a more fierce and virulent Degree I take to be the Yaws.

The Gripes is a Distemper of the *Caribbee-Islands*, and not of *Virginia* or *Maryland*, and seldom gets Footing there, and then only upon great Provocations, namely, by the Intemperances before mention'd, together with an unreasonable Use of filthy and unclean Drinks. Perhaps too it may come by new unfine Cyder, Perry, or Peach-drink, which the People are impatient to drink before it is ready; or by the excessive Use of Lime-juice and foul Sugar in Punch and Flip; or else by the constant drinking of uncorrected Beer made of some windy unwholsome things as some People make use of in Brewing.



C H A P. V.

Of their History, Government, and Religion.

Maryland.

Maryland
first discovered.
Its Name.



VIRGINIA and *Maryland* were discover'd Anno 1606, by the same Adventurers, and retain'd the same Name until the eighth Year of King *Charles I.* Anno 1632, when that Prince

Granted
to Lord
Baltimore.

granted that Part of *Virginia* which lay North of *Patowmack* River, and was not then planted, unto *Cecilius Calvert*, Lord *Baltimore*, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and his Heirs: And this Part of the Country was afterwards call'd *Maryland*, in Honour of the then Queen Consort, *Henrietta-Maria*, youngest Daughter of the French King, *Henry IV.*

Planted
Anno 1633

The Lord *Baltimore* having obtain'd this Grant, sent over his Brother, the Honourable *Leonard Calvert*, Esq; with several Roman Catholick Gentlemen and other Adventurers, to the Number of two hundred to take possession of the Country, who setting sail from *England* on the 22d of *November*, 1633, arriv'd at *Point Comfort*, in the Bay of *Chesapeake*, on the 24th of *February* following, where being kindly received and supply'd with Provisions by the *English* of *Virginia*, they continued their Voyage Northward to the River *Patowmack*, appointed to be the Boundary between *Virginia* and *Maryland*, on the West side of the Bay. The

The Adventurers sailed up this River, and landing in several Places on the Northern Shore acquainted the Natives they were come to settle amongst them and trade with them ; but the Natives seemed rather to desire their Absence than their Company. However, there were no Acts of Hostility committed on either Side, and the *English* returning down the River *Patowmack* again, made choice of a Place near the Mouth of a River (which falls into it, and by them call'd *St. George's* River) to plant the first Colony. They advanced afterwards to an *Indian* Town, call'd *Yoamaco*, then the Capital of the Country, and at a Conference with the *Weroance* or Sovereign of the Place, to whom they made considerable Presents, the *Weroance* consented that the *English* should dwell in one Part of the Town, reserving the other for his own People till the Harvest was over, and then agreed to quit the whole entirely to the *English*, and retire further into the Country, which they did accordingly ; and the following *March* Mr. *Calvert* and the Planters were left in the quiet Possession of the whole Town, to which they gave the Name of *St. Mary's*, and it was agreed on both Sides, that if any Wrong was done by either Party, the Nation offending should make full Satisfaction for the Injury. The Reason the *Yoamaco* Indians were so ready to enter into a Treaty with the *English*, and yield them Part of their Country, was in hopes of obtaining their Protection and Assistance against the *Sasquahannah* Indians, their Northern Neighbours, with whom they were then at war ; and indeed the *Yoamaco* Indians were upon the point of abandoning their Country to avoid the Fury of the *Sasquahannah* Nation before the *English* arriv'd ;

Maryland.

St. Mary's
the first
Town
possess'd
by the
English.

Maryland. arriv'd ; from whence it appears, that the Adventurers sent over by the Lord *Baltimore* cannot be charged with any Injustice in settling themselves in this Part of *America*, being invited to it by the original Inhabitants.

The *English* being thus settled at *St. Mary's*, apply'd themselves with great Diligence to cultivating the Ground, and raised large Quantities of *Indian* Corn, while the Natives went every Day into the Woods to hunt for Game, bringing home Venison and Turkeys to the *English* Colony in abundance, for which they receiv'd Knives, Tools, and Toys in return. And thus both Nations lived in the greatest Friendship, doing good Offices to each other, till some of the *English* in *Virginia*, envious of the Happiness of this thriving Colony, suggested to the *Indians* that these Strangers were not really *English*, as they pretended, but *Spaniards*, and would infallibly enslave them, as they had done many of their Countrymen : And the *Indians* were so credulous as to believe it, and appear'd jealous of Mr. *Cakert*, making Preparations as if they intended to fall upon the Strangers, which the *English* perceiving, stood upon their guard, and erected a Fort for their Security, on which they planted several Pieces of Ordinance, at the Firing whereof the *Yoamaco's* were so terrify'd that they abandon'd their Country without any other Compulsion, and left the *English* in Possession of it, who receiving Supplies and Re-inforcements continually from *England*, and having no other Enemy to contend with than Agues and Fevers (which swept off some of them before they found out a proper Regimen for the Climate) they soon became a flourishing People, many *Roman* Catholick Families of Quality

Misunder-
standing
between
the *English*
and the
Indians.

The *Indi-
ans* aban-
don their
Country
to the
English.

Quality and Fortune transporting themselves ^{Maryland.} hither to avoid the Penal Laws made against them in *England*; and *Maryland* has been a Place of Refuge for those of that Persuasion from that Day to this.

During the grand Rebellion in *England* the Lord *Baltimore's* Family were depriv'd of the Government of this Province, but were restor'd to their Right by King *Charles II.* soon after his own Restoration. Whereupon the Lord *Baltimore* sent over his Son, *Charles Calvert*, afterwards Lord *Baltimore*, to be Governor of *Maryland*, who continued in that Post upwards of twenty Years (long after his Father's Death) by whose Prudence the Colony became almost as considerable as *Virginia* for its Tobacco and other Products of the Soil: And all the *Indian* Nations on that Side put themselves under their Protection. The *Indian* Chiefs were appointed, or at least approv'd and confirm'd in their Commands by the Lord *Baltimore*, the Proprietor, whose Success is to be ascrib'd in a great measure to the Endeavours he used to cultivate a good Correspondence with the *Indian* Nations, and to give them as little Offence as possible. I can't learn that this Colony was ever in a State of War with the Natives, or ever receiv'd any Injury from them, unless in the Year 1677, when the *India* being at war with the *English* of *Virginia*, plunder'd the Frontiers of *Maryland*, and half a dozen People lost their Lives; but this proceeded from a Mistake; Peace was soon restored upon the *Indians* making Satisfaction for the Outrage.

At the Revolution the Lord *Baltimore* was The depriv'd of the Power of appointing a Governor ^{Crown} and other Officers, and the Government of ^{appoints} that ^{a Govern-} nor, &c.

Maryland. that Province fell under the same Regulation as other Plantations which are immediately subject to the Crown. The *Baltimore* Family also were in danger of losing their Propriety on account of their Religion, by the Act which requires all *Roman* Catholick Heirs to profess the Protestant Religion, on Pain of being depriv'd of their Estates : But that prudent Family thought fit to profess the Protestant Religion rather than lose their Inheritance ; and the present Lord *Baltimore* is now both Proprietor and Governor of *Maryland*, being one of the noblest Estates enjoy'd by a Subject of *Britain* ; for he is still entitled to a Duty on every Hoghead of Tobacco exported, enjoys several fair Manours, which may be stil'd his demesne Lands, and has a Rent paid him by every Planter, besides other Perquisites.

The Governor, however, as has been already observ'd, is now appointed by the Crown, as are also the Members of the Council. The *Assembly.* Assembly is chosen by the Freeholders of the respective Counties, as in *Virginia* ; and in the Governor, Council, and Assembly, the legislative Power is lodg'd. The Governor has a Negative as the King has in *England*, and their Acts must be confirm'd by the King : However, they are in Force till the King disapproves of them.

Courts. Their Provincial Courts are held once every Quarter in the capital Town of *Annapolis*, which determine Common-Law Causes of Consequence in the first Instance, and on Writs of Error other Causes brought from the inferior County Courts ; and there is a Court of Chancery, which gives Relief in Equity, as in *England*.

Among

Among the Laws of *Maryland*, we meet *Maryland.*
with these that follow.

The Parties bringing Appeals or Writs of Error in the Provincial Court from the County Courts, are required to give Security to pay the Costs and Damages in case the Cause goes against them. *Laws of Maryland.*

No Person shall bring a Writ of Error or Appeal from the County Court, where the Debt or Damage does not amount to six Pounds Sterling; nor from the Provincial Court to the Governor and Council, where it does not exceed fifty Pounds; but the Judgments of those Courts in such Cases shall be final.

None shall appeal from the Governor and Council to the King and Council in *England*, unless the Thing in Dispute be of the Value of three hundred Pounds Sterling.

Every Elector of Burgesses for the General Assembly shall have fifty Acres of Freehold Land in the County, or a visible Estate of the Value of forty Pounds Sterling. Four Members shall be chosen to represent each County: Two Citizens shall serve for the City of *St. Mary's*, and two for *Annapolis*, and every other Town and Borough privileg'd to send Members to the General Assembly. *Burgesses.*

No Person keeping a publick House is qualified to be a Representative.

Members shall be allowed one hundred and forty Pounds of Tobacco *per diem* for their Wages, besides travelling Charges.

The same Allowance shall be made to every Commissioner or Judge of the Provincial Court during his Attendance on that Court, and eighty Pounds of Tobacco *per diem* to the Judge of every County Court. *But the latter Part of this Statute for allowing Salaries to the*

Maryland. *Judges of the Provincial and County Courts was afterwards repealed.*

Blasphemy. Any Person that shall blaspheme, or curse God, deny our Saviour to be the Son of God, deny the Trinity of the Godhead of any of the three Persons, or the Unity of the Godhead, or shall utter any reproachful Words against any of the three Persons, shall be bor'd thro' the Tongue, and fined twenty Pounds Sterling for the first Offence, forty Pounds for the second Offence, and suffer Death and Confiscation of Goods for the third Offence.

Fornication. The Penalty for Fornication is twenty Shillings Sterling, or Corporal Punishment, not exceeding thirty-nine Lashes, at the Discretion of the Court. And the Punishment for Adultery forty Shillings, or Corporal Punishment as aforesaid.

Persons who harbour such lewd People are liable to the same Penalties.

Cursing and Swearing. The Penalty of Cursing and Swearing is five Shillings Sterling; and if the Offence be committed in a Court of Justice ten Shillings.

Schools. Free-Schools were erected and endow'd in several Towns of *Maryland* for teaching *Latin* and *Greek*, by an Act of Assembly, *Anno* 1696.

English Statute-Book. The *English* Statutes or Acts of Parliament, with *Dalton's* Justice of Peace, were ordered to be provided by the Justices of Peace of every County in *Maryland*, by an Act of Assembly, *Anno* 1699.

Evidence. Proof of Bills, Bonds, or other Specialties, Book-debts or Accounts, may be made before two Justices of Peace of any County, or one of the Justices of the Provincial Court; and the Balance due upon such Account, being certified under the Hands and Seals of such

such Justices, shall be deemed sufficient Evidence in any Court within the Province. Maryland.

The Port of *Annapolis* in *Anne Arundel* County was made the chief Seat of Justice within the Province, for holding Assemblies and Provincial Courts, by an Act of Assembly passed 11 *W. III.* Anno 1699. *Annapolis the Capital.*

It was enacted by their Assembly 11 *W. III.* 1699, That no Lands or Tenements should be alienated or transferred from one to another, but by Deed, indented and enrolled in the Provincial Court, or County Court where such Lands, &c. lie. Conveyances.

Necessary Corn for the Defendant's Maintenance, his Gun, Bedding, Tools, and such like, shall be protected from Executions.

No Bonds or Obligations under Hand and Seal shall be suable, unless renewed within five Years. Limitations of Actions.

No Person shall depart the Province, unless he set up his Name three Months at the Secretary's Office before his Departure, or give Security to the Government to pay his Debts.

Every Master of a Ship, or other Person, transporting or conveying away any Person out of the Province without a Certificate of his having complied with this Law; is made liable to pay his Debts: And if he convey away any Servant, he shall be liable to satisfy the Owner for his Damages.

The Justices of the several County Courts are made Judges of all Thefts under the Value of one thousand Pounds of Tobacco (Robbery, Burglary, and House-breaking excepted.) Theft.

Every Person convicted of such Theft shall pay Fourfold (the Value of the Goods stolen) to the Owner, and be put in the Pillory, and whip'd, as the Court shall adjudge, not exceeding

Maryland. exceeding forty Stripes. If the Offender be not able to satisfy the Owner otherwise, he shall receive the said corporal Punishment, and pay the said Penalty of Fourfold Retribution by Servitude, the Time thereof being determined by the Court ; and the Receiver of such stolen Goods is made liable to the like Penalties as the Thief.

Wild Cattle. No Person shall range in the Woods after wild Neat Cattle, or Horses, without the Governor's Licence, on Pain of forfeiting five thousand Pounds of Tobacco for every such wild Animal killed or taken. Nor shall any Person cut off the Ear of a Hog, taken in the Woods, on Pain of being adjudged a Hog-stealer.

Fences. All Fences for inclosing Corn-ground shall be five Foot high at least, and strongly made ; and if any Cattle break into such Fence, the Owner of the Cattle shall forfeit five hundred Pounds of Tobacco, or such further Damages as a Justice of Peace shall award.

Convicts prohibited to be imported. No Master of a Ship, or Merchant, shall import a convicted Felon into *Maryland*, on Pain of forfeiting the Value of two thousand Pounds of Tobacco.

Indians. Whoever shall take, entice away, or sell any Friend *Indian* without Licence, shall be fin'd and imprisoned at Discretion.

In the Year 1698, Part of *Dorchester County* was assigned to the Natives, to hold the same of the Lord Proprietor, under the Rent of one Beaver Skin.

By an Act, 11 *W. III.* 1699, The carrying strong Liquors to the *Indian Towns* was prohibited.

By 12 *W. III.* *Anno* 1700, Certain Persons were authorised by the Government to determine

mine all Differences between the *English* and *Maryland*.
Indians.

Enacted 11 *W.* III. 1699, That the Libra- Libraries.
ries in every Parish should be in Possession of
the Minister, who should preserve them, and
be accountable for the Books.

Enacted 4 *W. & M.* 1692, That the Per- Marriage.
sons intending to marry shall apply themselves
to the Minister or Magistrate, and Banes shall
be publish'd in the Church, County Court, or
Meeting-House next to which the Parties dwell;
and upon a Certificate thereof the Minister or
Magistrate may, three Weeks after such Banes
publish'd, join the Parties in Marriage, ac-
cording to the Liturgy of the Church of *Eng-*
land: And no Person shall contract Marriage
without such Publication on Pain of forfeiting
one thousand Pounds of Tobacco, and the
Minister or Magistrate joining them in Mar-
riage five thousand Pounds of Tobacco: And
all Marriages not made by some Minister or
Magistrate, before five sufficient Witnesses at
least, shall be void: The Fees for Marriage
being restrain'd to one hundred Pounds of
Tobacco.

The Colonels and other Officers of the Mili- Militia.
tia in every County are impower'd to enlist
all Persons to serve in the Horse or Foot from
sixteen to sixty (except *Negroes* and *Slaves*)
who are oblig'd to muster in their respective
Counties from time to time, at such Places as
the Governor shall appoint, and to bring their
own Arms and Horses, and maintain them-
selves during such Muster. But if they are
sent on actual Service, their Arms, ~~&c.~~ are to
be provided them out of the publick Maga-
zines, and they are to be regularly paid by the
respective Counties they belong to: And Pres-
Masters

Maryland. Masters are appointed in every County to press
Provisions for the Troops.

The Prisoners and Plunder to be equally divided among the Soldiery, and Troopers losing their Horses to have others bought them at the publick Charge.

Any Soldier being wounded to be provided for by the Publick, as also the Wives and Children of such as are kill'd in the Service.

Negroes. The Baptizing *Negroes* shall not alter their Condition as to Servitude.

Constables Justices of Peace in each County are im-
power'd to appoint Constables in every Parish.

Publick Inns and publick Houses are to be licensed
Houses. by the Commissioners of each County, who may ascertain the Price they shall take for their Liquor, Beds, Provisions, and Provender ; and may suppress them if disorderly.

The Landlord obliged to credit every Freeholder as far as the Value of four hundred Pounds of Tobacco.

Perjury. The Penalty of Perjury twenty Pounds Sterling and six Months Imprisonment, and in Default of paying the Penalty the Offender to be set in the Pillory, and his Ears nail'd to it.

Enemies. By 11 W. III. 1699, It was made Felony to serve any foreign Prince or State against any other Prince or State in Amity with *Great-Britain*.

Trials. And that Treasons, Felonies, Pyracies, or Robberies committed at Sea, should be try'd in the same manner as such Offences committed on Shore ; the Commissioners or Judges to proceed according to the *English* Statute of 28 Hen. VIII. c. 15.

Small No County Court shall take Cognizance of
Debts. any Action where the Debt or Damages does
not

not exceed the Value of two hundred Pounds ^{Maryland.} of Tobacco, or sixteen Shillings and Eightpence Sterling ; but such Causes shall be determin'd by any one Justice of Peace of the County where the Debtor shall reside without Fee.

The Court of Chancery shall not hear any Cause where the original Debt or Damages ^{Chancery.} does not amount to the Value of twelve hundred Pounds of Tobacco, or five Pounds Sterling and upwards, but the Judgments of the County Courts in such Cases shall be final.

All Acts of Assembly are requir'd to be publish'd by the Sheriffs in the respective ^{Acts of Assembly.} Counties.

By 12 W. III. 1700, The Book of *Common-Prayer* was requir'd to be read in all the ^{Common-Prayer.} Churches of *Maryland*.

For the Encouragement of the Clergy a ^{Clergy.} Tax of forty Pounds of Tobacco *per* Head was enacted to be levy'd and paid to the Ministers of the respective Parishes.

Enacted, That none should marry within Marriage. the Degrees prohibited.

No Justice of Peace or Magistrate shall marry People in any Parish where there is a Clergyman resident.

The Vestry-men of each Parish are incor- ^{Vestries.} porated and impower'd to receive for pious Uses, and the Benefit of each Church and Parish, all Lands, Tenements, Goods and Chattles, granted or bequeathed to them. The Minister of the Parish to preside in the Vestry.

No Minister shall hold more than two Pa- ^{Pluralities.} rishes, and shall have the Licence of the Governor and the two Vestries for this.

Where there is no Minister in any Parish ^{Readers.} the Vestry may provide a Reader, allowing him

Maryland. him a Salary out of the forty Pounds *per* Poll, not exceeding half the Revenue of a Minister: And such Readers are allow'd to read Divine Service out of the *Common-Prayer* Book, and read the Homilies.

Servants and Slaves. No Servant or Slave shall travel more than ten Miles from his Master's House without a Note from his Master or his Overseer, on Pain of being deem'd a Runaway; and such Servant absenting himself shall serve ten Days for every Day he is absent.

Passes. Any Person travelling out of his County without a Pass under the County Seal, and not being known or able to give a good Account of himself, shall be deem'd a Runaway and carry'd before the next Magistrate, who shall commit him to safe Custody, and give notice to his Master or Mistress, if it appear he have any; or else cause the Name and Description of such Runaway to be set up in the next County Courts, that it may be discover'd to whom he belongs.

Servants. Every Servant, at the Expiration of his Time, shall have a new Suit of Cloaths, two Hoes, an Ax, a Gun, and three Barrels of *Indian* Corn given him by his Master.

No Person shall barter Goods, or traffick with any Servant or Slave without the Master's Leave.

If any Servant shall be deny'd sufficient Meat, Drink, Lodging, or Cloathing, or shall be over-work'd or debar'd of his natural Rest, the County Court may fine such Master, and for the third Offence set the wrong'd Person at liberty.

Bastards. If any white Woman suffer herself to be got with Child by a *Negro*, she shall become a Servant for seven Years; and if she be then a Ser-

a Servant, she shall serve seven Years beyond her Time. If the *Negro* who got the Child be free, he shall serve seven Years; and their Issue shall be Servants till they arrive at thirty-one Years of Age. Maryland.

And if a white Man get a *Negro* Woman with Child he shall undergo the same Punishment as a white Woman got with Child by a *Negro*.

If a white Woman Servant have a Bastard, and cannot prove who is the Father, she shall satisfy the Damage to her Master by further Servitude; and if she do produce the Father he shall satisfy the Damage if free, and if a Servant half the Damage: And if the Father be a single Person and promised the Maid Marriage before he lay with her, he shall be at liberty to perform his Promise, or make Satisfaction otherwise.

No Person shall work or use any Sports on *Sundays*. *Sundays*, or suffer his Servants to work, &c. on that Day (Works of Necessity excepted) on Pain of forfeiting one hundred Pounds of Tobacco for every Offence.

No publick House shall sell strong Liquor on *Sundays*, or suffer Tipling, Gaming, or other Pastime, on Pain of two thousand Pounds of Tobacco.

For *Irish* Servants or *Negroes* imported, a Duty on Duty of twenty Shillings Sterling *per* Head A Duty on Servants. was given by an Act of 11 W. III. 1699, and a Duty of Three-pence *per* Gallon on Rum and Wine imported.

Every Constable shall annually on the 20th *Lists of* of *June* require of every Master and Mistress taxable Persons. a List of all taxable Persons in their respective Families, and send one Copy thereof to the Sheriff and another to the County Court.

Maryland.

All Male Children born and resident in the Province (being above sixteen Years of Age) all Male Servants of sixteen imported, all Slaves, Male and Female, imported of sixteen Years of Age, and all Freemen (except Clergymen and poor People that receive Arms) shall be deemed taxable.

Weights
and Mea-
sures.
Distribu-
tion of In-
testates
Estates.

Weights and Measures are enacted to be the same as in *England*.

Upon a Man's dying Intestate, one Third of his Personal Estate goes to his Widow, and the other two to his Children; and if he have no Children, to the nearest Relations of the Intestate.

Orphans.

And the Justices of the respective Counties are empower'd to take care of all Orphans, with their Estates and Effects till of Age, every Male Orphan being deemed of Age at one and twenty, and every Female at sixteen, or Day of Marriage, which shall first happen; and it was provided that no Orphan should be put into the Hands of a Person of a different Religion from that of his Parents.

The Justices of the County Courts shall annually enquire by a Jury, how Orphans are maintained and educated; and if they are Apprentices, how they are used and instructed; and if they find any Abuse or Neglect, to redress the same.

N. B. *The Governors of Maryland have endeavour'd from time to time to make their Laws resemble those of England as near as possible; and they have also unhappily introduced most of the Niceties in pleading and dilatory Proceedings of our Courts of Law and Equity, which their Neighbours of Virginia have wisely provided against,*

against, and retrenched all exorbitant Fees; so that Justice is administer'd in that Province with much more Speed and less Charge than it is in this. Maryland.

Mr. Jones, who resided a considerable Time in Maryland, treating of their Religion and Government, expresses himself in the following manner.

We are govern'd (says that Gentleman) by the same Laws as in England, only some Acts of Assembly we have relating to some particular Cases, not under the Verge of the English Laws, or where the Laws of England do not aptly provide for some Circumstances, under which our Way of Living hath put us. The Church of England (God be praised) is pretty firmly established amongst us. Churches are built, and there is an annual Stipend allowed to every Minister by a perpetual Law, which is more or less, according to the Number of Taxables in each Parish; every Christian Male sixteen Years old, and Negroes Male and Female above that Age, pay forty Pounds of Tobacco to the Minister, which is levied by the Sheriff among other publick Levies; which makes the Revenues of the Ministers, one with another, about twenty thousand Pounds of Tobacco, or one hundred Pounds Sterling *per Annum*. It hath been the Unhappiness of this Country, that they had no Protestant Ministers hardly among them, till Governor *Nicholson's* Time, but now and then an itinerant Preacher, of very loose Morals, and scandalous Behaviour; so that what with such Mens ill Examples, the Roman Priests Cunning, and the Quakers Bigotry, Religion was in a manner turned out of doors: But (God be praised) Things

Maryland

Things now stand better, and our Churches are crowded as full as they can hold, and the People are pretty sensible of the *Roman* Superstition, and the Quakers Madness; so that their Parties both join'd together are very inconsiderable to what ours is. Indeed the Quakers struggle hard to maintain their Footing, and their Teachers (especially the Female Sex, who are the most zealous) are very free of their Taunts and Contumelies against us; but 'tis to little purpose, unless to make their own Way more ridiculous.

We have not yet found the Way of associating ourselves in Towns and Corporations. There are indeed several Places allotted for Towns, but hitherto they are only titular ones, except *Annapolis*, where the Governor resides. Governor *Nicholson* did his endeavour to make a Town of that, and there are in it about forty Dwelling-houses, seven or eight whereof afford good Lodging and Accommodation for Strangers. There is also a State-House, a Church, and a Free-School built with Brick, which make a great Show among a Parcel of Wooden Houses; *but their Buildings are much improved since Mr. Jones wrote.*

As for our Predecessors, the *Indian* Inhabitants, I cannot give you any further Account of them than this, *viz.* That whereas at the first seating of *Maryland* there were several Nations of *Indians* in the Country govern'd by several petty Kings, I do not think that there are now five hundred fighting Men of them in the Province, and those are more on the Eastern Shoar than on the West. Here they have two or three little Towns, and some of them come over to the West in Winter time to hunt for Deer, being generally employ'd

ploy'd by the *English*. These *Indians* take delight in nothing else, and it is rare that any of them will embrace our Way of Living and Worship. The Cause of their diminishing proceeded not from any Wars with the *English*; for we have had none with them, but from their own perpetual Discords and Wars among themselves: And their Drinking and other Vices which the *English* taught them probably may have destroy'd many more.

I shall conclude the State of *Maryland* with a late Account Mr. *Jones* has given us of the College erected at *Williamstadt* in *Virginia*, which was built for the Education of the Youth of *Maryland* as well as those of *Virginia*.

A further Account of the College for the Education of the *English* and *Indians*.

The royal Foundation of *William and Mary College*, erected with a Prospect of doing the greatest Good to the Colonies of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, and seconded with the ample Benefactions of the Honourable Mr. *Boyle*, and the Contributions of the Country, had many Difficulties to struggle with in its Infancy: And two Sides of the Quadrangle were no sooner finish'd but it was laid in Ashes by a terrible Fire, that could not be extinguish'd till the whole Fabrick was consumed. And tho' it was afterwards rebuilt and much improv'd, it has not answered the Expectations that were conceiv'd of it; for it was still (when Mr. *Jones* wrote, being about twelve Years since) without a Scholarship, without a Statute, and without a Chappel, and very few Books in the Library.

The *Indians* upon Mr. *Boyle's* Foundation have indeed a handsome Apartment for themselves and their Master, built near the College; which useful Contrivance ought to be carry'd on to the utmost Advantage in the real

Maryland. Education and Conversion of the Infidels ;
 for hitherto but little Good has been done therein, tho' abundance of Money has been laid out, and a great many Endeavours have been used, and much Pains taken for that Purpose.

The young *Indians*, procured from the tributary or foreign Nations with much Difficulty, were formerly boarded and lodg'd in the Town, where abundance of them used to die, either through Sickness, Change of Provision and Way of Life ; or, as some will have it, often for Want of proper Necessaries, and due Care taken of them : Those of them that have escaped well, and been taught to read and write, have, for the most part, return'd to their Homes, some with and some without Baptism, where they follow their own savage Customs and heathenish Rites.

A few of them have lived as Servants among the *English*, or loiter'd and idled away their Time in Laziness and Mischief.

But 'tis great Pity that more Care is not taken about them after they are dismiss'd from School.

They have admirable Capacities when their Humours and Tempers are perfectly understood ; and if well taught, they might advance themselves, and do great Good in the Service of Religion ; whereas now they are rather taught to become worse than better, by falling into the worst Practices of vile nominal Christians, which they add to their own *Indian* Manners and absurd Customs.

It is unnecessary to dwell longer on the State of *Maryland*, having so largely described that of *Virginia*, where the Climate and Soil are the same ; the Government,
 Manners,

Manners, Religion and Customs of the *In-Maryland.*
dians the same; and the *European* Inhabitants
 differing but little from those of *Virginia* in
 their Laws and Customs; as the Reader will
 observe on comparing the abovesaid Abstracts
 that have been given of the Laws of the re-
 spective Countries. I proceed therefore now
 to the Description of *New-England*.





THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
NEW-ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

*Of the Name, Situation, Extent and Face
of the Country. Of its Seas, Bays,
Capes, Lakes, Springs and Rivers, and
of the Tides, Winds, Air and Seasons.*

New-
England.



UNDER the general Title of
NEW-ENGLAND are
comprehended the several Colo-
nies or Governments of 1. *The*
Massachusetts ; 2. *New Hamp-*
shire ; 3. *Connecticut* ; and, 4.
Rhode Island, and *Providence Plantation*.

Name.

Situation.

This Country received the Name of *New-*
England from Prince *Charles*, afterwards King
Charles I. and is situated between 41 and 45
Degrees

Degrees of North Latitude, and between 67 and 73 Degrees of Western Longitude, being bounded by *Canada* on the North-west, by *Nova Scotia* on the North-east, by the *Atlantick Ocean* on the East and South, and by the Province of *New-York* on the West; and as it stretches along the said Ocean from the South-west to the North-west, is upwards of three hundred Miles in Length, and from one hundred to two hundred Miles in Breadth.

This like other uncultivated Countries was one great Forest, covered with excellent Timber when the *English* first visited these Shores: The Land next the Sea being generally low, and intermixed with a great many Swamps or Morasses, on which there grew Under-wood and Bushes; but farther up in the Country the Land rises into Hills, and on the North-east is rocky and mountainous.

The *Atlantick Ocean* washes the Shores on the East and South, and there are several good Bays and Harbours on the Coast, particularly those formed by *Plimouth*, *Rhode Island* and *Providence Plantation* on the South; *Monument Bay* to the Eastward of these in *Barnstable-County*; *West-Harbour*, formed by the bending of the Coast at *Cape Cod*; the Harbour of *Boston*, which will be particularly described in treating of that Capital; *Casco Bay* farther Northward, with several others of less Note, which will be found in the Map of the *British* Plantations; several of these are capable of receiving the largest Fleets.

The most remarkable Capes going from South to North are, 1. that of *Cape Cod*; 2. *Marble Head*; 3. *Cape Anne*; 4. *Cape Ne-tick*; 5. *Cape Porpus*; 6. *Cape Elizabeth*; and 7. *Cape Small-point*.

The

New-England. The Country is generally well water'd with Springs and Rivulets, and there are some Lakes, but not of that Magnitude as those which lie North and West of this Country.

Rivers. The principal Rivers are, 1. that of *Connecticut*, which rising North of *New-England* runs almost directly South, and having divided the Province of *Connecticut* in two Parts, falls into the Sea between the Towns of *Saybroke* and *Lime*, almost over-against the East-end of *Long Island*; this River is navigable with large Vessels a great way.

Thames. 2. The *Thames*, which rising in some Lake North of the *Massachusetts*, runs also directly South, falling into the Sea below *New London*, and to the Eastward of the River *Connecticut*.

Patuxet. 3. The River *Patuxet*, which rising in the North-west of the *Massachusetts* Country, runs to the South-east thro' *Providence Plantation*, falling into a Bay of the Sea near the Town of *Swansey*.

Merimack. 4. The great River *Merimack*, which rising North of *New-England* also runs to the Southward, forming a Lake on the West of *New Hampshire*, from whence continuing its Course South to 43 Degrees of Latitude, then turns about to the East, falling into the Sea between *Salisbury* and *Newbury* in the County of *Essex*.

Piscataway. 5. The River *Piscataway*, which runs from West to East, and falls into the Sea near the Town of *Portsmouth* in *Hampshire*; the Mouth of which is more like an Arm of the Sea than a River, and is capable of receiving the largest Ships.

Saco. 6. The River *Saco*, which rising North of *New-England* takes its Course to the South, falling into the Sea between *Cape Porpus* and *Cape Elizabeth* in the Province of *Maine*.

Casco. 7. The River *Casco*, which runs parallel to the River *Saco*, and falls into *Casco Bay*. To the Eastward

Eastward of these are the Rivers *Sagbedock*, *Kenebeck*, *Penobscot*, and many more considerable Streams, which rising far to the North run almost due South, falling into the Ocean to the Eastward of *Casco Bay*; but this Part of the Country being but slenderly inhabited and little resorted to, I meet with no further Description of them. The Tides on these Shores ebb and flow regularly, rising usually nine or ten Foot in the Bays and Mouths of Rivers. Their Winds are variable as with us, and very boisterous in the Winter Season: The North and North-west Winds are exceeding cold, blowing over a long Tract of frozen Countries. Their Winters are much severer, and some Months longer than ours, tho' they lie nine or ten Degrees nearer the Sun than we do; however, their Heaven is usually brighter, and the Weather more settled than in *England*, both in Winter and Summer; and the Summer, tho' shorter than in *England*, is a great deal hotter whilst it lasts; however, the Climate is esteemed as healthful and agreeable to *English* Constitutions as any of our Plantations on the Continent.

New-
England.
Sagbedock.
Kenebeck.

Tides.

Winds.

Seasons.



C H A P. II.

Of the Provinces and Sub-divisions of this Country, generally known by the Name of NEW-ENGLAND; and of its chief Towns, and publick and private Buildings.

New-
England.
Indian
Kingdoms



- WHEN the *English* arrived here, they found this Country inhabited by upwards of twenty different Nations or Tribes, commanded by their respective Chiefs, the Territories of several of them not exceeding five and twenty or thirty Miles in Circumference. Of these the most powerful were, 1. The *Massachusetts*, whose Country comprehended the Counties of *Suffolk* and *Middlesex*, and still a Part of the *Massachusetts* Colony.
2. The *Neumkeaks*, who inhabited that Part of the *Massachusetts* County which now goes by the Name of *The County of Essex*.
3. The *Narragansets*, whose Habitations were in the County of *New London*, East of the River *Connecticut*.
4. The *Pocassets*; this People dwelt to the Southward of the *Massachusetts* in the County now called *New Plimouth*.
5. The *Pequots*, who inhabited another Part of *Connecticut*.
6. The *Wampanoags*, who inhabited the Country now called *New Bristol*.

7. The

7. The *Moratigons*, seated to the Westward of the *Wompanoags*. New-England.

8. The *Patuxets*, seated upon the River which still bears that Name. Moratigons.

9. The *Maquas*, who lived to the Westward of *Connecticut* River. Patuxets. Maquas.

10. The *Manimoy*s, who inhabited *Barnstable* County. Manimoys.

11. The *Nicanticks*, *Mattachieffs* and *Namasketts*, situated South-west of *Merrimack* River: And, Nicanticks.

12. The *Marchicans* and *Sequems*, who were seated in *New Hampshire*. Marchicans and Sequems.

The first four Colonies established by the *English* in this County were, 1. the *Massachusetts*; 2. *New Plymouth*; 3. *Connecticut*; and, 4. *New Haven*: Afterwards three more were added, viz. 5. The Province of *Maine*; 6. *New Hampshire*; and, 7. *Rhode Island* and *Providence Plantation*. English Colonies first erected.

These seven Colonies have since been reduced to four, 1. The Provinces of the *Massachusetts*, *New Plymouth* and *Maine*, are now included in one Charter and subject to the same Government. 2. *New Hampshire* is at this Day a separate Government. 3. *Connecticut* and *New Haven* are now included in one Charter; and, 4. *Rhode Island* and *Providence Plantation* have a distinct Charter, and are a Colony independent of any of the former; the Occasion of which Alterations will appear in the Chapter assigned to treat of the History of this Country. The preceding Divisions of the Country.

I proceed in the next Place to describe the Situation and Boundaries of the present larger Sub-divisions, and to enumerate the Counties and chief Towns comprehended in each of these Divisions.

New-
England.

1. The *Massachusetts* Colony, which at this Day includes the following grand Subdivisions; viz. 1. That of *Massachusetts Proper*; 2. *New-Plymouth*; and, 3. That of *Maine*.

Massachu-
set Colony.
Counties.
Suffolk.

Chief
Towns.

1st, *Massachusetts Proper* is bounded by *New-Hampshire* towards the North, by the *Massachusetts Bay* on the East, by *Plymouth* and *Connecticut* on the South, and by the Province of *New-York* on the West, containing the Counties of *Suffolk*, *Middlesex* and *Effex*, all of them situated on the *Massachusetts Bay*, of which *Suffolk* is the most Southerly, comprehending the Towns of, 1. *Boston* the Capital of the Province. 2. *Braintree*. 3. *Dedham*. 4. *Dorchester*. 5. *Hingham*. 6. *Hull*. 7. *Medfield*. 8. *Mendon*. 9. *Milton*. 10. *Roxborough*. 11. *Weymouth*. 12. *Woodstock*. 13. *Wrentham*. 14. *Brooklin*; and, 15. *Needham*.

Boston.

Boston, the Capital of *New-England*, according to Mr. *Neale*, is situated in 42 Degrees 24 Minutes North Latitude, and 71 Degrees of Western Longitude, making *London* the first Meridian. It stands in a Peninsula about four Miles in Circumference, at the Bottom of a fine Bay of the Sea, at the Entrance whereof are several Rocks which appear above Water, and above a dozen small Islands, some of which are inhabited. There is but one safe Channel to approach the Harbour, and that so narrow that three Ships can scarce sail through abreast; but within the Harbour there is Room enough for five hundred Sail to lie at Anchor. The Entrance is defended by the Castle of *Fort William*, on which are one hundred Guns mounted, twenty of which lie on a Platform level with the Water; so that it is scarce possible for an Enemy to pass the Castle: And

to prevent Surprife, they have a Guard placed on one of the Rocks, about two Leagues diftant, on which alfo there ftands a Light-houfe, from whence they make Signals to the Caftle when any Ships come in fight. There is alfo a Battery of great Guns at each End of the Town which command the Harbour, to the Fire whereof an Enemy would be expos'd if he fhould be fo fortunate to pafs the Caftle.

New-
England.

At the Bottom of the Bay there is a Pier near two thoufand Feet in Length, with Ware-houfes for the Merchants on the North Side of it; and Ships of the greateft Burden may come up clofe to the Pier and unload without the Help of Boats.

The fame Writer adds, that the Town of *Boston* lies in the Form of a Crefcent about the Harbour, the Country beyond rifing gradually, and affording a moft delightful Profpext from the Sea: That there are feveral Streets not much inferiour to the beft in *London*, the chief of which runs from the Pier up to their Town-houfe or Guild-hall, a handsome Building, where are Walks for the Merchants, as on the *Exchange*; and here alfo are the Council-Chamber, the Houfe of Representatives, and their Courts of Juftice; the Exchange being furrounded with Bookfellers Shops, who have Trade enough to employ five Printing-Preffes here. There are ten Churches of all Denominations, of which fix are Independants, the moft prevailing Party in *New-England*: And the Number of Souls in the Towns may be about fourteen or fifteen thoufand. The Epifcopal Church is handfomely built and adorn'd, and the Congregation faid to be about a thoufand in Number: Their Church-plate and fome Pieces of Painting were given them by

New-
England.

King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and their Organ by *Thomas Brattle*, Esq; There is also in this Church a magnificent Seat for the Governor, who comes hither, I presume, when he happens to be of the Church of *England*.

Mr. *Neal* observes further, that *Boston* is the most flourishing Town of Trade in *English-America*; and that three or four hundred Sail of Ships, Brigantines, and other Vessels, are annually loaden here with Lumber, Beef, Pork, Fish, and other Provisions for *Europe* or the *American* Islands: That their Merchants and Tradesmen are a polite People, many of them having travelled into *Europe*, or conversed with Foreigners of several Nations at home: That their Houses are as elegantly furnish'd, and their Tables as well serv'd as those of the Merchants and Tradesmen in *London*, all manner of Provisions being as plentiful as in any Town in *Old-England*.

Mr. *Dummer's* Description of *Boston* agrees with Mr. *Neal's* as to the Fortifications, but is something more particular; for he says there is a Battery of great Guns at each End of the Town, and about a League from it there is a beautiful strong Castle, by far the finest Piece of military Architecture in *British-America*: That it is a Quarry surrounded by a cover'd Way, and joined with two Lines of Communication to the main Battery, as also a Line of Communication from the main Gate to a Redoubt, to prevent an Enemy's Landing; and the Battery is situated so near the Channel as to hinder Ships coming up to the Town, which must all fail within Pistol-shot of it: That in time of Peace there is but one Company on Duty in the Castle, but in time of War there are five hundred able-body'd Men,
exempted

exempted from all other military Duty, to attend the Service of the Castle at an Hour's Warning, when the Signal is given from the Light-house of the Approach of an Enemy: That the Castle thereupon makes a Signal to the Town, and if five Ships or more appear in time of War, the neighbouring Country is alarm'd by firing a Beacon.

New-
England.

The County of *Middlesex* lies contiguous to that of *Suffolk* on the North, and contains the following Towns. 1. *Cambridge*. 2. *Billerica*. 3. *Charles-Town*. 4. *Chelmsford*. 5. *Concord*. 6. *Lexington*. 7. *Groton*. 8. *Lancaster*. 9. *Marlborough*. 10. *Malden*. 11. *Framingham*. 12. *Medford*. 13. *Newton*. 14. *Oxford*. 15. *Reading*. 16. *Sherburn*. 17. *Stow*. 18. *Sudbury*. 19. *East-Water-ton*. 20. *Weston*. 21. *Woburn*; and, 22. *Worcester*.

Middlesex.
Chief
Towns.

The chief Town whereof is *Cambridge*, commonly call'd *Newton*, situated on the Northern Branch of *Charles River*, about seven Miles from *Boston*, in which are several well-built Streets; but it is most considerable for its University, consisting of three Colleges, viz. *Harvard-College*, *Stoughton-Hall*, and — *Hall*. There was also a College built for the Education of *Indians*, but this is now converted into a Printing-House, the Education of the *Indians* in the learned Languages being found impracticable; there never were above four or five educated there, and but one that ever took a Degree. They have also a Library here, but very defective in modern Books; which my Author is of opinion is the Reason that the Style of the *New-England* Divines is no better: they also still want Endowments for the reading of publick Lectures in

New-
England.

in the College by Professors of the several Sciences. The University is govern'd by a President, five Fellows, and the Treasurer, who have each of them a competent Revenue settled on them ; and there may be an hundred and fifty Students resident in all the Colleges: Their Visitors or Overseers are the Governor, and Deputy-Governor, with the Magistrates of the Province, and the Ministers (for the time being) of six adjacent Towns.

Essex.
Chief
Towns.
Salem.

Essex is the most Northerly County of *Massachusetts Proper*, and contains the Towns of, 1. *Salem*. 2. *Amesbury*. 3. *Salisbury*. 4. *Haverhill*. 5. *Newbury*. 6. *Boxford*. 7. *Rowley*. 8. *Ipswich*. 9. *Topsfield*. 10. *Bradford*. 11. *Gloucester*. 12. *Manchester*. 13. *Beverley*. 14. *Marble-head*. 15. *Lyn*. 16. *Wenham* ; and, 17. *Andover*, of which *Salem* is the chief, or County-Town, being situate in a Plain between two Rivers Mouths, and has two Harbours, the one call'd *The Summer* and the other *Winter Harbour*. They boast mightily of their Church, which they assure us is one of the finest in *New-England*: They value themselves also on their Antiquity ; for here it was, they relate, that the *Massachusetts* Adventurers fix'd their first Colony. A little to the Northward of *Salem* lies the Promontory call'd *Cape Anne*, esteem'd a good Station for Fishing ; and a little further Northward lies *Newbury*, pleasantly situated at the Mouth of *Merimack* River, where they take abundance of Sturgeon and pickle them after the same Manner as they do in the *Baltick*. On the opposite Side of *Merimack* River lies the Town of *Salisbury* ; and between these Towns there is a constant Ferry half a Mile over.

Newbury.

Salisbury.

The

of NEW-ENGLAND. 171

The second grand Division of the *Massachusetts* Government is the Province of *Maine*, ^{New-England.} which is bounded on the North-east by *Nova-Scotia*; by the Bay of *Massachusetts* on the South-east, and by the Province of *New-Hampshire* on the South-west and North-west, ^{The Province of} in which are the two Counties of *York* and *Cornwall*, tho', according to some, the whole Province of *Maine* is but one County: The chief Towns are, 1. *Falmouth*. 2. *Saco*, or Chief *Scarborough*. 3. *Wells*. 4. *Hedec*, or *New-Towns*. 5. *Edgar Town*. 6. *York*. 7. *Ketterg*. 8. *Berwick*; and, 9. *Biddeford*. Several Fortifications were erected on the North-east Part of this Province in the late Wars, to defend the Country against the *French* and *Indians* of *Nova-Scotia*; particularly at *Saco*, *Kennebeck*, *Saghadock* and *Pemaquid*, the last of which was taken by the *French* and demolished: And since *Nova-Scotia* has been yielded to *Great-Britain* by *France*, it is to be presumed the rest are of no great Use, our Frontiers on that side being extended much further by that Cession.

The third and last grand Division of the *Plymouth Massachusetts* Government is that of *Plymouth*, ^{Division.} which lies South of *Massachusetts Proper*, and contains the three Counties of *Plymouth*, *Barnstable*, ^{Counties.} and *Bristol*.

Of these three Counties, that of *Plymouth* ^{Plymouth} lies most Northerly; in which are the Towns of, 1. *New-Plymouth*. 2. *Bridgewater*. 3. *Duxbury*. 4. *Marshfield*. 5. *Scituate*. 6. *Middleburgh*. 7. *Pembroke*; and, 8. *Plympton*. ^{Chief} And of these *New-Plymouth* the chief is situated on the South-side of a large Bay, called *Plymouth Bay*, and is the oldest Town in *New-England*. ^{Towns.}

The

New-
England.
Barnstable
County.

Chief
Towns.

Nantucket-
Island.

Bristol
County.
Chief
Towns.

The Pro-
vince of
New-
Hampshire.

Chief
Towns.

The County of *Barnstable* lies contiguous to *Plymouth* on the South-east, in which is the celebrated Promontory of *Cape Cod*, forming a large commodious Bay, capable of containing a thousand Sail of Ship. In this County the chief Towns are, 1. *Barnstable*, situate at the bottom of the first Bay. 2. *Eastham*. 3. *Manimoy*. 4. *Truro*. 5. *Rockester*. 6. *Sandwich*. 7. *Yarmouth*. 8. *Hurwich*; and, 9. *Nantucket*, situate in an Island of the same Name, that lies South-east of the Main-land, near which is one of the most considerable Fisheries in *New-England*, and the Town flourishes in Proportion, there being three or four score Sail of Ships and Vessels belonging to that Port, as I am informed.

The County of *Bristol* lies South-west of *Plymouth*, and contains the Towns of, 1. *Bristol*. 2. *Swansey*. 3. *Roboboth*. 4. *Norton*. 5. *Dartmouth*. 6. *Taunton*. 7. *Dighton*. 8. *Little Compton*. 9. *Artleborough*. 10. *Freetoun*; of which *Bristol* the chief is situated on a commodious Harbour, at the Entrance whereof lies *Rhode-Island*.

The Province of *New-Hampshire*, now a distinct Government, is bounded by * *Nova-Scotia* on the North-east; by the Province of *Maine* on the South-east; by the *Massachusetts* Colony on the South-west; and by *Canada* on the North-West; the chief Towns whereof are *Dover*, *Portsmouth*, *Exeter*, and *Hampton*, all which lie near the Mouth of the River *Piscataway*; and indeed I meet with scarce any Towns in the in-land Country, which still remains a great Forest, covered with excellent

* N. B. I call all that Country *Nova-Scotia* which lies North-east of *New-England*.

Timber,

Timber, large Portions whereof are set apart and appropriated by Act of Parliament to the furnishing Masts, &c. for the *Royal-Navy* of *England*, but the Soil does not seem proper either for Corn or Grass.

New-
England.

The Province bordering upon *Canada*, or *New-France*, suffered much by the Ravages of the *French* and *Indians* in the two last Wars, which occasioned the building several Forts and Redoubts on the Frontiers for their Security.

The third Colony or Government, esteemed also a Part of *New-England*, is that of *Connecticut*, which comprehends *New-Haven*, and is bounded by the *Massachusetts* Colony on the North; by another Part of the *Massachusetts* and *Rhode-Island* on the East; by an Arm of the Sea, which divides *Connecticut* from *Long-Island* on the South; and by *New-York* on the West, being about one hundred Miles in Length, and eighty in Breadth, and contains the following Counties, viz. 1. *New-London*. 2. *Hertford*. 3. *New-Haven* County; and, 4. *Fairfield* County.

Connecticut
Colony.

Counties.

New-London County is situated on both sides of the River *Connecticut*, and contains the following Towns, viz. 1. *New-London*, situate on the West-bank of the *Thames* not far from its Mouth. 2. *Saybrook*, the oldest Town in the County, situate at the Mouth of the River *Connecticut* on the West-side, as 3. *Lyme* is on the East-side. 4. *Stoniton*. 5. *Preston*. 6. *Dantick*. 7. *Norwich*. 8. *Lebanon*; and, 9. *Killingworth*.

New-Lon-
don Coun-
ty.
Chief
Towns.

Hertford County, contiguous to that of *Long-London* County on the North, lies also on both sides the River *Connecticut*, containing the following Towns, viz. 1. *Hertford*. 2. *Farmington*. 3. *Glassonbury*. 4. *Hadham*. 5. *Mid-*

Hertford
County.

Chief
Towns.

New-England. *dletown. 6. Simsbury. 7. Waterbury. 8. Weathersfield. 9. Windsor. 10. Farm; and, 11. Windbam; of which Hertford is the chief or County Town, and Capital of the whole Province, having a little University or College in it, as I am informed, where young Gentlemen receive Academical Education.*

New-Haven County. *New-Haven County is bounded by that of Hertford on the North; by London County on the East; the Sea on the South; and Fairfield County on the West; in which are the Towns of, 1. New-Haven, the chief, said to be a very flourishing Place, and to have a College in it, called Yale-College, where young Gentlemen have University Education. To which is added a Library well furnished with Books, procured chiefly by the Application and Interest of Jeremy Dummer, Esq; once Agent for this Colony. 2. Brainford. 3. Derby. 4. Guilford. 5. Milford; and, 6. Wallingford.*

Fairfield County. *Fairfield County also lies upon the Sea, between the County of New-Haven on the East, and the Province of New-York on the West; in which are the chief Towns of, 1. Fairfield. 2. Danbury. 3. Greenwich, 4. Norwalk. 5. Rye. 6. Stamford. 7. Stratford; and, 8. Woodbury.*

Rhode-Island Colony. *4. The last Colony comprehended in New-England is that of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantation established by another Charter. Rhode-Island, called by the Natives Aquetnet, lies in the Narraganset Bay, between Plymouth Colony and Providence Plantation, being about fifteen Miles in Length, and six in Breadth; to which belong several smaller Islands: And Providence Plantation, which is included in the same Charter, being a District about twenty Miles square, on the neighbouring*

bouring Continent, and separated from *Connecticut* on the West by an imaginary Line drawn from North to South, and from the *Massachusetts* by another Line drawn from East to West.

New-England.

The chief Towns are, 1. *Newport*, situated Chief on the South-west Part of *Rhode-Island*, in 41 Towns. Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude, having *Newport, &c.* a very secure and commodious Harbour defended by a regular Fort at the Entrance, on which are planted three hundred Pieces of large Cannon. It appears to have a brisk Trade, for there are no less than sixty Ships and Vessels belonging to this Town.

There are two other large Port Towns situated on the Continent, near the Mouth of the River *Patuxent* in *Providence Plantation*, one of them called *Providence*, and the other *Warwick*; but of these I meet with no particular Description.

Several other Islands lie near the South-east *Block-Isle*. Coast of *New-England*, of which *Block-Island* belongs to *Connecticut* Colony; and *Eliza-Elizabeth-Island*, *Martha's Vineyard*, and *Nantuc-Isle*. *Martha's Vineyard*. *ket* already mentioned belong to the *Massachusetts* Government, and are very considerable on Account of the Fishery carried on in those Seas.

As to the Buildings of the *Indians* of *New-England*, they are not different from those publick of *Virginia* and *Maryland* already described; and the *English* follow the Models of their Mother Country, as near as they can, except in their Churches, which come nearer the Form of the *London* Meeting-Houses than of our Churches. The few Churches indeed that have been erected by the Members of the Church of *England* resemble those in *Old*

publick and private.

New-
England.

England, and are generally built of Wood, but some few of Brick. The only publick Buildings they have besides, are the Town-House and *Guild-hall* in every Province and County-Town, where the respective General Assemblies and Courts of Justice are held; and some Colleges and Schools that have been erected in their great Towns for the Education of Youth, which, I presume, have nothing extraordinary in the Fabrick, by the Silence of their Historians in the Description of them.





C H A P. III.

Of the Persons and Habits of the New-England Indians; their Genius and Temper, Arts, Manufactures, Food, Exercises and Diversions.



THE New-England Indians are of a good Stature, and might have good Complexions, if they did not affect an Olive-Colour, and take a great deal of Pains with certain Oils and Juices to make their Skins darker than they naturally are. Their Features are well enough, except their Noses, which their Parents press flat in their Infancy, if they are not born so: Their Hair is black, and usually cut short before, but suffered to grow long behind, sometimes braided and dressed up fantastically with Feathers. The Hair of their Beards and Bodies they pull up by the Roots as soon as they appear, and some of them, 'tis said, never have any Beards: They frequently paint their Faces and Shoulders with a deep Red, and on other Parts of their Bodies make a Variety of frightful Figures, endeavouring to render themselves as terrible as possible.

They generally go naked in the Summer, ^{Habits.} covering their Loins only with a Piece of Skin; but in the Winter, and Days of Ceremony, they have a Mantle or short Cloak, made of the

Engad.
Persons of
the Indi-
ans.

New-
England.

the Skin of a Deer, or of some other Animal : And of the like Materials they make Breeches, Stockings, and Shoes, all of a piece frequently. In hard Weather they also put on their Snow-Shoes, which are very long and broad, and tied on their Feet with Thongs of green Leather.

Orna-
ments.

The Women paint as well as the Men, and their Mantles are much of the same Form. Their Ornaments are Earrings of Copper, Necklaces and Bracelets, made of Beads and Shells, or other glittering Toys.

Arts and
Sciences.

The Natives are generally reckon'd to have quick Parts, tho' they had made but little Improvement in Arts and Sciences when the *English* came amongst them. Their Buildings and Cloathing were very mean, nor was there any thing that could be called a Manufacture in the Country, much less were they skill'd in the liberal Arts, having no Notion of Letters, and seem but little dispos'd to Literature at this Day ; for the *English* here, and in the rest of our Colonies, tell us, they despair of making Scholars of them, tho' no means have been left unattempted to give them a learned Education.

Genius
and Tem-
per.

Courage or a Contempt of Death is what they most admire in others, and affect to be thought possess'd of themselves. And there appears to have been some brave Men amongst them, but they are generally timorous, revengeful, and thievish. They seldom have the Courage to face an Enemy in the open Field, most of the great Actions they boast of being done in the dark, or by Surprise ; and a Wood-Fight, where they can skulk behind the Trees and Bushes, is their Master-piece. As they are very nimble and excellent Marksmen, they have

have sometimes been too hard for the *Europeans* in such Encounters.

New-
England.

In War, in Hunting, Fishing, and other rural Sports, they are acknowledg'd to be indefatigable. They will make prodigious long and swift Marches, lie in the Woods Night after Night, endure Cold and Heat, Hunger and Thirst to Admiration; and yet, when they are not engaged in such Expeditions, they are observed to be the most idle, slothful Wretches upon the Face of the Earth, putting their Women upon all manner of Drudgery both without Doors and within; for the Women plant their Corn, Roots, and Fruits, and afterwards reap and gather them. They also prepare and dress their Food, lug about their Children, and do all manner of Household Business, and even carry the Provisions and Baggage upon every March and Removal, the Men carrying nothing but their Arms; and 'tis observ'd they seldom go out a hunting or fishing, till Necessity forces them, and then they usually set out fifty or a hundred in a Company, dividing the Country amongst them, so as the Game may not escape, which ever Way it takes, and continue their Sport several Weeks: Sometimes they beat the Woods and Thickets, at others they take their Canoes or Beats, and go down their Rivers, and are so dextrous at shooting and striking their Game in the Water, as well as Land, that they seldom fail of doing Execution.

Their Food, and the manner of dressing it, Food.

differs so little from that of the *Indians* already described, that it is unnecessary to enlarge on those Articles any more than on their domestic Diversions and Exercises, which consist chiefly in Singing, Dancing, and Hollowing, Exercises.

New-
England.

Lovers of
strong Li-
quors.

Slothful
and poor.

in distorting their Limbs, and the most extravagant Gestures they can invent.

The *Europeans* have taught them another mischievous Recreation, *viz.* The Drinking strong Liquors, of which they are so fond, that they would sell their Lands, and every thing they had, to procure them some, till the Government, in Compassion to the Natives, prohibited their Drinking strong Liquors, and forbid the *English* to purchase their Lands without the Leave of their Superiors; however, these Regulations are little observed, and those *Indians*, that live among the *English*, are still a wretched, sottish, and beggarly People, that will apply themselves to no manner of Business, dreading Labour more than Poverty itself.





CHAP. IV.

Of their Animals and Vegetables.



THEIR Quadrupedes are almost the same here as in *Virginia*, viz. Deer, Elks, Racoons, Bears, Wolves, Foxes, Hares, Rabbits, Squirrels, Beavers, Martins, Opossums, and little Cur-Dogs. They have now also all manner of *European* Cattle, viz. Horses, Oxen, Sheep, and Hogs, none of which they ever saw, till the *English* carried them over; and tho' the Horses are not so large as those we have here, yet they are very serviceable both for the Saddle and Draught, and make the best Troopers Horses in *America*. But the most celebrated Animal, which is almost peculiar to *New-England*, is the Moose-Deer; of which Mr. *Dudley*, now of the Council in *New-England*, and a Member of the *Royal Society*, has given us the following Account.

The Moose is thought peculiar to *North-America*, and is one of the noblest Creatures of the Forest: The *Aborigines* have given him the Name of *Moose*, *Moosuck* in the Plural.

There are two sorts; the common light and grey Moose, by the *Indians* called *Wampoos*; these are more like the ordinary Deer, spring like them, and herd sometimes to thirty in a Company: And then there are the large and black

New-England.
Quadrupedes.

The Moose-Deer.

New-
England.

Moose, of which I shall now give you the following Account.

He is the Head of the Deer-kind, has many Things in common with other Deer, in many Things differs ; but in all very superior. The Moose is made much like a Deer, parts the Hoof, chews the Cud, has no Gall, his Ears large and erect. The Hair of the black Moose is a dark grey ; upon the Ridge of his Back the Hair is ten and twelve Inches long, of which the *Indians* make good Belts. He has a very short bob Tail. Mr. *Neal*, in his late History of this Country, speaking of the Moose, says, They have a long Tail ; but that Gentleman was imposed on as to other Things besides the Moose.

Our Hunters have found a Buck or Stag-Moose of fourteen Spans in Height from the Withers, reckoning nine Inches to a Span ; a Quarter of his Venison weighed more than two hundred Pounds. A few Years since, a Gentleman surpris'd one of these black Moose in his Grounds, within two Miles of *Boston* ; it proved a Doe or Hind of the fourth Year. After she was dead, they measured her upon the Ground from the Nose to the Tail between ten and eleven Feet. She wanted an Inch of seven Foot in Height.

The Horns of the Moose, when full grown, are about four and five Feet from the Head to the Tip, and have Shoots and Branches to each Horn, and generally spread about six Feet. When the Horns come out of the Head, they are round, like the Horns of an Ox. About a Foot from the Head they begin to grow a Palm broad, and further up still wider, of which the *Indians* make good Ladles that will hold a Pint. When a Moose goes through a Thicket,

Thicket, or under the Boughs of Trees, he ^{New-England.} lays his Horns back on his Neck, not only that he may make his Way the easier, but to cover his Body from the Bruise or Scratch of the Wood. These mighty Horns are shed every Year. The Doe-Moose has none of these Horns.

A Moose does not spring or rise in going, as an ordinary Deer, but shoves along sideways, throwing out the Feet much like a Horse in a racking Pace. One of these large black Moose, in his common Walk, has been seen to step over a Gate or Fence five Feet high. After you unharbour a Moose, he will run a Course of twenty or thirty Miles before he turns about or comes to a Bay. When they are chased, they generally take to the Water, the common Deer for a short Space are swifter than a Moose, but then a Moose soon out-winds a Deer.

The Meat of a Moose is excellent Food; and tho' it be not so delicate as the common Venison, yet it is more substantial, and will bear salting. The Nose is looked upon as a great Dainty. I have eat several of them myself; they are perfect Marrow. The *Indians* have told me, that they can travel as far after a Meal of Moose, as after any other Flesh in the Forrest.

The black Moose is not very gregarious, being rarely found above four or five together; the young Ones keep with the Dam a full Year.

A Moose calves every Year, and generally brings two. The Moose bring forth their young Ones standing, and the Young fall from the Dam upon their Feet. The Time of their bringing forth is generally in the Month of *April*.

New-
England.

The Moose being very tall, and having short Necks, do not graze on the Ground as the common Deer, Neat Cattle, &c. do; and if at any time they eat Grass, it is the Top of that which grows very high, or on steep rising Ground. In the Summer they feed upon Plants, Herbs, and young Shrubs, that grow upon the Land; but mostly, and with greatest Delight, on Water-Plants, especially a sort of wild Colts-Foot and Lilly that abound in our Ponds, and by the Sides of the Rivers, and for which the Moose will wade far and deep, and by the Noise they make in the Water our Hunters often discover them. In the Winter they live upon Browze, or the Tops of Bushes and young Trees; and being very tall and strong they will bend down a Tree as big as a Man's Leg; and where the Browze fails them they will eat off the Bark of some sort of Trees as high as they can reach. They generally feed in the Night, and lie still in the Day.

The Skin of the Moose, when well dress'd, makes excellent Buff; the *Indians* make their Snow-Shoes of them. Their way of Dressing it, which is reckon'd very good, is thus: After they have hair'd and grain'd the Hide, they make a Lather of the Moose's Brains in warm Water, and after they have soak'd the Hide for some time, they stretch and supple it.

Their Fowls, Birds, Snakes, and Insects are much the same here as in *Virginia*, whither therefore I refer the Reader: And they have the same Fish in their Seas and Rivers; only I must observe, that the Cod-Fishery and Whale-Fishery of *New-England* are far superior to any Fisheries on the Coast of *North-America*, and yield a vast Profit to this Country. I am inform'd also that, the Year before last,

last, the *New-England* Men sent twenty Sail of Ships to fish for Whales in *Greenland* and *Davis's Streights*, where they met with great Success, but were not so fortunate the last Year. And here it may be acceptable to the Reader to introduce Mr. *Dudley's* Description of their Whales, and the Whale-Fishery on the Coast of *New-England*. New-England.

This Gentleman observes, that the most learned Part of Mankind were at a loss about many things even in Medical Use, and particularly in what is call'd *Ambergris*, until the Whale Fishermen of *Nantucket* in *New-England*, some three or four Years ago, made the Discovery.

Cutting up a *Sperma Ceti* Bull Whale, they found accidentally in him about twenty Pound Weight, more or less, of that Drug: After which they and some other Fishermen became very curious in searching all such Whales as they kill'd; and it has since been found in lesser Quantities in several Male Whales of that kind and in no other, and scarcely in one of an hundred of them. They add further, that it is contain'd in a Cyist or Bag, without any In-let or Out-let to it, and that they have sometimes found the Bag empty and yet entire. The *Sperma Ceti* Whale.

The Bag is no where to be found but near the Genital Parts of the Fish. The *Ambergris* is, when first taken out, moist and of an exceeding strong and offensive Smell.

The following Account respects only such Whales as are found on the Coast of *New-England*, and of these there are divers sorts.

The right or Whalebone Whale is a large Fish measuring sixty or seventy Feet in Length, and very bulky, having no Scales, but a soft fine smooth Skin; no Fins but only one on each The Whalebone Whale.

New-
England.



each Side, from five to eight Foot long, which they are not observ'd to use but only in turning themselves, unless while young and carry'd by the Dam on the Flukes of their Tails, when with those Fins they clasp about her Small, and so hold themselves on. This Fish, when first brought forth, is about twenty Foot long, and of little Worth, but then the Dam is very fat. At a Year old, when they are call'd Short-Heads, they are very fat, and yield to fifty Barrels of Oil; but by that time the Dam is very poor and termed a dry Skin, and will not yield more than thirty Barrels of Oil, tho' of large Bulk. At two Years old they are call'd Stunts, being stunted after Weaning, and will then yield generally from twenty-four to twenty-eight Barrels. After this they are termed Scull-Fish, their Age not being known, but only guessed at by the Length of their Bones in their Mouths. The Whalebone so called grows in the upper Jaw on each side, and is sometimes six or seven Feet in Length. A good large Whale has yielded a thousand Weight in Bone. 'Tis thought by some that the hairy Part of the Whalebone, and which is next to the Tongue, serves in the nature of a Strainer of their Food.

The Eye of a Whale is about the Bigness of an Ox's Eye, and situated in the After-part of the Head on each Side, and where the Whale is broadest; for his Head tapers away forward from his Eyes, and his Body tapers away backward: His Eyes are more than half way his Depth, or nearest his Under-part. Just under his Eyes are his two Fins above-mention'd; he carries his Tail horizontally, and with that he sculls himself along.

The Intrails of this Whale are made and situated much like those of an Ox, and their
Scalps

Scalps are sometimes found cover'd with thousands of Sea Lice. One of these Whales has yielded one hundred and thirty Barrels of Oil, and near twenty out of the Tongue. The Whalebone-Whale is the most valuable, except the *Sperma Ceti* Whale.

New-
England.

The Scrag-Whale is near a-kin to the Fin-back ; but instead of a Fin upon his Back, the Ridge of the After-part of his Back is scragged, with half a dozen Knobs: He is nearest the right Whale in Figure and for Quantity of Oil: His Bone is white, but will not split.

The Scrag
Whale.

The Fin-back Whale is distinguish'd from the right Whale by having a great Fin on his Back from two Foot and a half to four Foot long, which gives him the Name. He has also two side Fins, as the Whalebone-Whale, but much longer, measuring six or seven Feet. This Fish is somewhat longer than the other but not so bulky, much swifter, and very furious when struck, and very difficultly held ; their Oil is not rear so much as that of the right Whale, and the Bone of little Profit, being short and knobby. The Belly of this Whale is white.

The Fin-
back.

The Bunch, or Hump-back Whale, is distinguish'd from the right Whale by having a Bunch standing in the Place where the Fin does in the Fin-back. This Bunch is as big as a Man's Head, and a Foot high, shaped like a Plug pointing backwards. The Bone of this Whale is not worth much, tho' somewhat better than the Fin-back's. His Fins are sometimes eighteen Foot long and very white ; his Oil as much as that of the Fin-back. Both the Fin-backs and Hump-backs are shaped in Reeves longitudinal, from Head to Tail on their Bellies and their Sides, as far as their Fins,

The Bunch
Whale.

New-
England.

The *Sperma Ceti*
Whale
further
describ'd.

Fins, which are about half way up their Sides. The *Sperma Ceti* Whale is much of the same Dimension with the other, but is of a greyish Colour, whereas the others are black. He has a Bunch on his Back like the Hump-back, but then he is distinguish'd by not having any Whalebone in the Mouth, instead of which there are Rows of fine Ivory Teeth in each Jaw, about five or six Inches long. One of these Teeth I have sent the *Society*; the Man who gave it me says the Whale was forty-nine Foot long, and his Head made twelve Barrels of *Sperma Ceti* Oil. They are a more gentle Fish than the other Whales, and seldom fight with their Tails, but when struck usually turn upon their Backs and fight with their Mouths. The Oil which is made of the Body of this Fish is much clearer and sweeter than that of the other Whales.

The *Sperma Ceti* Oil so called lies in a great Trunk, about four or five Foot deep, and ten or twelve Foot long, near the whole Depth, Breadth, and Length of the Head, in the Place of the Brains, and seems to be the same, and disposed in several membranous Cells, and cover'd not with a Bone but a thick gristly Substance below the Skin, through which they dig a Hole and lade out the clear Oil; not but that the Head and other glandulous Parts of this Fish will make the *Sperma Ceti* Oil, but the best, and that which is prepar'd by Nature, is in the Trunk aforesaid: And an ingenious Man, who has himself kill'd many of these Whales, assures me, that only the Trunk will afford from ten to twenty Barrels. Besides the *Sperma Ceti* Oil, this Fish will yield from twenty to fifty Barrels of common Oil.

They

They generate much like our neat Cattle, and therefore they are term'd Bull, Cow, and Calf: They bring forth but one at a time, and but every other Year. When the Cow takes Bull, she throws herself upon her Back, sinking her Tail, and so the Bull slides up, and when he is slid up she clasps him with her Fins. A Whale's Pizzel is six Foot long, and at the Root is seven or eight Inches diameter, and tapers away till it comes to about an Inch diameter; his Stones would fill half a Barrel, but his Genitals are not open or visible, like those of the true Bull. The Calf, or young Whale, has been found perfectly form'd in the Cow when not above seventeen Inches long, and white, and yet when brought forth is usually twenty Foot, but of a black Colour; it is supposed they go with their Young about nine or ten Months, and are very fat in that time, especially when they bring forth. When the Female suckles her Young she turns herself almost upon her Back upon the Rim of the Water. She has two Teats of six or eight Inches long, and ten or twelve Inches round. The Milk is white, like that of a Cow; and upon opening a young sucking Whale the Milk was found curdled in his Bag, just like that of a Calf.

Their Care of their Young is very remarkable, they not only carrying them on their Tails and suckling them, but often rising with them for the Benefit of the Air; and however they are chas'd and wounded, yet as long as they have Sense, and perceive Life in their Young, they will never leave them, nor will they then strike with their Tail; and if in their Running the young one loses his Hold and drops off, the Dam turns about, and passing

New-
England.

underneath takes it on again ; and therefore Care is taken by those who kill these Fish, only to fasten the Calf but not to kill her, till they have first secured the Cow ; for as soon as ever the Calf is dead the Cow perceives it, and grows so violent that there is no managing her.

The Whales are very gregarious, being sometimes found a hundred in a Scull, and are great Travellers: In the Fall of the Year the Whalebone Whales go Westward, and in the Spring they are headed Eastward: But here it must be noted, that the several kinds of Whales do not mix with one another, but keep by themselves.

Their way of Breathing is by two Spout-holes in the top of the Head: The *Sperma Ceti* Whale has but one, and that on the left Side of the Head. Once in a quarter of an Hour, when not disturbed, they are observ'd to rise and blow, spouting out Water and Wind, and to draw in fresh Air ; but when pursu'd they will sometimes keep under half an Hour or more, tho' it is observ'd, when any Cow has her Calf on her Tail she rises much oftner for the young one to breathe, without breathing herself. Out of their Breathing-holes they spout great Quantities of Blood when they have receiv'd their Death's Wound.

For the first Year they all suck the Dam : After they are weaned the right Whales (as is generally supposed) live upon ouzy Matter, which they suck up from the Bottom of the Sea. The Triers that open them when dead acquaint me that they never observ'd any Grass, Fish, or any other sort of Food in the right or Whalebone Whale, but only a greyish soft Clay, which the People call *Bole Armoniac* ;
and

and yet an experienc'd Whale-man tells me, that he has seen this Whale in still Weather skimming on the Surface of the Water, to take in a sort of reddish Spawn or Brett, as some call it, that at sometimes will lie upon the top of the Water for a Mile together. Here also it may be observ'd, that tho' the Body of this Whale is so very bulky, and so exceeding fat, yet when cut open is seldom found to have much more Draught than that of an Ox, and they dung much as neat Cattle do. Their Swallow is not much bigger than an Ox's, but the Fin-back Whale has a larger Swallow, for he lives upon the smaller Fish, as Mackarel, Herrings, &c. great Sculls of which they run through and with a short turn cause an Eddy or Whirlpool, by the Force of which the small Fish are brought into a Cluster, so that this Fish with open Mouth will take in some hundreds of them at a time. The *Sperma Ceti* Whale, besides other Fish, feeds much upon a small Fish that has a Bill, our Fishermen call them Squid-fish : The small Pieces of these Squid-bills are plainly to be discern'd in the Ambergris, and may be pick'd out of it ; they appear glazy, and like little Pieces of broken Shells.

Mr. *Harris*, in his *Bibliotheca Navigantium*, &c. has given us a very particular Account of the Method of taking Whales at *Greenland*, and tho' our Way in *New-England* differs very much from that, yet I shall wave it as not so strictly appertaining to Philosophy ; only I would take notice of the Boats our Whale-men use in going from the Shore after the Whale : They are made of Cedar Clapboards, and so very light that two Men can conveniently carry them, and yet they are twenty Foot long, and carry six Men, *viz.* the Harpioneer in the

New-
England.

The Way
of taking
Whales in
New-Eng-
land.

New-
England.

Fore-part of the Boat, four Oar-men and the Steersman. These Boats run very swift, and by reason of their Lightness can be brought on and off, and so kept out of Danger. The Whale is sometimes kill'd with a single Stroke, and yet at other times she will hold the Whalemén in Play near half a Day together with their Launces, and will sometimes get away after they have been launc'd and spouted Blood, with Irons in them, and Drags fasten'd to them, which are thick Boards about fourteen Inches square. Our People formerly us'd to kill the Whale near the Shore, but now they go off to Sea in Sloops and Whale-boats, in the Months of *May*, *June*, and *July*, between *Cape Cod* and *Bermudas*, where they lie-by in the Night, and sail to and again in the Day, and seldom miss of them, bringing home the Blubber in their Sloops. The true Season for taking the right or Whalebone Whale is from the Beginning of *February* to the End of *May*; of the *Sperma Ceti* Whale from the Beginning of *June* to the End of *August*: And it has been observ'd by our Fishermen, that when a *Sperma Ceti* Whale is struck, he usually if not always throws the Excrements out of the *Anus*.

The
Strength
of the
Whale
is in his
Tail.

The wonderful and even prodigious Strength of this Creature lies principally in their Tail, that being both their offensive and defensive Weapon. Many Instances of this kind I have had from credible Persons, who were Eye-Witnesses. I will mention but a few. A Boat has been cut down from top to bottom with the Tail of a Whale, as if cut with a Saw, the Clap-boards scarce splinter'd, tho' the Gunnel upon the top is of a rough Wood. Another has had the Stern or Stern-post, of about three Inches through, and of the toughest Wood
that

that can be found, into which the Ends of the Cedar Clap-boards are nail'd, cut off smooth above the Cuddee, without so much as shattering the Boat, or drawing the Nails of the Clap-boards. An Oar has been cut off with a Stroke upwards, and yet not so much as lifted up out of the Thole-pin. One Person had an Oar cut off while in his Hand, and yet never felt any Jarring.

New-
England.

A few Years since, one of the Fin-back Whales came into a Harbour near Cape Cod, and tow'd away a Sloop of near forty Ton out of the Harbour into the Sea. This Accident happen'd thus: It was thought the Whale was rubbing herself upon the Fluke of the Anchor, and going near the Bottom got the Fluke into her Nisket, or the Orifice of the *Uterus*, and finding herself caught, tore away with such Violence that she tow'd the Ship out of the Harbour as fast as if she had been under Sail with a good Gale of Wind, to the Astonishment of the People on Shore, for there was no body on Board. When the Whale came into deep Water she went under, and had like to have carry'd the Sloop with her, but the Cable gave way and so the Boats that were out after her recover'd it. This Whale was found dead some Days after on that Shore with the Anchor sticking in her Belly.

After a Whale is dead it has been observ'd that the same way the Head lies so the Head will lie, if not forcibly turn'd; and let the Wind blow which way it will, that way they will scull a-head tho' right in the Eye of the Wind, and they are much easier tow'd to the Shore, if they die that way with their Head than any other.

The

New-
England.

The
Killers
which
prey upon
Whales.

The Enemies of the Whale, or the Fish that prey upon the Whales and often kill the young ones (for they will not venture upon a young one, unless much wounded) our Whalemen have given the Name of Killers. The Killers are from twenty to thirty Foot long, and have Teeth in both Jaws that lock one within another : They have a Fin near the middle of their Backs four or five Foot long : They go in Company by Dozens and set upon a young Whale, and will bait him like so many Bull-Dogs ; some will lay hold of his Tail to keep him from threshing, while others lay hold of his Head, and bite and thresh him till the poor Creature being thus heated lolls out his Tongue, and then some of the Killers catch hold of his Lips, and if possible of his Tongue ; and after they have kill'd him they chiefly feed upon the Tongue and Head, but when he begins to putrify they leave him. This Killer is without doubt the Orca that Dr. Frangius describes in his *Treatise of Animals*. His Words are these : *Quando Orca insequitur balenam, ipsa balena horribilem edit mugitum non aliter quàm cum taurus mordetur à cane*. These Killers are of such invincible Strength, that when several Boats together have been towing a dead Whale, one of them has come and fasten'd his Teeth in her and carry'd her away down to the Bottom in an instant. And sometimes they have bit out a Piece of Blubber of about two Foot square, which is of that Toughness that an Iron with little Beards being struck into it will hold it till it draws the Boat under Water. The Killers are sometimes taken, and make good Oil, but have no Whalebone. The Carcases of Whales in the Sea serve for Food for Gulls and other Sea Fowl

as

as well as Sharks, for they are not very nice. New-England.

Many and various have been the Opinions (even of the learned World) as to the Origin and Nature of Ambergris. Some have reckon'd it a Bitumen, and to issue from the Intrails of the Earth; others, that it was produc'd from some Insect, as Honey, Silk, &c. The famous Mr. Boyle, as I find it in the second Volume of *Lowthorp's Abridgment of the Philosophical Transactions*, communicates an Account of Ambergris from a Dutch Merchant, who first denies it to be the Scum or Excrement of a Whale, and then gives it as his Opinion, that it is a fat Gum that issues from the Root of a Tree, and that you may raise it in Quantities by planting those Trees by the Shore, and so the Stream will cast it up to great Advantage. But it is now found out, that this *Occultum Naturæ* is an Animal Production, and bred in the Body of the *Sperma Ceti* Whale, analogous to what is found in some Animals of the Land, as the Musk-Hog, or *Taiacu*, the Musk-Deer, the *Bezoar* Sheep, and some amphibious Animals, as the *Musquash*, &c. who have their valuable Scent in a particular *Cystis* or Bag. I am apt to think that which first gave Occasion to the Notice of Ambergris being the Production of the Whale was because it was found in considerable Quantities on the Shores of the *Summer Islands*, and among the *Bahama's*, where the dead Whales are frequently wreck'd, and broke up with the Sea, and the Ambergris found floating on the Shore; but here again the Ingenious, until very lately, were at a loss, and divided in Opinion; for tho' they agreed it to come from the Whale, yet some took it to be

the

New-
England.

“ on the Water and detain’d by their Calves.”
This is certain, the Boats can never come near them when they are awake they are so very shy and fearful.

Mr. *Atkins*’s Method of getting the Amberggris out of the Whale was thus: After the Fish is kill’d he turns the Belly upwards and fixes a Tackle to the *Penis*; then cuts a Hole round the Root of the *Penis*, through the Rim of the Belly, till he comes to the Intrails, and then searching for the Duct or Canal at the further End of the Bag, cuts the Duct off beyond it, upon which he draws forth the *Penis* by the Tackle, and the Amberggris Bag entirely follows it, and comes clean and whole out of the Belly.

The Reverend Mr. *Prince* of *Boston*, who took the preceding Relation from Mr. *Atkins*, apprehends the Bag aforesaid to be the Urinary Bladder, and the Amberggris Ball to be a certain Concretion formed out of the greasy odoriferous Substance of the Liquor aforesaid contained within it. As for my own Part, I dare not pretend to give any opinion upon the Point, but content myself with relating Matter of Fact.

It may be added here, that the Bone taken out of the *New-England* Whales is not near so good as that taken out of the *Greenland* Whales, being too brittle for the Uses Whalebone is put to, otherwise we should not be oblig’d to import so much of the *Hollanders* Whalebone: But as the *New-England* Men are now got into the way of fishing for Whales in *Greenland*, it is probable they will be able to furnish their Mother Country with the best Whalebone in a few Years, and we shall not be oblig’d to
part

part with so much Treasure to the *Dutch* for this kind of Merchandize. New-England.

The Plants of *England*, as well those of the Fields and Orchards as of the Garden that have been brought over hither, suit mighty well with our Soil, and grow here to great Perfection. New-England Plants by Dudley.

Our Apples are without doubt as good as those of *England*, and much fairer to look to, and so are the Pears, but we have not got of all the Sorts.

Our Peaches do rather excell those of *England*, and then we have not the Trouble or Expence of Walls for them; for our Peach-Trees are all Standards, and I have had in my own Garden seven or eight hundred fine Peaches of the Rare-ripes growing at a time on one Tree.

Our People of late Years have run so much upon Orchards, that in a Village near *Eoston*, consisting of about forty Families, they made near three thousand Barrels of Cyder: This was in the Year 1721. And in another Town of two hundred Families, in the same Year, I am credibly inform'd they made near ten thousand Barrels. Some of our Apple-Trees will make six, some have made seven Barrels of Cyder, but this is not common; and the Apples will yield from seven to nine Bushels for a Barrel of Cyder. A good Apple-Tree with us will measure from six to ten Foot in girt. I have seen a fine Pearmain at a Foot from the Ground measure ten Foot and four Inches round: This Tree in one Year has borne thirty-eight Bushels (by Measure) of as fine Pearmain as ever I saw in *England*. A *Kentish* Pippin at three Foot from the Ground seven Foot in girt: A Golden-Rossetin six

New-
England.

Foot round. The largest Apple-Tree that I could find was ten Foot and six Inches round, but this was no Graft.

An Orange Pear-Tree grows the largest and yields the fairest Fruit. I know one of them near forty Foot high that measures six Foot and six Inches in girt a Yard from the Ground, and has borne thirty Bushels at a time; and this Year I measur'd an Orange-Pear that grew in my own Orchard of eleven Inches round the bulge. I have a Warden Pear-Tree that measures five Foot six Inches round. One of my Neighbours has a Bergamot Pear-Tree, that was brought from *England* in a Box about the Year 1643, that now measures six Foot about, and has borne twenty-two Bushels of fine Pears in one Year. About twenty Years since, the Owner took a Cyon and grafted it upon a common Hedge-Pear, but the Fruit does not prove altogether so good, and the Rind or Skin is thicker than that of the original.

Our Peach-Trees are large and fruitful, and bear commonly in three Years from the Stone. I have one in my Garden of twelve Years Growth that measures two Foot and an Inch in girt a Yard from the Ground, which two Years ago bore me near a Bushel of fine Peaches. Our common Cherries are not so good as the *Kentish* Cherries of *England*; and we have no Dukes, or Heart-Cherries, unless in two or three Gardens.

Some Years since, I measur'd a *Platanus Occidentalis*, or Button-wood-Tree (as they are call'd here) of nine Yards in girt, and it held its Bigness a great way up. This Tree, when it was cut down, I am inform'd, made twenty-two Cord of Wood. A Gentleman tells me, that in the Forest he met with a
strait

strait Ash that grew like a Pillar of a great Height, and free from Limbs, that measured fourteen Foot eight Inches round, near a Yard from the Ground; and the other Day I met with a Sassafras-Tree that measured five Foot three Inches in girt. I meddle not here with our noble Pines and Cedars, because I design to treat of them in a Chapter of the Ever-greens of this Country. Among our Trees of quick and easy Growth, the Button-wood, before-mention'd, and the Locust-Tree are the most remarkable; as to the latter, by the Description Mr. Moore, while in *New-England*, gave me of the Manna-Tree, our Locust-Tree may be call'd the *American Manna*. I have known a Seed of it blown off from the Tree into my Garden that took Root of itself, and in less than two Years was got above six Foot high, and as big about as a common Walking-cane. The *Platanus* I have frequently propagated by cutting off Sticks of five or six Foot long, and setting them a Foot deep in the Ground, in the Spring of the Year when the Season was wet; they thrive best in a moist Soil.

An Onion set out for Seed will rise to four Foot nine Inches in Height. A Parsnip will reach to eight Foot: Red Orrice will mount nine Foot, White Orrice eight. In the Pastures I measur'd Seed-Mullen nine Foot two Inches in Height, and one of the common Thistles above eight Foot.

Among the remarkable Instances of the Power of Vegetation, I shall begin with an Account of a Pompion Seed, which I have well attested from a worthy Divine. The Relation is as follows: That in the Year 1699, a single Pompion Seed was accidentally drop'd in a small Pasture where Cattle had been

New-
Eng'land.

been fodder'd for some time. This single Seed took Root of itself, and without any manner of Care the Vine run along over several Fences, and spread over a large Piece of Ground far and wide, and continued its Progress till the Frost came and kill'd it. This Seed had no more than one Stalk but a very large one, for it measured eight Inches round. From this single Vine they gather'd two hundred and sixty Pompions, and one with another as big as a Half-peck, enough in the whole to fill a large Tumbrel, besides a considerable Number of small and unripe Pompions that they made no account of. The *Philosophical Transactions* give an Account of a single Plant of Barley that by steeping and watering with Salt-petre dissolved in Water produced two hundred and forty-nine Stalks, and eighteen thousand Grains; but then there was Art and even Force in that Case, whereas in ours there was nothing but pure Nature and Accident.

Our *Indian* Corn is the most prolifick Grain that we have, and commonly produces twelve hundred and often two thousand Grains from one; but the fairest Computation is thus: Six Quarts of this Grain will plant an Acre of Ground, and it is not unusual for an Acre of good Ground to produce fifty Bushels of Corn. *Indian* Corn is of several Colours, as blue, white, red, and yellow; and if they are planted separately, so that no other Sort be near them, they will keep to their own Colour: But if in the same Field you plant the blue Corn in one Row of Hills (as we term them) and the white or yellow in the next Row, they will mix and interchange their Colours, that is, some of the Ears of Corn in the blue Corn Rows shall be white or yellow, and some again in the
the

the white or yellow Rows shall be blue. Our Hills of *Indian* Corn are generally about four Foot asunder, and so continued in a strait Line as far as the Field will allow ; and then a second Line or Row of Hills and so on ; and yet this mixing and interchanging of Colours has been observ'd when the Distance between the Row of Hills has been several Yards: and a worthy Clergyman of an Island in this Province assures me, that the blue Corn has thus communicated or exchang'd even at the Distance of four or five Rods, and particularly in one Place where there was a broad Ditch of Water betwixt them. Some of our People, but especially the *Aborigines*, have been of opinion that this Commixtion and Interchange was owing to the Roots and small Fibres reaching to and communicating with one another : But this must certainly be a Mistake, considering the great Distance of the Communication, especially at some times, and crosses a Canal of Water ; for the small Fibres of the Roots of our *Indian* Corn cannot extend above four or five Foot. I am therefore humbly of opinion, that the *Stamina*, or Principles of this wonderful Copulation, or mixing of Colours, are carry'd by the Wind, and that the Season of it is when the Corn is in the Earing, and while the Milk is in the Grain ; for at that time the Corn is in a sort of Estuation, and emits a strong Scent. One thing which confirms the Air's being the Medium of this Communication of Colours in the Corn is an Observation of one of my Neighbours, that a close high Board Fence between two Fields of Corn, that were of a different Colour, entirely prevented any Mixture or Alteration of Colour from that they were planted with.

Forest-

New-
England.
Forest-
Trees.

Forest-Trees and others of the Growth of *New-England* are Cedar, Oak, Ash, Elm, Cypress, Pine, Fir, Aspin, Beech, Walnut, Chesnut, Hazel, Sassafras, Summack, and other Woods used in dying and tanning Leather. Their Fir Trees are of an uncommon Growth, and furnish the royal Navy of *England* with Masts and Yards; they draw also from these and other Trees Pitch, Tar, Rosin, Turpentine, Gums and Balms used in Physick and Surgery: And the Soil is extremely proper for Hemp and Flax.

Fruits.

They had a Variety of Fruits of their own Growth before the *English* arrived, particularly Grapes, Strawberries, Raspberries, Hurtleberries, Filberts, and many more mention'd among the Plants of *Virginia*: As also Roots and Sallad-Herbs, several Sorts of Beans and Pulse, but they had the greatest Plenty of Kidney-Beans of any of them. I proceed in the next

Trade and
Manufac-
tures of
the *British*
Colonies.

Place to speak of their Trade and Manufactures, the best Account whereof we meet with in the Representation of the Board of Trade to the *House of Commons*, in the Year 1732.

Paper.

In this Representation they inform the House that an Act passed in the General Assembly of the *Massachusetts* Colony in the Year 1728, entituled, *An Act for the Encouragement of the making of Paper*; but that Manufacture, however, has hitherto made but a very small Progress, and can hardly be said to interfere with the Paper Manufacture in *Old-England*, because almost all the Paper sent to *New-England* from hence is foreign Manufacture; but it certainly interferes with the Profit made by the *British* Merchants upon foreign Paper sent to this Province: However, no Complaints have ever been made to us against this Law.

By

By the Return to our Circular Letter from the Governor of *New-Hampshire* we are informed, that an Act passed many Years since in that Province for encouraging of Iron-works, by which the Exportation of Iron Ore is prohibited; but, upon the most diligent Enquiry, no such Act is to be found in our Office, and we believe none such was ever transmitted to this Board: However, not knowing whether this Act might not have passed since the late King's Accession, we have inserted it in this List.

A Law passed in the Year 1728, in *New-York*, entitled, *An Act to repeal some Parts, and to continue and enforce other Parts of the Act therein mentioned, and for granting several Duties to his Majesty for supporting his Government in the Colony of New-York, from the 1st of September, which will be in the Year 1733*; wherein (among other Duties) one was laid of five Ounces of Plate, or forty Shillings in Bills of Credit, on every *Negro* imported from *Africa*, and a Duty of four Pounds on every *Negro* imported from any other Place.

The Plantations in all Times past have laid Duties upon the Importation of *Negroes*, and as the Merchants have naturally increased their Price in proportion to those Duties, so it is but lately that Complaints have been made against these Duties, unless they went to Excess: But the Board are of opinion, that it would be more for the Convenience of the Trade that these Duties should for the future be paid by the Purchaser than by the Importer; and his Majesty has (upon our Representation) been pleased to send an Instruction to that Effect to all the Governors in *America*.

By the Charter of *Pensylvania* it has already been observed, that the Proprietor is obliged

New-
England.

to offer the Laws of the Province to the Crown, for Approbation or Disallowance, within five Years after they are passed; and if his Majesty does not think fit to repeal them in six Months from the Time they are so offered, it is not in the Power of the Crown to repeal them afterwards; but since the Year 1715 this Article of the Charter has been evaded, and the Laws of this Province have not been transmitted to this Board (except occasionally an Act or two;) so that we are not enabled to lay a State of the Laws of this Province before the House.

That upon a late Petition to his Majesty from the Merchants of *London*, in the Behalf of themselves and others, complaining that, as the Law now stands in some of the Colonies, his Subjects residing in *Great-Britain* are left without any Remedy for the Recovery of their just Debts, or have such only as is very partial and precarious; as also that in several of the said Colonies and Plantations greater and higher Duties and Impositions are laid on the Ships and Goods belonging to Subjects in *Great-Britain*, than on the Goods and Ships of Persons inhabiting the said Colonies and Plantations.

The Plan-
tations
partial to
themselves

The said Merchants being desired to acquaint the Board whether they knew of any particular Laws in the Colonies against which they had Reason to object, they did deliver to us a List of Laws wherein the said Colonies appear to have been very partial in their own Favour; in some of them exempting their Persons from Arrests, in others giving a Preference to the Inhabitants before the *British* Merchants in the Recovery of Debts, and enacting Duties where a less Burthen is laid upon their own Effects than upon those of the *British* Merchants.

We

We beg leave to acquaint this House, that, pursuant to an Order of the Committee of Council, this Board did, on the 5th of *December*, 1728, make a very particular Enquiry into the State of the Plantations at that Time, with respect to Silk, Linnen and Woollen Manufactures established there; and having then discoursed with many Persons who had either been Governors of some of the Colonies, or were by other Means well acquainted with their Circumstances, it appeared to this Board, and we did accordingly represent,

New-England.
A State of the Silk, Linnen and Woollen Manufactures in the Plantations.

That in the Colonies of *New-England*, *New-York*, *Connecticut*, *Rhode-Island*, *Pensylvania*, and in the County of *Somerset* in *Maryland*, the People had fallen into the Manufacture of Woollen and Linnen Cloth for the Use of their own Families; but we could not learn they had ever manufactured any for Sale in those Colonies, except in a small *Indian* Town in *Pensylvania*, where some *Palatines* had then lately settled.

The Reasons why these People had begun this Manufacture were,

1st, That the Product of those Colonies being chiefly Stock and Grain, the Estates of the Inhabitants depended wholly upon Farming; and as this could not be carried on without a certain Quantity of Sheep, their Wool would be entirely lost, were not their Servants employ'd at leisure times of the Year, but chiefly during the Winter, in manufacturing it for the Use of their Families.

Produce of some of them.

2^{dly}, That Flax and Hemp being likewise easily raised, the Inhabitants manufactured them into a coarse Sort of Cloth-bags, Traces and Halters for their Horses, which they found did

New-
England.

more Service than those they had from any Part of *Europe*.

3dly, That these Settlements, which were distant from Water-Carriage, and remotely situated in the Woods, had no Opportunities of a Market for Grain; and therefore, as they did not raise more Corn than was sufficient for their own Use, they had the more time to manufacture both Wool and Flax for the Service of their Families, and seemed to be under a greater Necessity of doing it.

Upon a farther Enquiry into this Matter, we do not find that those People had the same Temptation to go on with those Manufactures during the Time that the Bounty upon Naval Stores subsisted, having then Encouragement to employ their leisure Hours in another Way, and more profitably both to themselves and this Kingdom; for the Height of Wages, and great Price of Labour in general in *America*, made it impracticable for the People there to manufacture their Linnen Cloth at less than 20 *per Cent.* more than the Rate in *England*, or Woollen Cloth at less than 50 *per Cent.* dearer than that which is exported from hence for Sale. We conceive it was to be wish'd, that some Expedient might be fallen upon to divert their Thoughts from Undertakings of this Nature; so much the rather, because those Manufactures, in Process of Time, might be carried on in a greater Degree, unless an early Stop were put to their Progress; and the most natural Inducement that we could think of to engage the People in *America* to desist from these Pursuits, was to employ them in Naval Stores: Wherefore we take leave to renew our repeated Proposals, that a reasonable Encouragement should be given for the making

The raising Naval Stores ought to be encouraged in the Plantations.

making, raising and manufacturing Naval Stores of all kinds in the Plantations, from whence we might be furnish'd in Return for our own Manufactures. New-England.

But several Alterations have happened since that Time; and by such Lights as we have been able to acquire we find Trades carried on and Manufactures set up there detrimental to the Trade, Navigation and Manufacture of *Great-Britain*. now carried on there pre-judicial to Old England.

The State of the Plantations varying almost every Year more or less in their Trade and Manufactures, as well as in other Particulars, we thought it necessary for his Majesty's Service, and for the Discharge of our Trust, from time to time to send certain General Queries to the several Governors in *America*, that we might be the more exactly informed of the Condition of the said Plantations; among which there were several that related to their Trade and Manufactures: To which we received the following Returns.

New-Hampshire.

Colonel *Shute*, Governor of *New-Hampshire*, in his Answer to the same Queries in 1719, said, That there were no settled Manufactures in that Province, and that their Trade principally consisted in Lumber and Fish.

Massachuset's-Bay in New-England.

Colonel *Shute*, at the same time Governor of the *Massachuset's-Bay*, inform'd us, that in some Parts of this Province the Inhabitants worked up their Wool and Flax, and made an ordinary coarse Cloth for their own Use; but did not export any: That the greatest Part both of the Linnen and Woollen Cloathing, Woollen Manufacture in New-England.
that

New-England. that was then worn in this Province, was imported from *Great - Britain*, and sometimes Linnen from *Ireland*; but, considering the excessive Price of Labour in *New-England*, the Merchants could afford what was imported cheaper than what was made in that Country.

Hats and Leather. That there were also a few Hatters set up in the maritime Towns, and that the greatest Part of the Leather used in that Country was manufactured amongst themselves.

Iron. That there had been for many Years some Iron-works in that Province, which had afforded the People Iron for some of their necessary Occasions; but that the Iron imported from *Great-Britain* was esteemed much the best, and wholly used by the Shipping.

That the Iron-works of that Province were not able to supply the twentieth Part of what was necessary for the Use of the Country.

New-York.

Produce of New-York. General *Hunter*, formerly Governor of *New-York*, in his Answer to the Queries in the Year 1720, inform'd us, that they had no Manufactures in that Province that deserved mentioning; and that the Trade consisted chiefly in Furs, Whalebone, Oil, Pitch, Tar and Provisions.

New-Jersey.

General *Hunter*, formerly Governor of this Province, also informs us, in his Answer to the same Queries in the Year 1720, that there were in that Province no Manufactures that deserve mentioning; and that their Trade was chiefly in Provisions exported to *New-York* and *Pennsylvania*.

Pensyl-

Pensylvania.

New-
England.

Colonel *Hart*, formerly Governor of *Maryland*, who lived many Years in the Neighbourhood of this Government, in Answer to the like Queries in 1720, relating to this Province, said, that their chief Trade lay in the Exportation of Provisions and Lumber; and that they had no Manufactures establish'd, their Cloathing and Utenfils for their Houses being all imported from *Great-Britain*.

New-Hampshire.

Mr. *Belcher*, Governor of *New-Hampshire*, Linnen made in *New-Hampshire* informs us, that the Woollen Manufacture of that Province was much less than formerly, the common Lands on which the Sheep used to feed being now divided into particular Properties, and the People almost wholly cloathed with Woollen from *Great-Britain*: That the manufacturing of Flax into Linnen (some coarser, some finer) daily increased, by the great Resort of People from *Ireland* into this Province, who are well skilled in that Business.

And the chief Trade of this Province continued, as for many Years past, in the Exportation of Naval Stores, Lumber and Fish. Naval Stores, &c.

Massachuset's-Bay in *New-England*.

Mr. *Belcher*, the present Governor of this Province, in Answer to the same Queries, which we sent him in *June* last, informs us,

That there is a Resolve of the Assembly of that Province subsisting, for allowing a Bounty of twenty Shillings to all Persons, and ten Shillings more to *John Powell*, the first Undertaker, for every Piece of Duck or Canvas by Canvas for Sails in the *Massachuset's*.

New-England. by them made; but he does not give us any Account of the Quantity that has been made.

Brown Hollands made there. He farther says, that there are some other Manufactures carried on there, as the making of brown Hollands for Womens Wear, which lessens the Importation of Callicoes and some other sorts of *Indian* Goods in that Province.

Cotton and Linnen. That there are likewise some small Quantities of Cloth made of Linnen and Cotton, for ordinary Shirting and Sheeting.

Paper. That about three Years ago a Paper-mill was set up, which makes to the Value of about 200 *l.* Sterling *per ann.*

Iron-works. That there are several Forges for making Bar-Iron, and some Furnaces for Cast-Iron (or Hollow-ware) and one Slitting-mill, the Undertaker whereof carries on the Manufacture on Nails.

Woollen Cloth. As to the Woollen Manufacture, Mr. *Belcher* says, the Country People, who used formerly to make most of their Cloathing out of their own Wooll, do not now make a third Part of what they wear, but are mostly clothed with *British* Manufactures.

Copper-Mines in the *Massachusetts* Colony. We are likewise informed, by some Letters of older Date from Mr. *Belcher*, in Answer to our annual Queries, that there are some few Copper-Mines in this Province, but so far distant from Water-Carriage, and the Ore so poor, that it is not worth the digging.

No Duties there on *East-India* Goods. Colonel *Dunbar*, Surveyor-General of his Majesty's Woods, in his Letter of *September* the 15th, 1730, takes notice, that the People of *New-England* have an Advantage over those of *Great-Britain*, in the Draw-back for all *India* and other Goods exported, which pay a Duty in *Great-Britain*, and no Duty is paid upon importing them into the Plantations. He has

has likewise sent this Board several Samples of Edge-Tools made in *New-England*; and in his Letter to our Secretary of the 4th of *June* 1731, he says they have six Furnaces and nineteen Forges for making Iron in *New-England*.

He also informs us, in his Letter of the 19th of *August*, 1730, that in this Province many Ships are built for the *French* and *Spaniards*, in return for Rum, Molosses, Wines, and Silks, which they truck there by Con-
vance.

These Informations have been in a great measure confirm'd by Mr. *Jeremiah Dummer*, Deputy Surveyor of the Woods, and also by Mr. *Thomas Coram*, a Person of Reputation, who resided many Years in *New-England*: To which they have added, that great Quantities of Hats are made in *New-England*, of which the Company of Hatters of *London* have likewise lately complain'd to us: And Mr. *Jeremiah Dummer* further says, that great Quantities of Hats made in that Province are exported to *Spain*, *Portugal*, and our *West-India* Islands; and that they make all sorts of Iron-work for Shipping, and that there are several Still-houses and Sugar-bakers establish'd in *New-England*.

New-York.

Mr. *Rip Van Dam*, President of the Council of this Province, in his Letter of the 29th of *October* last, informs us, that there are no Manufactures establish'd there that can affect the Manufactures of *Great-Britain*.

And as to the Trade and Navigation of the Province, he acquaints us there is yearly imported into *New-York* a very large Quantity of the Woollen Manufacture of this Kingdom for their Cloathing; which they should be

New-England.
Edge-Tools made there.
Six Furnaces and fourteen Forges in *New-England*.
Ships fold the *French* and *Spaniards* for Rum, Wine, and Silk.
Hats exported.
Wrought Iron.
Distillers and Sugar-bakers.

New-
England.

Produce
of the
foreign
Sugar
Colonies
imported
into *New-
York* and
*New-Jer-
sey*.

Hats made
there.

render'd incapable to pay for, and reduc'd to the necessity of making for themselves, if they were prohibited from receiving from the foreign Sugar Colonies the Money, Rum, Sugar, Molasses, Cacao, Indico, Cotton, Wool, &c. which they at present take in return for Provisions, Horses, and Lumber, the Produce of that Province and *New-Jersey*, of which he affirms the *British* Sugar Colonies do not take off above one half.

But the Company of Hatters in *London* have since inform'd us that Hats are manufactur'd in great Quantities in this Province.

New-Jersey.

Mr. *Morris*, who is at present Commander in chief to this Province, has made no particular Return for the same.

Pensylvania.

Major *Gordon*, Deputy-Governor of *Pensylvania*, in his Answer receiv'd the 24th of the last Month, informs us, that he does not know of any Trade carry'd on in that Province that can be injurious to this Kingdom; and that they do not export any Woollen or Linnen Manufactures, all they make (which are of a coarser sort) being for the Use of themselves and Families.

Brigan-
tines and
Sloops
built in
*Pensylva-
nia*.

We are further inform'd, that in this Province are built Brigantines and small Sloops, which they sell to the *West-Indies*.

Rhode-Island.

Iron-
works in
*Rhode-
Island*.

The Governor of *Rhode-Island*, in his Answer to *Queries* dated the 9th of *November* last, informs us, that there are Iron Mines there, but not a fourth Part Iron enough to serve their
own

own Use; but he takes no Notice of any fort
of Manufacture set up there.

New-
England.

Connecticut.

We have no Return from the Governor of this Province; but we find by some Accounts, that the Produce of this Colony is Timber-board, all sorts of *English* Grain, Hemp, Flax, Sheep, Cattle, Swine, Horses, Goats, and Tobacco, of which they export Horses and Lumber to the *West-Indies*, and receive in return Sugar, Salt, Molosses and Rum. We likewise find that their Manufactures are very inconsiderable, the People there being generally employ'd in Tillage; some few in Tanning, Shoe-making, and other Handicrafts; others in Building, Joiners, Taylors, and Smiths Work, without which they could not subsist.

Produce
and Hand-
icrafts in
Connecticut

The Sugar Colonies, viz. Jamaica, Leeward Islands, and Barbadoes.

By the last Returns which we have had from those Islands to our circular *Queries*, we do not find that they have any other Manufactures establish'd besides those of Sugar, Molosses, Rum, and Indigo of their own Produce; these, with Cotton, Aloes, Piemento, and some other Productions of less Note, are their whole Dependance, which are Commodities no ways interfering with the Manufactures of this Kingdom.

No Ma-
nufactures
in the
Sugar I-
lands
which in-
terfere
with those
of *Britain*.
Their
Produce.

In the 1724, Mr. *Worfeley*, then Governor of *Barbadoes*, inform'd us, that of Cotton they made Hammocks, a few Stockings, and Nets for Horses.

From the foregoing State it is observable, that there are more Trades carry'd on, and

New-
England.

Reflecti-
ons on the
Charter
Govern-
ments.

Manufactures set up in the Provinces on the Continent of *America* to the Northward of *Virginia* prejudicial to the Trade and Manufactures of *Great-Britain*, particularly in *New-England*, than in any other of the *British* Colonies, which is not to be wonder'd at; for their Soil, Climate, and Produce being pretty near the same with ours, they have no Staple Commodities of their own Growth to exchange for our Manufactures, which puts them under greater Necessity, as well as under greater Temptation of providing for themselves at home. To which may be added, in the Charter Governments the little Dependence they have upon their Mother Country, and consequently the small Restraints they are under in any Matters detrimental to her Interest.

And therefore we would humbly beg leave to report and submit to the Wisdom of this honourable House the Substance of what we formerly propos'd in our Report on the Silk, Linnen, and Woollen Manufactures herein before recited; namely, whether it might not be expedient to give these Colonies proper Encouragements for turning their Industry to such Manufactures and Products as might be of Service to *Great-Britain*, and more particularly to the Production of all kinds of naval Stores.

Trade and
Produce of
*Rhode I-
land* and
*Providence
Plantation*

From a considerable Merchant of *New-England* I receiv'd the following Account of the Trade and Produce of *Rhode Island* and *Providence Plantation* (viz.) That they have a great Trade by Sea to the *British West-Indies*, to the *Dutch* Colonies at *Surinam*, on the Continent of *South-America*, and to the *Dutch* Island of *Curaco*, or *Curaçow*, near the Coast of *Terra-Firma*, whither they send Horses, Salt,

Salt, Provisions and Lumber, that is, Deal-boards, Pipe-staves, Hoops, and Shingles. They also send their Ships sometimes by the way of the *West-Indies* to *London*: And several Vessels sail annually to the Bay of *Honduras* for Logwood, which they transport to *Europe*; but this Colony has very little concern in the Fishery.

New-England.

Trade with the Dutch and the Spaniards.

They are supply'd with most of their *British* Manufactures from *Boston*; but sometimes they import these themselves directly from *Great-Britain*. It is a pleasant healthful and fruitful Country. They breed and feed great Numbers of Horses and black Cattle, their Land being proper for grazing. They have some *Indian* Corn indeed, but very little other Grain, importing most of their Wheat from *New-York*, and some from *Virginia*. Here are some Iron Mines also wrought, and turn to a good Account; for they make many of their own Edg'd-Tools and Implements of Husbandry.

A grazing Country.

Mines.





C H A P. V.

Of the History of New-England.

Two
Compa-
nies erec-
ted by one
Patent.



The Lon-
don-Com-
pany plant
South-Vir-
ginia.

The Ply-
mouth-
Company
trade to
North-Vir-
ginia or
New-Eng-
land.

ING James I, by Letters Patents, dated the 10th of *April*, 1606, erected two Companies of Adventurers, empowering them to send Colonies to *Virginia* (as the North-east Coast of *America* was then called) the first of which Companies obtained the Name of the *London-Company*, and were authorised to plant Colonies between 34 and 41 Degrees of North Latitude; and the other obtained the Name of the *Plymouth-Company*, and were empower'd to plant their People between 38 and 45 Degrees of North Latitude; but it was provided that the said Companies should not interfere or fix themselves within an hundred Miles of each other: The *London-Company* hereupon sent out Ships the very same Year, and planted that Country to which the Name of *Virginia* is now appropriated, as has been already related; but the *Plymouth-Company* contented themselves for some Years with trafficking with the Natives of *North-Virginia* (as *New-England* was then called) for Furs, and fishing upon that Coast. Two Ships being employ'd in this Fishery in the Year 1614, commanded by Captain *John Smith* (formerly President of *South-Virginia*) and Captain *Thomas Hunt*, Captain *Smith* went on Shore, and took

took a particular View of the Country of the *Massachusetts*, and had some Skirmishes with the Natives: After which he returned to *England*, ordering *Hunt* to sail with the other Ship to *Spain*, and dispose of the Fish he had taken there; but *Hunt*, proposing to make a Market of the Natives themselves, as well as of their Fish, after Captain *Smith* was gone, enticed twenty-seven of the *Indians* on Board his Ship; and then setting sail with them to *Malaga*, sold them there to the *Spaniards* for Slaves, at the Rate of twenty Pounds a Man; among whom was an *Indian* called *Squanto*, afterwards very serviceable to the *English*. This Outrage was so resented by the *Indians* for the present, that all Commerce with them became impracticable; nor was this the first time the Natives had been thus violently carried away by the *English*; for Captain *Harlow*, in the Year 1611, surpris'd one *Epenow*, and two more of his Countrymen, and brought them to *England*; where *Epenow*, having learned *English* enough to impose upon his Masters, and understanding that the Hopes of acquiring Mountains of Gold was the principal Inducement the *English* had to visit his Country, the cunning *Indian*, in order to get thither again, pretended there was a rich Gold Mine not far from the Country where he was born, which he would guide them to if they thought it worth their while to fit out a Ship on such an Expedition. This Overture had the Success *Epenow* expected, and Captain *Hobson* was dispatched the next Year, with Provisions, Tools and Materials proper to make a Settlement and open the Mines *Epenow* had given them Intelligence of. The Ship arriving on the Coast of the *Massachusetts*, several *Indians* came on Board, promising to return the

New-
England.

Hunt spirits away twenty-seven of the Natives, and sells them for Slaves in *Spain*.

A Stratagem of an *Indian* to get home again.

New-
England.

the next Day with Furs and other Merchandize; and they did indeed return, but in a hostile manner, with twenty Canoes full of armed Men, and *Epenow* beckoning to them to approach nearer the Ship, jump'd into the Sea and made his Escape to them: Whereupon the *English* fired upon the Canoes, and were answered with a Flight of Arrows, and several were wounded on both Sides, among whom was Captain *Hobson* himself: After which the Captain, without attempting any thing farther, thought fit to return to *England*.

In the Year 1619, Captain *Dormer* was sent to *New-England*, and with him *Squanto* the *Indian*, as an Interpreter, to endeavour to make Peace with the Natives, and settle a Colony in the *Massachusetts-Bay*; but to no purpose, the *Indians* would not be reconciled, and in a Skirmish with them *Dormer* received fourteen Wounds; whereupon he proceeded to *Virginia*, leaving *Squanto* on Shore in *New-England*.

The Ori-
ginal of
the *New-
England
Colonies*.

In the mean time some *Brownists*, the very worst of our *English* Sectaries, who had render'd themselves obnoxious to the Government by the rebellious Principles they taught, thought fit to transport themselves to *Amsterdam*; where not being able to agree among themselves, Part of them removed with their Preacher Mr. *John Robinson* to *Leyden* about the Year 1610; where having remained seven Years more, either the *Dutch* grew weary of them, or they grew weary of the *Dutch*; for the *Brownists* complained of very great Hardships, declaring that Imprisonment in *England* was preferable to the Condition of Refugees in *Holland*; and many of them actually returned to *England*. Whereupon *Robinson* and his Elders, apprehending

hending a general Desertion of their Flock, hit upon this Expedient to keep them together, and increase their Numbers: They represented that *New-England* was not only a Place which abounded with all Things desirable in Life, but that there were great Expectations of discovering Treasures there equal to those of *Mexico* or *Peru*: However, as it was known to be a fruitful Soil, and the Climate not unlike that of *Old-England*, here the Sectaries might live in Peace and Plenty, and enjoy the Freedom of their Consciences, and probably become the Founders of some mighty State; they proposed therefore to the Dissenters in *England* to join them, and make a common Purse, with which they might purchase a Territory in *New-England* of the *Plymouth-Company*, and obtain a Patent from his Majesty King *James I.* for the free Exercise of their Religion, and furnish themselves with Ships, Men, Provisions, and Utensils to plant the Country.

This Project many Dissenters came into, and some others, on a Prospect of making their Fortunes, and immediately applied themselves to the then Ministry for a Patent, which they at length obtained by the Mediation of Sir *Robert Nanton* Secretary of State, and Sir *Edward Sandys*; but it seems the Patent was not so full as they expected, for there was not an express Toleration of their Religion contained in it, only an Assurance that their Worship should be connived at.

The Motives made use of at Court to obtain this Grant were, the glorious Pretence of propagating the Christian Religion among Infidels, the extending his Majesty's Dominions, and the enriching their Mother-Country; and possibly it might be suggested, that they

New-
England.

should thereby prevent both the *French* and *Dutch* possessing themselves of this desirable Country, which they were attempting to do at this time. All Things being at length agreed upon, the *Leyden* Adventurers embarked at *Delf* in *Holland* in *July* 1620, and arrived at *Southampton* the latter End of that Month, where they found their Friends on Board a Ship of near two hundred Tons. (It seems *Mr. Robinson* and great Part of his Congregation remained in *Holland*, not designing to embark till they received Advice of the Success of this first Attempt.)

The two Ships having provided themselves with all manner of Necessaries at *Southampton* for establishing a Colony, and taken to the Value of between two and three thousand Pounds in Merchandize on Board to traffick with the *Indians*, they set sail on the 5th of *August*, but the smaller Ship springing a Leak they were forced to return into Harbour again; and the leaky Vessel being at length found unfit for the Sea, they remov'd part of their Men and Provisions into the large Ship, which set sail from *Plymouth* on the 6th of *September* with an hundred and fifty People on Board, including the Sea-men, and after a stormy Passage they arriv'd at *Cape Cod* in *New-England* on the 9th of *November* following.

The first
Colony set
sail for
*New-Eng-
land*, and
arrive at
Cape Cod.

Our Adventurers were bound for *Hudson's* River, at the Mouth whereof *New-York* now stands; but their Pilot, 'tis said, was brib'd by the *Dutch* to carry them further North, the *Hollanders* proposing to plant that Country with their own People, as they actually did soon after. Certain it is, our Adventurers finding the Winter exceeding sharp, and sailing become dangerous on that Coast, resolv'd to fix themselves

themselves at the first good Harbour they should meet with. They went on Shore therefore in their Boats; and having taken a View of the Country over-against Cape Cod, after a Month's laborious Search, many Hazards at Sea, and some Skirmishes with the Natives on Shore, they arriv'd at a very commodious Bay, on which they built a Town, and gave it the Name of *Plymouth*, being situate in 42 Degrees North Latitude, a great way to the North-East of the Country they had purchas'd and obtain'd a Patent to plant. They determin'd therefore to have no regard to the Letters Patents they had obtain'd from the Crown, but to elect a Governor, and strike out such a Form of Government as they could agree on among themselves.

New-England.

New-Plymouth founded.

The Planters design'd to stay in the Country, including Women and Children, were about an hundred, of whom only one Boy dy'd in the Passage. Their Historians mention no more than nineteen Families that settled at *Plymouth*, and give us the Names but of forty-one effective Men, among whom the chief were *John Carver*, *William Bradford*, *Edward Winslow* (*John Brewster*, Assistant to Mr. *Robinson* abovemention'd, and ruling Elder of his Church, to whose Care he committed that Part of his Flock who engaged in this Enterprize) *Isaac Allerton*, *Miles Standish*, *John Howland*, *Richard Warren*, *Stephen Hopkins*, *Edward Tilly*, *Christopher Martin*, *William White*, *Richard Clark*, and *Thomas English*.

The chief Planters.

The first thing they consider'd after their Landing was the Choice of a Governor, and were unanimous in conferring that Post upon Mr. *John Carver*. They also agreed to submit to such Laws as should be approv'd of

New-
England.

by the Majority, and sign'd an Instrument to that Effect; but such were the Fatigues and Hardships this young Colony underwent the first Winter, that out of an hundred Planters fifty of them dy'd within the space of two Months; and had the *Indians* attack'd them they had probably all perished before the Winter was over; but they met with no Disturbance from the Natives after they fix'd themselves at *Plymouth* Bay, and only saw some few of them now and then at a Distance till the middle of *March*, when *Samoset*, one of their *Sagamores* or Captains, came to them in a friendly manner, and gave them to understand they were welcome into the Country, and that his People would be glad to traffick with them. And coming again the next Day with several other *Indians*, they inform'd the *English* that their great *Sachem* or King, whom they call'd *Massassoiet*, had his Residence but two or three Days March to the Northward, and intended them a Visit; and accordingly *Massassoiet* arriv'd on the 22d of *March*, with a Retinue of about sixty People, and being receiv'd by Captain *Standish* at the Head of a File of Musketeers, was conducted to a kind of Throne they had prepar'd for his *Indian* Majesty in one of their Houses.

Massassoiet
an *Indian*
King visits
them.

They relate, that this Monarch was of a large Stature, middle aged, of a grave Countenance, and sparing in his Speech; that his Face was painted red, and both Head and Face smear'd over with Oil; that he had a Mantle of Deer-skin, and his Breeches and Stockings, which were all of a piece, were of the same Materials; that his Knife or Tomahawk hung upon his Breast on a String, his Tobacco-pouch behind him, and his Arms were clothed with wild

wild Cat-skins ; and in the same Garb were his principal Attendants. They did not observe any Marks of Distinction between this Prince and his Subjects, unless it were a Chain of Fish-bones which *Massassoiet* wore about his Neck.

Soon after the Prince was seated, *Carver* the Governor came in with a Guard of Musketeers, a Drum and Trumpet marching before him : Whereupon *Massassoiet* rose up and kiss'd him ; after which they both sat down, and an Entertainment was provided for the *Indians*, of which no part appear'd more acceptable to them than the Brandy, the *Sachem* himself drinking very plentifully of it. In *Massassoiet's* Retinue was the abovemention'd *Squanto*, who had been carry'd to *Europe* by *Hunt* and brought to *New-England* again, as related above. This *Indian* it seems had a very great Affection for the *English*, among whom he lived several Years ; and it was to his favourable Representation of the Colony that the *Sachem* was induc'd to make them this friendly Visit, and at this first Meeting to enter into an Alliance offensive and defensive with the *English*, and even to acknowledge King *James* for his Sovereign, and promise to hold his Dominions of him ; and as an Evidence of his Sincerity, *Massassoiet* granted and transfer'd part of his Country to the Planters and their Heirs for ever. This Alliance being founded upon the mutual Interests of the contracting Parties was maintain'd inviolably many Years. The *Sachem*, who had been inform'd by *Squanto* how powerful a People the *English* were both by Sea and Land, promised himself their Assistance against the *Narraganset Indians* his Enemies ; and the *English* stood in no less need of his Friendship

New-
England.

Massassoiet
enters into
an Alliance
with the
English,
and ac-
know-
ledges the
King of
Great-
Britain his
Sovereign.

New-England. ship and Assistance to establish themselves in that Country.

The Treaty being concluded, *Massassoiet* returned to his Capital, leaving *Squanto* with the Colony, who was extremely serviceable to them, not only as an Interpreter, but by instructing them how to plant and manage their *Indian* Corn, in piloting them along the Coast, and supplying them with Fish, Fowl and Venison. Still the *English* remained very unhealthful, and many of them died, among whom was Mr. *Carver* the Governor, who did not survive the Month of *April*, 1621. The Seamen also had their Share of Illness, insomuch that they were not in a Condition to sail till *May*, when the Ship returned to *England* to give their Friends an Account of the Circumstances of the Colony.

Bradford elected Governor. In the mean time the Colony elected Mr. *Bradford* their Governor, who sent an Embassy to the *Sachem Massassoiet*, and renewed and confirmed the Treaty of Alliance his Predecessor had made with that Monarch. The Ambassadors, in their Journey to *Pokanoket*, the usual Residence of *Massassoiet*, received great Civilities from the *Indians* upon the Road, who supplied them with Provisions, carried their Baggage, and assisted them in crossing the Rivers they met with in their Way; and the *English* understood from them that the Country had been in a manner depopulated by a great Plague which raged there the beginning of this Year, insomuch that several Towns were left without Inhabitants, and the Corn standing in their Fields without an Owner; and to this Calamity our Adventurers in a great measure ascribed their Security that they were not molested by the Natives. They tell

us however, that they were threaten'd by the *Narragansets*, Enemies to *Massasoiet*, a powerful Nation on the South-west of *Plymouth*; but having strengthen'd their Fort, and planted Cannon on their Works, they render'd themselves so formidable, that the *Narragansets* did not think fit to attack them: On the other hand, several *Sachems*, or petty Princes, came in and put themselves under their Protection, acknowledging the King of *Great-Britain* their Sovereign.

New-England.

Several Chiefs desire the Protection of the Colony.

In the Year 1622 several Ships arrived from *England* with Planters, but bringing no Provisions with them, and there happening a great Drought in *New-England* this Summer, they were in great danger of being distress'd for Provisions; but the Rain falling plentifully in *July*, they had a better Crop of *Indian Corn* than they expected; and some Ships arriving from *England* with Cutlery Ware and other Merchandize about the same time, they purchased a farther Supply of Corn of the *Natives*. This Year died that friendly *Indian Squanto*, who had been so serviceable to the Colony: It seems he endeavoured to render the *English* as formidable to his Countrymen as possible; and among Things assured them, that the *English* could inflict what Plagues they pleased upon their Enemies; insinuating, that they had been the Authors of the last Pestilence, which fell upon some Districts that were for driving the *English* out of their Country; and this, 'tis said, kept the rest of the *Indian Princes* in great Awe.

Some Ships arrive from *England*.

Squanto dies.

And now the Numbers of the Planters being increased by the continual Arrival of Ships from *Old-England*, and there being some Differences among them on account of Religion,

Divisions in the Colony on Account of Religion.

Mr. gior.

New-
England.

Mr. *Weston*, with Part of the Adventurers (who seem to have been Members of the Church of *England*, by the Character the Sectaries of *Plymouth* give of them) removed to a Place called *Wesagusquaset*, afterwards *Weymouth*, situate on the South-side of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, where they built some Huts, and surrounded them with Pallisadoes; but having no great Guns, or any Reinforcements of Men from *England*, or Supplies of Ammunition or Provision, as the People of *Plymouth* had, and being forced to range about the Fields and Woods in search of Provisions, they became contemptible among the *Indians*, were daily insulted, and had been all massacred (as the *Plymouth* Men relate) if they had not sent a Detachment to their Relief, who attacked the *Indians*, killed some of their Chiefs, and compelled the rest to sue for Peace. However, *Weston* and his Men, being in no Condition to maintain themselves at *Weymouth*, quitted that Settlement, which Captain *Gorges* afterwards came from *England* with a Design to restore, being made Governor of that Part of the Country by the Company; but not finding Things answer his Expectations, this Gentleman also abandoned *Weymouth* and returned to *England*, being soon followed by his *Bishop* and the rest of the Planters, as the *Plymouth* Men relate. What they mean by his *Bishop*, I presume, was the Chaplain of the Colony, which Captain *Gorges* carried over with him; and as this *Weymouth* Colony were generally Episcopal Men, the *New-England* Historians (who were of another Persuasion) represent the *Weymouth* Planters as a most licentious and debauched Generation, and impute their want of Success to the Wickedness of their Lives; but

as they dress up all Church-men in the like odious Colours, it is presumed little Weight will be given to this Charge, especially as we find their Dancing round a Maypole enumerated amongst their greatest Crimes. New-England.

The true Reason why the Sectaries succeeded better in this Country than other Adventurers was, that their whole Party almost engaged in the Enterprize, proposing to make this their Retreat, if they miscarried in the Design they had in view, of subverting the Ecclesiastical and Civil Government at home: If this could not be effected, they promised themselves however that they should be able here to put in practice their darling Schemes of Independency in the Church, and Democracy in the State, and become the Founders of a new Religion, as well as of a new Republick.

As their Hearts were set upon this Project, they took care to supply their Friends they sent before them from time to time with all manner of Provisions and Necessaries, while they supplanted and discouraged all others from settling there, and actually sent several considerable Adventurers back again to *England* for presuming to worship God after the Manner of the established Church, as will appear from their own Relations in the Course of this History.

As for themselves, they had not for many Years any Clergy-man amongst them, either Conformist or Non-conformist, but were preached to and directed in their Devotions by *Brewster* the Lay-elder, whom Father *Robinson* sent over to explore the Country, and prepare a Place for his Reception; but *Robinson* died in *Holland*, and was not suffered to pass over

New-
England.

Jordan to that *Land of Reformation*, that *Paradise of the Saints*.

The *Plymouth*
Planters
obtain a
Charter.

The Colony of *Plymouth* still remaining without a Patent, or any Title to the Lands they possessed from the *North-Virginia* (or *New-England*) Company, sent over Mr. *Winslow*, one of their Number, to solicit for both in the Year 1624; and this Gentleman succeeded beyond their Expectations, for the Charter he procured enabled the Planters to elect a Governor, a Council and Magistrates, and to make Laws, provided they were not opposite to the Laws of *England*, nor encroached on the Prerogatives of the Crown.

Cattle sent
to New-
England.

Three Heifers and a Bull were carried over to *Plymouth* Colony this Year (1624) being the first horned Cattle that ever were seen in *New-England*: Some Hogs, Goats and Poultry also were imported about the same time, which soon increased to a very great Number.

The Company also sent over one *Lyford* an *Irishman*, as Chaplain to the *Plymouth* Colony, who would have performed Divine Service and administer'd the Sacraments after the Manner of the Church of *England*; but the Planters compelled him to conform himself to their Way of Worship, and sufficiently humbled him upon intercepting some Letters he had sent to *England*, complaining of their Extravagancies, and representing them as Monsters in Religion; inasmuch that he was forced to remove from *Plymouth* to a new Colony of Planters, who had fixed themselves near Cape *Anne*.

The Ori-
ginal of
the *Massa-
chuset* Co-
lony.

In the Year 1625 (as the *New-England* Historians relate) Mr. *White* Minister of *Dorchester*, observing the Success of the *Plymouth* Colony,

Colony, projected a new Settlement in the *Massachusetts Bay* in *New-England*, as an Asylum also for the Sectaries; and prevailing with Mr. *Conant* and some others, to go over and make choice of a proper Settlement, he and his Friends purchased or procured a Grant from the *North-Virginia* or *New-England* Company in the Year 1627, to Sir *Henry Roswell*, Sir *John Young*, Knights, *Thomas Southcot*, *John Humphries*, and *Simon Newcombe*, Esqrs. their Heirs, Assignes and Associates, of all that Part of *New-England* which lies between the great River *Merimack* and *Charles* River at the Bottom of the *Massachusetts Bay*, and all Lands, &c. three Miles North of *Merimack* River, and three Miles South of *Charles* River, and in Length or in Longitude between those Rivers from the *Atlantick* to the *South Sea*; and obtained a Patent from King *Charles I.* to hold the same as of his Manour of *East-Greenwich*, in common Soccage, yielding and paying to his Majesty a fifth Part of such Gold and Silver Ore as should from time to time be found within those Limits.

These Gentlemen having taken in Sir *Richard Saltousta*, Mr. *Isaac Johnson*, *Samuel Adderley*, *John Van Mattheu Cradock*, *Thomas Goff*, *George Harwood*, *Samuel Brown*, and several more Partners, the following Year 1628, procur'd a new Patent with the Names of the last-mention'd Gentlemen inserted as Proprietors; by which Patent they and all others who should join with them were incorporated by the Name of *The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay* in *New-England*, and were empower'd to elect a Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Magistrates, and to make Laws for the Good of the Plantation, and not repugnant to

New-
England.

the Laws of *England*; and Liberty of Conscience was thereby granted to all that should settle there.

Cradock
the first
Governor
of the *Massachusetts*
Colony.

The Adventurers, by virtue of this Patent, elected Mr. *Cradock* their Governor, and Mr. *Eudicot* their Deputy-Governor, and sent over the latter immediately to re-inforce Mr. *Conant*, who was settled at *Mumkeak*, now *Salem*, situate on the Coast of *New-England*, between the Promontories of *Marble-head* and *Cape Anne*.

A Fleet of
Planters
arrive at
Salem.

The following Year the *Massachusetts* Adventurers fitted out six Ships, on Board whereof were three hundred and fifty Planters, Men Women and Children, and two Nonconformist Ministers, viz. Mr. *Shelton* and Mr. *Higginson*: They also sent over Cattle of all kinds, viz. Horses, Mares, Cows, Hogs and Goats, with Rabbits and Barn-Door-Fowls; as also Cannon, Ammunition and Provision of all kinds, necessary to establish a Colony; which Fleet sailed from the *Isle of Wight* on the 1st of *May*, 1629, and arrived at *Salem* in *New-England* on the 24th of *June* following. The first thing they did after their Arrival was to send for some of their Brethren from *Plymouth*, and having learn'd what Species of Independents they were, resolved to copy after them (in Religion at least) and enter'd into a *solemn Covenant* among themselves for that purpose; declaring (as I understand the Instrument) that they would submit to no Government, Ecclesiastical or Civil, but of their own framing. One of their own Writers observes, that they were attached to the Principles of the *Brownists*, which they carried to such a length as not only to discourage but to drive away a regular and learned Ministry, which after some Years they were blessed with. (*I presume he means the*
Presby-

Presbyterian Fathers who resorted thither afterwards.) New-England.

The same Writer informs us, that some of the Planters, finding their Ministers did not use the Common-Prayer, or administer the Sacraments with the usual Ceremonies, set up a separate Assembly, wherein they used the Liturgy of the Church of *England*; and of these Mr. *Samuel Brown* a Lawyer, and his Brother *John Brown* a Merchant, Men of Estates and Figure, were the chief, being of the Number of the first Patentees.

They refuse to tolerate the Service of the Church of *England*.

The Deputy-Governor sending to these Gentlemen to demand the Reason of their Separation, they represented, that the Ministers were Separatists from the Church of *England*, and the Principles they profess'd would shortly lead them to become Anabaptists. To which the Ministers answer'd, they were neither Separatists nor Anabaptists; they did not separate from the Church of *England*, or from the Ordinances of God, but only from the Corruptions and Disorders of that Church; that they came away from the Common-Prayer and Ceremonies, and had suffered for their Non-conformity in their native Land; and being now in a Place where they had their Liberties, they neither could nor would use them, judging the Imposition of these Things sinful Corruptions of the Word of God.

Mr. *Brown* and his Friends replied, That as they were of the Church establish'd by Law in their native Country, it was highly reasonable they should worship God in the manner that Government required from which they received their Charter; at least they ought to allow the Members of the Church that Liberty of Conscience they themselves thought so reasonable when

New-
England.

when they were on the other side of the Water; and as one Article in their Charter provided that all Persuasions of Christians should have Liberty of Conscience, they did not know whether their denying it to them was not a Forfeiture of their Charter. But these Arguments were called seditious and mutinous; and the Brethren, determining to suffer none to reside there that were not of the same levelling Principles in Church and State as they profess'd, forced the two Mr. *Browns* to return back to *Old-England* in the same Ship that brought them over, whereby they escaped that Mortality which happened among the Planters the next Winter, when an hundred of them died, and among the rest Mr. *Francis Higginson* their Preacher, and *Houghton* the Ruling-Elder of their Church.

A great
Mortality
among the
Planters.

Winthrop
made Go-
vernor.

Dudley
Deputy-
Governor.

*Charles-
Town*
founded,

and *Dor-
chester*.

The Year following (1630) Mr. *Cradock* declining to go over to his Government, the *Massachusetts* Adventurers in *Old-England* made choice of *John Winthrop*, Esq; for Governor, and Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Deputy-Governor; and having fitted out ten Sail of Ships, the Governor and his Deputy embark'd in that Fleet for *New-England*, together with Sir *Richard Saltousta*, *Isaac Johnson*, Esq; and his Lady, *Theophilus Eaton* and *John Venn*, Esqs. with several other Gentlemen and Nonconformist Ministers, and upwards of two hundred Planters more, who arriv'd at *Salem* in July 1630: Soon after which the People of *Salem* made two new Settlements, the first at *Charles-Town*, on the North Side of *Charles-River*, opposite to the Place where *Boston* now stands, and the other at *Dorchester*, situate at the bottom of the *Massachusetts Bay*; but the new Planters bringing the Scurvy and other Distempers

temper along with them, and lying in Tents and Booths pretty much exposed to the Weather, above an hundred of them dy'd within three Months after their Arrival. The Small-pox at the same time made such havock among the *Indians* that nine Parts in ten of them (as the *New-England* Historians relate) dy'd of that Distemper, and the rest flying from the Distemper the Country was in a manner depopulated: But this is not very consistent with what the *New-England* Writers add: *That they purchased the several Tracts of Land they afterwards possess'd of the Natives*; for if the former Inhabitants were all dead or gone, the *English*, who succeeded them in the Possession, seem to have had the best Title to the Country, and had no Occasion or even any Opportunity to purchase their Lands. If they did purchase some small Parcels on their Arrival, there is no doubt to be made but they possess'd themselves of much more on this general Desertion without paying any thing for it.

The latter End of the same Year 1630, the Inhabitants of *Charles-Town* observing that the opposite Side of the River was a much more desirable Situation than that their Town stood upon, took the liberty to dispossess Mr. *Blackston*, an episcopal Minister, of it, who had built a little House there, by virtue whereof he laid Claim to the whole Peninsula; and they seem to justify the Outrage by suggesting that Mr. *Blackston* was an odd sort of a Man, who would not join himself with any of their *New-England* Churches, declaring that as he came from *Old-England* because he did not like *Lords Bishops*, so he would not join with them because he would not be subject to the *Lords Brethren*, whose Tyranny he held much more

New-
England.

more insupportable than the other: But how-

Boston the
Capital
founded.

The Small
pox fatal
to the
Indians.

Divisions
among the
Planters.

ever that be, certain it is, when the Brethren had driven away this unhappy Parson that could agree with no body, they laid the Foundation of their capital City upon this very Spot of Ground, to which they gave the Name of *Boston*: *Cambridge* and several Towns more were founded soon after not far from *Boston*; for now the Nonconformists resorted hither in great Numbers; Fleets of Ships came over crowded with them every Year. In 1634 the Small-pox was as fatal to the *Indians* as it had been in the Year 1630. The *English* observe that those People are generally very full of them, and wanting Beds and Linnen they become the most loathsome Objects imaginable; for having nothing but hard Matts to lie on, when the Puscles break they stick to the Matts, and all their Skin is flead off, and in this Condition they catch cold and die in the utmost Torture, which makes the Natives dread the Small-pox much more than a Pestilence.

There happen'd great Divisions about this time (1634) among the Brethren. Their Writers relate, that Mr. *Roger Williams*, who was chosen to succeed Mr. *Shelton* deceas'd, as Pastor of the Church of *Salem*, being a rigid *Brownist*, precise and uncharitable, and of turbulent Passions, was near setting the whole Country in a flame. This Father taught, that it was not lawful for an unregenerate Man to pray, nor for a good Man to join in Prayer with those he thought unregenerate: That it was not lawful to take an Oath to a Magistrate, and thereupon refused the Oath of Allegiance, and advis'd his Congregation to do the same: And declared that their Charter granted by the King of *England* was void, and an Instrument
of

of Injustice which they ought to renounce as injurious to the Natives, his Majesty having no Power to dispose of their Lands to his Subjects: That Magistrates had nothing to do with matters of the first Table of the Decalogue, and therefore there ought to be a general and unlimited Toleration for all Religions: To punish Men for Matters of Conscience was Persecution. For holding which Tenets the Magistrates banish'd him the *Massachusetts* Colony as a Disturber of the Peace of their Church and Commonwealth: But such an Influence had his Exhortations on some of his Followers, that in the Height of their Zeal they cut the Cross out of the King's Standard, declaring it to be an Idol; and the People thereupon became divided in their Opinions, whether it was lawful to have the Cross in their Colours or not. Several furious Books were printed and publish'd on each side the Question, and most of their Militia refused to march with their Colours so long as the Cross remain'd in them, lest they should be thought to do honour to an Idol; while others were for following the King's Colours with the Cross in them, lest their deserting them should be interpreted a casting off their Allegiance to the Crown of *England*: But at length the Magistrates and Officers compromised the Matter in the following manner. They order'd that all Castles and Ships should have the same Colours as formerly, but that the Cross might be omitted in the Colours belonging to the Regiments of Militia. To return to *Roger Williams*, who started and encouraged these Notions. So much were his Congregation devoted to him that many of them chose to accompany him in his Banishment. Whereupon he led them to the South-

New-
England.

The Cross
in the
Colours
expung'd
as idolatrous.

New-
England.

The Ori-
ginal of
Providence
Plantation.

ward, beyond the Bounds of the *Massachusetts* Jurisdiction, and there became the Founder of another petty State, calling the Country *Providence*, which it retains to this Day; and here, say the *New-England* Writers, they incorporated a Church, proceeding from one Whimsy to another till they crumbled to pieces, every one following his own Fancy, insomuch that Religion itself grew into Contempt, and the publick Worship of God was generally neglected among them.

However, they tell us, that *Roger* made a good Civil Governor, remained in those Parts above forty Years, and regained his Reputation even among the *Massachusetts* Planters who had banished him, and was very instrumental in obtaining the Charter of *Rhode-Island*, to which his Plantation of *Providence* was annexed; adding, that if he had never meddled with Divinity he would have been esteemed a great and useful Man.

Mr. *Vane*
Governor
of the
Massachu-
setts.

In the mean time Mr. *Vane* arrived in the *Massachusetts* Colony, a Gentleman that made a much greater Noise afterwards both in *Old* and *New-England* than ever *Roger Williams* had done. Their Writers represent Mr. *Vane* at this time as a hot-headed young Fellow, whose Zeal for pure Religion drew him over thither: His first Design was to have settled a new Colony on the Banks of the River *Connecticut*; but being complimented with the Government of the *Massachusetts* on his Arrival, he resolved to stay there.

He was no sooner advanced to the Government, but he appeared to be a Person of little Conduct, and by no means equal to the Post he was preferred to: He was, they tell us, a violent Enthusiast, openly espousing the *Anti-*
nomian

nomian Doctrines, and gave such Encouragement to their Preachers, that he had very near overturned their Infant-Church and Commonwealth, if some of the wisest of them had not put an End to his Reign, by electing another Governor as soon as the Year expired.

New-
England.

He returned afterwards to *Old England*, where his Father being principal Secretary of State he was elected a Member of the *Long Parliament*; and what a Share both Father and Son had in fomenting the *Grand Rebellion* against King *Charles I.* all the World are apprised; nor did any Man act with more Zeal or rather more Malice, against the Royal Family and Monarchy itself during the Usurpation, than this Gentleman, which occasioned his being left out of the Act of Indemnity by King *Charles II.* But to return to the *Massachusetts* Planters; the Brethren flocking over to them continually, so that they began to be straiten'd for want of Room, and the *Indians* on their Western Frontiers beginning to be troublesome, they detached a Party of an hundred Men to the Banks of the River *Connecticut*, that they might plant that Country and serve as an Outguard to their more Eastern Settlements. And these Adventurers beginning their March in the Month of *June*, and travelling on Foot with their Wives, Children and Baggage, about nine or ten Miles a Day, arrived at the River *Connecticut* in less than a Fortnight, where they founded the Town of *Hartford*, now the Capital of *Connecticut*, on the West-side of that River, and soon after laid the Foundation of *Windsor*, *Weathersfield* and *Springfield* in the same Province; and finding themselves beyond the Limits of the *Massachusetts* Jurisdiction, they chose a Governor

Connecti-
cut Colony

New-
England.

vernor and Magistrates among themselves, and made such Laws as they thought fit in imitation of the Colony from whence they came, and in this State they remained till the Restoration of King *Charles II.* when they applied to his Majesty for a Patent, and in the Year 1664 obtained a very ample Charter, authorising them to elect their own Governor, Council and Magistrates, and enact such Laws as they thought most advantageous to the Colony, not opposite to the Laws of *England*, the Benefit whereof they enjoy to this Day. The Colony of *New-Haven*, and most of the *Narraganset* Country being annexed to it by the same Charter, and constituting but one Government at present. *New-Haven* and the *Narraganset* Country it seems had been granted by King *Charles I.* to the Earl of *Warwick* in the Year 1630, and afterwards purchased of that Earl by *William Viscount Say and Seal*, *Robert Lord Brooks*, *Robert Lord Rich*, *Charles Fiennes*, Esq; *Sir Nathaniel Rich*, *John Pym*, Esq; *John Hampden*, Esq; and other Malecontents, who fomented the *Grand Rebellion* against King *Charles I.* for a Place of Refuge, in case their Conspiracy against that Prince had not succeeded; and they were once upon the point of transporting themselves thither with the most noxious of their Party, being in doubt of carrying their Point in the Senate. *Oliver Cromwell*, 'tis said, was actually on Board in the River *Thames*, intending to have transported himself to *New-England*; but such Multitudes of People were embarking at the same time for the Plantations, that it was thought proper to publish a Proclamation (dated the 30th of *April* 1637) prohibiting all People to transport themselves without License, whereby

whereby *Cromwell*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Mr. *John Hampden*, and several other disaffected Gentlemen, were prevented going thither; and succeeding in their Rebellion afterwards beyond their Expectation, they sold their Interest in these Plantations to other Adventurers, who united with the *Connecticut* Colony, and became one Government, as has been intimated already.

In the mean time other *English* Adventurers possessed themselves of the Countries of *New-Hampshire* and *Maine* to the Northward of the *Massachusetts*, which for some time remained separate Governments; but afterwards united themselves with the *Massachusetts*, and continued so till the Reign of King *Charles II.* when the *Massachusetts* Charter was adjudged to be forfeited. And in the Charter which was granted to the *Massachusetts* by King *William III.* after the Revolution, the Provinces of *Maine* and *Plymouth* were annexed to the *Massachusetts*, but *Hampshire* was made a distinct Government immediately depending on the Crown, which appoints the Governor, Deputy-Governor, Council and Magistrates there, as will appear further under the Head of Government: I shall only add here, that all the *New-England* Provinces were planted and pretty well peopled within the Space of seventeen or eighteen Years, and a very beneficial Fishery carried on at the same time on their Coasts by the Merchants of *Old-England*, who with the Fish, taken here annually, purchased the Merchandize of *Spain* and *Portugal*.

Hitherto the *English* Colonies had lived in Peace with the *Indians*; some little Misunderstandings and slight Skirmishes had happened indeed, but these Differences had been amica-

New-
England.

The War
with the
Pequots.

bly composed, and no formal War yet entered into with the Natives: But upon the *Massachusetts* penetrating into the Heart of their Country, and taking Possession of the Province of *Connecticut*, without any previous Treaty, or so much as Notice given them of their Intention, the *Indians* immediately concluded they should be extirpated, or at least enslaved by these Strangers; and the *Pequots*, the most potent Nation in those Parts, thereupon fell upon the *English* before they had perfected their Settlements on *Connecticut* River, killed nine Men and carried two Women into Captivity, and then endeavoured to form a Confederacy with the rest of the *Indian* Nations against the *English* for their common Defence; but the *Narragansets*, ancient Enemies of the *Pequots*, refused to come into their Measures, and determin'd to take part with the *English*, notwithstanding the *Pequots* represented that nothing could now preserve their Country from a foreign Yoke but a strict Union among themselves: That the *Narragansets*, if they favour'd the *English*, would only have the Satisfaction of being destroy'd last; conjuring them therefore, as they valued their own Preservation, to forget all Quarrels among themselves, and unite in the Defence of their common Country against so formidable an Enemy: That it was true, the Fire-Arms of the *English* seem'd to render them invincible in a Body, yet they might surprise them when they were dispersed in small Parties, or busied in building and fortifying their Towns; they might cut off their Provisions, harrafs their Troops, and so distress them by perpetual Alarms, if they were unanimous, that they would be glad to retire again to the Sea-coasts, and probably abandon their Country; whereas if
they

they defer'd it till more of them came over, and they were suffer'd to complete the Fortifications of their Towns, it would then be in vain to struggle for the Recovery of their lost Liberties, and they must submit to such Terms as these Foreigners should be pleased to impose on them. New-England.

But such was the Resentment of the *Narragansets* against their former Enemies the *Pequots*, who had frequently triumphed over them, that they were not to be moved by any Arguments they could use; the Prospect of satiating their Revenge, on a People that had often insulted them, made them not consider the Consequences of assisting the *English*; or perhaps, like some other People, they chose rather to be Slaves to Foreigners than to their Neighbours, and might hope for better Terms from the *English* by an early Submission.

Thus were the *Pequots* left alone to defend themselves against these powerful Invaders, infinitely superior to them both in their Arms and in the Art of War, and what was still more unfortunate, several *Indian* Nations joined in Confederacy with them, and contributed to the Conquest of their Country. However, they assembled their Troops, determining to make the best Defence they could; and on the other hand the Governor of the *Massachusetts* sent a Detachment of an hundred and sixty Men to support the new Colony of *Connecticut*, who were joined by five hundred of their *Indian* Allies, who vowed to live and die with the *English*; but the *Narragansets* no sooner came in sight of the *Pequots* than most of them deserted the Service and run away; however, the *English* advanced and drove the *Pequots* before them, who retired into two^m Forts that were The *Pequots* defeated by the *English*.

New-
England.

were defended only by Stakes and Bushes, one of which the *English* entering in the Night-time set fire to their thatch'd Huts; and the *Pequots*, endeavouring to make their escape from the Flames, were most of them cut in pieces, either by the *English* or their *Indian* Allies, who now returned to the slaughter of the flying Enemy, tho' they could not be persuaded to face them while they were unbroken; and of five hundred *Pequots* that were shut up within this Fort (as it was called) not more than six or seven escaped; this Victory being obtained with the Loss only of two *English* Men killed and twenty wounded.

The *English* advancing towards the other Fort the Garrison mutiny'd against *Sassacus* their *Sachem*, and he was forced to abandon it, his People thereupon retiring to the Woods and Swamps, whither being pursu'd by the *English* and their Allies, some hundreds more of them were kill'd, and near two hundred Men, Women and Children taken Prisoners, who were divided between the Colony and the *Narraganset Indians*: As to those that fell to the Share of the *English*, the Males were sent Slaves to the *Bermudas*, and the Females distributed in their own Families; which Success struck such a Terror into the *Indian Sachems* that many of them came in and desir'd to be taken into the Protection of the *English*. As for *Sassacus*, the great King of the *Pequots*, he fled with most of his Subjects to the *Maquas*, who, at the Instance of the *Narragansets*, cut off his Head, and the *Connecticut* Colony possess'd themselves of his Dominions, as the *New-England* Writers acknowledge. But after this, it is to be presumed, they will no longer affirm that they obtain'd the Lands of the *Indians* by

Who possess their Country.

by Purchase, or the voluntary Grants of the Natives.

New-England.

To proceed in their History. While the *Massachusetts* were thus successful against their Enemies abroad, they were in great danger of being destroy'd by their intestine Divisions at home, as the celebrated *Mather*, and after him *Mr. Neal* relate. Familistical and antinomian Errors, according to these Writers, over-spread the Colony, the Rise of which they ascribe in a great measure to one Mrs. *Hutchinson*, who observing that the Men used to meet once a Week at *Boston* to repeat the Sermons they had heard the preceding *Sunday*, and to pass their Judgments on the Doctrines contained in them, she apprehended it might be as expedient for the zealous Women to have the same kind of Meetings, grounding her Opinion on that Passage of Scripture, *that the elder Women ought to teach the younger*; and accordingly assembled three or four score Women at her House every Week, where she repeated the Sermons of her Teacher *Mr. Cotton*, and made her Remarks on them. Among other things she taught her Disciples, that Believers were personally united with the Spirit of God, and that the Revelations the Saints were indulg'd with were of equal Authority with the holy Scriptures; that their Ministers were Legalists, Men that were unacquainted with the Spirit of the Gospel and with *Christ* himself: And the whole Country became immediately divided into two Factions, the one zealous for the *Covenant of Works*, and the other for the *Covenant of Grace*, as they call'd them. The Colony of *Plymouth* were so furious for the latter, that they starv'd and discarded all their old Ministers who

Divisions among the English, occasioned by the numerous and monstrous Heresies and Errors that were broached at this time.

The PRESENT STATE

were of another Opinion, and set up Mechanicks in their stead. The Town of *Boston* also was infected with Antinomianism; whereupon the Fathers of the *Massachusetts* Colony thought fit to call a Synod to censure their Errors, of which they enumerated above four-score, some of them, according to the abovesaid Writers, the most monstrous and absurd that ever were broach'd: And when Mr. *Wheelwright*, one of their Ministers, and Mrs. *Hutchinson* persisted to avow their Opinions, the Synod call'd in the Lay Powers to their Assistance, and caused *Wheelwright*, Mrs. *Hutchinson*, and many more of their Adherents, to be banish'd the Colony, and fin'd and imprison'd others, without which wholesome Severities they suggested it was impossible for their Church or Commonwealth to subsist; For, say they, *these Men were for turning the Government upside down, and excluding the Magistrates as unqualify'd for their Offices, because they were Men of legal Spirit, and inclin'd to a Covenant of Works.*

One Party
banishes
the other.

The Exiles
retire to
Rhode-Island, and
plant it,
An. 1639.

Those that were thus banish'd, and many more of their Friends, hereupon retired to *Rhode-Island*, which they planted in the Year 1639, and purchasing that Tract of Land over-against it on the Continent, where the Towns of *Providence* and *Warwick* are situated, they became a separate Colony, and in Proportion to the Extent of their Territories, which are but small, are now as flourishing a People as any in *New-England*; tho' Dr. *Mather* and the rest of the *Massachusetts* Fathers load them with the most scandalous Reproaches, representing them as a Generation of Libertines, Familists, Antinomians, and Quakers, whose Posterity, for want of Schools and a publick Ministry, became so barbarous, they say,

say, as not to be capable of speaking good *New-English* or good Sense.

On the other hand, the good People of *Rhode-Island* charge the *Massachusetts* Fathers with Persecution for Conscience-sake, the very Motive which induc'd them all to leave their native Country: And they glory in it, that in this Colony no Man's Conscience was ever forc'd, or any manner of Compulsion used in Matters of Religion to this Day.

Notwithstanding these Divisions among the *English*, the Natives remain'd quiet for some time after the Defeat of the *Pequots*, or *Connecticut Indians*, and in the Year 1641 the great King or *Sachem Massassoiet* came to *Plymouth* with his Son *Mooanam*, to confirm his ancient League with the *English*, both of them promising to remain faithful Subjects to the King of *Great-Britain*; and the Colony on the other hand promised to protect and defend them against their Enemies.

And now the Civil Wars breaking out in *Old-England*, and the Faction at *London* carrying all before them, the Brethren put a stop to their Embarkations for *New-England*, and instead of transporting themselves thither, a great many Gentlemen and Nonconformist Ministers return'd to *Old-England* at this time (1641) either to new model the Church here, or to assist in subduing their Prince and Country, in order to erect such another Commonwealth at home as they had establish'd in *New-England*, among whom were *Edward Winslow*, afterwards one of the Commissioners of the Navy under the Usurpers, *Edward Hopkins*, a Commissioner of their Admiralty, *George Downing*, afterwards Sir *George Downing*, employ'd as Envoy in *Holland* by the Usurpers, and

New-England.

Charge the Independents with Persecution.

Massassoiet renews the Treaty of Alliance with the *Plymouth* Colony.

The *New-England* Heroes return to *England* and join the Rebels, *An. 1641.*

New-
England.



and afterwards by King *Charles II.* *Samuel Mather, John Knowles, Thomas Allen, Henry Whitfield,* and the infamous *Hugh Peters, Cromwell's* Chaplain and Buffoon, who made a Jest of all Religions and all Forms of Government.

The Government of New-England model'd like that of Holland.

In the mean time those they left behind them in *New-England* kept pace with the Disaffected here, or rather led the way in casting off their Allegiance to the Crown of *Great-Britain*: and in the Year 1643 the four principal Colonies of *New-England* (*viz.*) the *Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut,* and *New-Haven* Colonies entered into an Association or Confederacy like that of the *United-Provinces*, to defend themselves against all Mankind.

They exclude all that differ from them from Places in the Government.

Each Province assumed sovereign Power, and agreed to send Deputies to a certain Place, where they were to form a Council like that of the *States-General*, and negotiate their common Concerns, especially those relating to Peace and War, and the adjusting their several Quota's and Proportions of Men and Money; but their Resolutions were to be of no Force till confirm'd by the respective Colonies. They also copied so far after the *Dutch* as not to suffer any Denomination of Christians but those of their own Church to have any Posts or Places in the Government, and laid Dissenters to Independency under very great Restraints and Hardships, of which the Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Antinomians, and other Sects complain'd very loudly: They represented, that they had a natural Right to be admitted to a Share in the Government as well as the Independents without taking the Oaths and Covenants that were requir'd of them, and were evidently inconsistent with the Oath of Allegiance;

Allegiance: And that it was still more oppressive to fine and imprison them for neglecting to take such Oaths, and press them into the military Service against their Wills, as many of them were: They prefer'd a Petition therefore to the Government to have these Grievances redress'd, which being rejected, they appeal'd to the Parliament of *England*, and sent over Agents thither to lay their Case before the Houses; at which the Independant Preachers exclaim'd in their Pulpits, calling it *an unjust and rebellious Appeal against the People of God*, and denounced Judgment against those that promoted it.

While the Independants thus persecuted their Brethren in *New-England*, their Historians inform us, they appear'd no less zealous in converting and civilizing the *Indians* that lived amongst them; and as these poor Creatures were absolutely in their power, I find they submitted to whatever their Masters dictated, and thereupon the Independant Fathers boast of the hundreds and thousands they converted in the space of a few Years; but this seeming Conversion appears to be owing altogether to Force and Compulsion, for I don't find they ever made Converts of any *Indians* but those in the little Islands upon the Coast, and such as resided within their Bounds. There is scarce an Instance of a Convert made beyond the Walls of their Towns; or if there were any such they have now deserted their Communion, all the *Indians* on the Borders of *New-England*, that are at liberty, being *Roman* Catholicks at this Day, the Fruits of the Jesuite Missions. And here give me Leave to mention some few of those Customs the *New-England* Fathers of those Days compel'd their Converts to observe,

New-
England.

which were such as these: That the Women should not wear their Hair loose and flowing, but ty'd up; and that they should not go with naked Breasts: That the Men should not wear long Hair, or kill their Lice between their Teeth; and that they should not commit Fornication, or beat their Wives: That they should not attend the *Pawawing*, or superstitious Ceremonies and Sorceries of their Priests: That they should lay aside the Custom of Howling, greasing their Bodies, and adorning their Hair: That they should not steal, get drunk, or break the Sabbath: That they should pray in their *Wigwams* with their Families, and say Grace before and after Meat. Their Writers add, that having instructed a great many hundred *Indians* in the Christian Religion, they proceeded to baptize and admit them to the Communion; and several congregational Churches were form'd out of them, after the manner of the Independants, about the Year 1660. They also printed Catechisms, *The Practice of Piety*, and even the *Bible* itself in the *Indian* Language. Several *Indians* were ordained Preachers, and some Specimens are given us of their Sermons and Prayers; from whence it is not difficult to discover who were their Masters, and where they learn'd their Divinity: The chief Apostles in these notable Conversions of the *Indians* were Mr. *Elliot*, Mr. *Mabew*, and Mr. *Cotton*.

Doctor *Increase Mather*, Minister of *Boston*, and Rector of their University of *Cambridge*, in his Letter to Doctor *Leusden*, Hebrew Professor at *Utrecht*, and dated the 12th of July 1687, tells him, that there were then six Churches of baptiz'd *Indians* in *New-England*,
and

and eighteen Assemblies of *Catechumens*: That there were there four *English* Ministers who preached in the *Indian* Tongue, and twenty-four *Indians* who were Preachers: And Dr. *Cotton Mather*, Son of *Increase Mather*, who has brought down their Ecclesiastical History to the Year 1695, says, there were then three thousand adult *Indian* Christians in the Islands of *Martha's Vineyard* and *Nantucket*; but the *Indians* on the Continent, and especially at a distance from the Coast, it appears, have but little Regard to the Independant Missionaries. Mr. *Experience Mayhew*, in his Visitation of the *Pequot* and *Mohegin* *Indians*, in the Years 1713 and 1714, observed, that the Remains of those Nations were under strong Prejudices against the Christian Religion; and that one of their *Sachems* bid him go and make the *English* good first before he preach'd to them, objecting, that some of the *English* kept *Saturday*, others *Sunday*, and others no Day at all for the Worship of God, so that if his People were inclin'd to turn Christians, they could not tell what Sect to be of. Others, after they had heard him preach, said, they did believe the Being of a God, and worshipped him, but as every Nation had its peculiar Way of Worship, so they had theirs, and they thought their Way good, and there was no reason to alter it. Another said, that the Difficulties of the Christian Religion were such as the *Indians* could not endure; their Fathers had made some Trial of it, but found it too hard for them, and therefore quitted it, and they were no more able to undergo the Hardships of it than their Fathers: That they did not see Men were ever the better for being Christians, the *English* Christians cheated the

New-
England.

The
Indians
prejudic'd
against the
Independants.

New-
England.

Indians of their Lands, and wrong'd them in other Instances; and their Knowledge of Books only render'd them more artful and cunning to cheat others, and therefore seem'd to do them more Hurt than Good; and one of their Priests plainly told Mr. *Mayhew*, if the *Indians* made him any Promises of becoming Christians they would not keep them, but as soon as he was gone they would get drunk and be as bad as ever.

Anabap-
tists and
Quakers
persecuted.

My Author (Mr. *Neal*) having finish'd his Account of the Conversions of the *Indians*, proceeds to censure the Independant Church of *New-England* for not allowing Liberty of Conscience, telling us they fin'd two Anabaptists for separating from them, and whip'd a third at the common Whipping-Post; and that they afterwards pass'd an Act of Assembly to banish all Anabaptists the Colony. But they appear'd still more severe against the Quakers in the Year 1656; for having fin'd, imprison'd, and whip'd many of them, and finding this would not reclaim them, tho' some of them were almost whip'd to death, a Law was made for cutting off their Ears, and boring their Tongues through with hot Irons; and lastly, they made it Death (in the Year 1658) for a Quaker to return from Banishment; and three of them actually suffer'd Death at *Boston* by virtue of that Act, in the Year 1659, viz. *William Robinson*, of *London*, Merchant, *Marmaduke Stevenson*, of *Yorkshire*, Husbandman, and *Mary Dyar*.

Several
Quakers
put to
death.

Stevenson, a little before his Execution, sign'd a Paper, wherein he says, "That
" when he was following his Plough, in the
" East Part of *Yorkshire* in *Old-England*, he
" was in a sort of Rapture, and heard a secret
" Voice

“ Voice in his Conscience, saying, *I have* New-
 “ *ordained thee a Prophet of the Nations* : England.
 “ and in Obedience to this Voice he left his
 “ Family and Employment, and went first
 “ to *Barbadoes*, in the Year 1658, and from
 “ thence to *Rhode-Island*, where, as he was
 “ visiting the Seed, the Word of the Lord
 “ came to him, saying, *Go to Boston with*
 “ *thy Brother William Robinson* ; and for
 “ yielding Obedience to this Command of the
 “ ever-living GOD, and not obeying the
 “ Commands of Men, he suffer’d.” And
Robinson also left a Paper of the like Tenour.

These Executions, says my Author (Mr. Neal) raised a great Clamour against the Government, and fully’d the Glory of their former Sufferings from the Bishops ; for now it appear’d that the *New-England* Puritans were no better Friends to Liberty of Conscience than their Adversaries ; and that the Question between them was not whether one Party of Christians ought to oppress another, but who should have the Power of doing it. The Quakers themselves observ’d upon these Executions, that the Law for putting them to death was contrary to the Laws of *England*, and consequently a Forfeiture of their Charter : And if it was not contrary to the Laws of *England*, it was certainly contrary to the Laws of GOD, which allow’d every Man a Right of private Judgment, or to judge for himself in religious Matters. They added, that if it was an Offence to make profession of their Religion, the Punishment they inflicted upon it, however, was too severe ; for they were not charg’d with Felony or Treason, but only with a Contempt of Authority and GOD’s Ordinances, which might deserve a Fine or the

New-
England.

the Pillory, but were never punish'd with Death in any civiliz'd Nation.

However, the Government still continued to put this sanguinary Act in execution, and having banish'd several Quakers more, put to death *William Leddia*, a Foreigner, in the Year 1660, who told them, when he was brought to the Gallows, *That he suffer'd for bearing his Testimony for the Lord against the Deceivers and the Deceived.* Nor did the Puritans of *New-England* cause these bloody Persecutions to cease till they receiv'd the following Order from King *Charles II.*

CHARLES Rex.

King
Charles's
Order to
stop these
Persecuti-
ons.

“ Trusty and well-beloved, We greet you
“ well. Having been inform'd that several
“ of our Subjects among you, call'd Quakers,
“ have been, and are imprison'd by you,
“ whereof some have been executed, and o-
“ thers (as hath been represented to Us) are
“ in danger to undergo the like; We have
“ thought fit to signify Our Pleasure in that
“ Behalf for the future, and do hereby require,
“ That if there be any of those People, call'd
“ Quakers, amongst you now already con-
“ demn'd to suffer Death, or other corporal
“ Punishment, or that are imprison'd, and
“ obnoxious to the like Condemnation, you
“ are to forbear to proceed any further there-
“ in, but that you forthwith send the said
“ Persons (whether condemn'd or imprison'd)
“ over into this Our Kingdom of *England*,
“ together with their respective Crimes or
“ Offences laid to their Charge, to the end
“ such Course may be taken with them here
“ as shall be agreeable to Our Laws and
“ their Demerits; and for so doing, these
“ Our

“ Our Letters shall be your sufficient War-
 rant and Discharge. Given at Our Court ^{New-England.}
 at *Whitehall*, *September* the 9th, 1661, in
 the 13th Year of Our Reign.

“ Subscribed, To our trusty and well-
 beloved *John Endicot*, Esq; and
 “ to all and every other the Go-
 verner or Governors of Our
 “ Plantation of *New-England*, and
 “ of all the Colonies thereunto be-
 longing, that now are, or here-
 after shall be; and to all and
 “ every the Ministers and Officers
 “ of Our said Plantation and Colo-
 nies whatsoever within the Con-
 tinent of *New-England*.

By His Majesty's Command.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

The same Author observes, that all the Colonies of *New-England* were not equally severe against the Quakers. They suffer'd but little in the Districts of *Connecticut* and *New-Haven*; but *Plymouth* Colony copy'd after the *Massachusetts*, as appear'd by a Letter from Mr. *James Cudworth* to his Friend at *London*, dated the 10th of *December*, 1658, wherein Mr. *Cudworth* says: The Condition of things amongst us is sad, and so like to continue. The antichristian persecuting Spirit is very active. He that will not whip and lash, persecute and punish Men that differ in Matters of Religion, must not sit on the Bench, or sustain any Office in the Commonwealth. By our Law, if any Man entertain a Quaker but a quarter of an Hour he forfeits five Pounds, and if any Man see a Quaker he is oblig'd to
 give

The PRESENT STATE

give notice to the next Constable, tho' he lives five Miles off, and the Constable is to apprehend him, and if he do not presently depart, to whip and send him away. Divers have been whip'd in our Colony; and to tell you truly, the whipping them with that Cruelty as some have been whip'd, and their Patience under it, has gain'd them more Disciples than their Preaching could have done.

There is another Law in our Colony, which provides, that if a Quaker's Meeting be held in any Man's House or Ground, the Owner thereof shall pay forty Shillings, and the Preacher and every Hearer the like Sum. Our Civil Powers (says the Writer) are so exercis'd in Matters of Religion and Conscience, that they have no time to do any thing that tends to promote the civil Prosperity of the Place. We must now have a *State-Religion*, such as the Powers of this World will allow, and no other. A *State-Ministry* (Clergy) and a State-Maintenance for them: And we must worship and serve the LORD JESUS as the World shall appoint us: We must all go to the publick Place of Meeting in the Parish where we dwell, or forfeit ten Shillings for absenting: Four-score were presented last Court for not coming to the publick Meetings.

But notwithstanding the Independants of *New-England* persecuted every other Denomination of Christians, when they address'd King Charles II. on his Restoration, they implor'd that he would grant them that invaluable Blessing, *Liberty of Conscience*, which they deny'd to every body else, and endeavour'd at the same time to justify their Usage of the Quakers. They pretended also to merit his Favour, by telling him, *That they were not*
seditions

seditions as to the Interests of Cæsar, nor schismatick as to Matters of Religion (which was equally true, for they had taken part with every Species of Usurpers against Church and Crown from the Beginning of the Civil Wars till the Restoration.) The next thing I meet with remarkable in their History is a Dispute among the Independants of *New-England*, in the Year 1662, whether the Children of Persons baptiz'd (who had not enter'd into Covenant to be obedient to that Church, and been formally admitted Members after they were of Years of Discretion) might be baptiz'd; and upon calling a Synod of their Preachers, it was decreed, that the Children of such Persons ought not to be baptized.

New-England.

Baptism deny'd to the Children of baptis'd Christians.

In the same Year they began their Prosecution of Witches, and put to death one Mrs. *Green-smith* for Acts of Witchcraft said to be committed on the Body of *Anne Cole*, who being taken with Fits, accused this *Green-smith* as the Occasion of them. Their Ministers relate that the Prisoner was prevail'd on also to confess, that the Devil appear'd to her in the Shape of a Deer, and that she talked with him, tho' she did not enter into Covenant with him, and he had carnal Knowledge of her Body; from whence it appears that the Devil is Flesh and Blood, and not a Spirit, and indulges himself in the same Pleasures as those of human Race, according to the *New-England* Creed; but of this hereafter, when I come to speak of those numerous Murders that were committed there under a Colour of Law for the like pretended Crimes. In the Year 1664 *Connecticut* and *New-Haven* procured the Charter-already mention'd from King *Charles II.* which united those two

One executed for a Witch.

Connecticut Charter.

New-
England.

New-York
recover'd
from the
Dutch and
given to
the Duke
of York.

Colonies, and empower'd them to elect their own Governor, Council, and Magistrates, and make Laws. The same Year King *Charles* made a Grant to his Royal Highness *James* Duke of *York* (his Brother) of the Provinces of *New-York* and *New-Jersey*, then called *Nova Belgia*, which the *Dutch* pretended to have purchas'd of Mr. *Hudson*, an *Englishman*, about the Year 1608, and afterwards planted in 1623; and the latter End of this Year a Squadron of Men of War with Land Forces on Board, under the Command of Sir *Robert Carr*, was sent over to reduce it. Sir *Robert* landing 3000 Men near *New-Amsterdam*, now *New-York*, situate on an Island at the Mouth of *Hudson's-River*, and summoning the Governor, it was surrender'd to him without striking a Stroke, and most part of the *Dutch* Inhabitants chose to take the Oath of Allegiance to the King of *England* and remain there. Fort *Orange*, now *Albany*, an hundred and fifty Miles up *Hudson's-River*, also with the whole Country, in the Possession of the *Dutch*, submitted, and has remain'd in the possession of the *English* ever since, having been confirm'd to them by the Treaty of Peace that was made at the End of the *Dutch* War.

The Per-
secution
still con-
tinued in
New-Eng-
land.

The Displeasure of the Government (of *New-England*) says Mr. *Neal*, still ran very high against the Anabaptists and Quakers (*Anno* 1669) being very severe in putting the Laws in execution against them, whereby many honest People were ruin'd by Fines, Imprisonment and Banishment, which was the more extraordinary, the same Writer observes, because their Brethren in *Old-England* pretended to groan under Persecution there. Sad Complaints were sent over every Summer of the
Severity

Severity of the Government of *New-England* ^{New-England.} against the Anabaptists, which induc'd the Dissenters in *London* to send a Letter to the Governor of the *Massachusetts*, sign'd by their Preachers, Dr. *Goodwin*, Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Caryl*, and nine more, intreating him to make use of his Authority and Interest for restoring such of them to their Liberty as were in Prison on account of Religion, and that their sanguinary Laws might not be put in execution for the future. In this Letter they tell the Governor they hoped he would not give an Advantage to their Adversaries, who sought Pretences and Occasions against their Liberty, and were too apt to retort upon them, that Persons of their Principles could not bear with Dissenters from them, and left it to his Wisdom therefore to consider if it was not adviseable at present to put an end to the Sufferings and Confinement of the Persons censur'd, and restore them to their Liberty.

But this Letter, says Mr. *Neal* (my Author) made no Impression on them; the Prisoners were not releas'd, nor the Execution of the Laws suspended. The persecuted Quakers also ^{The Quakers} sent over a Petition or Representation to his Majesty, wherein, having enumerated the ^{Petition to King} Hardships their Friends suffer'd during *Cromwell's* ^{Charles II.} Usurpation, they add, " And now, O King, since the very Day the LORD brought thee into this Land again, and gave unto thee thy regal Power, have they in thy Name made strange and cruel Havock of thy true Subjects, in putting to death and banishing: And in thy Name, with many torturing Whippings of Old and Young at Posts, and at Wheels of great Guns, and at Carts Tails, dragging the naked Bodies

New-
England.

“ of Parents and Children through divers
 “ long Towns, through the Dirt and Filth of
 “ their Channels and Cart-ways: And in thy
 “ Name commanding one Friend and Brother
 “ to help imprison the other; yea, in thy
 “ Name they have lately press’d the Son to
 “ help to force his tender Father and Mother
 “ to Goal fundry Miles in the Extremity of
 “ the Winter-Season, to the Hazard of their
 “ Lives: And such as refused to obey their
 “ unnatural and abominable Commands, they
 “ have fined at their Courts. And thus from
 “ Court to Court do these Monsters of Men,
 “ in thy Name, fine and break open the
 “ Houses of the Quakers, and rob them of
 “ their Goods, and take away that they should
 “ eat in and that they should drink in; yea,
 “ the very Cloaths from their Backs in the
 “ Winter, and the Bed they should lie on,
 “ while they keep the Body fundry Miles off
 “ in Prison; driving Husbands and Wives
 “ divers Miles to Prison, in Times of great
 “ Frost and Snow, keeping them close Pri-
 “ soners in a very cold Room, to the endan-
 “ gering of their Lives, and to the Ruin of their
 “ Families, had not the LORD preserved
 “ them. All this, and much more too tedious
 “ to mention at this time, have they done to
 “ the Servants of the LORD in *New-England*,
 “ in thy Name, saying that thou ownest their
 “ Doings, and esteamest their Laws as thy
 “ Laws: And these hard things have the Ser-
 “ vants of the LORD patiently suffered and
 “ sustained at their Hands for no other Cause
 “ but for their faithful Obedience to the Spirit
 “ of the LORD in their Hearts, which Spirit
 “ of Holiness teacheth them, that forced
 “ Worships and Worshippers are both an
 “ Abomina-

“ Abomination to the LORD. These few
 “ Lines are written not from any Desire of
 “ the least Revenge from thy Hand upon ^{New-England.}
 “ them, but that thou may’st know it, and
 “ make known thy Dislike of their Wicked-
 “ ness, that so the Blood of the Innocent there,
 “ if possible, might not be laid to thy Charge
 “ in the terrible Day of the LORD.”

The Quakers also reflected severely upon the Dissenting Preachers in *London*, because they did not mention them in the Letter they wrote to the Governor of *New-England* in Behalf of the other Sects: And in the Reign of Queen *Anne*, Mr. *Neal* observes, the principal Quakers in *London* presented the following short Memorial to the Dissenting Ministers of that City, viz.

“ There being several severe Laws made
 “ by your Brethren in *New-England* in the
 “ *Massachusetts* Bay and Province, against our
 “ Friends the People called Quakers, only for
 “ their conscientious Dissent from the national
 “ Way there, if you are for Liberty of Con-
 “ science to those that dissent from you, and
 “ are willing our Friends in *New-England*
 “ should enjoy the like Liberty of Conscience
 “ there as you with us do here, we request
 “ you to manifest your Sincerity herein, not
 “ only by shewing your Dislike hereof to your
 “ Brethren there, but also by your concurrent
 “ Application with us to the Queen, that she
 “ would be favourably pleased to disallow of
 “ all such Laws.

The Dissenters of *London* thereupon writing over to their Brethren in *New-England*, desired the Quakers might be allow’d Liberty of Conscience there.

New-
England.

The Inde-
pendants
Answer
to the
Quakers
Charge of
Persecuti-
on.

Doctor *Cotton Mather*, a *New-England* Preacher, in the Name of the rest answer'd, That there could not then (in the Reign of *Queen Anne*) be any severe Laws in Force there on account of Religion, because their Charter expressly provided, *That Liberty of Conscience should be allow'd there for ever in the Worship of God to all Christians, except Papists.*

But the severe Laws they complained of (says *Mather*) were only such as these ; 1. *The Law which requires all Persons of a proper Age, Quality and Condition, to attend the military Exercises on four training Days in a Year ; as also to be furnished with Arms and Ammunition fit for Service, on the Penalty of a moderate Fine therein express'd.* Now, the Government does not insist upon the Quakers personal Appearance, but upon their paying the Fine, in case of Default, as many other Gentlemen and Inhabitants of the Country chuse to do ; but the Quakers will do neither. Tho' they enjoy the Protection of the Government, they will do nothing towards the Security and Defence of it, which is the more extraordinary, since all the World knows that the Quakers in *Pensylvania*, in the Year 1692, on occasion of a Piracy, hired Men with Money, and supply'd them with Ammunition and Fire-Arms to recover their Sloop from the Privateers.

Another Branch of the Law provides, *That there be military Watches kept in every Town at such Times, in such Places, and in such Numbers, and under such Regulations as the chief Officer in each Town shall appoint ; and that all Persons able of Body, or that are of Estates (not exempt by Law) shall by themselves,*
or

or some meet Person in their stead, attend the same, on the Penalty therein express'd. But the Quakers, tho' the Country was then at War with the French and Indians, would neither provide Arms and Ammunition, nor watch and ward; they would neither march out against the Enemy nor keep Garrison at home, nor pay the Penalty which the Law provides for Defaulters. 'Tis true, the Quakers pay the Taxes rais'd by the General Assembly for the Maintenance of the Army, but refuse to submit to the Penalty which the Law inflicts on personal Defaulters in the Train'd-bands, which has oblig'd the Officers sometimes to distrain their Goods; but the Quakers have no more Reason to complain of this, than of the Practices of their own Friends in *Pennsylvania*, who have not only fined their Brethren for declining to serve on Juries, but have violently taken away their Goods for Non-payment, tho' they pleaded the Laws of *England*, which exempt Quakers from serving on Juries.

The other severe Law which the Quakers complain of is, that which obliges them, as well as the other Inhabitants, to pay their Proportion of Assessment for the Maintenance of the Ministers legally chosen and settled. This Law extends only to such Places where the Minister's Salary is rais'd by Assessment; for in *Boston*, and some other Places, 'tis rais'd by a voluntary Contribution, and there nothing is demanded of them. But if this Law was universal, 'tis no greater a Hardship than they are under from the national Church of *Old-England*; and yet the Governors of *New-England* have something more to say for themselves; for in a considerable Part of the Province,

New-
England.

vince, the original Grants of the Lands were made with this Condition, that there should be certain Taxes paid out of them as a sort of Quit-rent, towards the Maintenance of the establish'd Ministry: Now, tho' the Quakers are in possession of some of those Lands, and have rais'd Estates upon them, yet they deny to pay the Quit-rent, because 'tis to support a Ministry they don't approve of.

Now if this be a true State of the Case (says *Mather*) I leave the Reader to judge whether the Quakers had Reason to raise such a Cry of Persecution against the *New-English* Government, or to prefer a Supplication to Queen *Anne* against them, when they enjoy'd the same Privileges with the rest of their Fellow-Subjects of that Country.

Thus have I given some Account of the Divisions among the *New-England* Sectaries, and of the persecuting Spirit of the Independants or governing Party there, which will be enlarg'd upon hereafter. It is time now to return to the Civil History of this Province, which has not yet been brought down lower than the Year 1673, when there happen'd one of the most remarkable Occurrences that is to be met with upon Record, and can by no means be omitted here, because it shews how *America* was, or might be, first peopled; an Event that has perplexed all inquisitive People that have hitherto treated on that Subject.

A Boat
with Men
in it drowe
from the
Coast of
Spain to
New-
England.

A Vessel being bound from the *Streights* to *London*, the Crew mutiny'd against their Master and Officers, and having put them into the Long-boat, with a small Quantity of Provisions, about an hundred Leagues to the Westward of the Coast of *Spain*, the Mutineers set sail with the Ship for *New-England*, where they

they arrived in a few Weeks; but to their great Surprise met with their Master and his Officers soon after their coming on Shore, for the Wind having blown briskly from the Eastward from the Time the Ship parted from the Long-boat, and the Officers labouring hard at their Oars, they had the good Fortune to make the Coast of *New-England* before their Provision was all spent; and the Captain informing the Magistrates of *Boston* of the Matter, the Crew were apprehended, try'd and convicted of Piracy; and *Forest*, the Chief of the Mutineers, with several more of the Criminals, were executed for the Fact at *Boston* this very Year 1673; which does not only shew the Possibility of peopling *America* by Ships, or even Boats driven from the Coasts of *Europe* or *Africa*, but that it must have been very strange, if no such Accident had ever happened, when the *Phenicians* and *Carthaginians* were so long Masters of the Western Coasts of *Europe* and *Africa*, and of the *Canary* Islands, and other Islands that lie between this and the *American* Continent, especially as the Wind always sits Easterly between the Tropicks, and six or seven Degrees beyond either Tropick. But to proceed in the History of *New-England*.

The *Indians* till now made scarce any Attempts for the Recovery of their Liberties, after the *Pegot* Nation was subdued in the Year 1637. Their respective Sovereigns remained at variance among themselves, and frequently called in the *English* to revenge their domestick Quarrels, appealing to them when they apprehended themselves injured, and making the *English* Arbiters of all their Differences, who cunningly play'd one against another, till they were so weakened by their private Quarrels,

New-
England.

that our Colonies found themselves in a Condition to give Law to the whole Country; after which they proceeded to enlarge and strengthen their Frontiers, using the Natives as their Slaves and Vassals; which the *Indians* might easily have foreseen would be the Consequence of calling in a People so much superiour to themselves to assist in the Conquest of their domestick Enemies, if they had not been blinded and infatuated with an insatiable Thirst of Revenge.

There may also be other Reasons assigned for their courting and submitting to the *English*: They might be so terrified by their Fire-arms at their first Arrival, as to apprehend them irresistible, and might hope to obtain the better Terms by a ready Submission. They might hope perhaps to gain Advantages in point of Traffick also by entring into Alliances with them; and probably were imposed on by the fair Pretences of the Adventurers, who assured them they had no other Design than Trade, and to exchange the valuable Merchandize of *Europe* for what their Country afforded; and desired only to purchase some small Parcels of Land to secure their Effects, and enable them to carry on their Traffick with Advantage.

These or some such Reasons, no doubt, induced the *Indians* to permit the *English* to settle amongst them, and to give them but little Disturbance for thirty Years and upwards; but when they found the *English* used them every where like a conquered People, and there was not much Distinction made between those that had submitted and entered into Alliances with them, and those who had not, but that they were all now equally Slaves, and compelled to
part

part with their Religion as well as their Liberties, they entered into a general Confederacy to shake off this insupportable foreign Yoke, in which they were encouraged by the following Considerations.

New-England.
A general Conspiracy against the *English*.

1. The Tyranny of the *English* had render'd them more unanimous than formerly.

2. Their Fire-arms were no longer terrible; the *English* had taught the Natives the Use of Guns, given them Powder and Shot, and employed them in shooting Game, so that the *Indians* were become better Marksmen than their Masters.

3. The *English* now looking upon themselves to be secure, and believing the *Indians* would never dare to make head against them, had neglected to fortify their Towns and discipline their Forces, which rendered it much easier to drive them from their Coasts at this Time than it was when they stood upon their guard, as in an Enemy's Country.

In these Circumstances, *Metacomet* (the Son and Successor of the great *Massasoiet* King of the *Wampanoags*, who had formerly taken the Christian Name of *Philip* upon him when he renewed the Treaty of Alliance his Father made with the Colony of *Plymouth*) observing the Encroachments of the *English*, who had in a manner deprived him of his Authority, treating him and the neighbouring *Sachems* as their Vassals.

This Prince, eminent for his Valour and Conduct, dispatched Messengers privately thro' all the Tribes of *Indians*, inviting them to a general Revolt, as the *English* termed it, of which the Government of *Plymouth* received Advice by one *Sausaman*, who had changed his Religion several times, and was now pleased

The Conspiracy discovered by *Sausaman*.

New-
England.



Who is
killed by
the Indians.

The Mur-
derers put
to death by
the English.

ed to profess himself a Christian. *Philip* being informed that his Design had taken air, and who had betray'd him, ordered some of his People to surprize and kill *Sausaman* as he went to visit his Converts (for the *English* it seems employ'd him as a Missionary among the Natives) and the *Sachem's* Orders were executed with great Privacy, for three or four *Indians* met *Sausaman* on the Road, and killed him as he was going over a Pond that was frozen, and cutting a Hole in the Ice thrust his Body under it, leaving his Hat and Gun near the Place, that it might be thought he fell in accidentally; and it seems those that found his Corps were of that Mind, for they buried him without inquiring farther into the Matter; but the Magistrates of *Plymouth* suspecting some foul Play, ordered the Body to be dug up, and a Jury, half *English* and half Natives, to sit upon it, who found that his Neck was broke, his Head very much swelled, and several Bruises on his Body, and gave their Verdict that he was murdered. But the first Intimation, who were the Authors of his Death, according to the credulous *Dr. Mather*, proceeded from the Bleeding of the Corps on its being touched by an *Indian* named *Tobias*, one of King *Philip's* Council, tho' afterwards ('tis said) another *Indian* came in as a Witness, and swore positively that he saw *Tobias* and two more murder *Sausaman*; and tho' all three of them denied the Fact when they were brought to the Gallows, yet one of them breaking the Rope confess'd that he saw the other two murder the Deceased, but still avowed his own Innocence.

From hence it is evident that the Colony had assumed the Government of the *Indians* as well
as

as of the *English*: And this Instance of it was no doubt a fresh Provocation to the *Sachem Philip*, and the more so as they had taken upon them to put to death one of his principal Ministers without laying the Matter before him, or demanding Satisfaction in an amicable Manner. And tho' he smother'd his Resentment some Months, he was no sooner prepared to execute the Scheme he had formed, but he suffer'd his People to insult the *English* Settlements; and when Complaint was made to him, he returned such haughty Answers as discover'd he no longer intended to submit to their Usurpations. In the Month of *June* 1675, things came to an open Rupture, for the *Sachem* encourag'd his Soldiers to plunder some Plantations almost in view of his Palace of *Mount-Hope*; and a Party of *English* being sent out to protect them, fell into an Ambuscade of *Indians*, who fir'd from the Bushes and kill'd six or seven of the *Plymouth* Men, and then retir'd to the Woods. Whereupon the Governor of *Plymouth* immediately dispatch'd an Express to the *Massachusetts*, and the rest of the united Colonies, with Advice that the War was actually begun, and to demand the Troops they were respectively oblig'd to send to his Assistance by the Articles of the Confederacy.

New-England.

A War commences thereupon.

These Succours being arriv'd, the *English* King attack'd the *Sachem* in his Palace of *Mount-Philip Hope*, which, after a faint Resistance he abandon'd (the Place being surrounded by the *English* Plantations) and retir'd to the *Pocasset* *Mount-Hope* *Indians* on the Sea-Coast; whereupon the *English* marched into the Country of the *Narragansets*, whose Fidelity they suspected, compell'd them to deliver up several of their *Sachems*

New-
England.

Sachems as Hostages, and sign a Treaty, whereby they oblig'd themselves to assist the confederated Colonies against King *Philip* and his Adherents; after which receiving Intelligence that King *Philip* was fortifying himself in a Swamp cover'd with Bushes, in the *Pocasset* Country, the *English* surrounded the Place with their Forces, and by blocking up the Avenues to it propos'd to reduce him by Famine. But *Philip* escap'd in the Night-time on a Float of Timber over a River that ran by the Side of the Swamp or Morass, and fled to the *Nipmuck Indians*, who inhabited the in-land Country on the East Side of the River *Connecticut*. Here *Philip* assembled a considerable Army, and soon became Master of most of the *English* Plantations in this Country; and four-score of the *English* retiring to a Place of difficult Access, he besieg'd them in it; but the confederated Colonies sending a Detachment to the Assistance of their Friends, the Siege was rais'd, and *Philip* retreated further Westward, being pursu'd as far as the River *Connecticut*. Several Skirmishes in the mean time happen'd between the *English* and *Indians* in the other Colonies, all the Nations of *Indians* having by this time taken Arms to recover their expiring Liberties, which they were now too late convinc'd were in the utmost danger. And in some Encounters they were successful. They attack'd Captain *Beers*, who commanded a Party of six and thirty Men, killing the Captain and twenty more, the rest making their Escape to *Hadly*; after which the Enemy cut off the Heads of the Slain, fixing some of them on Poles by the High-way side, and hanging up others by the Jaws on the Boughs of Trees; which Major *Treat* marching with a

Body

Two
Parties of
English
cut off by
the *Indians*

Body of four-score Men to revenge, and fighting after the *Indian* Manner in the Woods, where every Man endeavour'd to cover himself by some Tree from the Enemy's Shot, the *Indians*, who were ten times his Number, and better Marksmen, kill'd seventy of his Men; and the remainder had been cut off if Captain *Mosely* (hearing the continual Fire) had not come in to their Assistance; after which *Philip's* Men retir'd, having lost about an hundred of their Companions, as the *New-England* Histories relate. However, it appears from the same Histories, that the *Indians* were still Masters of the Field, and among other Places burnt and plunder'd the Town of *Springfield*, situated on the River *Connecticut*; and the *New-England* People were now so sensible of their Weakness, that they had recourse to Fasting and Prayers to deprecate the Divine Vengeance, and inquire into the crying Sins of the Land, which they held to be the Occasion of these Calamities; but in their Bead-roll of Sins they never took notice of the most crying Sins of Injustice and Oppression of the *Indians*, over whose Persons and Country they had usurp'd the Dominion, and which were indeed the sole Occasion of this War, and of the Calamities they most justly suffer'd in it.

However, bad as their Cause was, they met with some Success soon after, which they held to be the Effect no doubt of their Fasts. They receiv'd Intelligence, or pretended they had Intelligence, that the *Narragansets* had harbour'd some of King *Philip's* Soldiers, which they determin'd amounted to a Declaration of War; and therefore in the Beginning of Winter, 1675, without sending to enquire the

Truth

New-
England.

The *Narragansets*
massacred.

The *Indians* burn
and plunder the
English
Towns.

They cut
off two
Detach-
ments of
English.

Truth of the Advice, or expostulating with the *Narragansets*, they invaded their Country with twelve or fifteen hundred *English*, destroying it with Fire and Sword; and the People thereupon retiring into a Swamp, which they endeavour'd to fortify by cutting down Trees, and raising a Breast-work, the *English* storm'd and carry'd the Place, killing a thousand *Indians* in Arms, among whom were twenty of their Captains of great Fame: Besides these were massacred multitudes of old Men, Women, and Children, who fled hither on the Invasion, this being esteem'd the best natural Fortification, and the most inaccessible in the Country of the *Narragansets*. The *English* lost in the Action six of their bravest Captains, and eighty-five Soldiers, besides an hundred and fifty that were wounded.

This Slaughter of the *Narragansets* did not go long unrevenged; for all the *Indian* Nations on the Frontiers of *New-England* immediately took the Field (and calling in the *French* of *Canada* to their Assistance, as their Histories relate) they burnt and plunder'd the Towns of *Mendham*, *Lancaster*, *Marlborough*, *Sudbury*, *Chelmsford*, *Weymouth*, and even the Town of *Medfield*, within twenty Miles of *Boston*, the Capital of the *Massachusetts*, carrying many of the Inhabitants into Slavery. From hence they marched into the Colony of *Plymouth*, where the War first began, laid the Town of *Warwick* in ashes, and surpris'd *Plymouth*, the Capital of that Colony, but were beaten out of it again; and being pursu'd by fifty *English* and twenty Christian *Indians*, they formed an Ambuscade, into which the *English* fell and were all cut in pieces, except one *Englishman*, and twelve of their *Indian* Allies.

After

After this King *Philip's* People burnt the Towns of *Rehoboth*, *Providence*, *Andover*, and several more, the Inhabitants having deserted them and fled for Refuge to Places that were more defensible. New-England.

In the mean time a Detachment of seventy *English* under the Command of Captain *Wadsworth* and Captain *Brattlebank*, marching to the Assistance of their Friends, were surrounded by five hundred *Indians*, who kill'd fifty of them on the spot, and took some Prisoners after a very obstinate Engagement, wherein 'tis said above one hundred *Indians* were slain. However, 'tis agreed on all hands, the *Indians* obtain'd the Victory, and, according to the *New-England Histories*, put their Prisoners to death by the most unheard-of Tortures. But notwithstanding the *Indians* were generally successful during the Winter, when the Season was so rigorous that the *English* Forces could not keep the Field, Fortune began to frown on them in the Beginning of the Year 1676. King *Philip's* Troops were defeated in several Encounters, and the potent Nation of the *Mohawks*, upon some Quarrel with *Philip*, entering into a League offensive and defensive with the *English*, he was no longer able to make head against his Enemies, but fled to his Fortrefs of *Mount-Hope* in *Plymouth* Colony, where the War began. And here he shut himself up, refusing to surrender, but was at length kill'd by a Musket-shot, on the 12th *Philip* of *August* 1676. The brave Queen of *Pocasset*, killed. his most faithful Ally, lost her Life a few Days before. This heroick Savage, being surprised by a Detachment of the *English*, defeated animated her Men as long as there was any Hopes of Success, and when they deserted her, The *Indians* join'd by their Divisions.
The Queen of *Pocasset* and drowned.

New-
England.

fled to a River-side, where missing of her Canoes, she attempted to cross the River and was drown'd.

King
Philip's
Character.

The Character the *New-England* Historians give us of King *Philip* is, that he was ever an implacable Enemy of the *English* Nation; a bold and daring Prince, with all the Pride, Fierceness, and Cruelty of a Savage, and a Mixture of deep Cunning and Design. He had the Address to engage all the *Indian* Nations in his Neighbourhood in the War against the growing Power of the *English*, and when his Officers became desperate, chose rather to die than survive the Liberties of his Country, and submit to a foreign Yoke: That he was no less an Enemy to the Christian Religion than to the Dominion of the *English*, never suffering any of them to preach to his People, telling their Missionaries he did not care a Button for their Gospel.

The *Indi-*
ans on the
SouthWest
entirely
subdu'd.

Upon the Death of King *Philip*, his Adherents either submitted to the *English* Government or dispersed, some of them flying to *Albany*, and others beyond the River *Piscatawa*, which put an End to the War on the South-East of *New-England*, and so broke the Strength of the *Indians* there, that they never attempted an Insurrection afterwards; but the War on the Frontiers of *New-Hampshire* and *Maine* (that is, on the North and the North-East) still continu'd. The *Massachusetts* Writers inform us, that the *English* Adventurers, who first possess'd themselves of the Provinces of *Maine* and *New-Hampshire*, liv'd dispersed all over those Countries without building a single Town or Fort in it for their Defence, and behaved themselves however very insolently, treating the *Indians* as Slaves, and cheating
and

The War
on the
North-
East.

and imposing upon them in their Traffick, tho' their Trade would have been very advantageous to them if they had dealt fairly and upon the square, inasmuch as they purchased Beaver-skins and other rich Furrs of the Natives for Trifles.

The *Indians* had long borne with the Insults and Outrages committed by the *English* of these Colonies; but when they found they were engag'd in a War with their Countrymen on the South-Weſt, they alſo had recourſe to Arms, over-run and plunder'd the Provinces of *Maine* and *Hampſhire*, the *English* flying before them to the Towns in the *Maſſachuſet* Colony, and thoſe which could not eſcape thither were either cut in Pieces or carry'd into Captivity. Whereupon the *Maſſachuſets* detach'd a Body of two hundred Men to oppoſe the *Indians* on the North-Eaſt, who had the good Fortune to ſurpriſe four hundred of the Enemy and make them all Priſoners. Upon which Succeſs the *Indians* were induc'd to come to a Treaty with the *English*, and a Peace was concluded on the 12th of *November*, 1676, on the following Terms, viz.

1ſt, That the *Indians* ſhould deliver up all the *English* Priſoners they had taken, with their Effects, and make Satisfaction for the Loſſes the *English* had ſuſtain'd. 2dly, That the *English* furniſhing the *Indians* with Powder and Shot, they ſhould trade with no other People; and, 3dly, That thoſe who had been concerned in maſſacreing the *English* in their Houſes before War was declar'd, ſhould be put to death, or deliver'd up to the *English*.

Upon the Concluſion of this Treaty ſome few *English* Priſoners were releas'd, but others being ſtill detain'd in Captivity, the *English* or-

New-
England.

A Peace
with the
Northern
Indians.

Broken.

New-
England.



Another
disadvan-
tageous
Treaty.

A Surren-
der of the
New-
Hampshire
Charter.

Judgment
against the
Massachu-
set Charter.

A new
Charter
granted
the Massa-
chusetts.

der'd a Detachment of two hundred Men to march to the North-East, to compell the *Indians* to perform their Part of the Articles ; which they were so far from obtaining, that the *English*, in a subsequent Treaty, were oblig'd to promise to deliver a certain Quantity of Corn annually to the Northern *Indians*, as a Tribute or Acknowledgment for that Part of the Country they had planted.

In the Year 1684, the Colony of *New-Hampshire* finding themselves continually exposed to the Invasion of the *French* and their confederate *Indians* of *Canada*, surrender'd their Charter, and put themselves immediately under the Protection of the Crown of *England*, and ever since their Governor, Council, and Magistrates have been appointed by the King ; and about the same time Judgment was obtain'd, on a *Quo Warranto*, against the *Massachusetts* and *Plymouth* Colonies. On the other hand, the *Connecticut* and *Rhode-Island* Colonies submitting themselves to his Majesty's Pleasure, no Judgment was given against them, and they afterwards resumed their ancient Form of Government, which they have been permitted to exercise ever since : But the *Massachusetts* and *Plymouth* Colonies were govern'd by the Crown of *England* in an arbitrary manner, till King *William* granted a new Charter to the *Massachusetts*, in which were comprehended the Colonies of *Maine* and *Plymouth*, as has been observ'd already.

In the mean time King *Charles II.* granted a Commission to *Henry Cranfield*, Esq; to be Governor of the *Massachusetts* Colony ; and he remain'd in that Post till the Reign of King *James II.* who appointed *Joseph Dudley*, Esq; a Native of *New-England*, and one he thought acceptable

acceptable to them, as being a Member of the Independant Sect, to succeed Mr. *Cranfield*; but they were so far from approving Mr. *Dudley's* Administration, that they rose in Arms, made the Governor Prisoner, and sent him to *England*, and at the same time threw off their Allegiance, pretending to revive their former Charter by their own Authority; and actually proceeded to the Choice of Magistrates, after they had deposed those appointed by the Crown. However, the King constituting Sir *Edmond Andros* their Governor, in *June* 1686, im-
New-England.
An In-
surrection
in New-
England.
Sir Edmond
Andros
made Go-
vernor.
power'd him and four of the Council to frame Laws for the Government of the Colony, which the *Massachusetts* thought fit to submit to for some time; and all the Judges, Magistrates, and Officers, civil and military, were prefer'd to their Posts by Sir *Edmond Andros*.

During this Gentleman's Administration, A War
namely, in the Year 1687, the *Indians* on the North-East of *New-England*, supported by the *French* of *Canada* and *Nova Scotia*, began to commit Outrages on the Northern Frontiers of *New-England*, for which they gave the following Reasons: 1st, That the *English* had neglected to pay the Tribute of Corn, as was stipulated by the last Treaty of Peace. 2^{dly}, That they obstructed their Fishery in the River *Saco*, by pitching Nets and Seins at the Mouth of it. 3^{dly}, That the *English* had turned Cattle into one of their Islands and eaten up their Corn; and, 4^{thly}, That their Lands were actually patented out to the *English*; which seems to be too true, for the *New-England* Writers tell us they threaten'd the Surveyors to knock them on the head when they came to lay out those Lands: And indeed I don't find the *English* deny'd any Part of the Charge,

New-
England.

Charge, only reply'd, that the *Indians* ought to have complain'd of these Grievances first, and seen if they would not have been redress'd in an amicable way, before they had proceeded to Acts of Hostility.

As to the *French*, their principal Complaint was, that the *English* had made some Encroachment on their Territories in *Canada*: But however, as they were incorporated with the *Indians* by Intermarriages, and were become in a manner one People with them, it could scarce be expected they should stand neuter; and in fact we find they have supported these *Indians* in all their Wars with the *English* ever since.

The Re-
volution.

The Peo-
ple of
*New-Eng-
land* de-
pose their
Governor.

Sir *Edmond Andros*, who was at this time at *New-York*, hearing the Frontiers of *New-England* were invaded by the *French Indians* of *Canada*, return'd to *Boston*, and having endeavour'd to accommodate Matters in vain, marched against the Enemy in the Winter of 1688, at the Head of a thousand Men; whereupon the *Indians* retiring into the Woods, he built and garrison'd two Forts to defend the Frontiers, and sent the rest of his Forces into Winter Quarters, and before the next Spring, 1689, Advice came of the Revolution in *Old-England*. Whereupon the People rose and made the Magistrates and Officers of *Boston* Prisoners, and summon'd Governor *Andros*, who was retir'd into the Castle, to surrender, which, after some time, he thought fit to do, observing the whole Country disposed to revolt. Upon his Return to *England*, King *William* approv'd his Conduct, tho' great Complaints were made of the Tyranny of his Administration, and in the Year 1692 he was constituted by that Prince Governor of *Virginia*.

In

In the mean time the Gentlemen of *New-England* were pleased to call an Assembly of Representatives by their own Authority, who voted that the Government was devolv'd upon the People, and appointed *Simon Bradstreet*, Esq; their Governor, and *Thomas Danforth*, Esq; Deputy-Governor, with the same Council or Assistants they had elected in the Year 1686. But their Declaration that the Government was devolv'd on the diffusive Body of the People was attended with some ill Effects; for the common People, now looking upon themselves as so many Sovereigns, took upon them to plunder every one they did not like, and among the rest the friendly *Indians*; but while they were in this Confusion, a Letter arriv'd from King *William* and Queen *Mary*, dated the 12th of *August*, 1689, requiring them to obey their Magistrates till they receiv'd further Orders.

Still the *Indians* continued to ravage the Frontiers, kill'd great Numbers of *English*, and were guilty of very barbarous Actions (as the *New-England* Writers relate) in which they met with little Opposition while the Government remain'd in that unsettled Condition. At length the celebrated Sir *William Phips*, in the Year 1690, raised a Body of seven hundred Men, and observing that the *Indians* were constantly supported in their Wars by the *French*, who had possess'd themselves of *Nova Scotia* or *Acadia*, a Country which of right belong'd to the *English*, and that their principal Fortrefs was at *Port-Royal*, he resolv'd to embark with his Troops, and endeavour to reduce that Place; but before I give an Account of the Success of that Expedition, I shall take this Opportunity to inform the

New-England.

Sir *William Phips's* Expedition against *Port-Royal*

Reader

New-
England.

His Rise
in the
World.

Reader who this Sir *William Phips* was, and the memorable Occasion of raising his Fortune.

This Hero was born of mean Parents, *Anno* 1650, at a small Plantation on the Banks of the River *Kennebeck*, the North-East Frontier of *New-England*. His Father was a Gunsmith, and left his Mother a Widow with a large Family of small Children: This *William* being one of the youngest, kept Sheep in the Wilderness till he was eighteen Years of Age, and was then bound Apprentice to a Ship-Carpenter. When he had serv'd his Time, he went to Sea, and having been successful in some small Adventures, at length discover'd a rich *Spanish* Wreck, near the Port of *La Plata* in *Hispaniola*, which gain'd him a great Reputation in the *English* Court, and introduced him into the Acquaintance of some of the greatest Men in the Nation.

The Galleon, in which this Treasure was lost, had been cast away upwards of fifty Years, and how Captain *Phips* came to the Knowledge of it does not appear to me; but upon his applying to King *Charles II.* in the Year 1683, and acquainting his Majesty with the Probability there was of recovering it, the King made him Commander of the *Algier Rose*, a Frigate of 18 Guns and 95 Men, and sent him to *Hispaniola* in search of the Prize. Here he was inform'd by an old *Spaniard* of the very Place where it was lost, and began to fish for it, but his Ship's Crew looking upon it as a romantick Undertaking, after some little Trial despaired of Success, and compel'd him to return to *England* without effecting any thing: And tho' the Captain assur'd the Ministry that the Impatience of the Seamen

Seamen only prevented his Succes, the Court refused to be concern'd in the Enterprize any further, and it was drop'd for some time. However, the Captain continuing his Application to some great Men, the Duke of *Albemarle*, and several other Persons of Distinction, fitted him out again in the Year 1688; and arriving at the Port *De la Plata* with a Ship and Tender, the Captain went up into the Woods and built a stout Canoe out of a Cotton Tree, large enough to carry eight or ten Oars. This Canoe and Tender, with some choice Men and skillful Divers, the Captain sent out in search of the Wreck, whilst himself lay at anchor in the Port. The Canoe kept busking up and down upon the Shallows, and could discover nothing but a Reef of rising Shoals, call'd the *Boylers*, within two or three Foot of the Surface of the Water. The Sea was calm, every Eye was employ'd in looking down into it, and the *Divers* went down in several Places without making any Discovery, till at last, as they were turning back, weary and dejected, one of the Sailors looking over the side of the Canoe into the Sea, spy'd a Feather under Water, growing, as he imagin'd, out of the Side of a Rock; one of the *Divers* was immediately order'd down to fetch it up, and look out if there was any thing of Value about it. He quickly brought up the Feather, and told them that he had discover'd several great Guns; whereupon he was order'd down again, and then brought up a Pig of Silver of two or three hundred Pounds Value, the Sight of which filled them with Transports, and convinced them sufficiently that they had found the Treasure they had been so long looking for. When they had buoy'd the Place, they

New-
England.

made haste to the Port, and told the Captain the joyful News, who could hardly believe them till they shew'd him the Silver, and then with Hands lift up to Heaven he cry'd out, *Thanks be to God we are all made!* All Hands were immediately order'd on Board, and sailing to the Place, the *Divers* happen'd to fall first into the Room where the Bullion had been stor'd, and in a few Days they brought up 32 Ton of Silver without the Loss of any Man's Life. When they had clear'd the Store-Room they search'd the Hold, and amongst the Ballast of the Ship found a great many Bags of *Pieces of Eight*. 'Tis observable that these Bags having lain so long under Water amongst Ballast, were crusted over with a hard Substance like Lime-stone, to the Thickness of several Inches, which being broken with Irons contriv'd for that Purpose, the rusty *Pieces of Eight* tumbled out in prodigious Quantities. Besides these Things they found vast Treasures of Gold, Pearls, Jewels, and every thing that a *Spanish* Galleon used to be laden with. There was one *Adderley* of *Providence*, who had been with Captain *Phips* in his former Voyage to this Place, and promised to assist him again if ever he should make a second Adventure, who met him with a small Vessel at Port *De la Plata*, and with the few Hands he had on Board took up six Ton of Silver for themselves. They both staid till their Provision was spent, and then the Captain obliging *Adderley* and his Men not to discover the Place of the Wreck, nor come to it himself till next Year, they weigh'd Anchor and returned. The Reason of this Obligation was, because the last Day of their Fishing the *Divers* brought up several Sows of Silver, which made the Captain

imagine

imagine that there was a great deal of Treasure yet behind, tho' it afterwards appear'd that they had in a manner quite clear'd the Ship of her Bullion before they left her. The Captain steer'd directly away for *England* without calling at any Port by the Way, and arriv'd the latter End of the Year, with about three hundred thousand Pounds Sterling, sixteen thousand of which, after all Charges paid and Gratuities to the Sailors, came to his own Share: Besides which, the Duke of *Albemarle* made his Wife a Present of a golden Cup of a thousand Pounds Value.

New-
England.

The Value of
300,000*l.*
Sterling
fish'd up.

Some of King *James's* Courtiers would have persuaded him to have seiz'd the Ship and its Cargo, under Pretence that the Captain had not rightly inform'd him of the Nature of his Project when he was graciously pleas'd to grant him his Patent; but the King reply'd, that *Phips* was an honest Man, and that it was his Council's Fault that he had not employ'd him himself, and therefore he would give him no Disturbance in what he had got; but as a Mark of his royal Favour confer'd upon him the Honour of Knighthood. But to proceed in the History.

I left Sir *William* embarking his Forces in *New-England* for the Reduction of *Acadia*, who sailing from *Nantascot* on the 20th of *April* 1690, came before *Port-Royal* (now *Annapolis*) the Capital of *Nova Scotia*, on the 11th of *May*; and the Place being then but poorly fortify'd, the Garrison made scarce any Defence, but surrender'd upon Condition of being conducted to *Canada*. Most of the *French* Inhabitants chusing to remain in the Town; took the Oaths to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, over whom Sir *William* having

*Port-
Royal*
taken.

New-
England.

And St.
John's.

Resigned
to the
French by
King
William.
Recovered
by Queen
Anne.

Port-Royal
now call'd
Annapolis.

appointed a Governor returned to *Boston* on the 30th of the same Month, having reduc'd another *French* Settlement at the Mouth of *St. John's River*, in the Bay of *Fundi*, by the Way: And the *English* kept possession of this Country till the Peace of *Ryswick*, Anno 1697, when King *William* thought fit to resign it to the *French*. But Queen *Anne* being better apprised of the Importance of this Country to the *English*, oblig'd the *French* to yield up their Pretensions to *Nova Scotia* and *Acadia* at the Peace of *Utrecht*, Anno 1712, the Town of *Port-Royal* now bearing the Name of *Annapolis* in Honour of that Queen. But to proceed.

The Re-
duction of
Canada
attempted.

The Success Sir *William Phips* met with in the Reduction of *Nova Scotia* encourag'd him to attempt the Conquest of *Canada*, which would have render'd the *English* Masters of all the North-East Part of *America*; and to support him in this Enterprize, the People of *New-England* fitted out a Fleet of two and thirty Sail, putting on Board of it two thousand Men under his Command: And it was concerted with the Western Colonies, that a thousand *English* and fifteen hundred *Indians* should march over Land from *Connecticut* and *New-York* at the same time, and attack the Fortress of *Montreal*, situate above *Quebeck*, on the River *St. Lawrence*, that the *French* might be oblig'd to divide their Forces.

The Fleet set sail from the Town of *Hull*, on the 9th of *August*, but contrary Winds prevented their coming before *Quebeck* till the 5th of *October*; and the Detachment which marched over Land not meeting with the Canoes or Boats the *Indians* had promised to provide to transport them over the Lakes, they were oblig'd

oblig'd to return home, which gave Count *Frontenac*, the Governor of *Canada*, an Opportunity to unite all his Forces in the Defence of *Quebeck*; and when Sir *William* sent him a Summons to surrender, he did not only slight the Summons, but threaten'd to hang up the Officer who brought it, telling him they were a Pack of Pyrates, having no Commission from the true King of *England*.

Sir *William Phips* hereupon landed fourteen hundred Men, giving the Command of them to Colonel *Whalley*, with Orders to attack the Town on the Land-side, while he batter'd it with his Ships from the River: But *Whalley* making his Descent a League and a half from the Town, to which the Way lay through a Wood that the *French* had fortify'd, he was twice repulsed and could never penetrate it. Whereupon Sir *William Phips* order'd his Men to embark again, resolving to land them close to the Town; but a Storm arose in the Night which disperfed the Fleet, and at the same time it grew so extreme cold that many of their Men fell sick. Whereupon it was thought adviseable to return home: And before they reach'd *Boston* they lost a thousand Men by the Rigour of the Season.

The Enterprize defeated.

Mr. *Dummer* also observes that their Troops did not fall by the Sword of the Enemy, but the Losses they sustain'd were occasion'd by Famine and various Disasters in their Return home, and chiefly by the early Approach of a severe Winter, which made it impracticable for Provisions to follow them. Certain it is they were very unfortunate in being detain'd so long by contrary Winds, that the Summer was spent before they could enter upon Action. It had been much better after this Accident to have

New-
England.

have defer'd the Expedition till another Year. In that cold Climate it is scarce ever practicable to make a Winter's Campaign; and the Storms, Fogs, and Difficulty of the Navigation in the River *Canada*, or *St. Lawrence*, after the autumnal Equinox, make that Voyage extremely hazardous. Whoever therefore shall attempt *Quebeck* hereafter, will do well to begin the Enterprize before *Midsummer*, or they must never hope for Success. But to return.

During this Expedition of Sir *William Phips* to the Westward, the War was carry'd on very briskly in the East. Four or five hundred *French* and *Indians* cross'd the Bay of *Casco* in Canoes, and surpris'd the Town of *Casco*, making the Inhabitants Prisoners of War. Whereupon all the smaller Garrisons thereabouts abandon'd their Forts and retir'd to *Saco*: And three hundred Men being detach'd under Major *Church*, to make head against the Enemy on the Frontiers, the Major did not only recover the Town of *Casco*, but forced the Enemy to retire to the Woods, and the *Indians* soon after desired a Truce, which was agreed to at the Fortress of *Sagbedoc*, on the 29th of *November*, to continue till *May*, 1691.

A Truce
with the
Eastern
Indians.

Still Sir *William Phips* had his Heart fix'd upon the Conquest of *Canada*, an Enterprize of the last Consequence to the *British* Plantations, and embark'd for *England* in the Beginning of the Year 1691, to solicit the Court of *England* for a Supply of Troops from thence; but King *William* wanted all his Forces to make head against the *French* in *Europe*, and could not spare him any: When Sir *William* found it in vain therefore to continue his Application on that head, he employ'd his Interest with

with the *New-England* Agents to obtain a Restoration of the *Massachusetts* Charter: And tho' they did not succeed in this, they procur'd another with ample Privileges, which the *New-England* People were not so well pleased with however as the old Patent, because by the new Patent the Appointment of a Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Secretary, was reserved to the Crown, and the Power of the Militia vested in the Governor, as Captain-General; whereas, by their former Patent, the Governor and all Officers, civil and military, were appointed by the General-Assembly. However, his Majesty was pleased to indulge the *New-England* Agents so far as to suffer them to name their first Governor by the new Charter, and they thereupon desired Sir *William Phips* might be the Man; which the King granted, and Sir *William Phips* was appointed Captain-General and Governor in chief of the *Massachusetts* Bay in *New-England*.

New-England.

A new Charter granted to New-England.

Sir William Phips Governor.

In the mean time the Truce of *Sagbedoc* being expired, the War was revived in *New-England*, and carry'd on with various Success. The *English* defended their Garrison Towns in the Province of *Maine* pretty well, but the open Places and their Plantations were generally plunder'd and destroy'd, and great Cruelties exercis'd on such of the *English* as were made Prisoners.

The War commences again.

Sir *William Phips* arriving at *New-England* with the Charter he had obtain'd about this time, the People appear'd discontented that their Privileges were abridg'd in so many Particulars: However, the General-Court appointed a Day of Thanksgiving for the safe Arrival of their Governor, and transmitted an Address of Thanks to his Majesty for granting them

New-
England.



Pemaquid
Fort built.

Peace
concluded
with the
Indians.

New-
England
bewitch'd.

them a new Charter. And now Sir *William* apply'd himself with his usual Diligence to carry on the War against the *Indians* on the North-East, who still continued to harrafs and plunder the *English* Settlements and massacre the Inhabitants ; and marching with a Body of four hundred and fifty Men over the River *Kennebeck*, after he had repulsed the Savages, he caused a Fort to be erected near the Mouth of the River *Pemaquid*, which he named *William-Henry* Fort, for the Defence of the Frontiers, being one of the strongest and most regular Fortifications that has been seen in that Part of the World, and proved an excellent Barrier against the Incurfions of the *Indians*, who being now weary of the War sent an Ambassador to *Pemaquid* to make Proposals of Peace ; and a Treaty being thereupon agreed to, the following Articles were concluded on the 11th of *August*, 1693.

1st, That all the *Indians* on the North-East of *Merimack* River should acknowledge themselves subject to the Crown of *England*, and promise to abandon the *French* Interest. 2^{dly}, That they should set all the *English* Prisoners at liberty without Ransom. 3^{dly}, They agreed that the *English* should quietly enjoy all their Plantations in this Country ; and, 4^{thly}, That Trade should be under such Regulations as the Government of *New-England* should prescribe. And for the Performance of these Articles they deliver'd to Sir *William Phips* the Governor several Hostages, as Pledges of their Fidelity : And the Governor, on the other hand, promised them his Protection.

Towards the End of this War the People of *New-England* appear'd perfectly distracted with Apprehensions of their being over-run with

with Witches and evil Spirits, one Neighbour prosecuting another capitally for Witchcraft with the utmost Violence; in which they were so much encourag'd by their Preachers, and countenanc'd by their Magistrates, that no Man's Life was safe. Strange were the Mistakes, says my Author (Mr. Neal) which some of the wisest and best Men in the Country committed on this Occasion! And it must have proved fatal to the whole Province, if God had not mercifully interposed.

New-
England.

Mr. *Paris*, Preacher of *Salem*, began the Tragedy the latter End of the Year 1691, under Pretence his Daughter and Niece were under an ill Tongue (the former of them being nine, and the latter eleven Years of Age) and what was thought an Evidence of their being afflicted by Witches, was their creeping into Holes and Corners, and lying under Chairs and Stools. They had also, 'tis said, something like Convulsion Fits, and complained of their being bitten and pinch'd by invisible Agents; and Mr. *Paris* suspecting an *Indian* Woman in his House, named *Tituba*, and two others whom the Children cry'd out tormented them in their Fits, to be the Witches, they were examin'd before a Magistrate, and *Tituba*, frighted out of her Wits at the Charge, confess'd that she and the two other Women had afflicted the Children; but upon her Enlargement (for they never put any to death that confess'd themselves Witches) she declar'd that her Master had beaten and abus'd her to make her confess and accuse such as he called Witches; and that whatever she had said, by way of Confession and accusing others, was the Effect of such Usage.

Paris, a
Preacher,
the prime
Author
of the
Delusion.

The
Witnesses
threaten'd
to extort a
Confession.

New-
England.

The Form
of the In-
dictment
against
Burroughs.

The Form of their Indictments may be seen in that prefer'd against one of their Preachers, viz. Mr. *George Burroughs*, Minister of *Falmouth*.

Wherein they charge, That the said *George Burroughs*, on the 9th of *May*, in the 4th Year of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and divers other Days and Times before and after, certain detestable Acts, call'd Witchcrafts and Sorceries, had wickedly and feloniously used, practis'd, and exercis'd, within the Town of *Salem*, in the County of *Essex*, in and upon *Mary Walcot* of *Salem*, single Woman; by which said wicked Acts, the said *Mary Walcot*, on the 9th of *May* aforesaid, and divers other Days and Times, was tortur'd, afflicted, pined, consumed, wast'd, and tormented, against the King and Queen's Peace, &c.

Upon this and three Indictments more for bewitching three other Women, Mr. *Burroughs* was brought to his Trial, on the 5th of *August*, 1692.

The
Evidence
against
him.

The Witnesses against him were five Women, who pretended to be bewitch'd by him, and eight confessing Witches; the latter swearing he was the principal Actor in their nightly Revels, and was promised to be made King of Satan's Kingdom, then about to be erected: And the bewitched Persons unanimously depos'd, that a Spectre, resembling the Prisoner, but invisible to others, tormented them in their Fits. One of the Witnesses testify'd, that the Prisoner press'd her to set her Hand to a Book, and inflict'd cruel Pains on her when she refused. Others depos'd he founded a Trumpet for the Witches to rendezvous at a Sacrament, and tempted those he tormented to partake with them. Another said, he carry'd her to
the

the Top of a high Mountain, and shew'd her glorious Kingdoms, telling her he would give them all to her if she would sign his Book. New-England.

The confessing Witches testify'd, he gave them Puppets, and Thorns to stick into the Puppets, for afflicting other People, exhorting them to bewitch all the People of *Salem*, but to do it gradually.

Some People of Credit depos'd, that he had the Strength of a Giant, and instanced in his lifting great Weights; but he shew'd that an *Indian* in Court had done the same.

Others testify'd, he had been a cruel Man to his Wives, who often complain'd to the Neighbours his House was troubled with evil Spirits.

The Prisoner deny'd the whole Charge, and declared it to be his Opinion, that never any Person made a formal Contract with the Devil, or could send the Devil to torment other People at a Distance. However, he was convicted, and Sentence of Death pass'd upon him. The Prisoner convicted.

Being brought to his Execution, he made His Execution solemn Protestations of his Innocence, and concluding his Prayer with the *Lord's Prayer*, expressed so much Devotion and Resignation, that the People were moved to pity him; and it was expected the Magistrates who attended him would have respite'd his Execution, but his Accusers cry'd out he was assisted by the Devil; whereupon he was turn'd off, and after he was cut down drag'd into a Hole, not being suffer'd to have a decent Burial in the usual Burying-place.

Doctor *Mather*, giving an Account of the Circumstances of several Persons said to be bewitch'd, relates, " That their Limbs were horribly distorted and convulsed; that they

New-
England.

“ were pinched black and blue ; that Pins
 “ were invisibly run into their Flesh ; and
 “ that they were scalded till they had Blisters
 “ raised in them. One of them (says he) was
 “ assaulted by a Spectre with a Spindle in its
 “ Hand, which no body else in the Room
 “ could see, till the Afflicted, in one of her
 “ Agonies, snatch'd it out of the Spectre's
 “ Hand, and then all the Company saw it.
 “ Another was haunted by a Spectre in an
 “ invisible Sheet ; but the Afflicted in one of
 “ her Fits tearing a Piece of it away, it be-
 “ came visible : Sometimes Poison has been
 “ forced on the Afflicted by an invisible Hand,
 “ which, when they have drank, they have
 “ presently swollen, and afterwards been
 “ reliev'd by the Medicines usually given in
 “ such Cases. Sometimes they have com-
 “ plained of burning Rags forced into their
 “ Mouths, which no body else could see, yet
 “ the Burns have remained on their Mouths
 “ afterwards. Sometimes they have com-
 “ plained of Irons heating in the Fire to brand
 “ them, the Marks of which they have carry'd
 “ to their Graves. The Spectres (says he)
 “ usually personated some Persons whom the
 “ Afflicted knew, and (which is very strange,
 “ if true) when they wounded the Spectre,
 “ the Person whom the Spectre represented
 “ was wounded too : For example, one of
 “ the Afflicted said, that the Spectre that tor-
 “ mented her was *D—H—* and pointing to
 “ a certain Place in the Room, she cry'd out,
 “ *There is D—H—* upon which a Man with
 “ his Rapier struck at the Place, and the Af-
 “ flicted told him that he had given her a
 “ small Prick about the Eye ; soon after
 “ which *D—H—* being apprehended, con-
 “ fess'd

“ fets’d herself a Witch ; and that in troubling
 “ the Girl that had impeach’d her she had
 “ received two Wounds, one about the Eye,
 “ which she shew’d the Magistrates, and a-
 “ nother in the Side. If the Accused cast
 “ their Eyes on the Afflicted, the Afflicted,
 “ tho’ their Faces were turned another way,
 “ would fall into a Swoon, and continue in it
 “ till the Hands of the Accused came to
 “ touch them ; and it was often found that
 “ the Flesh of the Afflicted was bitten, so
 “ that the Print of Teeth was very visible,
 “ and there would appear just such a Set of
 “ Teeth as was in the Accused, even such as
 “ might be clearly distinguished from other
 “ People’s. In a word, the Afflicted (as the
 “ Doctor observes) in a few Days time arriv’d
 “ to such a refining Alteration upon their
 “ Eyes that they could see their Tormentors :
 “ They saw a Devil of a little Stature, and of
 “ a tawny Colour, attended with Spectres,
 “ that appeared in more human Circumstances :
 “ These Tormentors used to tender the Af-
 “ flicted a Book, requiring them to sign, or
 “ touch it at least, in Token of their con-
 “ senting to be lifted in the Devil’s Service,
 “ which, if they refused, the Spectres under
 “ the Command of the black Man tortured
 “ them with prodigious Molestations.”

New-
 England.

But Mr. *Calef* of *Boston*, in his Book en-
 titled *More Wonders of the invisible World*,
 has endeavour’d to invalidate the Doctor’s Ac-
 count of Things : He declares that the Story
 of the Sheet was a known Forgery, it having
 been provided by the Afflicted Person the Day
 before : And he does not doubt but the Spindle
 was so too. He adds, that the Print of the
 Set of Teeth was nothing but the Afflicted’s
 biting

The
 Doctor’s
 Account
 exploded.

New-
England.

biting themselves ; and that sometimes instead of finding a Set of Teeth, the Accused have not had a Tooth in their Heads.

And to shew yet farther the Wickedness of these afflicted Persons, he mentions an Accident at the Trial of *Sarah Good*, which, if true, ought alone to have invalidated their Evidence for the future. The Story is this: While *Sarah Good* was upon her Trial, one of the Afflicted fell into a Fit, and cry'd out that the Prisoner's Spectre was stabbing her with a Knife, but had broke it in her Body ; and to confirm the Truth of her Relation, she plucked a Piece of the Blade out of her Breast, and shew'd it in Court ; but there was a young Man present, who, seeing the Blade, had the Honesty and Courage to claim it for his, and to declare before the Judges, that he broke his Knife but the Day before, and threw away that Part of the Blade in the Presence of the afflicted Person, but that he had the Handle with the other Part of the Blade in his Pocket, which he deliver'd into Court ; and upon comparing them together, they were found to be Parts of the same Knife ; upon which the Judge only reprimanded her, and bid her tell no more Lies.

'Tis certain that these suspected Wizards and Witches were convicted on very slender Evidence ; for the Court allowed the Witnesses to tell Stories of twenty or thirty Years standing, about over-setting of Carts, the Death of Cattle, Unkindness of Relations, or unexpected Accidents befalling them after some Quarrel ; all that was alledg'd against them, to the Purpose, being either from the distemper'd Persons themselves, or from those who had been frighted into a Confession of their

their being Witches by the Threatnings of the Magistrates, or encourag'd to it by the Hopes of Mercy.

Great part of the Evidence given against these unhappy People also appears exceeding ridiculous. One testify'd, he bought a Sow of the Prisoner which was troubled with Fits soon after. Another, that the Prisoner's Spectre so oppress'd him in his Bed that he was not able to stir, but on calling for Help it vanished. Another, that twelve Years before the Trial the Prisoner often came to his House, and soon after his Child was troubled with strange Fits. Another depos'd, that having a Controversy with the Prisoner about her Fowls, he was grievously oppress'd by something in her Likeness the Night following. Another time he was troubled with a black Pig, but going to kick it the Pig vanished. A Miller depos'd, that going to receive some Money of the Prisoner, he had not gone three Rods from her before he lost it: And at another time, having been discoursing with her, he had parted from her but a very little time before one of the Wheels of his Cart sunk into the Earth in very plain Ground, and he was forced to call for Assistance to get it out, but going to view the Hole afterwards there was no sign of it.

New-England.

The Evidence against all of them incompetent and ridiculous.

Two other Men depos'd, that being employ'd to repair one of the Prisoner's Collars, they found several Puppets made of Rags and Hogs Bristles with headless Pins in them; and a Jury of Women being impanel'd to search her, found a preternatural Teat on her Body, but upon a second Search, three or four Hours after, there was none to be found.

John

New-
England.

John Allen testify'd against another Prisoner, that refusing to carry some Pipe-staves for her, she told him, *He had as good, or his Oxen should not do him much Service*; and he replying, *Do you threaten me, you old Witch? I will throw you into the Brook*, she ran away, but his Oxen afterwards run mad into the Sea, and were all drown'd except one.

Another deposed, that as he lay in his Bed one Night, the Prisoner jump'd in at a Window, took hold of his Feet, and drawing his Body into a Heap, lay upon him two Hours; so that he could neither speak or stir; but at last he caught hold of her Hands, and bit three of her Fingers to the Bone, whereupon she went down Stairs and out of Doors.

One *Kemba* testify'd that, upon some disgust, one of the Prisoners told him his Cow should do him no good, and it dy'd next Morning: And another time, refusing to buy one of the Prisoner's Puppies, he was frighted with a black Dog as he came out of the Woods, which flew upon him, and he thought would have torn his Throat out; but upon naming the Name of CHRIST it vanished away, which he supposed to be a Piece of the Prisoner's black Art, to revenge himself on him for not buying his Puppy.

Sarah Atkinson deposed, that the Prisoner came on Foot from *Amesbury* to her House at *Newbury* in an extraordinary wet Season, when it was not fit to travel, and yet the Soles of her Shoes were hardly wet; which last piece of Evidence, *Dr. Mather* observes, put the Prisoner into great Confusion.

Neal's
Remarks
on *Dr.*
Mather's
Relation.

And here, says *Mr. Neal* (who was far from being an Enemy of the Doctor) I can't forbear making one Remark upon these as well

well as upon all the Trials that Dr. *Cotton* ^{New-England.} *Mather* has publish'd to the World on this Occasion; that when he has given us the Depositions of the Witnesses against the Prisoners at large, he passes over their Defence in such general Words as these, *They said nothing worth considering; their Discourse was full of Tergiversations and Contradictions; they were confounded, and their Countenances fell, &c.* whereby his Reader is left in the dark, and render'd incapable of judging of the Merits of the Cause. If the Defence of the Prisoners were so weak and confused as the Doctor represents, it had been for the Advantage of the Court to have exposed it at large to the World; but if not, 'tis very hard that it should be smother'd.

But upon such Evidence as this twenty-eight Persons received Sentence of Death, of which nineteen were executed, and one (namely) *Giles Cory*, was press'd to death, all of them dying with strong Protestations of their Innocence. *George Jacobs, sen.* being condemned, the Sheriff's Officers came and seiz'd all he had, even to his Wife's Wedding-Ring. Hard was the Case of this old Man! who was convicted by the Evidence of his Grand-daughter, who, to save her own Life, confess'd herself a Witch, and was forced to appear against her own Grand-father and Mr. *Burroughs*. On the Day before their Executions she came to Mr. *Burroughs*, acknowledged her Guilt, and begged his Pardon on her Knees, who not only forgave her, but also pray'd with and for her. The Day after their Executions she wrote the following Letter to her Father.

New-
England.

Honoured Father,

“ **A**FTER my humble Duty remember’d to
 “ you, hoping in the Lord of your good
 “ Health, as blessed be God I enjoy, tho’ in
 “ abundance of Affliction, being close confined
 “ here, in a loathsome Dungeon, the Lord look
 “ down in Mercy upon me, not knowing how
 “ soon I shall be put to death, by means of
 “ the afflicted Persons, my Grand-father hav-
 “ ing suffered already, and all his Estate seiz’d
 “ for the King. The Reason of my Con-
 “ finement is this, I having thro’ the Magi-
 “ strates Threatnings, and my own vile and
 “ wretched Heart, confessed several Things
 “ contrary to my Conscience and Knowledge,
 “ tho’ to the wounding of my own Soul;
 “ the Lord pardon me for it, but oh! the
 “ Terrors of a wounded Conscience who can
 “ bear! but blessed be the Lord he would
 “ not let me go on in my Sins, but in Mercy
 “ I hope to my Soul would not suffer me to
 “ keep it in any longer, but I was forced to
 “ confess the Truth of all before the Magi-
 “ strates, who would not believe me; but ’tis
 “ their Pleasure to put me here, and God
 “ knows how soon I shall be put to death.
 “ Dear Father, let me beg your Prayers to
 “ the Lord on my Behalf, and send us a joy-
 “ ful and happy Meeting in Heaven. My
 “ Mother, poor Woman, is very crazy, and
 “ remembers her kind Love to you, and to
 “ Uncle, *viz.* D— A—, so leaving you
 “ to the Protection of the Lord, I rest your
 “ Dutiful Daughter,

From the Dungeon
 in Salem-Prison,
 Aug. 20, 1692.

Margaret Jacobs.

There

There were eight more condemn'd besides those that were pardon'd, but on account of their becoming Evidences they were first re-^{New-England.}priev'd, and then pardon'd; and between three and four hundred more were imprisoned or accused: Indeed, the whole Country (says Mr. Neal) was in Confusion, every one being jealous of his Neighbour.

Mrs. Cary of *Charles-Town* being committed to *Cambridge* Prison and laid in Irons, her Husband attended the Trials of some others, and observing that the Spectral Evidence was received, together with idle and malicious Stories against Peoples Lives, contrived his Wife's Escape, and fled with her to *Rhode-Island*, and afterwards to *New-York*, where they staid till the Storm was over.

Mr. Philip English and his Wife also fled, whose Estate Mr. Corwin the Sheriff seized, to the Value of 1500*l.* which was wholly lost, except about 300*l.* which was afterwards restored.

Mr. Dudley Bradstreet, a Justice of Peace in *Andover*, having granted out Warrants against thirty or forty for supposed Witchcraft, and seeing Cause at length to refuse granting any more, was with his Wife accused of killing nine Persons by Witchcraft, and forced to fly the Country.

Mr. John Bradstreet, Brother to the Justice, being accused of afflicting a poor Dog, and riding upon him through the Air to Witch-Meetings, was forced to fly for his Life into *Piscataqua* Government, but the Dog was put to death.

Captain John Aldin, a Man of good Reputation and Esteem, being examined at *Salem*, and committed to *Boston* Goal, May 31, after

New-
England.

fifteen Weeks Imprisonment made his Escape, And afterwards returning again, surrender'd himself to the superior Court at *Boston*, none of his former Accusers appearing against him.

Another Gentleman of *Boston*, being accused by the Afflicted at *Andover*, ventured to stand his ground, and sent a Writ by some particular Friends to arrest his Accusers in 1000*l*. Action for Defamation, with Instruction to inform themselves of the Certainty of the Proof; which so frightened the poor Creatures, that from that Time the Accusations at *Andover* generally ceased.

Things were indeed come to a wretched Pass, no Man being sure of his Life or Fortune for an Hour; and no Wonder, considering the infamous Methods that were made use of to bring People into the Snare: There was a Society of Gentlemen at *Salem*, like that for the Reformation of Manners in *London*, who engaged to find out and prosecute all suspected Persons; and many were imprisoned by their Means.

Mr. *Joseph Ballard's* Wife of *Andover* falling sick of a malignant Fever, of which she died, her Husband fancied her bewitch'd, and sent Horse and Man forty Miles to *Salem* to fetch some of these distemper'd Wretches that pretended to the Spectral Sight, to tell who it was that afflicted her: When they came they fell into their Fits, and accused one Person as sitting on the Head, and another on the lower Parts of the Afflicted. No sooner was the Scene open'd but the whole Town was alarm'd, and more than fifty were complain'd of for afflicting their Neighbours in a few Weeks; here it was that many were made to accuse themselves of riding upon Poles through the
Air

Air to Witch-Meetings; many Parents believed their Children to be Witches, and Husbands their Wives. New-England.

Things went on in the old Channel till the Afflicted over-acted their Parts so far as to accuse some of the nearest Relations of Dr. Increase Mather, and of the Governor himself; it was time then to make a Stand: Accordingly we find the very next Sessions, which was January 3, 1692-3, when fifty-six Bills were preferred against Persons for Witchcraft, the Grand Jury brought in thirty *Ignoramus*; and of the remaining twenty-six, the Petty Jury convicted but three, whom the Governor pardoned: Nay, the People's Eyes were so far opened by this Time, that they would not convict People upon their own Confessions; for when *Mary Watts's* Confession was produced as Evidence against her, the Grand Jury would not accept it, but looking upon her as a distempered Person, brought in the Bill *Ignoramus*; and though the Court sent them out a second Time, they return'd again with the same Verdict.

And indeed all the Confessions that were made seem to me either the Effects of a distemper'd Brain, or extorted from Persons to save their Lives.


Hence it was, that the Husbands and Children of some upon their bended Knees have prevail'd with them to confess every Thing that was laid to their Charge.* Others have been wearied out with long and tedious Examinations before private Persons for many

* They were never executed if they confess'd, unless they recanted their Confession.

The PRESENT STATE

Hours together, till they yielded to any thing ; the Question being then ask'd, Were you at such a Witch-Meeting? Or have you sign'd the Devil's Book? If they replied *Yes*, the Whole was drawn out into the Form of a Confession. That this was really the Case, will appear by the following Certificate, sign'd by the Hands of half a Dozen honest Women, whose Consciences would not suffer them to disguise the Truth any longer.

“ We whose Names are under-written, Inhabitants of *Andover* : Whereas that horrible and tremendous Judgment beginning at *Salem-Village* in the Year 1692, by some called Witchcraft, first breaking forth at Mr. *Paris*'s House, several young Persons being seemingly afflicted did accuse several Persons for afflicting them, and many there believing it to so, we being inform'd, that if a Person were sick, the afflicted Persons could tell what or who was the Cause of that Sicknefs; *Joseph Ballard* (of *Andover*)'s Wife being sick at the same Time, he either from himself, or the Advice of others, fetch'd two of the Persons called the afflicted Persons from *Salem-Village* to *Andover*, which was the Beginning of that dreadful Calamity that befell us in *Andover* ; and th Authority in *Andover* believing the said Accusations to be true, sent for the said Persons to come together to the Meeting-House in *Andover* (the afflicted Persons being thee ;) after Mr. *Ballard* had been at Prayer we were blind-folded, and our Hands were laid upon the afflicted Persons, they being in their Fits, and falling into these Fits at our coming into their Presence, as they said some led us, and laid our hands on
“ them,

“ them, and then they said they were well, ^{New-}
 “ and that we were guilty of afflicting them: ^{England.}
 “ Whereupon we were all seized as Prisoners 
 “ by a Warrant from the Justice of the Peace,
 “ and forthwith carried to *Salem*; and by
 “ Reason of that sudden Surprizal, we know-
 “ ing ourselves altogether innocent of that
 “ Crime, we were all exceedingly astonished
 “ and amazed, and consternated and affright-
 “ ed out of our Reason; and our dearest Re-
 “ lations seeing us in that dreadful Condition,
 “ and knowing our great Danger, apprehend-
 “ ing that there was no other way to save our
 “ Lives, as the Case was then circumstantiat-
 “ ed, but by confessing ourselves to be such
 “ and such Persons, as the Afflicted represented
 “ us to be: They out of tender Love and
 “ Pity persuaded us to confess what we did
 “ confess, and indeed that Confession, that is said
 “ we made, was no other than what was sug-
 “ gested to us by some Gentlemen, they tell-
 “ ing us that we were Witches, and they knew
 “ it, and we knew it, and they knew that
 “ we knew it, which made us think that we
 “ were so; and our Understanding and our
 “ Reason, and our Faculties being almost
 “ gone, we were not capable of judging of
 “ our Condition; as also the hard Measures
 “ they used with us rendered us incapable of
 “ making our Defence, but we said any Thing,
 “ and every Thing they desired, and most of
 “ what we said was but in Effect a consenting
 “ to what they said. Some Time after when
 “ we were better composed, they telling us of
 “ what we had confessed, we did profess that
 “ we were innocent and ignorant of such
 “ Things; and we hearing that *Samuel Ward-*
 “ *well*, who had renounced his Confession,
 “ was

New-England. “ was condemn’d and executed, some of us
 “ were told that we were going after *Ward-*
 “ *well.*
 One executed for denying his Confession.

Mary Osgood, Abigail Baker,
Mary Tiler, Sarah Wilson,
Deliverance Dane, Hannab Tiler.

If this Confession had been made a little sooner, while the Spectral Evidence was in Repute, it had cost the Confessors their Lives; for 'tis impossible to express the blind Fury and Zeal of the People against the Prisoners who believed every Thing the Afflicted said, and disbelieved every Thing the Accused offered in their own Vindication.

When neither Promises nor Threatnings could bring Persons to Confession, they sometimes made use of Violence and Force, as appears by the moving Letter that Mr. *Proctor* sent to the Ministers of *Boston* a few Days before his Trial, which because it gives a clear Account of this Matter, I will transcribe in his own Words.

*To the Reverend Mr. Mather, Moody,
 Baily, Allen, Willard.*

Reverend GENTLEMEN,

“ **T**HE Innocence of our Case, with the
 “ Enmity of our Accusers, and our
 “ Judges and Juries, whom nothing but our
 “ innocent Blood will serve their Turn, hav-
 “ ing condemned us already before our Trials,
 “ being so much incensed and enraged against
 “ us by the Devil, makes us bold to beg and
 “ implore your favourable Assistance of this
 “ our

“ our humble Petition to his Excellency. That ^{New-England.}
 “ if it be possible our innocent Blood may be
 “ spared, which undoubtedly otherwise will
 “ be shed if the Lord does not mercifully step
 “ in, the Magistrates, Ministers, Juries, and
 “ all the People in General being so much
 “ incens’d and enrag’d against us by the De-
 “ lusion of the Devil, which we can term no
 “ other, by reason we know in our Consci-
 “ ences we are all innocent Persons ; here are
 “ five Persons who have lately confessed them-
 “ selves to be Witches, and accuse some of us
 “ of being along with them at a Sacrament
 “ since we were committed to close Prison,
 “ which we know to be Lies. Two of the
 “ five are Carriers Sons, young Men who
 “ would not confess any thing till they tied
 “ them Neck and Heels, till Blood was ready
 “ to come out of their Noses ; and ’tis credi-
 “ bly believed and reported, that this was the
 “ Occasion of making them confess that they
 “ never did ; by reason they said one had
 “ been a Witch a Month, another five Weeks,
 “ and that their Mother had made them so
 “ who had been confined here these nine
 “ Weeks. My Son *William Proctor*, because
 “ he would not confess when he was exa-
 “ mined that he was Guilty, they ty’d
 “ Neck and Heels, till the Blood gushed out
 “ of his Nose, and would have kept him so
 “ twenty-four Hours, if one more merciful
 “ than the rest had not taken Pity on him
 “ and caused him to be unbound. These Ac-
 “ tions are very like the Popish Cruelties ;
 “ they have already undone us in our Estates,
 “ and that will not serve their Turns without
 “ our innocent Blood. If it can’t be granted
 “ that we may have our Trials at *Boston*,
 Vol. XXXI. R r “ we

New-
England.

“ we humbly beg that you would endeavour
 “ to have these Magistrates changed, and
 “ others put in their room ; begging also
 “ and beseeching, that you would please to
 “ be here, some of you, if not all, at our Trials,
 “ hoping thereby you may be the Means of
 “ saving our innocent Bloods ; desiring your
 “ Prayers to the Lord on our Behalf, we rest
 “ your poor afflicted Servants,

John Proctor, &c.

But this Letter had no Effect, *Proctor* and his Fellow Prisoners being convicted and executed a little after. Such Methods as these being made use of, 'tis no wonder that the Number of confessing Witches amounted to fifty, not one of whom were put to the Trial whether they would abide by their Confessions when they came to die : Unhappy Creatures ! who were forced to do the Drudgery of taking away the Lives of their Neighbours to save their own. But upon the Afflicted's over-acting their Part, as I observed before, the Tide of the People's Affections began to turn, and they who a little before were in danger of being torn in Pieces by the Mob, were now universally lamented and pitied. All further Prosecutions were now stop'd, the Accusations of the Afflicted were entirely disregarded, the Prison-Doors were set open to all that were under Confinement by the Accusations of the Afflicted, and Sir *William Phips*, after some time, pardon'd all that were under Sentence of Condemnation.

But besides the Blood that was spilt upon this Occasion, several Persons and Families were ruined in their Estates and Reputations, partly

partly by long Imprisonment, and partly by the Avarice of the Officers who took Possession of their Houses in their Absence; and tho' I am fully satisfied that the Zeal of the Government in this Affair proceeded from their Regard to the Glory of God (continues Mr. Neal) yet I must say, that the Magistrates were too partial in their Behaviour towards the Accused; and that Sir *William Phips* himself treated them with too much Severity, by ordering them to be laid in Irons, and countenancing the popular Cry against them.

New-
England.

The whole Country were by Degrees made sensible of their Mistake, and most of the Actors in this Tragedy repented the Share they had in it. One of the honourable Judges that sat on the Bench at these Trials on a Fast-Day, in a full Assembly at the South Meeting in *Boston*, delivered in a Paper to be read to all the People, *acknowledging his having fallen into some Errors in the Trials at Salem, and begging the Prayers of the Congregation that the Guilt of such Miscarriages might not be imputed to the Country in general, or to him and his Family in particular.* And while this Paper was reading, he stood up in View of the whole Assembly.

The Jury likewise published a Paper signed with their own Hands in the following Words:

“ WE whose Names are under-written,
 “ being, in the Year 1692, called to
 “ serve as Jurors in Court at *Salem*, on Trial
 “ of many who were by some suspected of do-
 “ ing Acts of Witchcraft upon the Bodies of
 “ sundry Persons, do confess that we our-
 “ selves

New-
England.

“ selves were not capable to understand, nor
 “ able to withstand the mysterious Delusions
 “ of the Powers of Darknes and Prince of
 “ the Air, but were, for want of Knowledge
 “ in ourselves, and better Information from
 “ others, prevailed with to take up with such
 “ Evidence against the Accused, as on further
 “ Consideration, and further Informations we
 “ justly fear was insufficient for the touching
 “ the Lives of any, *Deut.* xvii. 6. whereby
 “ we fear we have been instrumental with
 “ others, though ignorantly and unwillingly
 “ to bring upon ourselves, and these People
 “ of the Lord, the Guilt of innocent Blood,
 “ which Sin the Lord saith in Scripture he
 “ would not pardon, *2 Kings* xxiv. 4. that
 “ is, we suppose in regard to his temporal
 “ Judgments; we do therefore hereby signi-
 “ fy to all in general, and to the surviving
 “ Sufferers in especial, our deep Sense of, and
 “ Sorrow for our Errors in acting on such
 “ Evidence to the condemning of any
 “ Person.

“ And do hereby acknowledge that we just-
 “ ly fear that we are very sadly deluded and
 “ mistaken, for which we are much disquieted
 “ and distressed in our Minds, and do there-
 “ fore humbly beg Forgiveness first of God
 “ for *Christ's* Sake for this our Error, and
 “ pray that God would not impute the Guilt
 “ of it to ourselves nor others; and we also
 “ pray that we may be considered candidly
 “ and aright by the living Sufferers, as being
 “ then under the Power of a strong and ge-
 “ neral Delusion, utterly unacquainted with,
 “ and not experienced in Matters of that
 “ Nature.

“ We

“ We do heartily ask Forgiveness of you
 “ all, whom we have justly offended; and
 “ declare, according to our present Minds,
 “ we would none of us do such Things again
 “ for the whole World; praying you to ac-
 “ cept of this in way of Satisfaction for our
 “ Offence; and that you would bless the In-
 “ heritance of the LORD, that he may be
 “ intreated for the Land.

New-
 England.

<i>Thomas Fisk, Foreman.</i>	<i>Thomas Perley, sen.</i>
<i>William Fisk,</i>	<i>John Pebody,</i>
<i>John Batcheler,</i>	<i>Thomas Perkins,</i>
<i>Thomas Fisk, jun.</i>	<i>Samuel Sayer,</i>
<i>John Dane,</i>	<i>Andrew Elliot,</i>
<i>Joseph Evelith,</i>	<i>Henry Herrick, sen.</i>

And Dr. *Cotton Mather*, who writ the foremention'd Trials, has since declar'd it as his Opinion, that Things were carry'd too far, as appear'd to him. *1st*, From the great Number of Persons accused. *2^{dly}*, From the Quality of the Persons accused, some of whom were Persons of blameless and holy Lives. *3^{dly}*, From the Number of the Afflicted, which increas'd to about fifty. This (says he) gave just ground to suspect some Mistake. *4^{thly}*, From the Execution of the Prisoners, not one of which confess'd their Guilt at their Death, tho' several of them were Persons of good Knowledge and sober Lives, and dy'd in a serious and affecting Manner. And as for the Confessors (says he) we had no Experience whether they would abide by their Confessions when they came to die, they being all repriev'd and pardon'd. *5^{thly}*, Because, when the Prosecutions ceased, the Afflicted grew presently well. The Accused are generally quiet, and we have

*Dr. Ma-
 ther con-
 fesses his
 Errors.*

New-
England.

Neal's
Remarks
on these
Prosecu-
tions.

have had no Disturbance since that time for these five Years.

I have often wonder'd that no publick Notice was ever taken either of the afflicted Persons or confessing Witches. If the Agitations of the Afflicted were voluntary and artful, the Blood of the Innocent certainly lay at their Doors ; but if not, they should have been treated as Lunaticks, or as Persons, who, being possessed by an evil Spirit, had been the unhappy Instruments of taking away the Lives of their honest Neighbours. The confessing Witches may possibly deserve a little more Compassion if their Confessions were extorted by Violence, or arose from the pure Necessity of saving their Lives this way and no other (as I believe was the Case of most of them) but yet their bearing false Witness against their Neighbours, and dipping their Hands in their innocent Blood, ought not to have been passed over in Silence.

Mr. *Paris* indeed, in whose House this Tragedy began, and who had himself been a Witness, and a zealous Prosecutor of the Accused, felt the Effects of the People's Resentment some time after ; for his People not only withdrew from his Communion, but presented several Petitions and Remonstrances to the Magistrates and Ministers of *Boston* to obtain his Removal : They declared, " That Mr. *Paris*'s believing the Devil's Accusations, " and readily departing from all Charity to " Persons of blameless Lives and Conversations upon such Suggestions ; his promoting " Accusations ; and his Partiality therein ; his " stifling some and encouraging others ; his " going to *Mary Walut* and *Abigail Williams*, " to know who afflicted the People in their " Illnesses,

“ Illnesses, and his taking an Oath that the
 “ Prisoners by their Looks knock’d down the
 “ pretended Sufferers, tho’ it is certain he
 “ knew nothing of the matter ;” obliged them
 to refuse him for their Minister. The Mini-
 sters of *Boston* did every thing they could to
 make up the Difference ; and Mr. *Paris* him-
 self, in the Year 1694, made a publick Ac-
 knowledgment of his Error, begging Pardon
 both of God and Man ; but the People in-
 sisting that they neither could nor would sit
 under the Ministry of a Man who had been
 an Instrument of the Misery and Ruin of so
 many of their Relations and Friends, he was
 at last removed.

New-
 England.

The Confusion occasioned by these Prose-
 cutions were no small Hindrance to the cul-
 tivating a good Correspondence with the *In-
 dians* on the Conclusion of the Peace of *Pe-
 msquid*, in the Year 1693. However, Sir
William Phips, the Governor, did not en-
 tirely neglect it. He assembled the *Sachems*
 on the Frontiers, made them Presents, and
 opened a free Trade with their Tribes. He
 proposed also the leaving among them some
 converted *Indians*, to instruct them in the
 Christian Religion, and they thereupon made
 great Protestations of their Fidelity and future
 Friendship, but as to Religion they desired to
 be excused, and would not suffer any Preachers
 or Missionaries to remain amongst them ; for
 the *French* Jesuites and Popish Priests had al-
 ready proselyted this People, and indeed created
 in them an Abhorrence of the Religion of the
English, suggesting that their Ancestors were
 the Crucifiers of our SAVIOUR, and them-
 selves the Persecutors of all good Catholics.

The In-
 dians
 Proselytes
 to the
 Jesuites.

New-
England.

Sir *William* was no less unfortunate in his Administration at home than in his Attempts to convert the *Indians*; for his Government was not only disturbed by People who pretended to be possessed and bewitched, but a strong Faction was formed against him, that ascrib'd all their Grievances to his Conduct: To him they imputed it, that their Privileges were abridg'd by the new Charter, and that their Taxes were so high, occasion'd by the needless Expences he had put them upon of building Fort *Pemaquid*, and other Fortresses on their Frontier: And they proceeded so far as to exhibit Articles against him to the Privy-Council of *England*; whereupon he was recalled to defend himself; but carrying over with him an Address from the General-Assembly in his Favour, he was not only acquitted, but promised to be restor'd to his Post: However, he fell ill of a Fever in *London*, and dy'd there on the 18th of *February*, 1694-5, in the 5th Year of his Age.

Sir *William*
Phips
impeached
and sent
for to
England.

He dies.

The War
breaks out
again.

In the mean time the *French* spirited up the *Indians* of *Canada* and *Nova Scotia* to break the Peace with the *English* within a Year after it was made; and the Savages falling upon the Plantations and open Towns on the Frontiers, massacred great Numbers of the Inhabitants, and carry'd more into Captivity: And the *French* joining their Forces with the *Indians*, in the Year 1696, surpris'd the important Fortres of *Pemaquid* and demolish'd it.

Fort *Pe-*
maquid
surpris'd
by the
French and
demolish'd

In the Year 1697, the *French* and their *Indian* Allies made Preparations to invade *New-England* by Sea and Land; but Lieutenant *Sroughton* detaching five hundred Men to the North-East, under the Command of Major *March*, the Enemy was repulsed on
that

that Side, and oblig'd to fly into the Woods; and the *French* Fleet at the same time being shatter'd by a Tempest, thought fit to return to the River *Canada* without attempting to make a Descent. There were afterwards some small Skirmishes upon the Frontiers, but no considerable Action; and in *December* 1698, Advice arriv'd of the Conclusion of the Peace of *Ryswick*; whereupon the *Sieur Frontenac*, Governor of *Canada*, advis'd his *Indian* Allies to release their Prisoners, and make the best Terms they could with the *English*; for his Master being now at peace with that Nation, he could no longer support them; and the *Indians* taking his Advice, made their Submission at *Casco*, on the 7th of *January*, 1698-9, promising to perform the Articles they had agreed to in the Year 1693, and declar'd they had never broke them, if they had not been incited to it by the *French* Jesuites.

New-
England.

The Peace
of *Ryswick*

The Earl of *Bellamont* was about this time made Governor of *New-England* and *New-York*, but resided chiefly at the latter, leaving the Administration of the Government of *New-England* to Lieutenant-Governor *Stoughton*; and a War commencing in *Europe* between the Confederates and the *French*, in the Year 1702, *New-England* was soon involv'd in it. In this War the *New-England* People made another Effort for the Recovery of *Port-Royal* in *Acadia*, but were not successful in their first Attempt. However, being assisted the next Year with five hundred regular Troops, commanded by Colonel *Nicholson*, they carried the Place.

The Eng-
lish take
Port-Royal
again.

Encourag'd by this Success, the Ministry in *Old-England* propos'd the attacking of *Canada*
Vol. XXXI. S f once

New-
England.

Another
Expedition
againſt
Canada,
An. 1711.

Admiral
Walker
and Gene-
ral *Hill*
arrive at
Boston.

once again, and the Colonies of *New-England* and *New-York* readily came into it, and actually made conſiderable Levies of Men and Money to aſſiſt and ſupport that Enterprize, being in daily expectation of a Squadron of Men of War, and a Body of Land Forces from *Great-Britain*, to enter upon Action ; but our Generals on this ſide being unwilling to ſpare any Troops from *Flanders*, the Enterprize was laid aſide till the Year 1711, when the Generals, as well as the Miniſtry, being changed, that important Expedition was reviv'd, and Admiral *Walker* was commanded for *New-England* with a Squadron of twelve Men of War, ſix Store-Ships, and forty Transports ; on Board whereof were five thouſand veteran Troops, under the Command of Brigadier-General *Hill* ; all manner of war-like Stores, and forty Horſes, for the Uſe of the Artillery, alſo were put on Board ; and with theſe the Admiral arriv'd at *Boston*, on the 25th of *June* 1711, having been ſeven Weeks and three Days in his Paſſage from *Plymouth*. Whereupon the Land Forces were ſet on Shore on *Nodd's-Island*, in the *Maſſachuſet* Bay, to reſreſh themſelves, and wait till all things were in readineſs to beſiege *Quebeck*, the Capital of *Canada*. Here the Forces lay waiting for Proviſions till the 20th of *July*, when they were re-imbark'd, and on the 25th two *New-England* Regiments alſo were added to them, and embark'd on Board the Fleet, by the Command of Governor *Dudley*.

In the mean time General *Nicholſon*, Governor of *New-York*, aſſembled a Body of two thouſand *Engliſh* and thirteen hundred *Indians*, who were order'd to embark on the
Rivers

Rivers which fall into the Lake of *Ontario*, usually call'd the *Lake of Canada*, or *Frontenac*, and so get into the River of *St. Lawrence*, and attack the Fortrefs of *Montreal*, situated in an Island of that River, in order to make a Diverfion, and divide the *French* Forces, while Admiral *Walker* and General *Hill* fhould attack *Quebeck*. But our unfortunate Fleet never reach'd that City; for arriving in the Mouth of the River *Canada*, there fell fo thick a Fog, that their Pilots were at a lofs which Way to fteer, having no Soundings to direct them; and it afterwards blowing hard, they were driven upon the North Shore among the Rocks, where they loft eight of their Trans-
 ports with eight hundred Men on Board, and the whole Fleet was in danger of being ship-
 wreck'd. Whereupon they made the beft of their way to the Eaftward, and coming to *Spanifh-River-Bay*, they held a Council of War, on the 4th of *September*, wherein it being confider'd that they had but ten Weeks Provision for the Fleet and Army, and that the Navigation was fo bad at this time of the Year in thofe Parts that they could not depend on Supplies of Provision from *New-England*, it was unanimoufly refolved to return home, and fetting fail accordingly (after they had detach'd fome Ships and Forces to *Boston* and *Annapolis*) the Fleet arriv'd at *Portfmouth* on the 9th of *October* following, where, to complete their Misfortune, the *Edgar*, the Admiral's Ship, was blown up, and feven hundred People perifh'd, including the Sailors Wives and thofe that came to welcome their Friends home, but the Captain and moft of the Officers being then on Shore efaped the terrible Blow.

New-England.

Part of the Trans-ports call away.

The Admiral and General return to England.

As for General *Nicholfon*, and the Forces
 S f 2 that

THE PRESENT STATE

that were design'd to make a Diversion by besieging *Montreal*, an Express being sent after them with Advice of the Loss of the Transports in the River *Canada*, they returned to *New-York* without attempting any thing. And thus unhappily ended an Expedition, which, if it had succeeded, would have made us Masters of the best Part of *North-America*, and driven the *French* entirely from that Continent: And as People are apt to blame one another where they fail of Success, we find the Admiral and General complaining that their being detain'd at *Boston* for want of the Provisions and Re-inforcements the Government of *New-England* had promised, till the Summer was spent, and then not being furnish'd with good Pilots there, were the Occasions of their Misfortune. The *New-England* People on the other hand alledg'd, that it was not too late in the Year but they might have succeeded, if the General and Admiral had been hearty in the Enterprize.

But perhaps neither of them were much to blame. We may rather ascribe the ill Success they met with to the Want of a good Understanding between *Old* and *New-England*, and to the Wind and Weather, which the wisest and bravest Commanders cannot provide against.

An Enterprize of this nature had been concerted in *Old-England* some time before, as has been observed already, and the *New-England* People had made great Preparations to second it; but when they had put themselves to a very great Expence, our Generals in *Flanders* would spare no Troops for this Service, whereby all the Trouble and Charges they had been at were lost. When this Project
therefore

therefore was revived, the *New-England* People ^{New-England.} determin'd to wait till the Fleet and Army should arrive at *Boston* before they began their Preparations, and the rather because there had been a Change of the Ministry; for they were jealous that the new Ministry had but little Friendship for them. When the Fleet and Army therefore came into the Bay, they were forced to wait a whole Month for the Forces and Provisions they were to take in there. The Colony indeed urge in their Defence, that no Port in *Great-Britain* could have furnish'd such a Fleet and Army with Provisions sooner; which I agree to be true, and that they were very hearty in the Enterprize after they saw the Forces arrive; for nothing could be of more Importance to them than the Conquest of *Canada*; but they ought to have had their Forces and Provisions ready on the Arrival of the *British* Squadron, when they had Notice of their coming; for that Month's Delay, in the finest Season of the Year, was certainly a vast Disadvantage to the Enterprize: And what-
<sup>The Delay in furnish-
 ing Provi-
 sions the
 Occasion
 of the
 ill Success
 in the
 Expedition
 against
 Quebec.</sup>
 ever some malicious and envious Spirits in *Old-England* might suggest to the contrary then, and have repeated since the Disaster happen'd, it is very evident that all imaginable Encouragement was given to the Undertaking in *England*, and that the Officers employ'd used the utmost Diligence and Circumspection in the Execution of their Orders; for the Squadron and Land Forces actually sailed from *Plymouth* the Beginning of *May*, and arriv'd at *Boston* on the 25th of *June*, the best Season in the world to execute the Scheme that had been laid, if the *New-England* People had been in a readiness to join them, and furnish'd them with good Pilots, in both which Articles they

New-
England.

they were apparently defective: And to these, and the cross Winds and Fogs, and the Badness of the Navigation in the River *Canada* the latter End of the Year, as has been intimated already, the ill Success of this Enterprize is principally to be imputed, and not to Want of Zeal or Conduct in the Admiral or General; for they were so intent upon the Enterprize that they avoided engaging a Squadron of *French* Men of War, under the Command of *De Guy Troen*, rather than the Design upon *Canada* should be defeated; and for this they were severely censured by some who did not consider the Importance of the Enterprize they were going upon: And the pressing Orders they had to use all imaginable Dispatch while the fair Season lasted, an Expedition of the like kind having miscarry'd once before, when the Government of *New-England* had the sole Management of it, purely by its being undertaken too late in the Year; and more Men were lost in that Expedition than there were in this.

Nova Scotia and its Fisheries yielded to *Great-Britain* by the Peace of *Utrecht*.

The Year following, *Anno 1712*, was concluded the Peace of *Utrecht*, in which *New-England* was included; and as *Nova Scotia* and *Acadia* were yielded to *Britain* by that Treaty, the Fisheries on those Coasts and in the Bay of *Fundi* (which are equal, if not preferable, to the Fisheries of *Newfoundland*) became solely vested in the Subjects of *Great-Britain*.

The Trade of *New-England* interferes with that of *Great-Britain*.

There have not been many Transactions of any great moment in *New-England* since the Peace of *Utrecht*, unless it be their falling into some Manufactures and foreign Trades; which interfere with the Manufactures and Trade of *Great-Britain*, as has been touched upon already, and will be consider'd further when I come

come to treat of the Disputes between the Sugar Islands and the Northern Colonies. New-England.

The Assembly of *New-England* have also had a long Contest with the Court of *Great-Britain* about settling a fixed Salary on their Governor, which they refusing to comply with, that Matter was propos'd to have been laid before the Parliament; and the People of *New-England* beginning to apprehend their Charter in some danger, employ'd Mr. *Dummer*, one of their Agents, to appear in Print as their Advocate; a Gentleman the best qualify'd for that Office of any Writer I have met with, for he evidently acts the Part of an Advocate, concealing or mitigating their Errors in Government, and setting their best Actions in the most advantageous Light; which brings me to inquire into the Constitution of the respective Colonies, which are comprehended under the Name of *New-England*, and first of that of the *Massachusetts*. They refuse to allow the Governor a fixed Salary.


It is observ'd by Mr. *Dummer*, already mention'd, that by the new Charter granted to the *Massachusetts* (the most considerable of the *New-England* Colonies) that the Appointment of a Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary, and all the Officers of the Admiralty, is vested in the Crown: That the power of the Militia is wholly in the Hands of the Governor, as Captain-General: That all Judges, Justices, and Sheriffs, to whom the Execution of the Laws is intrusted, are nominated by the Governor, with the Advice of the Council; and that the Governor has a Negative on the Choice of Counsellors peremptory and unlimited, and that he is not oblig'd to give a Reason for what he does in this Particular, or restrain'd to any Number: That all Laws enacted by the The Constitution of the Massachusetts Colony.
General-

New-
England.

General-Assembly are to be sent to the Court of *England* for the royal Approbation; and that no Laws, Ordinances, Elections (of Magistrates I presume he means) or Acts of Government whatsoever are valid without the Governor's Consent in Writing.

By these Reservations (in the Opinion of this Gentleman) the Prerogative of the Crown and the Dependance of this Colony are effectually secur'd: Whereas we find the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, in their Representation to the House of Commons, *Anno* 1632, observing that notwithstanding the Power seems to be divided between the King and the People in the *Massachusetts* Colony, the People have much the greatest Share; for they do not only chuse the Assembly of Representatives, but this Assembly chuse the Council (equivalent to our House of Lords) and the Governor depends upon the Assembly for his annual Support, which has frequently laid the Governor of this Province under the Temptation of giving up the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Interest of *Great-Britain*: That this Colony as well as others ought to transmit to *Great-Britain* authentick Copies of the several Acts pass'd by them; but they sometimes neglect it, and pass temporary Laws which have their full Effect before the Government here can have due Notice of them: And if the Laws of this Colony are not repealed within three Years after their being presented, they are not repealable by the Crown after that time.

And here it may be proper to mention some Observations of Mr. *Dummer* and other *New-England* Writers in relation to the Administration

tion of the Governors and Officers of our New-Plantations, as well as on the Government of England. 

That Governors are apt to abuse their Power and grow rich by Oppression, Experience shews us (says Mr. *Dummer*.) We have seen, not many Years since, some Governors seiz'd by their injur'd People and sent Prisoners to *White-hall*, there to answer for their Offences. Others have fallen Victims on the spot, not to the Fury of a Faction or a Rabble, but to the Resentment of the whole Body of the People, rising as one Man to revenge their Wrongs. Others, after being recall'd, have been prosecuted at the *King's-Bench* Bar, pursuant to an Act of Parliament made in the Reign of the late King *William*, whereby it is provided, That Governors shall be impleadable at home for any Injuries done in their Governments abroad. We have had more than one flagrant Instance of this very lately, where Governors have been convicted and censured, not so properly for *oppressing*, as for a direct *plundering their People*, and such other Acts of Mis-rule and lawless Power, as one would not have thought it possible they should have committed, if Experience had not shewn it to be more than possible.

I do not, however, intend by what is here said to reproach our own Nation, as if we were greater Sinners than others, or to reflect on the present Times, as if they were worse than the former. I know that the same Abuses have been practis'd in every Age as well as this, and in foreign Colonies as well as our own. The ancient *Romans* were as brave and as virtuous a People as any in the World, and yet their Pro-Consuls or Governors were very

THE PRESENT STATE

guilty in this respect: Their Corruption was so notorious as to be distinguish'd by the Name of *Crimen Repetundarum*, a Phrase not used in any other Meaning, and deriv'd from the Obligation which the *Roman* Senate laid on their Governors to make Restitution.

Nor have the modern Governors in the *French* and *Spanish* Plantations been less criminal. It's a famous Story of a great Minister at the Court of *Madrid*, who writ to his Friend the Vice-roy of *Peru*, that great Complaints were made against him for having extorted immense Sums of Money from the People in his Government, *which* (says he) *I wish may be true, or else you are undone.* It seems the same thing that wounded him was necessary to heal him; what put him out of Favour was the only thing could restore him.

Indeed it can hardly be expected but these Corruptions must happen, when one considers that few Gentlemen will cross the Seas for a Government whose Circumstances are not a little streight at home; and that they know by how slight and uncertain a Tenure they hold their Commissions, from whence they wisely conclude that no Time is to be lost; and then for the Account to be render'd at home, that is not thought of at so great a Distance, for *Procul à Jove, procul à Fulmine.*

Of the
Govern-
ment of
the Plan-
tations im-
mediately
subject
to the
Crown.

To enlarge then the Power of Governors, is to give them greater Power to oppress, and to vacate the Charters is to enlarge their Power, the Government in that Case of course devolving upon them, as we see in those Plantations which never had any Charters but are immediately dependent on the Crown. There they have in a manner the intire legislative and executive Powers, or at least, so great an Influence

fluence on the constituent Parts of the former, ^{New-England.} as leaves them little more than nominal Sharers, serving rather as Screens to the Governor, than a Defence to the People. The Militia is absolutely vested in the Governors, which influences all Elections of Representatives: They appoint Judges, Justices, Sheriffs, and other civil Officers with the Consent, 'tis said indeed, of the Council; but that such Consent, voluntary or involuntary, will ever be refused, seems too much to be expected, if we consider, that altho' the Governors do not indeed appoint the Council, yet they recommend proper Persons to the King; and it may be supposed that a Gentleman who is intrusted with the chief Command of a Province, and is actually on the spot, will be thought the best Judge who are fit to serve, and therefore his Recommendations will almost always prevail. Besides, if there be a Turn to serve, or an Emergency real or imaginary, and any of the Members should be so refractory as not to give into his Measures with an implicit Faith, the Governor can suspend as many of them as he pleases; and when he has reduced the Board under a Number limited in his Instructions, he can then fill it up to that Number *instantly* with whom he pleases; and who will they be, may we presume, but such as are passively obedient to his Will? And too many such there are to be found in all Colonies, so constituted, who are content to be saddled themselves, provided they may ride others under the chief Rider. I must farther observe, that where there are no Charters, there are Courts of Equity established, in which the Governor is always Chancellor, and for the most part chief Justice and Ordinary at the same Time, which puts the

New-
England.

Estates, Lives, and Liberties of the Inhabitants, saving the Liberty of an Appeal at home, intirely in his Disposal; and even an Appeal in all Cases under a considerable Sum, in all Cases of the ordinary Jurisdiction, and in all Cases Capital, is either disallowed by his Instructions, or wholly in the Governor's Breast to allow or not.

The Sum of my Argument is, That *the Benefit which Great-Britain receives from the Plantations arises from their Commerce: That Oppression is the most opposite Thing in the World to Commerce, and the most destructive Enemy it can have: That Governors have in all Times, and in all Countries, been too much inclined to oppress: And consequently, it cannot be the Interest of the Nation to increase their Power, and lessen the Liberties of the People.*

The same Writer observes, that all the Officers of the Revenue in the Plantations are appointed by the Crown; and all Breaches of the Acts of Trade and Plantations are try'd by Judges commissioned by the Broad-Seal, or by Warrants from the Admiralty of *England*. That the Laws of the Country are not pleaded in these Courts, but Acts of the *British* Parliament; and where they are silent, the civil and maritime Laws take place, and the Forms of Proceeding are regulated after the Manner practised in *Doctors-Commons*. That neither the Judge, nor any of the inferior Officers of the Admiralty have Salaries, or other Dependance, than upon what they get by their Fees, and are therefore strongly tempted to receive all Business that comes before them, however improper for their Cognizance.

That the Officers of the Revenue are multiplied of late Years in the Plantations, and
guilty

guilty of great Oppressions : The Merchants complain, that by their violent Practices, they have driven away all Vessels from some Parts of the County, insomuch that they have no Sloops left to carry their Produce to Market.

In answer to that prevailing Opinion, *That the increasing Numbers and Wealth of this and the rest of the Charter Colonies, joined to their great Distance from Britain, will give them an Opportunity in the Course of some Years to throw off their Dependance on this Nation, and declare themselves free States, if not checked in time, by being made entirely subject to the Crown.* He answers, That those Gentlemen are but little acquainted with these, or any of the Northern Colonies, who do not know and confess that their Poverty and the declining State of their Trade is so great at present, that there is far more danger of their Sinking, without some extraordinary Support from the Crown, than of their revolting from it ; besides, they are so distinct from one another in their Forms of Government, in their Religious Rites, in their Emulation of Trade, and consequently in their Affections, that they can never be supposed to unite in so dangerous an Enterprize : It is for this Reason I have often wondered to hear some great Men profess their Belief of the Feasibleness of it, and the Probability that it will some time or other actually come to pass, and yet at the same time advise, that all the Governments on the Continent be formed into one, by being brought under one Vice-roy, and into one Assembly ; for if they in earnest believed that there was, or would be hereafter, a Disposition in the Provinces to rebell and declare themselves Independent, it would be good Policy to keep them

New-
England.

Of the
Indepen-
dency of
New-Eng-
land on the
Crown.

New-
England.

Of uniting
the Colo-
nies under
one Vice-
roy.

them disunited; because, if it were possible they cou'd contrive so wild and rash an Undertaking, yet they wou'd not be hardy enough to put it in execution, unless they cou'd first strengthen themselves by a Confederacy of all the Parts. On the other hand, another Writer is of opinion, that our Colonies can never defend themselves against the Invasions and Outrages of the *French* and their *Indian* Allies, but by uniting them under one Vice-roy or Generalissimo: He observes, that all Princes and States who have planted Colonies, or subdued Nations, have given the Command of them to particular Governors in Subordination to others, who have presided over the Whole, for the preventing and suppressing Sedition; and that each particular Government might be strengthened and supported by the rest against the Attacks of their common Enemies: That in the *Roman* Empire, which contained one hundred and twenty Provinces, and near three hundred Colonies, there were only four Prefects or chief Governors under the Emperor; and over these extensive Countries the *Spaniards* possess in North and South *America*, there are but two Vice-roys: In *Canada* and *Louisiana*, equal in Extent to all the *British* Colonies, the *French* have but one Governor in Chief, or Generalissimo, who can unite the whole Force of the *French* in that Part of the World against any one of the *British* Colonies he pleases to attack. While the Countries in *America* possessed by the *English* seem to be in much the same State that *Britain* was on the Invasion of the *Romans*, divided under several Chiefs, and consequently easily subdued one after another by the united Forces of their Enemies. *Dum singuli pugnabant Universi vincebantur*, while they

they fought in single Bodies the whole Island was conquered (says the *Roman* Historian); so in this Country, to draw the Parallel, we have at least thirteen Colonies governed by their respective Commanders, according to their peculiar Laws and Constitutions, whereof there is scarce one that can expect Relief from one another in the most imminent Danger, as Experience has often shewn.

New-
England.

This Gentleman also observes, that the Colonies depending immediately on the Crown, such as *Virginia* and *New-York*, have been much less harrassed by the *Indians*, and much better prepared to defend their respective Countries when attacked, than the Charter Governments of *New-England*; either says he, the latter have not Authority enough to prevent the unfair Usage the *Indians* frequently complain of there, or they neglect to give them Satisfaction when they are injured, and the frontier Plantations are ruined before they can agree to march to their Defence.

Of making all the Colonies immediately dependent on the Crown.

Another thing that has exposed our Colonies to great Dangers, he observes, has been the Unskilfulness, or corrupt Views, of some Governors and Officers there, who have been left to trust to Providence and their own Ingenuity for their Subsistence: I will not say, that all that go thither are like those in *David's* Camp, in Debt or Distress, and consequently unqualified to promote the publick Weal; but there have been those, who in time of War have supplied their *Indian* Enemies with Powder and Shot, the *French* with Provisions, and the *Spaniards* with Naval Stores; and by keeping up Parties and Factions, and oppressing the People under Colour of their Authority, of flourish-

Of unqualified and corrupt Governors.

ing

New-
England.

The Laws
of New-
England,

and their
Admini-
stration.

ing Colonies, have made very poor ones ; but to return to the Massachusetts.

The Laws of the greatest Consequence in this Colony, and the Administration of them, are thus summed up by my Author Mr. *Dummer* : He says, there is in every County an Office, where all Conveyances of Land are enter'd at large, after the Granters have first acknowledg'd them before a Justice of Peace ; by which means, much Fraud is prevented, no Person being able to sell his Estate twice, or take up more Money upon it than 'tis worth. Provision has likewise been made for the Security of the Life and Property of the Subject in the Matter of Juries, who are not return'd by the Sheriff of the County, but are chosen by the Inhabitants of the several Towns a convenient Time before the Sitting of the Courts. And this Election is under the most exact Regulation, in order to prevent Corruption so far as human Prudence can do it. It must be noted, that Sheriffs in the Plantations are comparatively but little Officers, and therefore not to be trusted as here, where they are Men of ample Fortunes. And yet even here such flagrant Corruptions have been found in returning Juries by Sheriffs, that the House of Commons thought it necessary lately to amend the Law in this Point, and pass'd a Bill for chusing them by Ballot.

Redress in their Courts of Law is easy, quick, and cheap. All Processes are in *English*, and no special Pleadings or Demurrers are admitted, but the general Issue is always given, and special Matters brought in Evidence, which saves Time and Expence ; and in this Case a Man is not liable to lose his Estate for

a Defect in Form; nor is the Merit of the Cause made to depend on the Niceties of Clerkship. By a Law of the Country, no Writ may be abated for a circumstantial Error, such as a slight Mis-nomer, or any Informality. And by another Law, it is enacted, that every Attorney taking out a Writ from the Clerks Office, shall indorse his Sirname upon it, and be liable to pay to the adverse Party his Costs and Charges in case of Non-prosecution or Discontinuance, or that the Plaintiff be non-suited, or Judgment pass against him. And it is provided in the same Act, that if the Plaintiff shall suffer a Non-suit by the Attorney's mis-laying the Action, he shall be obliged to draw a new Writ without a Fee, in case the Party shall see fit to revive the Suit. I can't but think that every-body, except Gentlemen of the long Robe, and the Attornies, will think this a wholesome Law, and well calculated for the Benefit of the Subject. For the quicker Dispatch of Causes, Declarations are made Parts of the Writ, in which the Case is fully and particularly set forth. If it be Matter of Accompt, the Accompt is annexed to the Writ, and Copies of both left with the Defendant; which being done, fourteen Days before the Sitting of the Court, he is obliged to plead directly, and the Issue is then try'd. Whereas by the Practice of the Court of *King's-Bench*, three or four Months Time is often lost after the Writ is served, before the Cause can be brought to Issue.

Nor are the People of *New-England* oppressed with the infinite Delays and Expence that attend the Proceedings in *Chancery*, where both Parties are often ruin'd by the Charge and Length of the Suit. But as in all other

The PRESENT STATE

Countries, *England* only excepted, *Jus & Æquum* are held the same, and never divided, so it is there: A Power of *Chancery* being vested in the Judges of the Courts of common Law, as to some particular Cases, and they make equitable Constructions in others. I must add, That the Fees of Officers of all Sorts are settled by Acts of Assembly at moderate Prizes for the Ease of the Subject.

To these Laws give me leave to add some others.

If a Man commit Adultery with a married Woman, or Maid, or Woman espoused, both the Man and Woman are to be put to death.

The Punishment for Robbery on the Highway, or Burglary, for the first Offence, is only Branding on the Forehead; for the second Offence, Branding again and Whipping; and the third Offence, Death.

Blasphemy is punished with Death.

Cruel Punishments or Correction of Servants or Children are prohibited; nor shall any Court of Justice condemn any Offender to receive more than forty Stripes.

No Man condemn'd to die shall be executed within four Days after Condemnation.

Masters of Families are to instruct their Children and Apprentices in the Penal Laws.

A Child upwards of 16 Years of Age striking or cursing his Parent, to be put to death.

If any Parent or Guardian shall deny a Child timely and convenient Marriage, upon Complaint to Authority, a Redress may be had.

No Orphan shall be disposed of by a Guardian without the Consent of some Court.

The

The Minority of Women in case of Marriage is declared to be under sixteen Years of Age. New-England.

Any Magistrate may hear and determine civil Causes in his County where the Debt or Damages do not exceed forty Shillings, and no such Causes shall be brought before a Court.

False Witnesses, forswearing themselves with a Design to take away another's Life, shall suffer Death.

Fornication is punished either by compelling Marriage, fining the Parties, corporal Punishment, Disfranchisement, or all of these, as the Court shall direct.

No Man shall be admitted a Freeman but a Member of some Church in the Colony.

No Man who is a Member of a Church shall be exempted from Offices.

All *Englishmen* Orthodox in Religion, not scandalous in Life, who are Freeholders of the Country and rateable in one single Rate at ten Shillings, and twenty four Years of Age, shall be admitted to the Freedom of the Commonwealth. *Made Anno 1664.*

During the Usurpation, *Anno 1646*, they Heresy. passed a Law against Hereticks, wherein they recite, That notwithstanding no human Power is Lord over the Faith and Consciences of Men, yet to avoid damnable Heresies tending to the subverting the Christian Faith, spreading among the Inhabitants of this Jurisdiction, 'tis enacted, That if any Person within this Jurisdiction shall broach and maintain any damnable Heresies, as denying the Immortality of the Soul, or the Resurrection of the Body, or any Sin to be repented of in the Regenerate, or any Evil to be done by the out-

The PRESENT STATE

ward Man to be accounted Sin, or shall deny that Christ gave himself a Ransom for our Sins, or shall affirm that we are not justified by his Death and Righteousness but by our own Merit, or shall deny the Morality of the fourth Commandment, or shall openly condemn or oppose the Baptizing of Infants, or shall purposely depart the Congregation at the Administration of the Ordinance of Baptism, or shall deny the Ordinance of Magistracy or their lawful Authority to make War and Peace, and to punish the outward Breaches of the first Table, or shall endeavour to seduce others to any of these Opinions, every such Person lawfully convicted shall be banished this Jurisdiction.

Whoever shall revile the Office or Person of a Magistrate or Minister (Clergyman) shall be severely whip'd, and pay the Penalty of five Pounds.

Whoever shall publish any heterodox Opinions in Religion shall be censured by the County Court.

Raw Hides, Skins, or Leather unwrought, shall not be exported, on pain of Forfeiture.

Anno 1646.

No Horse shall be sold or disposed of to any *Indian*, on pain of one hundred Pounds.

No Stone-horse shall run in the Woods, unless he be well made and fourteen Hands high.

Jurymen shall be chosen by the Freemen of each County, a convenient Time before the Sitting of the Court.

No *Popish* Priest or Jesuit shall come to or abide within this Jurisdiction, but shall be banished, or otherwise proceeded against as the Court of Assistants shall direct; and if he return

return from Banishment, he shall be put to death. New-England.

No *Indians* shall be dispossessed of their Lands or Fishing-Grounds; and any *Indians* desiring to live among the *English* shall have Allotments of Land.

No Man shall sell or dispose of Arms or Ammunition to the *Indians*.

No Person shall give or sell Brandy, Rum, or other strong Liquors to the *Indians*.

No Person shall sell or dispose of any Boat or other Vessel to an *Indian*.

Damage done to the *Indians* in their Corn or Cattle shall be recompensed.

The civiliz'd *Indians*, who live under this Government, shall have *Indian* Commissioners in their several Plantations to hear and determine such Differences as a single Magistrate may determine among the *English*, and shall have Marshals and Constables to execute Warrants and Orders. They shall also have Courts equivalent to County Courts among themselves, provided the *English* Magistrate appoint the Fines, and give his Consent to the Judgments passed; and Matters of a higher Nature shall be determin'd by the Court of Assistants.

No Person shall be permitted to *pawaw*, or perform their idolatrous Worship; nor shall the *Indians* profane the Lord's Day.

Strong Liquors found in the possession of *Indians* shall be seiz'd.

Indians found drunk shall be committed till they confess where they had their Liquor, and shall pay ten Shillings for being drunk, or receive ten Stripes.

Persons allow'd to trade with the *Indians* for Skins may sell them Arms and Ammunition
on

The PRESENT STATE

on paying certain Duties to the Government, provided such *Indians* are in Amity with the *English*. This Act was made *Anno* 1668.

No Person shall be suffer'd to sit tippling in a publick House above half an Hour, except Strangers; or to drink above half a Pint of Wine at a Sitting.

No private Person to permit People to sit tippling in his House, on pain of twenty Shillings for the first Offence, and five Pounds for the second.

All Persons prohibited singing in a publick House, or to go into one on a *Sunday* or Lecture-day.

No Victualler to suffer a drunken Fellow, who has been admonish'd of his Offence by the select Men, to come into his House.

The stealing of Men is made capital.

No Man shall strike his Wife, or Woman her Husband, on pain of ten Pounds, or corporal Punishment, at the Discretion of the County Court.

No Man shall make a Motion of Marriage to any Maid without the Consent of her Parents or Governors, or in their Absence, of the next Magistrate, on pain of five Pounds for the first Offence, and ten Pounds for the second.

Married People shall not live separately without shewing good cause to the Court of Assistants.

None shall marry any Person but a Magistrate, or those that are authorized by the Court of Assistants, and that after Banes three times publish'd in their Churches.

The Freemen of every Town are impower'd to settle the Wages of Servants and Labourers there.

If

If any one maim or disfigure his Servant he shall be disfranchis'd. New-England.

The Mint shall coin Money Two-pence in the Shilling less in Value than *English* Money: The Exportation of Money prohibited.

Convicted Criminals refusing to discover their Accomplices may be put to the Torture.

Playing in the Streets or Fields, walking, drinking, visiting, sporting, and travelling on the Sabbath-Day, prohibited.

No Violence shall be offer'd to any that suffer Shipwreck upon the Coast, or to their Goods, but both shall be harbour'd and preserv'd in Safety.

As to the two Colonies of *Connecticut* and *Rhode-Island*, which I comprehend under the Title of *New-England*, these, as has been observ'd already, are distinct Governments, and indulg'd at present with higher Privileges than the *Massachuset* Colony; for these, by their respective Charters, are authoriz'd annually to elect their own Governors, Deputy-Governors, Council and Assembly, with the rest of their Magistrates and Officers civil and military, and to make Laws for the Government of the Colony, provided they are not repugnant to the Laws of *England*; and the People of *Connecticut*, in their Religion, Laws and Customs; copy pretty closely after their Mother Colony, that of the *Massachusetts*.

As to the State of Religion in *Rhode-Island* Colony, a Gentleman of considerable Interest there gives me this Account of it. He says, they are a very free People in that respect. They consist of Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Anabaptists and Quakers, but the Quakers are now the most considerable, their present Governor, *John Wanton*, Esq; being a Quaker,

New-
England.

Quaker, as are also several of the Council and House of Representatives; and as they are principled for a free Ministry of the Gospel, so consequently there is no forced Maintenance in the Colony for the Ministry of any Persuasion, but every different Society that are for maintaining a Preacher do it voluntarily by Contribution or Subscription.

Of New-
Hampshire.

The fourth and last Colony comprehended under the Name of *New-England*, is that of *New-Hampshire*, which is immediately dependent on the Crown, and consequently the King appoints their Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Council, Magistrates, and Officers civil and military; but the Freemen still elect their Representatives, as the Free-holders in *England* do with us. The Constitution of this and all other Colonies immediately depending on the Crown therefore resembles nearly that of *Old-England*; but in the rest, called *Charter Governments*, the diffusive Body of the People seem to be vested with the sovereign Power, having the Election of their Governors, Council, and Magistrates annually, and their Laws being made by themselves without the King's Concurrence. However, their Laws are liable to be repeal'd, and their Constitution entirely alter'd by the King and Parliament; which, one would think, should render them extremely cautious in making Laws that may prove disadvantageous to their Mother Country, or promote such Trades and Manufactures as may interfere with those of *Great-Britain*; for they may very well expect when this shall be done to any great Degree, the Parliament will keep a severe Hand over them, and perhaps deprive them of their most darling Privileges. It may be

The Difference
between
the Charter
Governments
and those im-
mediately
depending
on the
Crown.

be found expedient hereafter also, even for ^{New-England.} their own Defence and Security, to appoint a Vice-roy, or at least a Generalissimo in Time of War, who, by the Advice of his Council, may assemble and unite the whole Force of the Plantations against the Encroachments and Invasions of the *French*, and assign every Province and Colony their respective Quota's of Troops to oppose this formidable Rival; or at least it may be found necessary to make all the Colonies immediately dependent on the Crown, as *Virginia*, *Carolina*, and *New-York* are; for the Charter Governments are not to be depended on in such Exigencies: They may refuse their Assistance, or it will probably come too late to be of any Service upon a sudden Invasion. Half the Country may be destroy'd before they come to an effectual Resolution to raise Forces, or at least before they put their Resolutions in execution. Nor can it ever be expected that the Charter Colonies should agree about their respective Quota's and Supplies of Men and Money, or indeed know what is necessary for the Defence of the Whole, so well as the Vice-roy or Generalissimo may, who attentively considers the several Colonies and their respective Circumstances with an impartial Eye. All the Difficulty lies in finding a Gentleman of Probity and Capacity equal to so great a Trust, or in putting such Checks and Restraints upon him as may prevent the Abuse of such a Power without Prejudice to the Service.

As to the Money of *New-England*, according to Mr. *Neal*, they have none at present, ^{Money of New-England.} neither Silver nor Gold. About fifty or sixty Years ago there was Money coin'd in the Country, but there is hardly enough left now

New-
England.

for the retail Buſineſs, all their Payments among themſelves being made in Province Bills, made legal by Act of the General-Aſſembly, which deſcend as low as Half-a-Crown; ſo that the Gentlemen of *New-England* carry all their Money in their Pocket-Books: Hence it is that the Courſe of Exchange runs ſo much to the Diſadvantage of the Country, that 100*l.* to be paid in *London* is ſometimes worth 220 and 225*l.* paid in *New-England*; ſo that if a Merchant of *Boston* ſhould remit his Eſtate to *London* it would not be worth half ſo much as it is there; but on the other hand, if a Merchant in *London* worth 1000*l.* ſhould have a mind to ſettle in *New-England*, and carry his Effects along with him, he might be worth 3000*l.* on his Arrival there, and live as well upon it as upon 3000*l.* here.

Exchange.

A Gentleman of *Conneticut* Colony informs me that they are not allow'd the Privilege of coining any Money there; the Silver and Gold that is amongſt them is what they import from other Parts in return for the Commodities they export, and paſſes all by Weight, and ſerves only as Merchandize, which, for the moſt part, one way or other is ſent home to *Great-Britain*, to pay for Goods imported into *New-England* from thence; what ſerves as a Medium of Trade is their Bills of Credit from 5*s.* to 5*l.* Bills, of which they have ſome Quantities iſſued by their Government.

Indian
Money.

The *Indians* have a ſort of Money among them which they call *Wampam*, and is a Parcel of little Beads made of the Shells which lie on the Sea-coaſt, with Holes in them to ſtring upon a Bracelet; whereof ſome are white, and of theſe ſix go for a Penny; ſome black or blue, and of theſe three go for a Penny.

Befides

Besides Water-carriage, they have now ^{New-}Waggons and Pack-horses. There is a Stage ^{England.} Waggon which goes from *Boston* to *Newport* in ^{Carriages,} *Rhode-Island*, being seventy Miles. Gentle- ^{Travelling} men also have Coaches and Chaises, but they and Inns. travel most commonly on Horseback. And there are Inns on the Roads as well provided for the Entertainment of Travellers as those of *Old-England*.





THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
NOVA SCOTIA.

CHAP. VI.

*Of Nova Scotia or New-Scotland, and
Acadie.*

Nova
Scotia.

*New-
Scotland.*
The Situa-
tion and
Extent.



EW-SCOTLAND, in which
I comprehend *Acadie*, is bound-
ed by the Bay and River of *St.*
Lawrence on the North-East
and North-West, by the *At-*
lantick-Ocean on the East, by
the same Ocean and the Bay of *Fundi* on the
South, and by Part of *Canada* and Part of
New-England on the West, lying between 43
and 51 Degrees of North Latitude, and be-
tween 63 and 70 Degrees of Western Longi-
tude, being about five hundred Miles in Length
from

from North to South, viz. from *Cape Sable* ^{Nova Scotia.} to *Cape Gaspe*, at the Mouth of the River *St. Lawrence*; and about three hundred Miles in Breadth from East to West, viz. from *Cape Canso* to the River *Penobscot*, which divides *New-England* from *New-Scotland*, as I apprehend.

This Country yet remains undivided into Counties or lesser Districts, and is still uncultivated, unless in two or three Places near the Sea-coasts, the rest is all Forest; yet where it has been settled or planted, either by the *French* or *English*, the Soil appears to be fruitful. The only Towns the *English* have in *Nova Scotia* are that of *Port-Royal*, or *Annapolis*, situate in the Bay of *Fundi*, and that of *Canso* in the East, over-against the Island of *Cape Breton*. ^{Chief Towns.}

The Town or City of *Annapolis* lies upon an excellent Harbour on the East Side of *Fundi* Bay, capable of receiving a Fleet of a thousand Ships, and at the Entrance of it has sixteen or eighteen Fathoms Water on one side, and six or seven on the other. The Town is pretty well fortify'd; and here the Governor resides with a Garrison of five hundred *English*. *Canso*, situated on the Eastern Shore of *Acadie*, will probably in time be a very considerable Town, on account of an excellent Fishery near it; tho' it seems the *English* have been disturb'd, and great Encroachments made on their Territories and Fisheries in *Nova Scotia* by the *French* since the Peace of *Utrecht*. ^{*Canso*.}

An *English* Gentleman, who wrote of this Country in the Year 1720, says, it must be acknowledged that ever since the Peace of *Utrecht* no Care has been wanting to provide this ^{The Country of *Acadie* still uncultivated.}

Nova
Scotia.

The French
Encroach-
ments
there.

this Province with Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and other inferior Officers both civil and military, and also with a considerable Number of regular Forces; but with great Submission, I think the Orator's Question may very pertinently be repeated here, *Cui bono?* And indeed what great Service can be expected from a single Garrison whose Command reaches no farther than their Guns, whilst the whole Country is abandon'd to the *French*, who make Settlements, and erect Forts by Order of the Governor of *Canada*, on all the principal Rivers, particularly *St. John's*, *Passamaquady*, and *Penobscot*, and have possessed themselves of our Fishery at *Canso*, which is perhaps the best in the World: For tho', according to the true Meaning of the 11th Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, they can claim no more Liberty to fish there than on any other Part of that Coast; yet finding that their new Plantations on *Cape Breton* were scarce habitable, they not only managed their Fishery on our Ground, and in our Harbours, but by the Assistance of the *Indians* pull'd down our Stages, destroy'd our Vessels, and proceeded so far as to suffer none of his Majesty's Subjects to catch or cure Fish at the Island of *Canso* without first paying for a Licence from the Governor of *Cape Breton*, tho' the *French* have no manner of Right to these Islands and Harbours, if they had it would be an unpardonable Crime in that Governor to allow the *English* to trade or fish there on any Account whatsoever; and the Reason is because all Governors in *America*, whether *English* or *French*, receive express Instructions from their respective Masters to put in execution the Articles of the Treaty of Neutrality in *America* between King *James II.* and the late

late King of *France*; wherein it is stipulated, That none of the Subjects of either King shall trade or fish in the Bays, &c. belonging to the other, under the Penalty of the Vessel so trading or fishing and Lading being confiscated.

Nova
Scotia.

But, as I am inform'd, the People of *New-England* have of late asserted their Right to those Fisheries, and built and peopled the Town of *Canso*, and manage the Fishery there to great Advantage: However, the rest of the Country still remains unplanted. The greatest Part of the *European* Inhabitants are *French*, who have taken the Oaths to the Crown of *England*, and the *Indians* are for the most part Profelytes to the *French* Jesuites; so that if a War should break out again between *Great-Britain* and *France*, the *French* would soon become Masters of *Acadie* and all *Nova Scotia* again, in the Opinion of some. They have, 'tis said, always fifteen hundred regular Forces in the neighbouring Island of *Cape Breton*, and would be join'd by a *French* Squadron and Land Forces from *Europe* in case of a Rupture, which, with the Assistance of the Natives, would enable them, say these Gentlemen, to reduce *Acadie* under their Power in a single Campaign, ruin the *British* Fisheries here and at *Newfoundland*, destroy the foreign Trade of our Northern Colonies, and cut off all Communication between them and *Europe*.

Whereas if this Country were peopled and planted by the *English*, it would not only yield us all manner of naval Stores, great Plenty of rich Furs and Skins, but preserve to us the finest Fisheries in the World, secure *Acadie* against any Attacks from *Cape Breton*, and with the Help of an *English* Squadron in Time of War protect the Trade of the Northern Colonies.

Port-

THE PRESENT STATE

Port-Royal, while it was in the Hands of the *French* last War, was justly stiled the *Dunkirk* of that Part of the World, continually harbouring Fleets of Privateers, and *French* Cruizers, to the Ruin of the Fisheries and foreign Trade of the Northern Colonies: And this will probably be the Case again if we do not plant this Country, and make Provision against the Attempts of the *French* while the Peace continues; and when this is done, still *Cape Breton* will remain a Thorn in our Sides, and probably occasion perpetual Skirmishes between the Subjects of *Great-Britain* and *France*, till either we reduce that Island, or the *French* make a Conquest not only of *Nova Scotia*, but of *New-England* itself, and all our Northern Colonies: And as we have no great Reason to fear the *French* will ever be able to effect the latter, at least in this Age, so we must expect they will use their utmost Efforts for the Preservation of the Island of *Cape Breton*; for whenever this falls into the Hands of the *English*, the *French* Trade to *Canada* and *North-America* must infallibly be lost and fall to the Share of *Great-Britain*; and all their hopeful Schemes of uniting *Canada* or *New-France* to *Louisiana*, or *South Florida*, must vanish; for *Cape Breton* and *Newfoundland* (already in our Possession) lie before the Bay of *St. Lawrence*, and with the Assistance of a Squadron of Men of War stationed there might easily cut off all Communication with that River, by which alone *Canada* or *New-France* can be approached.



T H E
P R E S E N T S T A T E
O F
N E W - B R I T A I N .

C H A P. VII.

*Of New-Britain, or Terra de Labarador,
and Hudfon's-Bay.*



N E W - B R I T A I N, or *Terra de New-Britain.*
Labarador, in which I comprehend *Hudson's Bay* and Streights, *New-Bri-*
is separated from *Nova Scotia* by *tain* and
the River of *St. Lawrence* and *Hudson's*
Bay.
Part of *Canada*, and extends from 49 to 64
Degrees North Latitude, lying between 60 The Situa-
and 90 Degrees of Western Longitude. Extent.

This cold inhospitable Country is but thinly
peopled with *Indians*, and the only Part of it
that was ever thought worth the planting by
any *Europeans* was the Bottom and the West
Side of *Hudson's Bay*, where the *English* have
Vol. XXXI. Y y four

The PRESENT STATE

four or five little Forts and Factories, the chief of which is Fort *Albany*. The *Hudson's Bay* Company trade thither for Furs and Skins, to the Value of fifteen or twenty thousand Pounds prime Cost annually, of which three Fourths are Beaver Skins.

The Eastern Shores of this Country were discover'd by *Sebastian Cabot*, for *Henry VII.* King of *England*, about the Year 1498. They were afterwards visited by *Davis* and others in their Attempts to discover a North-west Passage to *China*; but Captain *Henry Hudson*, who has communicated his Name to the Bay and Streights, surrounded almost the whole Coast, going on Shore in several Places.

Mr. *Hudson* made four Voyages to the North upon Discovery, the first in the Year 1607, when he set sail from *England* in the Month of *May*; and having made the Coast of *Greenland*, sailed as far as 81 Degrees 30 Minutes, and returned to *England* on the 15th of *September* the same Year.

In the Year 1608, he endeavour'd to discover a North-East Passage to *China*, but coming into 75 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude on the 9th of *June*, he found his Way so block'd up by Mountains of Ice that he returned home.

The Year following, *Anno* 1609, he made another Attempt to find a Way to *China* by the North-East, but was again prevented by Fields of Ice near *Nova Zembla*.

The following Year, 1610, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *Dudley Digges*, Mr. *Wostenholme*, and other Adventurers, fitted out Mr. *Hudson* again, with Orders to endeavour to find a Passage through *Davis's Streights* to the *South-Sea* or *Pacifick Ocean*. Accordingly Mr. *Hudson*

Hudson set sail from *England* in *April*, and on the 4th of *June* arriv'd upon the Coast of ^{New-Britain.} *Greenland*, from whence he sailed to the *Island of Desolation*; then he steer'd almost due West till he discover'd a Point of Land, being Part of *Terra de Labarador*, in the Latitude of 60, which he called *Desire provokes*, being near the Mouth of those Streights which afterwards obtain'd the Name of *Hudson's-Streights*: These he enter'd soon after, and sailing through Fields of Ice to the North-West for upwards of three hundred Leagues by Computation, he came to a small Streight two Leagues over and very deep Water, through which he pass'd between two Promontories, calling that to the Southward Cape *Wostenholme*, and that to the North-West *Digges's-Island*, the latter lying in 64 Degrees 44 Minutes North Latitude: And now coming into a spacious Sea, wherein he sailed an hundred Leagues South, he assur'd himself he had found the Passage into the *Pacifick Ocean*; but perceiving at length, by the shallow Water, that he was embay'd, he was extremely disturb'd, for there was a Necessity now of remaining all Winter in this frozen Country, there being no Possibility of returning through the Streights till next Summer on account of the Ice. He brought his Vessel therefore to an Anchor in a small Creek on the South-West Part of the Bay, where being in great Distress for want of Provisions, he was plentifully supply'd with wild Fowl during the Winter, and afterwards in the Spring with Fish; but the Captain was so intent upon completing his Discovery, that he left his Men to take and salt up Fish and victual the Ship, while he searched every Creek and Corner of the Shore in his Sloop for a Passage to the

THE PRESENT STATE

Hudson's
Men run
away with
his Ship,
and leave
him to
perish.

South-Sea. During his Absence his Men did not only neglect to catch Fish, but enter'd into a Conspiracy to run away with the Vessel and leave him and the rest of their Officers behind, which they put in execution soon after his Return, forcing him and eight more into a Boat with a very small Share of Provisions; and they were never heard of from that Day to this. The Pretence of the Mariners for this piece of Barbarity being that the Captain had threaten'd to set Part of the Crew on Shore, for not furnishing the Ship with Fish when it was in their power.

The Ship
returns
home.

The Conspirators having left their Captain and his Companions to shift for themselves, brought the Ship to *Digges's-Island*, where all their Provisions being spent, they went on Shore, and furnish'd themselves with great Quantities of wild Fowl: But *Green* the Captain of the Mutineers, and three or four more of the Ring-leaders, were surpris'd by the Natives and cut in pieces. Whereupon *Pricket*, a Servant to Sir *Dudley Digges* (whose Life the Mutineers had spared, in hopes he would have been instrumental in getting their Pardon) took the Charge of the Ship upon him, and brought her home on the 6th of *September*, 1611, the Crew being all so weak that they were not able to manage their Sails without the Assistance of some Fishermen they met with at Sea; and Part of them were actually starved to death in the Passage.

Sir *Thomas*
Button's
Voyage to
the Bay.

The Year following, Sir *Thomas Button* pursued the Discovery, and passing *Hudson's-Streights* entered the same Bay, and leaving the South Part of it, which *Hudson* had visited, he sailed some hundreds of Leagues to the Westward, till he arriv'd at a large Continent, which he

he named *New-Wales*; and here he lost his Ship, coming home in a Sloop that he built in the Country. New-Britain.

The next Adventurer that entered *Hudson's Bay* was Captain *James*, in the Year 1631. This Gentleman sailed to the Bottom of the Bay, and wintered on *Charlton-Island*, in 52 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude, for which Reason the South Part of this Gulph is usually called *James's-Bay*. At his Return he gave so dreadful an Account of the Hazards he sustained in this Voyage from the Ice, that nobody attempted it again till the Year 1667, when Captain *Gillam* entered the Bay, sailing to a River near the Bottom of it, in 51 Degrees North Latitude, which he judged to be a proper Place for settling a Factory, and called it *Prince Rupert's River*. Upon his Return his Owners apply'd to King *Charles II.* for a Patent to plant the Country, which they obtained *Anno 1670*, *Prince Rupert* being the chief Proprietor: And the Company have carry'd on a small but profitable Trade thither with some Interruptions from the *French* of *Canada* almost ever since. The *English* were encouraged to settle Factories here by two *Frenchmen*, who had been conducted to the Bay by some of the Natives of *Canada*. These Men returning to *France*, and proposing the settling of a Colony at the Bottom of the Bay, the Project was slighted by that Ministry; whereupon the *English* Ambassador at that Court engaged these two Men in the Service of the *English*, and thereupon Preparations were made in *England* to send a Colony to the Bay. James's Voyage thither. A Patent to plant the Country, 1670.

The first *English* Governor that went thither was *Charles Bailly*, Esq; *Anno 1670*, who built

New-
Britain.

Charles
Fort.
Port
Nelson.

Albany
Fort.

New-
Severn.

The
French in-
vade our
Factories
in time of
Peace and
take them.

Restor'd
by the
Peace of
Utrecht.

built a Fort on *Rupert-River*, and gave it the Name of *Charles Fort*; and soon after he caused a Factory to be settled at Port *Nelson*, on the West Side of the Bay, in 57 Degrees North Latitude; but the two *Frenchmen* (*Radisson* and *Gooselee*) soon after betray'd that Place to the *French* of *Canada*: However, in the Year 1682 they thought fit to change Sides again, and restored Port *Nelson* to the *English*. In the Year 1684 the chief Factory of the *English* was removed to *Chickewam-River*, and called *Albany*; and a Fort was erected for its Defence on the South-West Part of the Bay. It was designed also to have fixed a Colony on *Charlton-Island*, and to have built Warehouses there for their Furs; but the Place was afterwards found inconvenient, and deserted again. The Company were now in possession of five Settlements (*viz.*) those on *Albany-River*, *Hayes-Island*, *Rupert-River*, Port *Nelson* and *New-Severn*, between Port *Nelson* and *Albany*, and their Trade in a flourishing Condition, when the *French*, apprehensive that the *English* would draw all the upland *Indians* to the Bay, sent a Detachment of Troops from *Canada* under the Command of the Chevalier *de Troys*, who invaded our Settlements, and made himself Master of *Hayes-Island*, Fort *Rupert*, and *Albany*, in July 1686, tho' we were then at peace with *France*. But the *English* still remained in possession of Port *Nelson*; and in the first War between the Confederates and the *French*, in the Year 1693, the *English* recover'd the rest of their Settlements in the Bay. During the last War the *French* reduced all our Settlements, except *Albany*, under their Power again, but they were yielded to *Great-Britain* by the Peace of *Utrecht*, Anno 1713, and

and we have remain'd in possession of them ever since.

New-Britain.

By the tenth Article of this Treaty his most Christian Majesty obliged himself to restore to *Great-Britain* the Bay and Streights of *Hudson*, with all Lands, Seas, Sea-coasts, Rivers, and Places situate on the said Bay and Streights, with the Fortresses there erected, in the Condition they then were, with all the Cannon and Ammunition in the same : And it was agreed that Commissaries on the Part of *Great-Britain* and *France* should determine within a Year the Limits to be fixed between the said Bay of *Hudson* and the Places appertaining to the *French* ; which Limits the Subjects of *Great-Britain* and *France* are not to pass over to each other by Sea or Land. And Commissioners did afterwards settle the Limits by an imaginary Line drawn from a Promontory situate on the *Atlantick-Ocean*, in 58 Degrees 30 Minutes, and running from thence South-West to the Lake *Misconsin* or *Missassin*, and from thence South-West indefinitely to the Latitude of 49 ; all the Countries to the North being assign'd to *Great-Britain*, and all on the South, between that Line and the River of *St. Lawrence* or *Canada*, to *France*.

Articles of that Treaty relating to New-Britain and New-Scotland.

By the eleventh Article *France* was obliged to make Satisfaction to the *English* Company trading to *Hudson's-Bay* for all the Depredations the *French* had committed there in Time of Peace ; and the *English* were to give the like Satisfaction to the *French*.

By the twelfth Article of the same Treaty, *Nova Scotia* or *Acadie*, *Port-Royal* or *Annapolis-Royal*, with their Lands and Dependancies, were entirely yielded and made over to *Great-Britain* in such ample manner that

the

New-
Britain.

the Subjects of *France* were entirely excluded from all kind of Fisheries in the Seas, Bays and Coasts of *Nova Scotia*, especially those which lie towards the East and within thirty Leagues thereof, beginning from the Island of *Sable* inclusive, and stretching thence to the *South-West* (but I question if this is not a Mistake, and it ought not to have been said to the *North-East*; for Cape *Sable* is the most southerly Promontory of *Acadie*, or *Nova Scotia*) however, 'tis possible this Mistake has given the *French* a Pretence to disturb our Fishery at *Canso*, on the North-East Point of *Acadie*.



T H E



THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
NEW-YORK,
NEW-JERSEY, &c.

CHAP. VIII.

*Of New-York, New-Jersey, and the
Indian Nations under their Protection.*



May properly throw *New-York* New York
and *New-Jersey* together, upon and New Jersey.
several Accounts: 1st, Because
they have usually the same Go-
vernor. 2^{dly}, The Constitutions
of their respective Governments do not differ
in any Particular. 3^{dly}, Because they lie con-
tiguous; and, 4^{thly}, The Climate, Soil, and
Produce are pretty near the same.

New York
and New
Jersey.

The Iro-
quois, or
five Na-
tions.

It may be proper also to comprehend the whole Country of the *Iroquois*, or five Nations, with all the Lands which lie North of them as far as the River of *St. Lawrence* or *Canada*, within the Limits of *New-York*, these being all under its Protection, and included within the Patent granted to the Duke of *York* by King *Charles II.* tho' it must be confess'd the *French* have made large Encroachments on these Limits.

Situation
and Extent
of the
Whole.

I shall therefore bound the Provinces of *New-York* and *New-Jersey*, with their Dependancies, by the River of *St. Lawrence*, which separates them from *Canada* or *New-France* on the North-West and North, by *New-England*, *New-Scotland*, and the *Atlantick-Ocean* on the East, by the same Ocean on the South, by *Pennsylvania* and *Maryland* on the South-West, and by the Lakes of *Erie* and *Ontario* on the West; and shall extend these united Countries from 39 to 47 Degrees North Latitude, and from 74 to 80 Degrees of Western Longitude, exclusive of *Long-Island*, the East End whereof lies in 72 Degrees of Western Longitude.

Face of the
Country.

New-Jersey and the South Part of *New-York* are generally low level Countries, but ascending fifteen or twenty Miles up *Hudson's-River* to the Northward the Country becomes rocky and mountainous; and whatever has not been cultivated by the *English* is cover'd with Woods, so clear however from Underwood, that Travellers easily pass through them with Horses and Carriages.

Seas, Har-
bours, and
Capes.

The *Atlantick-Ocean* washes its Southern Shores, in which are several capacious Harbours, especially near the Mouths of *Hudson's-River*, and the Rivers *Raritan* and *De la War*, and
on

on the Coasts of *New-Jersey* and *Long-Island*, ^{New York} the chief Capes or Promontories being that of *Cape May*, at the Entrance of *De la War* ^{and New Jersey.} Bay, and that of *Sandy-Point*, or *Sandy-Hook*, before the Entrance of *Raritan-River*.

On the North and West of the five Nations ^{Lakes.} lie several spacious Lakes, the most considerable whereof are those of *Champlain*, *Ontario*, and *Erie*.

The Lake *Champlain*, or *Corlaer*, extends ^{Champlain} itself from North to South, between *Montreal* ^{or Corlaer} and *Albany*, being about two hundred Miles ^{Lake.} in Length; and, by a Stream which falls into the great River *St. Lawrence*, has a Communication with that River on the North, while the Southern Part of the Lake, on which the *French* have built the Fort call'd *The Sacrament*, extends almost to *Hudson's-River*, on which *Albany* stands, and would give the *French* an easy Access to *New-York* and *New-England*, if some Forts had not been built by the *English* further North, to cover those Frontiers from their Invasions, of which the chief is Fort *Nicbolson*.

The second Lake is that of *Ontario*, called ^{Ontario} by the *French* *Frontenac*, and by some *Cataracui*, ^{Lake.} while others give it the Name of *The Lake of Canada*, because the River *Canada* or *St. Lawrence* issues out of it: But the first and most proper Name that was given to it was that of *Iroquois*, the Shores of it on the South and East at least being inhabited by the *Iroquois* or five Nations. This Lake is about an hundred Leagues in Length and forty in Breadth, abundance of Rivers falling into it on the South-East especially; but the greatest Body of Waters fall into it from the River *Niagara*, ^{Niagara} or *Ontiagara*, being a Streight or Channel be- ^{Cataract.} tween

The PRESENT STATE

tween the Lake of *Erie* and this Lake, in which is one of the most remarkable Cataracts or Water-falls in the World, which prevents both Ships and Boats passing from one Lake to the other.

This Cataract, according to Father *Hennepin*, falls from a Precipice one hundred Fathom or six hundred Feet high. He adds, that the Cataract makes such a prodigious Noise that People cannot hear one another speak at some Miles distance; and it is said that the Waters throw themselves over the Precipice with such a Force that they form an Arch under which Men may ride on Horseback.

But Mr. *Vandreil*, Governor of *Canada*, who order'd his Son, with some skillful People, to measure the Height of the Cataract, in the Year 1721, found Father *Hennepin* egregiously mistaken in several Particulars. They informed the Governor that the Cataract was occasion'd by a vast Ledge of Rock which lay quite cross the Channel a little before the Stream enters the Lake *Ontario*; and that the Waters did not fall perpendicularly more than twenty-six Fathom, or an hundred and twenty-six Feet, but below this Cataract there were numbers of small Ledges or Stairs cross the River, which lower'd it still more till it came to run more level; and if all the Descents were put together, the Difference of the Water above the Cataract and those on the Level below might be as much as Father *Hennepin* makes it, tho' the Cataract, upon a Perpendicular, was no more than twenty-six Fathom.

They observed also, that the Noise of the Waters was not so great as the Father makes it, for People might converse together close by; nor did the Stream form an Arch that
People

People could pass under it, for the Waters fall in a manner downright. But they observed with him that the Mist or Shower which the Fall creates is so extraordinary as to be seen at five Leagues distance, rising as high as the common Clouds, and when the Sun shines forms a glorious Rainbow.

Those Gentlemen add, that the Stream is much narrower and deeper at the Falls than either above or below them, being here but a quarter of a Mile over; and that from below there is no coming nearer the Falls by Water than about six Miles, the Torrent is so rapid, and has so many Whirlpools in it.

The French formerly built two Forts on the Lake Ontario, the one on the North-East Part of it, where the River of St. Lawrence issues out of it, called by the Indians *Cataracui*, and by the French Fort *Frontenac*, and the other on the South-West Part of the Lake near the abovesaid Cataract, called Fort *Niagara*, but the *Iroquois* blocked up the latter and starv'd that Garrison. They obliged them also to abandon Fort *Frontenac*, and demolished both about the Year 1688, but I am informed the French have wheedled the *Iroquois* by their Priests to permit them to erect those Forts again under the Notion of Warehouses for the Security of their Goods.

The third Lake I mention'd is that of *Erie*, separated from the Lake of Ontario by the Streight or River of *Niagara*. This Lake extends from the Country of the *Iroquois* to the Westward, about four hundred Miles in Length, and is near an hundred Miles broad. From the Lake of *Erie* there is a Passage through the Lake *St. Clair* into that of the *Hurons*, and so into the Lake *Illinois*, near which rises a River

New York
and New
Jersey.

After-
wards a-
bandon'd.

Erie Lake.
St. Clair.

New York
and New
Jersey.

River which falls into the *Mississippi*; but from the best Information I can get, there is no continued Navigation from the *Lake Erie* to the *Mississippi*, nor is *Mississippi* River navigable in all Parts of it, as the *French* once flatter'd themselves, there being several Cataracts or steep Falls in it.

Rivers.

The chief Rivers in these Countries are, 1. *Hudson's* River. 2. The *Mohawk* River. 3. *Onandaga*, or *Orswego* River. 4. The *Raritan*. 5. *Maurice* River; and, 6. *De la War* River.

Hudson's
River.

1st, *Hudson's* River, rising from a small Lake between the Lakes of *Ontario* and *Champlain*, and running South-East before it reaches *Albany*, then turns directly South, from whence it continues its Course due South an hundred and fifty Miles to the City of *New-York*, and afterwards falls into the Sea between *Long-Island* and *States-Island*.

Mohawk
River.

2^{dly}, The *Mohawk* River, which rising in the Country of the *Onandaga's*, runs almost due East till it falls into *Hudson's* River, near the Town of *Albany*.

Onandaga
River.

3^{dly}, The River *Onandaga*, which runs from East to West through the Country of that Name, and falls into the Lake *Ontario* at *Orswego* Town.

Raritan
River.

4^{thly}, The River *Raritan*, which rising on the North of *Jersey*, runs to the South-East, falling into the Sea near *Perth Amboy*.

Maurice
River.

5^{thly}, *Maurice* River, which rising also in *Jersey* runs South, falling into the Mouth of *De la War* Bay, not far from Cape *May*. And,

De la War
River.

6^{thly}, The River *De la War*, which forms the Western Boundary of the Province of *Jersey*, rises in the Country of the *Iroquois*, and running almost due South falls into the Ocean between

between Cape *May* and Cape *Hinlopen*, being navigable two hundred Miles and upwards for Ships of two or three hundred Tons.

New York
and New
Jersey.

The Air.

The Air of these Countries is colder in Winter and warmer in Summer than in *Old-England*, the North Part of them differing very little from *New-England*. The North and North-West Winds are exceeding cold, but the Air both in Winter and Summer more settled and serene than with us: And indeed the Weather is always more variable in Islands than on the Continent, and usually warmer in Winter. It is to be ascribed to the Winds blowing over a long Tract of Snow from the North-West, that makes these Countries colder than Islands and some other Continents that lie much further North.

Of the three great Divisions of the Country to be described, I shall begin with that inhabited by the five Nations and their Allies, who anciently possessed the Whole. This is bounded by *Canada* on the North, by *New-York Proper* on the East, by *Pensylvania*, *Maryland*, and *Virginia* on the South, and by the Lakes of *Erie* and *Ontario* on the West. Great part of the Country for many hundred Miles beyond those Lakes also hath been conquered by the five Nations; and several more have courted their Alliance and that of the *English*, and actually enter'd into a Confederacy with both, particularly the *Tuscarora's*, who lie between the *Onandaga's* and the *Oneida's*, and are now reckon'd a sixth Nation. The *Nicarriages* of *Missilimakinac*, situated on the further Part of the *Hurons* Lake, were also at their Request received to be a seventh Nation in this Alliance at *Albany*, on the 30th of May 1723, eighty Men of that Nation being present

The Situation of the
five Nations.

Two other Nations in the Confederacy.

New York at their Admission, as Representatives of that
 and New People, and acknowledging the King of Great-
 Jersey. Britain their Sovereign.

The At-
 tempts of
 the French
 to make
 themselves
 Masters of
 the Lakes.

The chief Trade with the distant *Indians* being at *Oswego*, where the River *Onandaga* discharges itself into the Lake of *Ontario*, the *French* might entirely deprive the *English* of that Trade if they were Masters of the Lakes of *Ontario* and *Erie*, as they flattered themselves they were when they had built the Forts of *Cataracui* or *Frontenac* and *Niagara* already mention'd, but the *Iroquois* obliged the *French* to abandon them; and tho' they may have rebuilt and repossessed those Forts, and erected more since they were driven from thence by the five Nations, they find it their Interest however for the present to suppress their native Insolence, and treat the *Indians* as well as the *English* with more Humanity than they did formerly: They have been convinced by Experience that they are not yet strong enough to reduce the five Nations and their *Indian* Allies supported by the *English*, and therefore suffer the Natives to trade with us pretty quietly; but as they are continually increasing their Forces in *Canada*, and by their missionary Priests daily proselyting the *Indians* to their Religion, and intermarrying with them, they will, 'tis presumed, in time be powerful enough to expell us entirely from those Lakes, and monopolize the Trade of the Country, unless we reduce those Forts or erect others ourselves, and keep arm'd Vessels on the Lakes of *Ontario* and *Erie*; for it seems the Country of the five Nations, which lies contiguous to *New-York*, has but few wild Beasts in it, and consequently affords scarce any Skins or Furs. The *Iroquois* therefore hunt in the Countries beyond the Lakes, where
 Skins

Skins are more plentiful ; and the Riches those People possessed of this kind were the principal Inducements to the *Iroquois* to make a Conquest of some of them, and enter into Alliances with others, who were content to admit the *Iroquois* to hunt in their Country on the West Side of the Lakes, upon condition they would permit those distant *Indians* to pass through the Country of the *Iroquois*, and trade with the *English* and other *Europeans* ; which Trade, as has been intimated, must be entirely lost to *Great-Britain*, if we suffer the *French* to continue their Fortifications on the Lakes of *Erie*, *Ontario*, and *Champlain*, which in reality belong to the *Iroquois* our Confederates. The *French* are wise enough at present indeed to give us but little Disturbance, lest they should alarm us before their Designs are ripe for Execution ; but I wish we do not neglect the erecting Forts and arm'd Vessels to protect that Trade till it is too late to endeavour the Recovery of it.

There are five grand Articles which weigh very much with the *Indians* in determining them what *European* Nation they shall adhere to. 1st, A beneficial Trade, or the being supply'd on fair and reasonable Terms with Cloathing, strong Liquor, Arms, Ammunition, and other *European* Merchandize. 2^{dly}, A mild Administration, without Oppression or Tyranny. 3. A Religion that gives them but little Trouble or Disquiet. 4^{thly}, The suffering their Tribes to marry and incorporate themselves with the *Europeans*. 5^{thly} and lastly, An Assurance that the Nation they enter into an Alliance with is both willing and able to protect them against their Enemies, whether *Europeans* or *Indians*.

New York
and New
Jersey.

The Mo-
tives of the
Indians to
enter into
an Alliance
with any
European
Nation.

New York
and New
Jersey.

1. Trade. 1. In the first of these Articles we have the better of the *French* and *Spaniards*. Our Colonies can supply the *Indians* with Goods cheaper and in greater Quantities than they can, and we generally deal fairly and upon the square with them.

2. Liberty. 2. In the second also we have the Advantage, the *Indians* being treated as our Brethren and fellow Subjects almost every where (except in *New-England*) which has occasion'd their having been more frequently in a State of War with *New-England* than with any other *British* Colony.

3. Religion. 3. But as to the third Article, that of Religion, the *French* succeed much beyond our Missionaries; for the Popish Fathers are not only much more numerous in that Part of the World, but they are abundantly more artful and more indulgent to their Converts; they press nothing with Rigour, but accommodate themselves to the Dispositions, and even Superstitions of their Profelytes, gaining them by degrees, and persuading them to part with one beloved Vice or Custom after another; whereas the *New-England* Independants, who have dress'd up the Christian Religion in the most frightful Form that ever it put on, expect their Profelytes should conform to their absurd and rigid Rites all at once, and in a manner compell'd the *Indians* to be of their Sect in the Islands on the Coast, and in Settlements where the *Indians* were in their Power, which gave the remoter *Indians* an Abhorrence of their Religion: And as for the rest of our Colonies, they have made but very feeble Attempts towards the Conversion of the *Indians*. They are so destitute of Clergymen in some Provinces, that the very Planters are become Heathens,
or

or at least as ignorant of Christianity as the *Indians* themselves.

New York
and New
Jersey.

The *French* Priests on the contrary have been so successful in their Missions, even among the five Nations, that they have persuaded Part of the Nation of the *Mohawks*, once esteemed the firmest Friends of the *English*, to remove their Habitations from the Neighbourhood of *Albany* to *Canada*: And indeed we are in much more danger of the *French* Missionaries than of the *French* Arms on that Side. If their future Success be answerable to the past, they may possibly in time gain over the several Tribes of *Indians* from us without the Assistance of a military Force. We ought to insist therefore, that the *Indians* in Alliance with us expell the Jesuites and Priests their Country, if we hope for their Friendship long. It does indeed put some Stop to these Conversions that the *Indians* cannot be supply'd with Goods upon such easy Terms from the *French* as from us, on which account they seem divided between their temporal and spiritual Interests; and unless they prove more zealous Catholics than their Brethren on this Continent we shall not lose them suddenly, especially if we consider how vast an Extent of Country the several *Indian* Nations inhabit that trade with our Colonies, some of which are yet scarce known to the *French*.

As to the fourth Article of marrying and incorporating our People with the *Indians*, here the *French* and *Spaniards* have a vast Advantage of us. The *English* are unaccountably squeamish in this Particular, and the Colonies, especially those of *New-England*, seem to prohibit it, which raises in the Natives a Disgust and Aversion for our People. It is natural for Men to slight those who seem to despise them,

4. Inter-marriages.

New York
and New
Jersey.

and the *Indians* are not so dull of Apprehension as not to discern we treat them in this Instance either as a Species below us, or at least less perfect than ourselves. Besides, we lose all the Interest in them that such Alliances would give us. The Relation of Husband and Wife, Fathers and Children, are the strongest Ties in Nature, and in a few Years must make the *Indians* one People with such *European* Nations as promote these Alliances; of which the *French* are so sensible, that they oblige every Male Planter, sent over at the Charge of that Government (and these are very numerous) to take an *Indian* Wife on his Arrival.

5. Protection.

As to the fifth Article, that of Protection, there is no doubt but we are yet as able to protect our *Indian* Allies as either the *French* or *Spaniards* are, especially if the Forces of our Colonies were united, and under a uniform Direction: But if we continue to suffer the *French* to encroach upon our Territories, build Forts and arm'd Vessels upon the several Lakes, and take all the Passes that command the Country, the *Indians* will have but too much Reason to conclude that they will one Day be Masters of their Country, unless the *English* exert themselves in like manner, and oppose their Invasions, and consequently will be induced to abandon our Interest by way of Self-Preservation. They will infallibly go over to those they find better able to protect them. It might make them cautious indeed how they put themselves in their power, if they were acquainted with the Tyranny and Oppression of the *French* Government; but as their Missionaries set every thing of this kind in the most favourable Light, and treat their Disciples with Kindness and Condescension at present,

in

in order to gain them over to their Party, ^{New York and New Jersey.} they are in a great measure ignorant what they must submit to when the *French* have established their Dominion in *North-America*.

As to the Towns and Buildings of the *Iroquois*, ^{Persons of the Iroquois} their Stature, Complexion, Shape, and Habits, they so much resemble the neighbouring *Indians* already described in these Particulars, that it is perfectly unnecessary to say any thing on these Heads; however, as the *French* generally represent them in *Europe* as the most barbarous People on the Face of the Earth, affirming that they are Devourers of their own Species; it may be proper to observe what Character others have given of them, and even some more impartial Writers of their own.

Monfieur *de la Poterie* describing the five ^{The Ge-} Nations in his History of *North-America* says, ^{nus and} When we speak of the *Iroquois* in *France*, we ^{Temper} represent them by a common Mistake as meer ^{of the five} Barbarians thirsting after human Blood, ^{Nations,} but *their true Character is very different*. They are indeed the bravest and most formidable People of *North-America*, but at the same time as polite and judicious as can well be conceived; which appears not only from the Management of their Affairs with the *French* and *English*, but with almost all the *Indian* Nations of this vast Continent.

Mr. *Colben*, an *Englishman*, who wrote their History says, Notwithstanding the five Nations live under the darkest Ignorance, yet a bright and noble Genius shines through those black Clouds. The most celebrated *Roman* Heroes have not discovered a greater Love for their Country, or a greater Contempt of Death in the Cause of Liberty. I think (says he) they have

New York
and New
Jersey.

have outdone the *Romans*, especially those who murdered themselves to avoid Shame or Torment; for our *Indians* have refused to die meanly by their own Hands when they thought their Country's Honour at stake, but have given up their Bodies willingly to the most cruel Torments their Enemies could inflict, to shew that the five Nations consisted of Men whose Courage and Resolution could not be shaken. They fully, however, these noble Virtues by that cruel Passion of Revenge which they think (according to *Colben*) not only lawful but honourable to exert without Mercy on their Country's Enemies. And in this only, says he, they deserve the Name of *Barbarians*.

Another Gentleman of *English* Extraction, but a Native of this Country, and resident a considerable Time among the *Iroquois* at *Albany*, assures me they are an exceeding hospitable good-natur'd People, *not given to revenge*, unless when they are drunk; and the Instances that have been given of it are no Evidence of a vindictive Temper, for the Cruelties they inflicted on some *French* Prisoners and their *Indian* Allies were by way of Retaliation of the like Cruelties first exercised by the *French* on their People. It is observed that the *French* in the first Wars they had with the *Iroquois*, when they imagined that People were not able to resist the Force of their Arms, used them in this barbarous Manner, and taught the *Indians* those Cruelties they now complain of; and which gave the *Iroquois* such an Abhorrence of that Nation as has been very advantageous to the *English* Interest ever since.

The *French* Missionaries probably find no small Difficulty at this Day in removing the just Prejudices the *Iroquois* entertain of the
French

French when they come to make Profelytes among them; the Conduct and Behaviour of the *French* in *America* having been directly opposite to the Principles of the *Christian* Religion they pretend to instruct the *Indians* in.

New York
and New
Jersey.

As to the Government of the *Iroquois*, Mr. *Colben* informs us that every Nation is a distinct Republick, but that they have for time immemorial been united in a Confederacy against all other *Indian* Nations; that they are governed by their respective Sachems or civil Magistrates in time of Peace, and by their Warriours or Captains in their Wars; and that the Authority both of the one and the other is obtained and continued only by the Opinion the rest of their Nation have of their Conduct or Value, and that they are laid aside when they cease to merit the Esteem of their Countrymen. That their Sachems and Captains are usually poorer than the common People, giving away and distributing all the Presents and Plunder they get among the People, so as to leave themselves nothing: For, says *Colben*, if they are once suspected of Selfishness, they grow mean in the Opinion of their Countrymen, and consequently lose their Authority; from whence one would be apt to conclude that their Chiefs were elective, and their Dignities not hereditary, which is directly contrary to all other Accounts I meet with of their Constitution, most Writers agreeing that the Post of Sachem is hereditary; and my *Albany* Correspondent confirms this Opinion, adding, (as other *American* Historians do) that the next Male-Heir by the Mother's Side succeeds the preceding Sachem (which is certainly true) not only here but in several other Parts of *North-America*; but so far these Nations

New York
and New
Jersey.

tions may have the Appearance of Republicks, that the chief Sachem or King seldom determines any thing of Consequence without the Concurrence of the several inferior Sachems or Lords of his Nation; and his Influence on his People vanishes when he loses their Esteem.

My *Albany* Friend also observes, that every Nation of the *Iroquois* is divided into three Tribes, which take their Names from three Animals, viz. 1. The Turtle or Tortoise; 2. The Bear; and 3. The Wolf; and that each of these three Tribes has its Chief or *Aquajander*. The *Aquajander* of the Turtle Tribe being superior to the other two; and the *Aquajander* of that Tribe in the *Mohawk* Nation (called the *Cariboge*) is the Sovereign or Emperor of all the six Nations (here he does not comprehend the seventh Nation of distant *Indians* situated beyond the Lakes.)

He observes further, that these Chiefs have some Honours paid them by their Subjects, but their Authority he thinks is very inconsiderable, and their Revenues nothing: That there are no Courts of Judicature in the six Nations or any other Law but Custom; and in Case of Murder the nearest Relation is the Avenger of Blood.

Their
Forces
and Wars.

They have no standing Forces, but every able-body'd Man takes up Arms when Honour or the Defence of his Country calls him out. Before they march, their Captains and Warriors assemble at a Feast, and whoever partakes of it thereby enlists himself for that Service. On this occasion they paint themselves and appear in their best Apparel; the old Men rise up by turns in the Assembly and make Speeches, setting forth the noble Actions, the Valour and
Courag

Courage of themselves and their Ancestors, ^{New York} together with the Cowardice and Weakness of ^{and New} their Enemies, to animate the Warriours. After ^{Jersey.} Supper they have a War Dance, and the next Day they march out and discharge their Pieces as they leave the Town, their Leader singing the War Song. When they meet their Enemies, every one shelters himself behind a Tree, from whence as Opportunity offers he fires at the Foe.

They take off the Scalps of those they kill, and bring them home, preserving them as Trophies of their Victories. When they take a Prisoner they present him to some Family which hath lost a Relation in the War; if they receive him, he is immediately admitted to all the Honours and Estate of the Deceased, and he takes his Name and Titles; but if rejected, the poor Wretch is condemn'd to some cruel Death. But this Piece of Barbarity they are said to have learned from the *French*, who to strike a Terror in the Natives, used to treat their *Indian* Prisoners in this inhuman Manner in their first Wars.

Other Writers observe, that they adopt all their young Captives into their Families, by which means they supply the Losses they sustain in their Wars; so far are they from torturing or putting them to death, unless provok'd by tortures first inflicted on their Friends.

As to their Marriages, Children are entirely ^{Marriages} at their Parents disposal; and when both ^{and Wo-} Parties are agreed, the Lover presents his Mistress ^{men.} with a Mantle as a Pledge of his Affection. Some time after the Parents present the Parties to their Chiefs, and declare the intended Marriage; after which they go to feasting and dancing, and the Marriage is consummated; the

New York
and New
Jersey.

Man continues with his Parents, and the Woman with hers till they have Children. He visits his Wife every Night, and is admitted to conjugal Embraces, but returns home in the Morning. Whatever he takes in Hunting he brings to his Wife and leaves to her disposal.

They do not allow a Plurality of Wives, but Divorces are common. They appear very modest, and are never seen to commit indecent Familiarities, or even to kiss before Company. The Women are deliver'd with great ease, and without the Assistance of a Midwife or any other Woman. And immediately after their Delivery go to hard labour, which they esteem the best Means to a speedy Recovery. They are all extremely fond of their Children, and think a numerous Offspring one of the greatest Blessings.

Religion.

As to the Religion of these People, as far as I can learn (says my *Albany* Friend) they acknowledge a Supreme Being, whom they stile the Preserver of the Universe, but seldom pay any religious Worship to him unless in publick Calamities, and then they offer Sacrifices of every thing they possess, and pray for Deliverance from their Calamities. They also offer Thank- Offerings for any publick Blessing. I cannot learn that they have any Idols or Representations of the Deity among them. When it thunders, they take it to be a Sign of God's Displeasure, and will say to one another, *How angry he is!* and often cry out, *It is enough, have done.* They believe a future State of Rewards and Punishments, but they have very obscure Notions of it; and seem to think that the Rewards of the Good will consist in the Enjoyment of those Pleasures he was most fond

Funerals.

of in this Life. At their Funerals they furnish the

the Deceased with all Necessaries, as Meat, Drink, Cloathing, Arms, and Ammunition. They make great Lamentation for the Dead, and constantly go Morning and Evening to the Graves of their deceased Friends and Relations, and howl most hideously, and never fail to leave some Provision on the Grave.

New York
and New
Jersey.

Various Attempts have been made to convert these People to Christianity, especially by the *French* Priests, who by the Negligence of our own People and their great Zeal to gain Converts to Popery have met with too great Success; having drawn off great part of the *Mohawk* Nation from their Alliance with the *English*, and even persuaded them to leave their native Country and settle in *Canada*, where they have built them a stately Church, and have three or four Priests residing constantly among them. Those who remain true to the *English* (on account of their Nearness to the *English* Settlements) have been instructed by the *Dutch* and *English* Ministers occasionally as they came to trade, and have always shewn a Disposition to embrace the Gospel; but their Instructions being transient and but seldom repeated are soon forgot, and indeed but lamely administer'd by the Help of an ignorant Interpreter. About twenty Years ago the Society for propagating the Gospel sent over a Missionary, who resided among them six or seven Years, but being a Gentleman advanced in Years, he made a very slow Progress in their Language, and was not able to bear the Fatigues of such an Undertaking, which obliged him to leave them; since which time they have had no Instruction but what they occasionally received from the *English* and *Dutch* Ministers at *Albany*. A good Founda-

Of making
Profes-
sion
among
them.

New York
and New
Jersey.

They be-
come trac-
table of
late.

tion however was laid by the Society's Missionary, and those other Gentlemen at *Albany*: They are all brought to the Profession of Christianity and almost all baptized, and some of them seem to have a tolerable Notion of it, and have earnestly desired a Missionary to be sent among them. To encourage this good Disposition in them, the Society two Years ago appointed a Catechist among them, a Native of *America*, by the Recommendation of the Clergy of *New-York*, who has resided among them, applied himself to the Study of their Language, and has met with very good Success. He is since come to *London* for holy Orders, and appointed Missionary among them.

He has taught several of the Natives to read and write their own Language, and finds them very desirous of Instruction, and is much beloved by them.

Drinking
their chief
Vice.

The only Vice which appears to reign among the *Iroquois* is Drunkenness; but they are very much reformed since they have had a Missionary residing among them. They have forsaken their old Superstitions and Barbarities, and seem to be much more civiliz'd than their more distant Neighbours; they constantly attend the publick Worship, and never fail addressing their Creator Morning and Evening in their Families; and abstain from all Labour on the Lord's Day. I doubt not (says my Correspondent) were Provision made, and Encouragement given to Missionaries to undertake this Work, many more of them might be civiliz'd and become Profelytes to the Protestant Religion; which would prevent their being corrupted and seduced by the Enemies of our Nation to desert the *British* Interest.

Missionaries

Missionaries of the Church of *England* seem ^{New York} much more acceptable to the *Indians* than those employed by the People of *New-England*, who ^{and New Jersey.} are rigid Dissenters, and make more use of Force than Persuasion in their Intercourse with that People; and this has occasioned the *Indians* on the Frontiers of *New-England* to adhere so constantly to the *French*, and hearken to the Popish Missionaries.

The *Iroquois* have been at war with the *French* almost ever since their Arrival in *Canada*, and suffered very much at first from their Fire-Arms, having never before seen such Instruments of Destruction: The *French* also had the Advantage of being assisted by the *Adirondacks*, the ancient Enemies of the *Iroquois*, in their Encounters with the five Nations; but the *Iroquois* entering into an Alliance with the *English*, and being furnished with Fire-Arms and Ammunition defeated the *French* in their turn, carried the War into *Canada*, burn'd and plunder'd *Montreal*, kill'd several thousands of the *French* and their *Indian* Allies, and obliged them to abandon their Forts on the Lakes of *Ontario* and *Erie*, as has been related already; which has made the *French* very cautious how they provoke the five Nations of late Years, especially as they find them no less celebrated for their Conduct and Stratagems in War than for their Bravery.

These People make it a constant Rule in War to leave as little to Chance as possible; and notwithstanding they know themselves superiour in Strength and Number to their Enemies, never engage them in a fair Field, as we call it, but lay Ambuscades, and make use of their Wits to surprise them unprepar'd; by

Wars between the *Iroquois* and the *French*.

Maxims in War.

NewYork
and New
Jersey.

by which means they do not only save their own Forces, but take more Prisoners than they could in an equal Engagement; and as they incorporate the younger Captives in their Families, their very Prisoners prove an additional Strength to these confederated Nations.

A Strata-
gem of
the Iroquois

While they were at war with the *Adirondacks* and *Hurons* (Allies of *France*) in order to amuse the *French*, they sent and desired Peace; which was consented to, on Condition the *Iroquois* would receive some missionary Priests and Jesuits amongst them, and be instructed in the Christian Religion. This the five Nations promised to comply with; but the Fathers were no sooner arrived amongst them than they made them close Prisoners, threatening to cut their Throats if the *French* did not stand Neuter in this War; after which they fell upon the *Hurons* and *Adirondacks* with such Fury, that those Nations were in a manner extirpated. And this may have given occasion to some of those Exclamations of the *French* against the *Iroquois* as a perfidious and barbarous People; however, it appears the Popish Missionaries have not been altogether deterred by such Examples from attempting to make Profelytes amongst them, tho' they proceed possibly with more Caution than heretofore; for we find they have not only wheedled Part of the *Mohawk* Nation to desert the *English* Interest, but have frequently prevailed with the other Nations to invade the Frontiers of *New-England*, *Virginia*, and *Maryland*, when they could not persuade them to disturb the Colonies of *New-York* or *Pennsylvania*.

However, the *Indians* have been frequently brought to acknowledge their Offences of this kind, and promise to live peaceably with *Vir-*
ginia

ginia and the rest of the *British* Colonies. A *New-York* Speech of one of their Sachems on such an *and New* Occasion may be a Curiosity worth the Reader's Perusal: The Sachem first addressing himself to the Governor of *New-York* said,

Brother CORLAER, (*The Name they give that Governor*)

" Your Sachem is a great Sachem, and we A Speech
 " are but a small People; but when the *Eng-* of a Sa-
 " *lish* came first to *New-York, Manhatan,* chem to
 " *Virginia, Aragiske,* and to *Maryland, Ya-* the Go-
 " *kokranagary,* they were then but a small *New-York,*
 " People, and we great: Then because we &c.
 " found you a good People, we treated you
 " civilly and gave you Land: We hope there-
 " fore now that you are great, and we small,
 " you will protect us from the *French*; if you
 " do not, we shall lose all our Hunting and
 " Beavers. The *French* will get all the Bea-
 " ver. They are now angry with us, because
 " we carry our Beaver to our Brethren (the
 " *English*.)

" We understand that because of the Mis-
 " chief which has been done to the People
 " and Cattle of *Virginia* and *Maryland,* we
 " must not come near the Heads of your Ri-
 " vers, nor near your Plantations, but keep at
 " the foot of the Mountains; for tho' we
 " lay down our Arms as Friends, we shall
 " not be trusted for the future but look'd up-
 " on as Robbers: We agree however to this
 " Proposition, and shall wholly stay away
 " from *Virginia*; and this we do in Gratitude
 " to *Corlaer,* who has been at so great pains
 " to persuade you, *Great Governor of Virgi-*
 " *nia,* to forget what is past.

" We thank the great Sachem of *Virginia*
 " that he has so readily forgiven and forgot
 " the

New York
and New
Jersey.

“ the Evil that has been done ; and we on our
“ Parts gladly catch at and lay hold on the
“ Chain.” Then each of them delivered an Ax
to be buried and gave a Belt.

“ Let your Friend the great Sachem that
“ lives on the other Side the great Lake know
“ this, That we being a free People, tho’
“ united to the *English*, may give our Lands
“ and be joined to the Sachem we like best.
“ We give this Beaver to remember what we
“ say.

The *English* have from time to time, once in two or three Years, constantly renewed and confirmed their Treaties with the five Nations, particularly in the Year 1722. We find that the Governors of *New-York*, *Virginia*, and *Pensylvania*, met the Sachems or Kings of the five Nations, with the Sachems of the more distant *Indians*, their Allies at *Albany*, and renewed all former Leagues and Ties of Friendship. Those *Indian* Princes giving the usual Presents of Furs and *Wampum* as Pledges of their Fidelity and Resolution to observe the Articles agreed on ; but we scarce ever meet with the Governors of *New-England* at these Treaties ; the Reason whereof seems to be, that *New-England* seldom hath a good Understanding with the *Indian* Nations ; but whenever ’tis in their power, treat them rather as a conquer’d People than as Friends and Confederates : There are some Instances however where *New-England* has been comprehended in such Treaties, and indeed all the rest of the *British* Colonies, tho’ their Governors have been absent from the Congress.

It may be necessary to observe here that the Reason the *Iroquois* give the Governor of *New-York*

York the Name of Corlaer is, that one Corlaer, ^{New York and New Jersey.} a Dutchman, was the first European employ'd to treat with them as Allies and Confederates. And the same Corlaer being drown'd in passing the Lake that lies between New-York and Canada, that Lake is called by them Corlaer also; tho' the French gave it the Name of Champlain, from a French Officer of that Name, who put them upon erecting Forts on this Lake, which has made the French very near and troublesome Neighbours to the British Colonies.

The second grand Division of the Province ^{New-York Proper. The Situation.} of New-York to be described is that of New-York Proper, which is bounded by Canada on the North, New-England on the East, the Ocean on the South, and the five Nations and New-Jersey on the West; and is about two hundred Miles in Length from North to South (that is) from the Mouth of Hudson's River to the Lake of Champlain or Corlaer, and it might be extended two hundred Miles farther North: if we possessed all the Country we claim as far as the River St. Lawrence; but the French having built Forts on the Lake Champlain have in a manner expell'd us from the North Part of this Country: The English only possess the Country South of that Lake at present, and this is exceeding narrow in most Places, particularly between Connecticut Colony on the East and New-Jersey on the West it is scarce twenty Miles broad: But to this we must add the Island of Manhattan, which the City of New-York stands upon, Staten-Island, and Long-Island, all which lie before the Mouth of Hudson's River, and are comprehended in New-York Proper.

This Province is divided into ten Counties, ^{Subdivision into Counties.} which going from North to South down Hudson's

New-York
and New
Jersey.

Chief
Towns.

son's River are, *Albany, Ulster, Dutchess, Orange, King's County, Chester, New-York County, Queen's County, Suffolk County, and Richmond County*, which are pretty well replenished with Plantations and Farms, but have not many great Towns in them. The chief Towns are *New-York City, Schenectida, Albany, Westchester, Jamaica Town, Hempstead, Oyster-bay Town, Huntington, Richmond, Rye, New-Rochel, Northcastle, Southampton, and Brook-haven*; in all or most of which Towns are Missionaries, either Ministers, School-masters or Catechists, sent over and maintain'd chiefly by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, as will appear by the List hereafter inserted.

New-York
City and
County.

New-York City is situated in 40 Degrees 40 Minutes North Latitude, and 74 Degrees 4 Minutes Western Longitude, at the South End of *York County*, being an Island in the Mouth of *Hudson's River*, about fourteen Miles long and two or three broad. As this Town stands upon an Eminence, and contains upwards of a thousand Houses well built with Brick and Stone, with a Wall and Forts, which serve as well for Ornament as Defence, there is scarce any Town in *North-America* that makes a better Appearance. It is also an excellent Harbour, furnish'd with commodious Keys and Warehouses, and employs some hundreds of Ships and Vessels in its foreign Trade and Fisheries.

The publick Buildings are the several Churches belonging to those of the Church of *England*, to the *Swedes* of the *Lutheran* Persuasion, to the *Dutch Calvinists*, the *French Refugees*, and the *English* Sectaries; but the Church of *England* may well be looked upon as the establish'd

establish'd Religion, because the Constitution of the Government is the same as in *England*; the rest, however, are tolerated, and capable of Posts in the Government, and of sitting in the House of Representatives, as I apprehend.

New York
and New
Jersey.

The other publick Buildings are the Town-house, and that where their General Assemblies and Courts of Justice are held. As to their Fortifications, they are not, I doubt, capable of defending them against an *European* Enemy any more than those in the rest of the Plantations, for this unanswerable Reason, *because they were lately confess'd to be so bad that it was not fit to enquire into the State of them, lest Foreigners should be acquainted with our Weakness on that Side.* There are indeed four hundred regular Troops sent from *England* to garrison this and some other Towns of this Province, of which two Companies always are, or ought to be, upon Duty in this City; but admitting they were always complete, and never so well disciplined, this seems to be but a very inconsiderable Force to defend a Province of this Importance against an Invasion, unless their Country Militia be more to be depended on than that of *Great-Britain*.

As *New-York* may be looked upon to be the frontier Garrison in the South against an Invasion from any maritime Power, so *Schenectady* Town and Fort, in the County of *Town*. *Albany*, twenty Miles North of the Town of *Albany*, may well be deem'd their Frontier on the North against the *French* of *Canada* and their *Indian* Allies, who, in the Year 1688, surpris'd and almost demolish'd the Town with the Works about it, but they have since been repaired and enlarged, and Fort *Nicholson* and some other Forts erected; in which and in

New-York and New Jersey. *Albany* the rest of the regular Troops are quartered for the Defence of that Frontier.

Albany Town.

Albany is a considerable Town, situated on *Hudson's River*, an hundred and fifty Miles North of *New-York*, having a Fort erected for its Defence : And here it is that the *Sachems* or Kings of the five Nations meet the Governors of our Northern Colonies to renew their Alliances, and concert Measures for their Defence against their common Enemies, as has been intimated already.

Staten-Island.

South-West of the Island and County of *New-York* lies *Staten-Island*, being about ten Miles in Length and six in Breadth, and in it are a great many good Farms and Plantations, but not one Town that I can meet with.

Long-Island.

Long-Island lies East of *Staten-Island*, and South-East of that of *New-York*, opposite to the Colony of *Connecticut*, being an hundred and fifty Miles in Length, and generally about twelve in Breadth, and contains three of the Counties above mention'd, viz. *Queen's County*, *Suffolk County*, and *Richmond County*. The chief Towns in *Queen's County* are *Jamaica* and *Hempstead*. In *Suffolk County* the chief Town is *Oyster-bay*. The Town of *Richmond* gives Name to *Richmond County*, in which also is the Town of *Southampton*, in the South-East Part of the Island ; and here also are situated the Towns of *North-Castle* and *New-Windsor*.

Counties and chief Towns in *Long-Island*.
Jamaica.
Hempstead.
Oyster-bay.
Richmond.
North-Castle.
New-Windsor.

Salisbury Plain.

There is a celebrated Plain in the middle of *Long-Island* sixteen Miles long and four broad, to which they have given the Name of *Salisbury Plain*, having (as 'tis said) as fine a Turf as that on *Salisbury Plain* in *Old-England* ; and there being an excellent Breed of Horses in the Island they have Races here every Season, to which

which the Gentlemen of *New-England* and *New-York* resort, as they do to *New-Market* with us. New York
and New
Jersey.

There are still some good Towns which lie in the County of *Westchester* on the Continent, East of the Mouth of *Hudson's River*, the chief whereof are *Westchester* and *Rye*. *Westchester*
Rye.

This is one of those Colonies denominated a royal Government, the legislative Power being lodged in the Governor, Council and Assembly; and the Governor, Council, and Officers of State being appointed by the Crown. Govern-
ment.

As to the Produce and Trade of this Country, these Articles being much the same here as in New-England, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania, I shall treat of them all together in the Description of Pennsylvania: And there also the Reader will meet with the Abstract of the History of New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania, their Story being so interwoven that it is scarce possible to speak of one without including the other. Produce
and Trade.

The third and last grand Division I proposed to describe is that of *New-Jersey*, bounded by an imaginary Line drawn from the River *De la War* to *Hudson's River*, in 41 Degrees North Latitude on the North, by *Hudson's River*, which separates it from *New-York*, and by the *Atlantick Ocean* on the East, by the same Ocean on the South, and by *De la War Bay* and River, which separates it from *Pennsylvania*, on the West, lying between 39 and 41 Degrees of North Latitude, and between 74 and 76 Degrees of Western Longitude; and is about an hundred and forty Miles in Length from North to South, and between three and four score in Breadth from East to West. New-
Jersey.
Situation
and Ex-
tent.

New York
and New
Jersey.

Division
and Sub-
divisions.
Govern-
ment.

Counties.

Chief
Towns.
Perth
Amboy.

Berghen.
Elizabeth
Town.
Middleton.
Shrewsf-
bury.

It was heretofore divided into two Parts by a Line drawn almost through the middle of it from North to South, and distinguished by the Names of *East* and *West-Jersey*, being granted to different Proprietors; but the Proprietors of both having thought fit to surrender their Charters to the Crown, the whole now constitutes one royal Government. The *Jersys* have now but one Council and one House of Representatives, and the Governor of *New-York* is usually Governor of the *Jersys* by a different Commission, the Governor, Council, and Officers of State being appointed by the King, as in *New-York Proper*.

This Country is subdivided into the Counties of, 1. *Berghen*. 2. *Essex*. 3. *Middlesex*; and, 4. *Monmouth*, on the East. 5. *Burlington*. 6. *Gloucester*. 7. *Salem*; and, 8. *Cape May*, Counties on the West. The chief Towns are, 1. *Perth Amboy*, the Capital of the County of *Middlesex*, and of all *East-Jersey*, pleasantly situated at the Mouth of *Raritan* River; and had it been built according to the intended Model, would have been one of the finest Towns in *North-America*; but Planters have not resorted to it, as was expected, notwithstanding it is so commodiously situated for Trade that Ships of three hundred Tons may come up in one Tide and lie before the Merchants Doors; but the Town of *Elizabeth*, situated to the Northward of it, flourishes much more, and may still be deemed the most considerable Town in the Province. 2. *Berghen*, the Capital of the County of the same Name. 3. *Elizabeth* Town, already mention'd, Capital of the County of *Essex*. 4. *Middleton*. 5. *Shrewsbury*; and, 6. *Freehold*, in the County of *Monmouth*.

Monmouth. 7. *Burlington*, or *Bridlington*, New York
the Capital of the County of *Burlington* and of *and New*
all *West-Jersey*. *Jersey.*

This Town is situated in 40 Degrees 40 Minutes of North Latitude, on an Island in the middle of the River *De la War*, to the Northward of *Philadelphia* in *Pensylvania*, and on the opposite Side of the River. The Houses are handsomely built of Brick, and laid out into spacious Streets with commodious Keys and Wharfs, to which Ships of two or three hundred Tons may come up. It has also a handsome Market-place, a Town-house or Guild-hall, where the Courts of Justice were heretofore held, and two good Bridges over the River, the one call'd *London-Bridge* and the other *York-Bridge*; and having an easy Communication with *Philadelphia* and the Ocean by the River *De la War*, carries on a brisk Trade. 8. *Gloucester*, the Capital of *Gloucester*.
the County of the same Name; and, 9. *Salem*, *Salem*.
Capital of the County of *Salem*, and situated on the River *Salem*, which falls into *De la War* Bay. This is said to be one of the best Towns in *West-Jersey*, whether we consider its Situation, Buildings or Trade.

The Produce of this Province, its Trade and History will be found in the Description of Pensylvania.



T H E
P R E S E N T S T A T E
O F
P E N S Y L V A N I A.

C H A P. IX.

Of Pennsylvania.

Pensylva-
nia.

Situation
and Ex-
tent.



P E N S Y L V A N I A lies between 39 and 42 Degrees of North Latitude, and between 75 and 79 Degrees of Western Longitude, being bounded by the Country of the five Nations or *Iroquois* on the North, by *New-York* and *New-Jersey*, from which it is separated for the most part by *De la War* Bay and River, on the East, and by *Maryland* on the South and West, being about two hundred Miles in Length from North to South, and almost of equal Breadth in the three Northern Counties, but the three Southern Counties are not more than twenty or thirty Miles broad from East to West, that is, between

tween *De la War Bay* and *Maryland*, from which the three Southern Counties are divided by an imaginary Line drawn from North to South; but these Limits are not yet entirely settled, I find, the Lord *Baltimore* and the Family of the *Pens* being at this Day engaged in a Suit of Chancery about them.

The chief Rivers in *Pennsylvania* are, 1. Rivers.
The River *De la War*, which rising far North in the Country of the *Iroquois*, takes its Course to the Southward, and dividing this Province from that of *New-Jersey* falls into the *Atlantick Ocean*, between the Promontories of *Cape May* and *Cape Hinlopen*, being navigable for two hundred Miles and upwards with large Vessels; but has a Cataract or steep Fall in it above *Bristol*, which renders the Navigation impracticable to the Northward of the Country of *Bucks*. *De la War River.*

2. The second River in this Province is that of *Sasquabanna*, which rising likewise in the Country of the *Iroquois* runs South through the middle of *Pennsylvania*, and falls into the Bay of *Chesapeake*, being navigable also for large Ships. *Sasquabanna River.*

3. The third River is that of *Schoolkill*, which having its Source also in the Country of the *Iroquois* runs South, almost parallel to the Rivers *De la War* and *Sasquabanna*, and at length turning to the Eastward falls into the *De la War* at the City of *Philadelphia*: This River also is navigable for large Ships as far as the City of *Philadelphia*, and for Boats an hundred Miles higher. These Rivers and the numerous Bays and Creeks in the Bay of *De la War*, capable of harbouring the largest Fleets, render this Country admirably situated to carry on a foreign Trade. *Schoolkill River.*

Pensylva-
nia.



Counties
and chief
Towns.

The East Side of the Province of *Pensylvania* (the West being still uncultivated) is divided into six Counties, which taking them from North to South are, 1. *Buckingham*. 2. *Philadelphia* County. 3. The County of *Chester*. 4. *Newcastle* County. 5. The County of *Kent*; and, 6. The County of *Sussex*.

Bristol.

In the County of *Buckingham*, the most Northerly of any in this Province, the chief Town is *Bristol*, situated on the River *De la War*, opposite to *Burlington* in *New-Jersey*, and twenty Miles North of the City of *Philadelphia*. In this County also lies the Manour-House of *Pensbury*, elegantly built by *Pen* the first Proprietor, and situated on an Eminence which commands the County, being almost surrounded by the River *De la War*.

Pensbury.

*Philadel-
phia*
County
and City.

The County of *Philadelphia* lies South of that of *Bucks*, and in it is the celebrated City of *Philadelphia*, the Capital of the Province, situated in 40 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude, being one of the finest Plans of a Town that ever was form'd. It is an Oblong of two Miles, extending from the River *De la War* to the River *Schookill*, the East End fronting the River *De la War* and the West the River *Schookill*, each Front being a Mile in Length. Every Owner of a thousand Acres hath his House in one of the two Fronts facing the Rivers, or in the high Street running from the middle of one Front to the middle of the other: And every Owner of five thousand Acres has an Acre of Ground in the Front of his House, and the rest half an Acre for Gardens and Court Yards. In the Centre of the Town is a Square of ten Acres, surrounded by the Town-House and other publick Buildings, and in each Quar-

ter

ter of the City is a Square of eight Acres. Pensylva-
nia.
The high Street, which runs the whole Length of the Town, is an hundred Feet wide, parallel to which run eight Streets, which are crossed by twenty more at right Angles, all of them thirty Feet wide; and several Canals are let into the Town from each River, which add to the Beauty and Conveniency of the Place. There is also a fine Key two hundred Feet square, to which Ships of four or five hundred Tons may come up; with wet and dry Docks for building and repairing Ships, Magazines, Warehouses, and all manner of Conveniencies for importing and exporting of Merchandize. There are already fourteen or fifteen hundred Houses in the City, most of them well built with Brick, but there are still a great many more wanting to complete the Plan: However, more could not have been expected than has been done in so short a time, the Ground not having been laid out much above fifty Years.

The Town of *Oxford* also is situated in the Oxford
Town. County of *Philadelphia*, but I meet with no Description of it; however, I take it to be a considerable Place, inasmuch as a Missionary is maintain'd here by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. *German Town*, situated German
Town. to the Northward of the City of *Philadelphia*, also is said to be a thriving populous Place, inhabited chiefly by the *Dutch* or those of *Dutch* Extraction. In this County is the Town of *Radnor*, situated on the South-West Side of Radnor
Town. *Schookill* River, being the Capital of a large Country planted by the *Welch*, and extremely well improv'd by them.

To the South of the County of *Philadelphia* Ches-
ter lies that of *Ches-
ter*, the Capital whereof is the County
and Town. Town of *Ches-
ter*, situated on the River *De la*

Pennsylvania.



Chichester Town.

Newcastle County and Town.

Apoquinemink Town.

The County of Kent.

Dover Town.

The County of

Suffex.

Lewes Town.

The several kinds

of Government in

English America.

Royal Governments.

War, which is about three hundred Miles broad at this Place; and to the Southward of *Chester* lies the Town of *Chichester*. Either of these Ports are capable of receiving and harbouring the largest Fleets secure from Storms.

The County of *Newcastle* lies South of that of *Chester*, the capital Town being of the same Name. This is said to be a Town of the briskest Trade in the Province next to that of *Philadelphia*, and has an Iron Mine in the Neighbourhood of it. The Town of *Apoquinemink* lies upon the River *De la War* also, South of *Newcastle*, and is a Place of good Trade.

The County of *Kent* lies South of that of *Newcastle*, the chief Town whereof is *Dover*, being a commodious Port.

The most Southern County is that of *Suffex*, the capital Town whereof is *Lewes*, being a secure Harbour and a Town of Trade.

Pennsylvania and *Maryland* are now the only Proprietary Governments of all our *American* Colonies; for, as has been intimated already, there were originally three sorts of Government establish'd by the *English* on the Continent of *America*, viz. 1st, Royal Governments. 2^{dly}, Charter Governments; and, 3^{dly}, Proprietary Governments.

1. A royal Government is properly so call'd because the Colony is immediately dependent on the Crown, and the King remains Sovereign of the Colony: He appoints the Governor, Council, and Officers of State; and the People only elect their Representatives, as in *England*. Such are the Governments of *Virginia*, *New-Hampshire*, *New-York*, *New-Jersey*, and both *Carolina's*, tho' the *Carolina's* were till very lately Proprietary Governments.

2. A

2. A Charter Government is so called because the Company incorporated by the King's Charter were in a manner vested with sovereign Authority to establish what sort of Government they saw fit: And these Companies have generally thought fit (as I apprehend) to transfer their Power to the Populace; for in these Governments the Freemen do not only chuse their Representatives, but annually chuse their Governor, Council and Magistrates, and make Laws without the Concurrence, and even without the Knowledge of the King, and are under no other Restraint than this, that they enact no Laws contrary to the Laws of *England*; if they do, their Charters are liable to be forfeited. Such is the Government of *Rhode-Island*, and I think of the Colony of *Connecticut* in *New-England*; and such was the Government of the *Massachusetts*, *Maine* and *Plymouth* formerly; but their first Charters being adjudged forfeited in the Reign of King *Charles II.* the Charter granted to the *Massachusetts* by King *William III.* has reserv'd the Appointment of a Governor to the Crown: But the House of Representatives chuse the Council with the Governor's Concurrence, and the Governor and Council appoint the Magistrates and Officers of State; from whence it appears that the Government of the *Massachusetts*, in which the Colonies of *Maine* and *Plymouth* are now comprehended, is in some Instances different from either of the two former Species of Government, or rather a Mixture of both.

Pennsylvania.

Charter Governments.

The *Massachusetts* a Mixture of the two former.

3. The third kind of Government I propos'd to describe is the Proprietary Government, properly so call'd because the Proprietor is vested with sovereign Authority: He appoints the Governor, Council and Magistrates, and the

Proprietary Government.

Pensylva-
nia.

the Representatives of the People are summon'd in his Name, and by their Advice he enacts Laws without the Concurrence of the Crown; but by a late Statute, the Proprietor must have the King's Consent in the appointing a Governor when he does not reside in the Plantation in Person, and of a Deputy-Governor when he does: And all the Governors of the Plantations are liable to be call'd to an account for Male-Administration by the Court of *King's-Bench* in *England* by another Statute. But the only Proprietary Governments now in being, as has been observ'd already, are that of *Maryland* and this of *Pensylvania*; and the Family of the *Penns*, Descendants of *William Penn*, the original Proprietor of *Pensylvania*, being at present pretty numerous, the Administration of the Government in this Colony seems to be lodg'd in the Deputy-Governor, who is from time to time appointed by the Heirs of *Penn* with the Concurrence of the Crown.

The
History
of the
Plantation
of the
Colonies
of *New-
York, New-
Jersey,*
and *Pen-
sylvania*.

As to the Right *Great-Britain* hath to these Countries which now go under the Names of *New-York, New-Jersey,* and *Pensylvania*, it appears they were discover'd with the rest of the Continent of *North-America*, in the Reign of *Henry VII.* by *Sebastian Cabot* for the Crown of *England*, and have ever since been claim'd by the Kings of *England* as Part of their Dominions: But Sir *Walter Raleigh* was the first that attempted to plant Colonies on these Shores in the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, and in Honour of that Princess gave the Eastern Coast of *North-America* the Name of *Virginia*. Two Companies being afterwards erected by Charter in the Reign of King *James I.* and authoris'd to make Settlements in *Virginia*, the first Company sent Colonies to that Part of the Continent which

which still bears the Name of *Virginia*, and the other made Settlements in *New-England*, then call'd *North-Virginia*, as has been related already.

In the mean time Mr. *Hudson*, an *Englishman*, having discover'd that Part of the Coast which lies between *Virginia* and *New-England*, and being about to make a Settlement at the Mouth of that River which now separates *New-York* from *New-Jersey*, and to which he gave the Name of *Hudson's-River*, the *Dutch* pretended to purchase this Country of him; and about the Year 1608 began to plant it, and by Virtue of that Purchase laid claim to all those Territories which now go under the Name of *New-York*, *New-Jersey*, and *Pennsylvania*: But there remaining some vacant Spaces on the Coast which were not actually possessed by the *Hollanders*, the *Swedes* sent a Fleet of Ships thither, and planted part of it with their Countrymen. However, the *Dutch* proved too powerful for the *Swedes*, and compell'd them to submit to their Dominion, allowing them however to enjoy the Plantations they had settled, and the Privileges of the rest of their Subjects.

But the *English* not admitting that either the *Hollander* or the *Swede* had any Right to these Countries which were first discover'd for the Crown of *England* by *Cabot*, and Part of them afterwards planted under Charters from Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, which, 'twas presumed, gave the *English* a Right to all the Countries included within the Limits granted by those Patents, as these of *New-York*, the *Jerseys*, and *Pennsylvania* actually were. King *Charles II.* in the first *Dutch War*, Anno 1684, transfer'd all those Countries, then in possession

Pensylva-
nia.

possession of the *Dutch*, viz. *New-York*, the *Jerseys*, and the Northern Part of *Pensylvania*, to his Brother *James* Duke of *York*, afterwards King *James II.* and Sir *Robert Carr* was sent over with a Squadron of Men of War and a Body of Land Forces to reduce them ; and on his Appearance before the City of *Amsterdam*, now *New-York*, the *Dutch* Governor thought fit to surrender that Capital ; and the rest of the Towns in the possession of the *Hollanders* and the *Swedes* follow'd his Example ; and tho' some relate that the *Dutch* recover'd the Possession of them again, yet certain it is, all these Countries were yielded and confirm'd to the *English* by the Treaty of Peace between *England* and *Holland* that follow'd soon after.

The Duke of *York* parcelling out these Countries to Under-Proprietors, among whom *William Penn*, Esq; Son of Sir *William Penn*, Admiral in the *Dutch* Wars, was one : All the rest of the Proprietors some time after surrender'd their Charters again to the Crown, whereby *New-York* and *New-Jersey* became royal Governments, while *Penn* remain'd Proprietor of that Part of the Country which had been granted to him ; and King *Charles II.* making him another Grant, in the Year 1680, of that Part of the Country which now constitutes the rest of *Pensylvania*, in Consideration of Money due to his Father, Sir *William Penn*, from the Government, *Penn* the Son united the Countries he possess'd by both Grants into one ; and giving them the Name of *Pensylvania* proceeded to the planting Colonies there in the Year 1681, the *Dutch* and *Swedish* Inhabitants chusing still to reside here, as they did in *New-York* and the *Jerseys* : And they and their Descendants enjoy the same Privileges

leges as the rest of his Majesty's Subjects in these Plantations do ; and are now in a manner become the same People with the *English*, speaking their Language, and govern'd by their Laws and Customs.

Pensylv:
nia.

But Mr. *Penn*, notwithstanding the Grants he had obtain'd from the Crown and the Duke of *York*, did not look upon himself it seems to be the real Proprietor of the Lands granted him, till he had given the *Indians* what they esteemed a valuable Consideration for their Interest in them ; and disclaiming also the Use of the carnal Weapon according to the Principles of his Sect, he cou'd never propose entering upon the Country, which had been fo granted him, by Force.

The first thing therefore he did after his Arrival on the Coast of *America* in the Year 1681, was to procure a Conference with the *Indian* Sachems or Kings, in order to treat with them for the Purchase of their Lands ; and the *Natives*, being few in Number, and making scarce any other Use of their Country than to hunt in it, readily harkened to his Proposals ; and he purchased Countries of many Miles Extent at a very moderate Price, paying for them in Cloathing, Tools, Utensils, and Toys, to the entire Satisfaction of the *Natives*.

Mr. *Penn*, in a Letter to his Friends in *England* on the Situation of his Affairs at that time, relates, “ That he had attended the *Indian* Kings and their Councils in several “ Treaties for the Purchase of their Lands, and “ for adjusting the Terms of Trade between “ them ; and that their Order was thus : Their “ King (says Mr. *Penn*) was seated in the “ middle of a half Moon or Semi-circle ; his

Pennsylvania.

“ Council, the Old and Wise, sitting on each
 “ Hand; behind them, at a little distance,
 “ sat the younger Men in the same Figure.
 “ Having consulted and resolved their Business,
 “ the King commanded one of them to
 “ speak to me: He stood up, and came to me,
 “ and in his King’s Name saluted me, taking
 “ me by the Hand, and telling me, *He was*
 “ *ordered by his King to speak to me; and that*
 “ *now it was not he, but the King, that spoke,*
 “ *because what he should say was the King’s*
 “ *Mind.* He first pray’d me to excuse them
 “ *that they had not complied with me in a former*
 “ *Meeting: He feared there might be some*
 “ *Fault in the Interpreter, being neither Indian*
 “ *nor English; besides, it was the Indian Custom*
 “ *to deliberate before they resolved; and*
 “ *that if the younger People and Owners of the*
 “ *Land had been as ready as he, I had not*
 “ *met with so much Delay.* Having thus introduced
 “ his Matter, he fell to the Bounds
 “ of the Land they had agreed to dispose of,
 “ and to the Price. During the Time this
 “ Person spoke, not a Man of them was observed
 “ to whisper or smile. The Old were grave,
 “ the Young reverend in their Deportment;
 “ when they spoke, which was
 “ but seldom, it was warmly and elegantly.
 “ I have never seen more natural Sagacity,
 “ considering them without the Help of Tradition;
 “ and he will deserve the Name of
 “ Wise that is too hard for them in any
 “ Treaty about a Thing they understand.
 “ When the Purchase was agreed, *great Promises*
 “ *pass’d between us of Kindness and good*
 “ *Neighbourhood, and that the Indian and English*
 “ *must live in Love as long as the Sun gave*
 “ *Light.* After which, another made a Speech

“ to

“ to the *Indians*, in the Name of all the Sa-
 “ cherns or Kings, first to tell them what was
 “ done, next to charge and command them
 “ to love the *Christians*, and particularly to live
 “ in peace with me, and the People under my
 “ Government : That many Governors had been
 “ in the River, but that no Governor had come
 “ himself to live and stay there before; and
 “ having now such an one that had treated them
 “ well, they should never do him or his any
 “ wrong. At every Sentence of which they
 “ shouted, and said *Amen* in their way.” By
 Governor living himself among them, they meant
Proprietary; for they had had several *Dutch*
 and *Swedish* Governors in *De la War* River.
 The Land thus bought was enter’d upon by
 the under Purchasers, who purchased by the
 hundred or the thousand Acres what the Pro-
 prietary bought by Miles.

So prodigiously did this Colony increase in
 a very few Years, that the same Mr. *Penn*,
 in another Letter to his Friends in *England*,
 says, “ We consume eighteen thousand Pounds
 “ yearly of *English* Growth, and return of
 “ our Productions what augments the Reve-
 “ nues of the Crown of *England* thirty thou-
 “ sand Pounds” (which is but a trifle to the
 Returns they make at this Day.) Their
 Success was chiefly owing to their human and
 friendly Treatments of the *Indians*, with whom
 the *Pennsylvanians* scarce ever had a Quarrel:
 This good Understanding continuing even to
 our Times, as appears by the *Indians* of the
Five Nations agreeing with Sir *William Keith*,
 Governor of *Pennsylvania* in the Year 1722,
 to remove still further back into the Woods
 with their Families, and to leave a Tract of
 one hundred thousand Acres of Land and up-

Penfylva- wards to be cultivated by the *English*; at
 nia. which Congress one of their Sachems made
 ~~~~~ the following Speech, in the Name of the rest :

Brother ONAS (*The Title they give the Governor of Pennsylvania*)

“ You have told us how *William Penn*, that  
 “ good Man, did, on the first Settlement of  
 “ the Province of *Pennsylvania*, make Leagues  
 “ of Friendship with the *Indians*, and treated  
 “ them like Brethren; and that, like the same  
 “ good Man, he left it in Charge to all his  
 “ Governors who should succeed him, and  
 “ to all the People of *Pennsylvania*, that they  
 “ should always keep the Covenant and Trea-  
 “ ties he had made with the *Five Nations*,  
 “ and treat them with Love and Kindness.  
 They ac- “ We acknowledge, that his Governors and  
 knowledge “ People have always kept the same honestly  
*Pennsylva-* “ and truly to this Day. So we, on our Part,  
*nia* has al- “ always have kept, and for ever shall keep,  
 ways ob- “ firm Peace and Friendship with a good  
 served its “ Heart to all the People of *Pennsylvania*. We  
 Treaties “ thankfully receive and approve of all the  
 with them, “ Articles in your Proposition to us, and ac-  
 as they “ knowledge them to be good, and full of  
 have done “ Love: We receive and approve of the same  
 on their “ with our whole Hearts, because we are not  
 Part, and “ only made one People by the Covenant  
 promise to “ Chain, but we also are People united in one  
 do for the “ Head, one Body, and one Heart, by the  
 future. “ strongest Ties of Love and Friendship.

Brother ONAS,

“ You desire there may be a perpetual  
 “ Peace and Friendship between you and the  
 “ *Five Nations*, and between your Children  
 “ and our Children; and that the same may  
 “ be kept as long as the Mountains and Ri-  
 “ vers

“ vers endure : All which we like well, and  
 “ on our Parts desire that the Covenant and  
 “ Union, made with a clean and true Heart  
 “ between you and us, may last as long as  
 “ the Sun and Moon shall continue to give  
 “ Light; and we will deliver this in Charge  
 “ to our Children, that it may be kept in  
 “ remembrance with their Children and Chil-  
 “ dren’s Children to the latest Ages: And we  
 “ desire, that the Peace and Tranquillity that  
 “ is now established between us may be as  
 “ clear as the Sun shining in it Lustre, with-  
 “ out any Cloud or Darknefs, and that the  
 “ same may continue for ever.

Brother ONAS,

“ We have well consider’d all you have  
 “ spoken, and like it well, because it is only  
 “ the renewing of former Leagues and Trea-  
 “ ties made between the Government of *Pen-*  
 “ *sylvania* and us of the *Five Nations*, which  
 “ we always believed we were obliged to  
 “ keep; and as to the Accident of one of  
 “ our Friends being killed by some of your  
 “ People, which has happened by Misfortune,  
 “ and against your Will, we say, that as we  
 “ are all in peace, we think it hard, that the  
 “ Persons who killed our Friend and Brother  
 “ should suffer: And we do, in the Name  
 “ of all the *Five Nations*, forgive the Offence,  
 “ and desire you will likewise forgive it, and  
 “ that the Men who did it may be releas’d  
 “ from Prison and set at liberty, to go whi-  
 “ ther they please; and we shall esteem that  
 “ as a Mark of Regard and Friendship for  
 “ the *Five Nations*, and as a further Confir-  
 “ mation of this Treaty.

The

Pensylva-  
nia.

The Pro-  
duce and  
Traffick of  
the Nor-  
thern Co-  
lonies.  
Of *New-  
England.*

The next Article I propos'd to treat of was the Province and Traffick of the Colonies which lie North of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, viz. *New-England*, *New-York*, the *Jerseys*, and *Pensylvania*.

Mr. *Dummer*, in his Apology for *New-England*, endeavouring to shew the Importance of those Colonies to *Old-England*, observes, " That there is no sort of *British* Manufacture  
" but what the People of *New-England* take  
" off in great or less Proportion, as they have  
" Ability to pay for it ; every thing for Use,  
" Convenience, or Ornament, and (I say it  
" with Regret) for the Luxury and Pride of  
" Life, they receive from *Great-Britain*.

" Some of the oldest and most experienced  
" Traders to those Parts make their Imports  
" from *Old-England* arise to the Value of  
" three hundred thousand Pounds, and Exports  
" from thence to *Great-Britain* are equally  
" beneficial to this Kingdom ; they brought  
" Bullion hither as long as they had any left,  
" and now they are so exhausted, that they  
" can no longer send Silver directly to *Old-  
" England*, they continue to remit it thither  
" by the Way of *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the  
" Straits : It is there they sell their Fish,  
" and the Produce of it comes hither in Gold  
" or Silver, or Bills of Exchange, which is  
" the same thing.

" Other and better Returns than Money  
" itself they make in Masts, the fairest and  
" largest in the World ; besides Pitch, Tarr,  
" Turpentine, Rosin, Plank-knees for Ships,  
" and other Species of Timber for various  
" Uses. These, especially Pitch and Tar,  
" were formerly purchas'd of the *Swede* with  
" Crown-pieces at intolerable Prices ; but  
" since

“ since the Encouragement given for their <sup>Pentylva-</sup>  
 “ Importation from *New-England*, they have <sup>nia.</sup>  
 “ fallen to half the Value. It is to be farther  
 “ considered, that what we take of these Com-  
 “ modities from our Plantations is brought  
 “ home in our own Ships, and paid for with  
 “ our Manufactures.

“ *New-England* also imports Logwood,  
 “ for the dying our Woollen Goods, in Quan-  
 “ tities sufficient for our own Use, and a Sur-  
 “ plus, with which we furnish *Holland, Ham-*  
 “ *burgh* and other Markets in *Europe*. It is  
 “ wholly owing to the Industry of the People  
 “ of *New-England* that this useful Commo-  
 “ dity is reduced from 30 and 40 *l. per Ton*,  
 “ which we used to pay for it to the *Spaniard*,  
 “ to 12 *l. per Ton*, which is the present Price;  
 “ and out of this 12 *l.* there is 4 *l. 5 s.* paid to  
 “ the Crown for Custom.

“ Other Articles might be mentioned, as  
 “ Whale-Oil and Finns, which are yearly im-  
 “ ported from *New-England* in no contemp-  
 “ tible Quantities. They are useful in feve-  
 “ ral Manufactures; and if not had from  
 “ thence, must have been purchased of the  
 “ *Dutch* with ready Money, and at excessive  
 “ Prices.

“ 'Tis true, *New-England* makes no Sugar,  
 “ but it assists the Islands that do; without  
 “ which Assistance they could not make it,  
 “ at least not cheap enough, and in sufficient  
 “ Quantities to answer the Markets in *Europe*.  
 “ For if the Sugar Islands were obliged to  
 “ sow Wheat, and plant as much *Indian Corn*  
 “ as they wanted, they must needs plant the  
 “ fewer Canes, and by consequence make the  
 “ less Sugar. From thence they are also sup-  
 “ plied with Horses for their Mills, Timber  
 “ for

Pensylva-  
nia.



“ for their Sugar-Works, Staves for their  
 “ Caiks, and what is more considerable, with  
 “ Barrel-Pork, Mackrel, and refuse Cod-fish  
 “ for their *Negroes*, without which their La-  
 “ bour would yield nothing to their Owners;  
 “ for were they to feed their Slaves with Beef,  
 “ and other Provisions from *Great-Britain*  
 “ and *Ireland*, the Expence of a Plantation  
 “ would devour the whole Produce of it.  
 “ There are now such great Quantities of  
 “ Sugar made in the *French* and *Dutch* Plan-  
 “ tations, and so much imported from *Brasil*  
 “ by the *Portuguese*, that our Sugar Islands  
 “ need all Advantages to make this Commo-  
 “ dity cheap and in Plenty, that we may be  
 “ able to out-do, or at least equal our Neigh-  
 “ bours in the Foreign Markets.

“ It may be added, That *New-England* is  
 “ a good Nursery of Seamen for the Navy.  
 “ I believe, I may affirm, that there was hard-  
 “ ly a Ship during the last War in the Royal  
 “ Navy without some of their Sailors on Board,  
 “ which so distressed the *New-England* Mer-  
 “ chants, that they were obliged to man their  
 “ Ships with *Indians* and *Negroes*.

In another Part of the same Apology Mr.  
*Dummer* adds, “ It were no difficult Task to  
 “ prove, that *London* has arisen out of the  
 “ Plantations, and not out of *Old-England*.  
 “ ’Tis to them we owe our vast Fleets of Mer-  
 “ chant Ships, and consequently the Increase  
 “ of our Seamen, and Improvements of our  
 “ Navigation: ’Tis the Tobacco, Sugar, Fish,  
 “ Oil, Logwood, and other Commodities,  
 “ which has enabled us to support our Trade  
 “ in *Europe*; to bring the Ballance of some  
 “ Countries in our Favour, which would  
 “ otherwise be against us, and to make the  
 “ Figure

“ Figure we do at present, and have done for <sup>Pensylva-</sup>  
 “ near a Century past, in all Parts of the Com-  
 “ mercial World. <sup>nia.</sup> } ”

The President and Council of *New-York*, Of *New-*  
 in an Address to his Majesty, speaking of *York*.  
 their Importations from *Great-Britain*, affirm,  
 That this Colony alone consumed more of  
 our Woollen Manufactures than all the Sugar  
 Colonies : That the Product of this, and of  
 the neighbouring Colonies of *New-Jersey* and  
*Pensylvania*, was chiefly Provisions ; namely,  
 all kinds of *British* and *Indian* Corn and Grain,  
 salted Pork, Beef, Fish, and strong Beer, which  
 they export to the *British* and other Foreign  
 Sugar Colonies ; and in Exchange for them re-  
 ceived Rum, Sugar, Molosses, Cacao, Indigo,  
 Cotton, Wool, &c. Whereof the Rum and  
 Molosses were chiefly consumed in these Colo-  
 nies, and the Money and other Merchandize  
 applied for the most part to make good the  
 Ballance of their Trade to *Great-Britain* ; and  
 that so great a Part of that Ballance was paid  
 in Money, that they had Reason to believe  
 that all the *British* Sugar Colonies together  
 (except *Jamaica*) did not import so much Sil-  
 ver into *Great-Britain* as this single Colony of  
*New-York*.

Another Writer, speaking of the Produce Of *Pensyl-*  
 and Traffick of *Pensylvania*, says, Their Mer-  
 chandize consists of Horses, Pipe-Staves, Pork,  
 Beef, and Fish, salted and barrel'd up, Skins  
 and Furrs, all sorts of Grain, viz. Wheat, Rye,  
 Pease, Oats, Barley, Buck-Wheat, *Indian* Corn,  
*Indian* Pease and Beans, Pot-Ashes, Wax, &c.  
 And that in return for these they import from the  
*Caribbee-Islands*, and other Places, Rum, Su-  
 gar, Molosses, Silver, *Negroes*, Salt, and Wine ;  
 and from *Great-Britain*, Household-Goods and  
 Vol. XXXI. F f f Cloathing

Penſylva-  
nia.

Cloathing of all Kinds, Hard-Ware, Tools, and Toys.

They have alſo ſome Rice, but no great Quantities, and a little Tobacco of the worſt fort. Theſe Colonies alſo appear extremely proper to produce Hemp and Flax, where they are cultivated: Their Trade with the *Indians* conſiſts but in a few Articles; they receive of the Natives chiefly Skins and Furs of their wild Beaſts, for which they give them Cloathing, Arms, Ammunition, Rum, and other Spirits, in return.

The Northern Colonies have alſo a clandestine Trade with the *Spaniards* upon the Coaſt of *Terra-Firma*, &c. furniſhing them with *European* Goods and Merchandize, for which they receive chiefly Dollars in return; and they alſo trade to the Bays of *Honduras* and *Campeachy* for Logwood, by Connivance, as the *Spaniards* ſay; but the Subjects of *Great-Britain* inſiſt, that they have a Right to that Trade; and there is a Trade carried on both with the *French* and *Dutch* Iſlands and *Surinam* by the Northern Colonies not at all to the Advantage of *Great-Britain*, and very deſtructive to the Sugar Colonies; for they take Moloffes, Rum, and other Spirits, with a great many *European* Goods, from theſe Foreigners; carrying them Horſes, Proviſions and Lumber in return, without which the *French* could not carry on their Sugar Manufacture to that Advantage they do: But on this Article I ſhall have Occaſion to enlarge, when I come to treat of the Controverſy between our Sugar Colonies and the Northern Colonies.

Nor is there any Doubt to be made but the Northern Colonies have ſet up a great many Manufactures, which interfere with thoſe of  
*Great-*

*Great-Britain* : They make Woollen Cloth, Hats, Hard-Ware, and Linnen, for their own Use, if they do not export them : They have also a pretty many Still-Houses and Sugar-Bakers, particularly in *New-England* ; and the building of Ships not only for the Subjects of *Great-Britain*, but for the *French* and *Spaniards*, is become a very considerable Employment ; and with these Ships they pay in Part for the Molosses, Rum, and *European* Goods they take of the *French*. Their Enemies represent them (especially the People of *New-England*) as rivalling *Great-Britain* in the most considerable Branches of her Trade, as well as in her Fisheries, and threatening Destruction to their Mother-Country ; while her Friends, on the other hand, suggest, That these Colonies take off vast Quantities of *British* Manufactures, for which they pay ready Money, or Merchandize as valuable in return ; and affirm, they export no Manufactures that are made in *England*. Great Artifice seems to have been used to conceal their Manufactures on one hand, and to magnify and multiply them on the other ; but, upon the Whole, I am of opinion, that the Northern Colonies still conduce very much to the strengthening and enriching their Mother-Country, and will do more every Day, as they increase in Numbers and Traffick ; nay, I believe, it may be made appear, that our Traffick with these and the rest of the *British* Plantations, if we take care to regulate it (as it is our own Faults if we do not, when the *British* Legislature commands the Whole) is or may be of greater Advantage to *Britain* than all their Commerce besides ; and, indeed, some Acts have already been made for the Regulation of this Trade,

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Pensylva-  
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The  
Strength  
and Forces  
of the  
Northern  
Colonies.

of which I shall give a short Abstract hereafter; and, in the mean time, proceed to enquire into the Strength and Forces of these Northern Colonies.

From one of the Representations of the Board of Trade, already mentioned, they inform the Privy-Council, That in the Colony of the *Massachusetts* only there were upwards of ninety-four thousand Souls, and that their Militia consisted of sixteen Regiments of Foot, and of fifteen Troops of Horse, of an hundred Men in each Troop (and a Gentleman of *New-England*, who understands their Circumstances perfectly well, assured me, they could raise twenty-four or twenty-five thousand Men, in case of Necessity.) The same Representation shews, That they employ'd near five hundred Sail of Ships and four thousand Seamen annually in their Trade; and if this Calculation be right, it must be allowed, that the rest of the Colonies, North of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, viz. *Connecticut*, *Rhode-Island*, *New-York*, the *Ferseys*, and *Pennsylvania*, can raise at least as many as the *Massachusetts*; but as this Computation seems to be exceeding short, and we may well add a third more to the Whole, I conclude, that the *British* Colonies which lie North of *Virginia* and *Maryland* are able, upon an Emergency, to raise three or fourscore thousand Landmen, and fit out fifteen hundred Sail of such Merchant-Ships as they use in their Trade; and tho' these Ships are too small, and unprovided to resist *European* Ships of War alone, and defend their Coasts from Invasions from thence, yet they must add great Strength to an *English* Squadron in those Seas, whenever we happen to be at War with any *European* Power in that Part of the World. All that seems

seems wanting, in order to render these Forces <sup>Pensylva-</sup> useful and capable of opposing an Invasion, <sup>nia.</sup> is a Viceroy or Generalissimo, empower'd, on such Exigencies, to require every Colony to raise their respective Quota's of Supplies and Troops, and to command them, when assembled in the Field ; for these are Particulars, which it is never to be expected the Colonies should agree on among themselves, or at least time enough to prevent the Ravages of a potent Enemy.





T H E  
P R E S E N T S T A T E  
O F  
*C A R O L I N A.*

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C H A P. X.  
*Of North and South-Carolina, and  
Georgia.*

Carolina.



Situation  
and Extent



U N D E R this general Title of *Carolina* are comprehended the several Colonies of *North-Carolina*, *South-Carolina*, and *Georgia*. The Whole is bounded by *Virginia* on the North, the *Atlantick Ocean* on the East, *Spanish-Florida* on the South, and by that Part of *Florida* which is still in Possession of the *Indians* on the West, extending from 30 Degrees 30 Minutes, to 36 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude; and this, upon due Consideration, seems to be the true

true Extent of *Carolina* from North to South; and consequently this Country, reckoning 70 Miles to a Degree in a direct Line from South to North, must be 420 Miles long; but as the Coast tends or stretches from the South-West to the North-East, we may compute it to be about 500 Miles in Length; tho' I must confess I have formerly laid it down between 31 and 36 Degrees, and then it would have taken up but 5 Degrees of Latitude. How far the *British* Dominion is to be extended from the *Atlantick Ocean* Westward, may be still more difficult to determine: If we carry it no farther than the Countries actually possessed and cultivated by the *English*, we must not extend it an hundred and fifty Miles West of the Sea; but if we comprehend all those Nations of *Indians* which have at one time or other acknowledged the King of *Great-Britain* their Sovereign, and put themselves under the Protection of the Governors of these Provinces, particularly the *Creeks*, the *Charokee Indians*, and some more distant Nations their Neighbours, who sent, in the Year 1731, seven of their Chiefs to *England* with Sir *Alexander Cummins*, to do Homage in Person to King *George II.* If we include all these Nations, we must extend the *British* Dominions Westward as far as the River *Mississippi*, which is 500 Miles at least from the Ocean, and then we shall take in one Moiety of what the *French* claim, and have given the Name of *Louisiana* to in their Maps; and our Map-makers, without the least Shadow of Reason have copied after them; but if ever they dipped into the History of this Part of the World, they must have learned that the *English* were not only possessed of the Eastern Side of *Florida* long before

Carolina. before the *French* discovered the River *Mississipi*, but have obtained the strongest Title to it that any *European* Power can have; namely, the voluntary Cession of that Country by the *Indian* Princes and their People to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, upon Condition of being taken into our Protection.

The Face of the Country. As to the Face of the Country, Captains that have gone this Voyage assure me, that it is a low level Coast, not a Hill to be seen from St. *Augustin* to *Virginia*, and a great way beyond, and it is generally covered with Wood, where the *English* have not cleared it for their Plantations; but it rises into Hills about an hundred Miles to the Westward, and continues rising gradually till we ascend the *Apalathian* Mountains, as they call the whole Chain of Hills, which run through *Florida* from the South-West to the North-East, at about an hundred and fifty Miles Distance from the Ocean. And indeed the Natives called all that Country *Apalach*, to which the *Spaniards* gave the Name of *Florida*, in which is comprehended most of the *British* Plantations on the Continent.

A bad Coast for Navigation. The Sea-Coast being low and flat, the Sea itself is proportionably shallow, insomuch that a Ship of any great Burthen cannot approach the Shores, except in some few Places. There has not yet been found one good Harbour on the Coast of *North-Carolina*; the best they have is at *Roanoak*, at the Mouth of *Albemarle* River, and at *Pimlico*; and here Ships are far from being secure: But I am inform'd, a Frigate is employ'd at this time to sound the Coast, in order to find better Harbours, the Planters and Merchants of *Norib-Carolina* being oblig'd to send great Part of their Goods ~ either

either to *Virginia* or *South-Carolina*, in order to transport them to *England*; for there are some good Ports in *South-Carolina*, of which the chief are, *Winyaw* or *George Town*, *Charles Town*, and *Port-Royal*, which will be describ'd hereafter: The most remarkable Promontories I meet with on this Coast are, Cape *Hatteras* in 35 Degrees South Latitude, Cape *Fear* to the South of it in 34 Degrees, and Cape *Carteret* to the Southward of Cape *Fear*.

This Country is well water'd with Lakes and Springs, as also with Rivers, some of them considerable Streams, but few of them navigable for large Vessels, being choak'd up with Sands at the Entrance: Of these (beginning from the North) the chief are, 1. *Albemarle River*. 2. *Pentegoe River*. 3. *Neuse River*. 4. *Cape Fear*, or *Clarendon River*. 5. *Wataeree River*. 6. *Santee River*. 7. *Ashley River*. 8. *Cooper River*. 9. *Colleton River*. 10. *Cambake River*. 11. *Savannah River*. 12. *Altamaha River*, the Southern Boundary of *Georgia*: Almost all these Rivers rise in the Mountains on the North-West, and taking their Course to the East or South-East, fall into the *Atlantick-Ocean*: Those of *Savannah* and *Altamaha* being navigable some hundreds of Miles to the Westward, and are said to equal the *Rhine* in Magnitude.

*Carolina* is happily situated between the Extremes of Heat and Cold, but the Heat is more troublesome in Summer than the Cold in Winter; their Winters being very short, and their frosty Mornings frequently succeeded by warm Days: Tho' a Gentleman that resided there some time observed to me, that once in eight or ten Years they have very severe and

Climate rather hot than cold.

*Carolina.* long Frosts. He himself knew the largest Rivers frozen, and a great many of their Cattle die, for they never house them ; but this is more unusual there than to have the *Thames* frozen over with us. The Air is for the most part serene and clear both in Summer and Winter, yet I find they have their Winter Rains and very heavy Showers about *Midsummer* : And the Wind sometimes changes suddenly from the South-East to the North-West, and blows exceeding cold, which brings Distempers on those who do not take care to guard against it ; but the Country is generally healthful where People live regularly and use any Precaution. Those indeed who after a hot Day expose themselves to the cool Breezes in the Evening, usually feel the ill Effects of it, as others do that indulge their Appetites in eating Fruit and drinking pernicious Liquors to excess.

*Healthful generally.* They are subject to Hurricanes as well as the *Caribbee-Islands* ; but those do not happen every Year, and sometimes are so favourable as not to do much Mischief in seven Years. That was a very terrible one which happened in the Year 1729, of which we received the following Account :

On the first of *August*, a dreadful Hurricane began here, the Wind N. and N. by E. and by seven the next Morning it increased so that 23 Ships then in our Harbour were forced on Shore, the Wind coming more Easterly, and from that time till three Hours after, the Wind was most violent : Of all the Ships in our Harbour, only the *Fox* and the *Garland Men* of War rode out this Hurricane. The Rice near the Sea Coast was all spoil'd by being over-flowed with the Salt-water ; and 'tis thought this

this Town would have been destroyed had it been Spring Tides. 'Tis computed that about fifteen hundred Barrels of Rice besides Skins were lost. On the second, about eleven at Night the Wind gradually ceas'd, yet many sea-faring Men were drowned: On the twelfth past, we had a Tornado which did much Damage to the Rice and Corn in the Country, but little or none to the Shipping.

The three grand Divisions of this Country are, 1. *North-Carolina*. 2. *South-Carolina*; and 3. *Georgia*: *North-Carolina* is bounded by *Virginia* on the North, the Ocean on the East, by a Line drawn in 34 Degrees from the Ocean to the Mountains on the South, and by that Part of *Florida* possess'd by the *Indians* on the West, and is subdivided into fourteen or fifteen Townships or Parishes; but there is not one Town or Church as I can learn in the Country, and it is but very lately that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has sent one itinerant Preacher amongst them.

*South-Carolina* is divided from *North-Carolina* by the abovesaid imaginary Line on the North, by the Ocean on the East, by the River *Savannah* which separates it from *Georgia* on the South, and by the Country of the *Indians* on the West, being subdivided into fourteen Parishes or Townships, each of them having a good Church of Brick or Timber.

But the chief and almost the only Town in both *Carolina's* is *Charles Town*, situate in 32 Degrees, 45 Minutes North Latitude, on the Point of a Peninsula formed by *Ashley* and *Cooper* Rivers; the former of which is navigable for Ships twenty Miles above the Town, and for Boats and Pettyagers (large Canoes)

G g g 2 near



Carolina. near forty Miles, The other River is not navigable for Ships so far, but for Boats and Pettyagers much farther. The Bar before the Harbour has sixteen Foot Water at a low Tide, and there is good riding when a Ship is got in close to the Town: The Harbour being secured by a Fort, called *Johnson's Fort*, which has about twenty Guns in it level with the Surface of the Water. The Town was regularly fortified some Years ago, and several of the Bastions next the Water are still in being and in good Repair; but the Bastions, Palisades, and Fosse next the Land being much damaged by a Hurricane, and deemed of too great an Extent to be defended by the Inhabitants, General *Nicholson* caused them to be demolished. The Town now contains upwards of six hundred Houses generally well built, some of them of Brick, but more of Timber, and most of them fash'd, forming regular and spacious Streets; and their Church is much the most magnificent in *English America*, having three Isles, an Organ, and Gallery all round the Church. There are also four handsome Meeting-houses in the Town belonging to the Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Quakers, and *French Refugees*; and if you survey the adjacent Country, says Mr. *Purry*, you will see stately Buildings, noble Castles, and the Fields covered with infinite Numbers of Cattle of all kinds.

*Beaufort*  
Town  
and *Port-*  
*Royal*.

The Town of *Beaufort* is situated on the Island of *Port-Royal*, in 31 Degrees 40 Minutes North Latitude, an hundred Miles South of *Charles-Town*, the Continent and Island forming a fine capacious Harbour, capable of receiving the Royal Navy of *England*, if it can get over the Bar, as Ships of good Burthen may, there being eighteen Foot Water  
at

## of CAROLINA.

411

at low Water. The Island on which the <sup>Carolina.</sup> Town stands consists of near one thousand Acres, and is navigable all round for Boats and Pettyagers, and one half of it for Shipping, having four Fathom Water close to the high Bluff, so that Ships may load and unload from the Shore without the Assistance of Boats. The Harbour is secured by a Fort built about five Years since, on which twelve Culverins are mounted, but the Town and Island have no Fortification (unless erected very lately) nor is the Harbour so well fortified as a Place of this Importance deserves, especially as it lies so near *Spanish Florida*, and is said to be demanded by the *Spaniards* as a Part of their Territories. There is not indeed above fifty or three-score Houses in the Town of *Beaufort* at present; but from its advantageous Situation and the Goodness of its Harbour, it is expected that this Town will one Day be the Capital of *Carolina*: It is already the Station for the *British* Squadron in those Seas.

There is another Port-town lately erected at *Winyaw*, about fifty Miles to the Northward of *Charles-Town*, to which they have given the Name of *George-Town*, and the Society <sup>George-</sup> for the Propagation of the Gospel have a Mis- <sup>Town.</sup> sionary here; but I meet with no further Description of it.

The third grand Division of *Carolina* is the <sup>Georgia.</sup> new Province of *Georgia*, separated from *South-* <sup>Situation,</sup> *Carolina* by the River *Savannah* on the North, by the Ocean on the East, by the River *Alatamaha*, which separates it from *Spanish Florida*, on the South, and by *Indian Florida* on the West; nor has any *European* Power so good a Claim as the *English* to this Country, as far Westward as the River *Mississippi*, since most of the


Carolina. the *Indian* Chiefs between *Carolina* and that  
 River have acknowledged the King of *Great-Britain* their Sovereign, and put themselves under his Protection, as has been observed already.

Chief Towns. The chief Towns in *Georgia* are, the Town of *Savannah*, and the Town of *Purrysburgh*.

*Savannah* Town. The Town of *Savannah* is situated in 31 Degrees 20 Minutes, about one hundred and thirty Miles to the Southward of *Charles-Town*, and thirty Miles South of *Beaufort* and *Port-Royal*, and about fifty or threescore Miles North of the *Spanish* Fort of *St. Augustin*. Governor *Oglethorpe*, in a Letter to the Trustees of the Colony of *Georgia*, dated the 10th of *February*, 1732-3, tells them, That he had fixed upon a healthful Situation on the River *Savannah* to build this Town upon, about ten Miles from the Sea; that the River here formed a Half-moon, along the South Side of which the Banks were forty Foot high, and on the Top a Flat, which they call a Bluff; that this plain high Ground extended into the Country five or six Miles, and along the River-side, about a Mile, Ships that draw twelve Foot Water may ride within ten Yards of the Bank.

That upon the River-side, in the Center of this Plain, he had laid out the Town, and that over-against it was an Island of very rich Land fit for Pasturage, which he thought ought to be kept for the Trustees Cattle.

That the River was pretty wide, the Water fresh, and from the Key they might see its whole Course to the Sea with the Island of *Tybe*, which lay before the Mouth of the River; that the other Way they might see the River for six Miles up into the Country; the  
 Landskip

Landskip was very agreeable, the Stream being wide and bordered with high Woods on both Sides. 

By another Letter dated from *Georgia* the 14th of *February*, 1735-6, they inform us, That above two hundred Houses were then regularly built in the Town of *Savannah*.

*Purrysburgh* also is situated on the River *Savannah*, about thirty Miles from the Mouth, and twenty to the Westward of the Town of *Savannah*, seven Miles above the highest Tide. It was formerly called the *Ymassee-Port*, and stands in a pleasant fruitful Plain, being inhabited by a Colony of a thousand *Swiss*, which were carried over by *Monf. Purry* at the Charge of the Trustees of *Georgia*. But as this Town lies on the North-Side of the River *Savannah*, it is in reality in *South-Carolina* and not in *Georgia*. The same Letter gives an Account of several other Towns built, particularly *Buerey*, *Thunderbolt*, *Fort-Argyle* and *Westbrook*, but does not ascertain their Situation; they also relate that *Mr. Ogletborpe* was going fourscore Miles farther into the Country to erect another Town and a Fort near it on the River *Alatamaha*; two Forts have been erected also on the River *Savannah*, the one fourscore Miles West of the Town of *Purrysburgh*, and the other upwards of two hundred Miles beyond it; and probably they have erected several other Towns and Fortresses by this time; for since the King has purchased the Propriety of *Carolina*, I find the following Orders have been given for building eleven Towns in *Georgia* and *Carolina*, viz. two on the River *Alatamaha*, two on the River *Savannah*, one at the Head of the River *Poupon*, two at the River *Santee*, one at the River *Waterreg*,

*Purrys-*  
*burgh*  
Town.

Eleven  
Towns or-  
dered to be  
built in  
*Georgia*.

Carolina. *Watereg*, one at the *Black River*, one at the River *Wacomau*, and one at the River *Pedee*.

The Lands laid out to each Town. The District of each of these Towns is to contain the Extent of twenty thousand Acres of Land, formed into a Square, bordering on one of these Rivers, and is to be divided into Shares of fifty Acres for each Man, Woman, or Child of one Family, which may be augmented as the Planters shall be in a Condition to cultivate a larger Quantity of Ground; and every one of them was to have an equal Share of the better and worse Lands, and also the same Right on the River.

Extent of each Town. Each Town was to be formed into a Parish, the Extent whereof was to be about six Miles round the Town on the same Side of the River; and as soon as the Parish contain'd a hundred Masters of Families, they were authorized to send two Members to the Assembly of the Province, and were to enjoy the same Privileges as the other Parishes of the Province.

A Common to each Town. The Ground of each Town being mark'd out, was to belong in common to all the Inhabitants, till distributed in particular Shares to each of them. There were to be three hundred Acres of Land near each Town to be common for ever, without being charged with Rent; and no Person, by any former Grant, was to take possession of any Land within six Miles of each Town.

Indian Towns of Keowee. As to the *Indian Towns* belonging to the *Charokee* Nation, under the Protection of the *English*, the first I meet with is called *Keowee*, three hundred Miles West of *Charles Town*; and *Tanassee* their Capital is an hundred and fifty Miles farther West; all the Country between the *English* Plantations and the *Charokees*

*rokees* being an uncultivated Defart, Part of <sup>Carolina.</sup> it claimed by the *Creek* Nation, and the rest by the *Charokees* and their Allies; but they make no other use of it than to hunt, wild Beasts being the only constant Inhabitants of these Forrests. As to the Model of the *Indian* Towns and Buildings in *Florida*, I must refer the Reader to those describ'd in *Virginia* and *Maryland*, from which these do not differ. Their Animals and Vegetables also are the same as in *Virginia*, only I don't remember the mentioning *Buffaloes* in that Country, which are found in *Florida*. This is a heavy sluggish Animal that resembles an Ox, but is less, and his Flesh of a much coarser Grain.

Monfieur *Purry*, who carried over the *Swiss* Colony to *Georgia* in the Year 1733, gives the following Account of the Soil, Productions, Manufactures, and Traffick of *Carolina*, with a short Abstract of the History and Success of that Colony.

He observes, that all sorts of Trees and Plants will grow there as well as can be wished, particularly Vines, Wheat, Barley, Oats, Pease, Beans, Hemp, Flax, Cotton, Tobacco, Indico, Olives, Orange-Trees and Citron-Trees; as also white Mulberry-Trees for feeding of Silk-Worms; and that the Lands will not be difficult to clear, because there is neither Stones nor Brambles, but only great Trees, which do not grow very thick; so that more Land may be cleared there in one Week, than could be done in *Europe* in a Month. The Custom of the Country is, that after having cut down these great Trees, they leave the Stumps for four or five Years to rot, and afterwards easily root them up, in order to manure the Land.

Carolina.

Nature of  
the Soil in  
Carolina.

Wants no  
Dung.  
Husbandry.

The quick  
Improvements  
made  
in this  
Colony.

Planted  
but sixty  
Years ago.

The  
Plague  
there.

'Tis very certain that *Carolina* is in general an excellent Country; 'tis true the Ground is sandy, but then 'tis a Sand impregnated with Salt or Nitre, so that it brings forth in great Abundance, as the like Soil does in divers Parts of *Europe*: But what is more particular to *Carolina*, there are a great Number of Plantations that have been continually cultivated for near sixty Years, which yet still produce great Plenty, without ever being manured by the least Dung, for they never lay any on their Grounds; the Planter only turns up the Superficies of the Earth, and all that he plants and sows therein quickly grows and thrives: Those who understand ever so little of Agriculture will be oblig'd to own, that if the Lands in *Europe* were not constantly manured, their Strength would be so exhausted, that at length the Crops would not pay for their Seed. But a Man, who shall have a little Land in *Carolina*, and who is not willing to work above two or three Hours a Day, may very easily live there.

Another Consideration deserving our Notice is the Progress of the first Colonies, their sudden Advancement, the Riches of the present Inhabitants, the great Number of publick Expences for which they provide, the great Trade which they carry on at present, and lastly, their Misfortunes and Losses, which are entirely repair'd. The better to comprehend these Matters, we shall only make the following Observations, 1. That there were no People in *Carolina*, till about sixty Years ago; for the *English* did not begin to send any thither till the Year 1670. 2. That they had at first a very fatal Beginning, being afflicted with Sickneſſes; and even the Plague, which daily diminished

diminished the Number of the People. 3. Carolina.  
 The cruel destructive Divisions sprung up Divisions.  
 among them. 4. That they had a very bad Bad Go-  
 Government under the Lords Proprietors, vernment  
 being almost without Justice, Order, or Dis- under the  
 cipline. 5. That at a certain Time the Pirates Lords Pro-  
 interrupted their Trade and Navigation. 6. prietors.  
 That they have often had great Droughts. 7. Plunder'd  
 That a terrible Fire consumed almost all *Charles* by the Pi-  
 Town. 8. That they have been at great rates.  
 Expence in Fortifications, publick Edifices, Droughts.  
 Churches, &c. 9. That they have often sus- Fire.  
 tain'd long Wars with the *French*, *Spaniards*, Expences  
 and particularly with the *Indians*, who once of Fortifi-  
 united all together to destroy the whole Pro- cations,  
 vince. 10. That notwithstanding all these &c.  
 Misfortunes, the People of *Carolina*, except Wars with  
 those who give themselves up to Debauchery, Indians  
 are all rich, either in Slaves, Furniture, Cloaths, and Spa-  
 Plate, Jewels, or other Merchandizes; but niards.  
 especially in Cattle, which shews the Goodness Rich, not-  
 of the Country they inhabit. withstanding  
these

The most part of those, who came first  
 thither, were very poor and miserable. Seve-  
 ral of those, who are most considerable, went  
 but as Servants.

The Trade of *Carolina* is now so conside- Load two  
 rable, that of late Years there has sailed from hundred  
 thence annually above two hundred Ships, Ships an-  
 laden with Merchandizes of the Growth of nually.  
 the Country, besides three Ships of War, Ships of  
 which they commonly have for the Security War.  
 of the Commerce; and last Winter they had  
 constantly five, the least of which had above  
 an hundred Men on board. It appears from  
 the Custom-house Entries, from *March* 1730  
 to *March* 1731, that there sailed within that Exports.  
 Time from *Charles* Town two hundred and



- Carolina. seven Ships, most of them for *England*, which carried among other Goods forty-one thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven Barrels of Rice, about five hundred Pound Weight *per* Barrel, ten thousand seven hundred and fifty-four Barrels of Pitch, two thousand and sixty-three of Tar, and eleven hundred and fifty-nine of Turpentine; of Deer-skins, three hundred Casks, containing eight or nine hundred each; besides a vast Quantity of *Indian* Corn, Pease, Beans, &c. Beef, Pork, and other salted Flesh; Beams, Planks, and Timber for Building, most part of Cedar, Cypress, Sassafras, Oak, Walnut, and Pine.
- Pitch, Tar and Turpentine. Skins.
- Corn. Fleish. Timber.
- Trade with the Indians. They carry on a great Trade with the *Indians*, from whom they get these great Quantities of Deer-skins, and those of other wild Beasts in exchange; for which they give them only Lead, Powder, coarse Cloth, Vermillion, Iron-Ware, and some other Goods, by which they have a very considerable Profit.
- Slaves. The great Number of Slaves makes another Part of the Riches of this Province, there being above forty thousand Negroes, which are worth one with another an hundred Crowns each.
- Artificers wanted. Artificers are so scarce at present, that all sorts of Work is very dear; Taylors, Shoemakers, Smiths, &c. would be particularly acceptable there. A skilful Carpenter is not ashamed to demand 30 *s. per* Day, besides his Diet; and the common Wages of a Workman is 20 *s. per* Day, provided he speaks *English*, without which he cannot be understood, and consequently not so useful as others; and when a Workman has but 10 *s. per* Day, he thinks he labours for almost nothing, tho' he
- One Pound Sterling worth four Pounds Carolina Money.

he has his Maintenance besides. But this is *Carolina* Money.

Most of their Shoes are brought from *Eng-land*, and generally sell for 40 s. per Pair, not but they have Hides enough, and very cheap, an Ox's Hide being sold for 20 s. neither are they destitute of the Means to tann them, for they make very good Lime with Oyster-shells; and the Bark of Oak-trees is so plentiful, that it costs nothing but the Trouble of gathering. They want only therefore a sufficient Number of good Tanners and Shoemakers.

I might say the same of Leather-dressers, since they send every Year to *England* above two hundred thousand Deer-skins undress'd, yet *Carolina* produces Oker naturally, and good Fish-Oil may be had from *New-York* or *New-England* very cheap, so that they might be dress'd and made up into Breeches in the Country, for which those Skins are very proper, being cool in Summer and warm in Winter.

There is not one Potter in all the Province, and no Earthen Ware, but what comes from *England*, nor Glass of any kind; so that a Pot-house, and a good Glass-house, would succeed perfectly well, not only for *Carolina*, but for all the Colonies in *America*. There is a kind of Sand and Earth, which would be very proper for these Purposes; as also Wood and Fern in Abundance, had they but Workmen to make use of them.

The Woods are full of wild Vines, bearing five or six sorts of Grapes naturally; but for want of Vine-dressers, &c. scarce any Wine is drank there, but what comes from *Madera*, which is indeed cheap, for a Bottle of excellent Wine

*Carolina*.

Shoes.

Tanning.

Two hundred thousand Deer-skins exported.

No Glass or Earthen Ware.

Vines.

*Carolina.* Wine cost last Winter but 2 s. *Carolina* Money, to those who bought it by the Hoghead.

*Cattle.* The Cattle of *Carolina* are very fat in Summer, but as lean in Winter, because they can find very little to eat, and have no Cover to shelter them from the Cold, Rains, Frosts and Snows, which last sometimes three or four Days; only the Cattle design'd for the Butchery are fed, and they bad enough, with Potatoes, Straw and Grain; but they always lie in the open Field, for there is not one Hovel in all the Country either for Oxen or Cows. If you object this to the Planters, they answer, That such Houses or Hovels would do very well, but that they have too many other Affairs to think of that. The last Winter being very severe, about ten thousand horned Cattle died of Hunger and Cold; notwithstanding this, the People will not change their Conduct, because they do not understand the manner of ordering Cattle, nor even know how to mow the Grass, in order to make it Hay, of which they might have great Plenty for Fodder. Their Ignorance in this respect is very great, which is the Reason that Butter is always dear, being sold last Winter for 7 s. 6 d. per Pound; and in *January* and *February* last, it was sold at *Charles Town* for 12 s. per Pound. In a word, nothing would be more easy than for Persons, who understand Country-Affairs, to grow rich in a little time.

*Cattle.* There is so great a Number of Cattle, that a certain Planter had last Spring two hundred Calves marked, which he let run in the Woods with other Cattle. Nobody looks after them, or takes any other Care, but to bring them together in the Evening to lie in a Park near the House.

At

At certain Times they kill a great many to send the Flesh salted to several other Colonies where there is little Pasturage, particularly to the Isles of *Antilles*, the *Sugar Islands*, and in general to all those of the *Torrid-Zone*.

Carolina.  
Salted  
Flesh sent  
to the  
Islands.

Horses, the best kind in the World, are so plentiful, that you seldom see any body travel on foot, except Negroes, and they often on Horseback; so that when a Taylor, a Shoemaker, or any other Tradesman, is oblig'd to go but three Miles from his House, it would be very extraordinary to see him travel on foot.

Horses.

There is likewise in this Country a prodigious Number of Swine, which multiply infinitely, and are kept with very little Charge, because they find almost all the Year Acorns, of which there are five or six sorts; as also Nuts, Walnuts, Chesnuts, Herbs, Roots, &c. in the Woods; so that if you give them never so little at home, they become fat; after which you may salt, and send great Quantities of them to the Isles of *Barbadoes*, *St. Christopher's*, *Jamaica*, &c. which produce very good Returns either in Money or Merchandizes.

Hogs.

Of all Animals in that Country, none are a less Charge than Sheep, for they subsist only on what they find in the Fields, yet are always in good Case, and bring forth their Lambs regularly; and there is a particular sort, whose Wool is not inferior to the finest *Spanish* Wool.

Sheep.

Flax and Cotton thrive admirably, and Hemp grows to thirteen or fourteen Foot in Height; but as few People know how to order it, there is scarce any cultivated; besides, they want Dung, which is very necessary for that purpose, few Plants weakening Land so much

Flax.  
Cotton.  
Hemp.

Carolina.

as Hemp does: However, this is one of the Articles which would produce most Profit, because the Parliament has allowed so much *per Tun* upon all Hemp which comes from the *English* Plantations in *America*, in order, that in Time of War they may have no need of Hemp from *Russia* and *Poland*. Besides this Encouragement, which is to last for thirty Years longer, there is an Exemption from some other Duties on Importation, which, join'd together, makes an Advantage of about 40 *l. per Cent.* over that of Hemp from other Parts.

Rice.  
Indian  
Corn.

Rice and *Indian* Corn produce at least an hundred fold, and would much more, if the Land was better cultivated. The Easiness of procuring such a Plenty of Grain, is the Reason that the Planters have, or may have at all times a Yard filled with Cocks, Hens, Turkeys, Geese, Ducks, &c. also a good Pigeon-house, without being at any Expence. There is great Plenty of Game of all Sorts, but especially wild Turkeys, some of which are thirty Pound Weight, and those who love Fowling may easily take them. With *Indian* Corn they make pretty good Bread, because it is much finer and better than in *Switzerland*, or in any other Part of *Europe*, where it is commonly called *Turkey* Corn. (*This seems to be a Mistake; Turkey Wheat is a very different thing.*)

Poultry.  
Pigeons.  
Wild Turkeys, and other wild Fowl.

Mulberries.

Silk.

Persons may grow rich in *Carolina* without being at much Expence or Labour, by planting white Mulberry-trees for feeding of Silkworms, there being perhaps no Country in the World where those Trees grow better, nor where the Silk is finer than in *Carolina*; they grow so much in so short a time, that we dare scarce mention it. Capt. Scott has one at the  
Back

Back of his Houſe at *Port-Royal* not above ſeven <sup>Carolina.</sup> or eight Years old, the Body whereof is above five Foot round. It would be difficult to believe this if it was not confirm'd by other Mulberry-trees of four or five Years old at *Port-Royal*, *Weſtmeſſa*, *Gouſerick* and other Plantations, the Trunks whereof are near a Foot Diameter; but as all the Planters apply themſelves chiefly to the Production of Rice, Pitch and Tar, <sup>Rice, Pitch and Tar.</sup> there is very little Uſe made of them. However, thoſe who have been in *Provence* and *Languedoc*, know that the ſhipping of a Mulberry-tree, that is, the Leaves of a Summer, are commonly ſold for a Crown, and ſometimes two, altho' the Silk of thoſe two Provinces is but very indifferent; from whence it may be eaſily conjectured what Riches *Carolina* would produce if this Affair was well-managed. All other Trees grow there in the <sup>Trees.</sup> ſame Proportion, and much faſter than in *Europe*, but particularly the Peach-tree, for the third Year it is commonly loaded with Fruit, and is a great Tree the fourth Year.

Thoſe that have any deſire to go and ſettle there, may farther take notice of three or four Obſervations.

1ſt, That *South-Carolina* is not only ſitua- <sup>Situation.</sup> ted in the ſame Degree of Heat, Fertility and Temperature of Air (which is about 33 Degrees Latitude) as *Barbary*, the Iſle of *Candia*, *Syria*, *Persia*, *Mogoliſtan*, *China*, and in general all the beſt Countries in the Univerſe; <sup>Planters encouraged to go over.</sup> but it is alſo the only Country of all thoſe the *Engliſh* poſſeſs that is ſituated in that Degree; and there is all the Reaſon in the World to believe, that if there be now an Opportunity to have Lands there for nothing, this Advantage will not continue long; at leaſt 'tis very certain,

*Carolina.* tain, that those who shall come first will have the Choice of Lands, as also the Proximity of Rivers, much better than those that shall come afterwards.

Produce. *2dly*, That by means of the Wool, Cotton, Cloathing. Flax, and Hemp, it will be easy to procure all Linnen necessary, as also good Cloth and Stuffs for Cloathing, without being forced to purchase them at a very dear Rate from the Shops, as most of the Planters are at present ; and what is still an Article very considerable,

Viſtuals. there will be no Danger of wanting Provisions in a Country so plentiful, unless some Accidents happen, which cannot be foreseen by human Prudence: We may be assured that Hailstones will not deprive the Inhabitants thereof.

Nearest to the Sugar-Islands. *3dly*, That *Carolina* being of all the neighbouring Provinces, which the *English* possess on the Continent of *North-America*, from 29 to 49 Degrees of Latitude, not only the largest and most productive of Necessaries, but also the most Southward and nearest to *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, and all the Islands of the *Antilles*, which have occasion for salted Provisions, Bread, Wine, Fruits and Roots, and several other things, we need not hesitate a Moment to prefer it to all the other Colonies on the North-side. And besides the great Advantages which may accrue to the Inhabitants by the Fertility of the Land and the Temperateness of the Climate, the Situation thereof for Trade will always draw Ships into its Ports, which there finding at a reasonable Price and in good Order all that the other most distant Provinces can have, will hardly go so far whilst any thing is to be had in *Carolina*.

Situated well for Trade.

*4tly*,

4thly and lastly, And what is of greater Importance than all is, that there is an entire Liberty of Conscience and Commerce for all that come thither, without paying any thing for it. Justice is duly administer'd to all, and every body can say, that what he possesses lawfully belongs to him in full Propriety. There are no Tenths, Imposts, Tallies, nor Capitation-taxes, nor any of those Burthens which render so many other People unhappy. In a word, you have all the Laws, Liberties and Privileges there which are enjoy'd in *England*. 'Tis the Lower-house that has the Disposal of the Money of the Province, and who vote the Taxes necessary for the Publick Service; however, with the Approbation of the Upper-house, and that of his Majesty represented by the Governor.

We whose Names are hereunto subscribed do attest, that all which is contained in this Account of *South-Carolina*, is the real Truth, having been Eye-witnesses of most Part of the Particulars therein mentioned. Done at *Charles-Town* the 23d of *September*, 1731.

*John Peter Purry* of *Neufchatel*,  
*James Richard* of *Geneva*,  
*Abrabam Meuron* of *St. Sulpy* in  
the County of *Neufchatel*,  
*Henry Raymond* of *St. Sulpy*.

Notwithstanding the solemn Attestation of these Gentlemen, their Account of *Carolina* must be read with Grains of Allowance. It was evidently their Intention to represent the Country in the fairest Light to invite Planters to go over and settle there; but it was my

*Carolina.*  
Liberty of  
Consci-  
ence.  
Justice.  
Property  
secured.  
Constituti-  
on.  
Remarks  
on Mr.  
Purry's Ac-  
count of  
*Carolina*.



*Carolina.* good Fortune to correspond with another Gentleman of Figure, who resided in *Carolina* a considerable time, that has set several Matters right, which Mr. *Purry* and his Friends endeavoured to disguise, or were not sufficiently informed in.

*Corn.* He admits that *English* Wheat will grow in *Carolina*, but says it is apt to mildew, and produces but a small Grain, the Heat drawing it up to a great height, so that there is much Straw and little Grain; they have therefore their Flour from *Pennsylvania* and *New-York*, which *per* hundred Weight seldom exceeds the Value of a hundred Weight of Rice, which growing so much better is the only Grain they propagate there to speak of; altho' some Barley and Oats they have, but it also does as the Wheat run into Straw and produce but a light Grain, nor will it keep for the Weevil or Bug.

*Grapes.* The *European* Grapes which have been transplanted thither produce their ripe Fruit the latter End of *June*, at which time the Heats and Rains are so violent and frequent, that they do not ripen kindly, but are mostly rotten before ripe; besides that, the Juice, I am apt to think (at that time) would ferment away all the Spirits, for in *Portugal*, where you know I lived many Years, their Vintage is in *October*, when the Heats are over; probably they will some time make Wine from the Grapes of the Country, of which they have great abundance and no small variety, and they ripen at a proper Season; but at present the People's Fortunes will not admit of going out of the common and beaten Road, so that very few, if any, have tried them.

Silk

Silk does mighty well, and is as good (as <sup>Carolina</sup> Mr. *Lombe*, now Sir *Thomas*, one of the Aldermen of *London*, told me) as any of the *Italian* <sup>Silk.</sup> Silk, but it requires many Hands; and the busy time of feeding the Worms, which lasts about five Weeks, and begins the latter End of *March*, is just when they are planting and hewing their Rice: As for Hemp or Flax, <sup>Hemp and</sup> they were beginning to try them when I left the <sup>Flax.</sup> Country, but I am told they do not grow well there; the excessive Heats must be the occasion of it; therefore *North-Carolina*, I should think, would do better, *Georgia* worse. I have seen a single Plant of Hemp as thick as my Leg.

Coffee has been tried, but will not bear the Coffee. Winter in *South-Carolina*; what it will do in *Georgia* I know not, that Place is a Degree and half to the Southward of *Charles-Town*. As for Tea we know nothing of it, there never Tea was a Plant of it there; but it is in the same Latitude as *Peking* in *China*, so that it is judged it will thrive there; but that is all that we know.

They produce and ship off yearly about <sup>Exports.</sup> 60,000 Barrels of Rice, each containing about <sup>Rice.</sup> four hundred Weight neat; they have ship'd off about 70,000 Deer-skins at a medium for <sup>Skins.</sup> Skins. these ten Years past; they did make great Quantities of Tar, but now they send little of <sup>Tar.</sup> Tar, that, but chiefly Pitch, the *English* now having <sup>Pitch.</sup> Pitch, most of their Tar from *Norway*; but we send about 20,000 Barrels of Pitch a Year, and our Tar has reduced the Price of that of *Norway* from fifty Shillings and three Pound a Barrel to twelve and fifteen Shillings; and if something did not bias our People at home more than their Judgment, our Tar would still be in demand, and esteemed as good as that of *Norway*;

Carolina. *Norway*; we have sent home 70,000 Barrels  
 Turpen- in a Year, and probably send home 10,000  
 tine. Barrels of Turpentine, and could send more if  
 there was any Demand for it. Our Yellow or  
 Mafts. Pitch-pine, is as good for Mafts and Planks  
 Oak. as any in the World, and our live Oak the best  
 (not excepting the *English*) for Knees, or what  
 the Carpenters call *compas Timber* for Ship-  
 ping, but none has been yet sent home. We  
 have many other sorts of Oak better than that  
 of *New-England*.

Shipping. They have very little Shipping of their own  
 in *Carolina*, having never built above four or  
 five Ships there, but more Sloops; however,  
 they load about two hundred Sail of Ships  
 yearly at *Charles-Town*, and some at *Port-  
 Royal* and *Winyaw*. They traffick with the  
 Buffaloes. Natives for Deer Skins, and Bear and Buffeloe  
 Skins, for which they give them Guns, Powder,  
 Trade with Knives, Scissars, Looking-Glasses, Beads, and  
 the *Indi- many other Trifles, and some coarse Cloths,  
 ans. Strouds, Duffields, and coarse Callicoes, &c.*  
 Carriage. for their Women; and they carry them on  
 Pack-Horses for five or six hundred Miles to  
 the Westward of *Charles-Town*, as far as the  
*Chockfaw* Nation, and the *Chikisaws*; but  
 they go so far but sparingly, the most of the  
 Trade being confined within the Limits of the  
*Creek* and *Charokee* Nations, which is not above  
 three hundred Miles.

Different It may be proper to observe here, that *North-  
 Product of Carolina* produces a good Quantity of Tobacco,  
 North and and but little Rice; and *South-Carolina*, on  
 South Ca- the contrary, produces vast Quantities of Rice,  
 rolina. and little Tobacco; but as to the rest of their  
 Vegetables and Produce, they are much the  
 same.

*Carolina*

*Carolina* being justly looked upon as Part of the ancient *Virginia*, since it was hither the first Colonies were sent by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, it was thought fit, after the Restoration of King *Charles II.*, to revive the *British* Claim to this Country, in which no *European* Power had then any Settlements; for both the *Spaniards* and the *French*, who had sent Colonies to this Coast (after those Misfortunes which drove the first *English* Planters from thence) had abandoned them again for a great many Years.

King *Charles* therefore, well apprized of the happy Situation of this Country, and that there was a Prospect of raising Wine, Oil and Silk, and almost every thing that *Great-Britain* wanted there, granted a Patent, bearing Date the 24th of *March* 1663, to *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord - Chancellor of *England*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Lord *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkley*, *Anthony* Lord *Ashley*, *Sir George* *Carteret*, and *Sir William* *Colliton*, to plant all those Territories in *America*, between *St. Mattheo* in 31 Degrees, and *Luck-Island* in 36 Degrees, North Latitude; and between the *Atlantic-Ocean* on the East, and the *South-Sea*, or *Pacific-Ocean* on the West: Indeed the Clerks that drew the Patent seem to have been mistaken in the Latitude of *St. Mattheo*, making it lie in 31, whereas it lies much nearer 30 Degrees; however, it is evident, that Prince, looked upon his Territories to extend as far Southward as *St. Mattheo*, and consequently that not only *Port-Royal*, but the new Province of *Georgia*, and several Miles beyond, belong'd to *Great-Britain*; and probably the Mistake of the Latitude in the above-  
said

*Carolina.*  
The History of the Plantation of this Colony.

The first Patent granted to the Proprietors.

Carolina.

Second  
Patent.

said Patent, was one Reason the Patentees procured another two Years afterwards, viz. 17 *Car. II.*, extending the Bounds of *Carolina* to *Carolock River*, or *Inlet*, in 36 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude; and as far as 29 Degrees South. If his present Majesty therefore has been pleased to bound his Dominions in *America* on the South, by the River *Alatamaha* or *May*, he has expressed great Moderation with regard to the *Spaniards*. The last Patent of King *Charles II.*, being a sufficient Authority to extend them even beyond *St. Mattheo* and *St. Augustins*, which lies within the Limits of that Patent.

*Carolina*  
planted by  
the *Englisb.*

The Form  
of Go-  
vernment  
there.

The Pro-  
prietors  
empow-  
er'd to  
create No-  
blemen.

The Proprietors did little towards planting *Carolina* till the Year 1670, when they agreed upon a Form of Government for their Colonies, said to be struck out by *Anthony Lord Ashley*, afterwards Earl of *Shaftsbury*, one of the Proprietors; whereby it was provided, that a Palatine should be chosen out of the Proprietors, to hold that Office during his Life, and be succeeded after his Death by the next eldest of the Proprietors for Life; and in like manner the rest of the Proprietors and their respective Heirs were to succeed to the Office of Palatine, according to their Seniority. The Palatine, for the time being, was empowered to appoint the Governor of the Province; but then, as a Check upon him, he was in great Part of his Administration to act with the Concurrence of a Council, consisting of seven Deputies, appointed by the seven Proprietors, seven more chosen by the Assembly or Representatives of the Freemen, and seven of the eldest *Landgraves* and *Caciques*; for the Proprietors were empower'd by their Patent to create a certain Number of Noblemen with  
the

the Titles of *Langraves* and *Caciques* (but were restrained from conferring *English* Titles on them, such as Dukes, Earls, Barons, &c.) and these were to constitute the Upper-house; from whence it appears, that Lord *Shaftsbury* intended to have a Palatine for chief Magistrate, instead of a King, with an Upper and Lower-house; but then the Authority of his Palatine or chief Magistrate was so limited, that he had little more than the Name of Palatine: The Lords were to be created by the seven Proprietors, and not by the Palatine alone, and consequently would not be in any Danger of being Creatures of the Palatine, or the Governor appointed by him; but this fine-spun Scheme, it seems, never took place in all its projected Parts. There were but few *Landgraves* or *Caciques* made, nor were they ever summoned to sit in Parliament as a House of Peers; but the Deputies of the seven Proprietors, and the great Officers of State, constituted their Upper-House: And thus did Lord *Shaftsbury* imagine he had supplied all the Defects in the Constitution of his Mother Country. But from hence we may learn how much easier it is to find fault with a Constitution, than to mend it; for never did such Confusions arise in any Government as in this. There were perpetual struggles for Superiority, and sometimes the People found themselves intolerably oppressed by their Governors; at others, the People became mutinous and seditious, depos'd, try'd and banish'd their Governors; and what was still worse, all agreed to enslave the *Indians*, which provoked them to murder many of the Planters, and plunder their Settlements; and the *Indians* at length became so formidable, that it was expected the *English* would have been

Carolina.

Perpetual  
Distrac-  
tions in  
these Co-  
lonies.

Carolina.  
 In Danger  
 of being  
 destroyed  
 by the  
 Natives.  
 The King  
 purchases  
 Carolina.

totally extirpated, which compell'd the Planters to implore the Protection of the Crown, as the only Means to restore Tranquillity to these Colonies, and oppose the Outrages of the Natives: His present Majesty therefore, in compassion to these Colonies, was pleased to purchase the Interest of the several Proprietors about the Year 1728; whereby the Colonies of *North-Carolina* are not only become Royal Governments, and modelled now like that of *England*; but his Majesty, as I apprehend, is sole Proprietor, or Ground-Landlord (if I may so term it) of these pleasant and fruitful Countries, and thereby possessed of the largest and fairest Demesnes at present of any Prince in *Europe*; they are of a much greater Extent than ever were possessed by the greatest of the Kings of *England* his Predecessors; and our Posterity (if not the present Generation) possibly may see the Crown so greatly enriched by this Purchase, as to defray all the ordinary Charges of the Government out of the Revenues of the Crown-lands, as the Kings of *England* anciently did, without depending on the Benevolence of the Subject; but whether his Majesty purchased these Provinces of the Proprietors as King of *England*, or as a private Gentleman, I confess I am not fully apprised: And if he did not purchase them as King of *England*, the Crown may not be much the richer, tho' his Majesty's Posterity in a private Capacity will. However, let it be one way or other, I shall beg Leave to congratulate his Majesty and the Nation upon this happy Event, it being now the joint Interest of Prince and People to encourage these Plantations, which, if well managed, will furnish *Great-Britain* in time with Naval Stores, Silk, Wine and Oil, and

The Interest of the Prince and People is to encourage these Colonies.

and every thing she wants, which we are <sup>Carolina.</sup> at present compelled to purchase of Foreigners with an immense Treasure, and at the same time advance our own Manufactures to a very great Degree by the Exportation of them to those Countries in return for what we receive from thence.

The King had no sooner purchased the Colonies of *North* and *South-Carolina* of the Proprietors, as related above, but Sir *Alexander Cummins* a Scots Gentleman was employed to procure a true State of those Countries by his own View of the most distant Parts of them: Whereupon he set out from *Charles-Town* on the 13th of *March*, 1729, accompanied by eight or ten People, Traders and others, who had some Knowledge of the Country; and having travelled as far as Mr. *Russel's* Plantation, an hundred Miles to the Westward of *Charles-Town*, Mr. *Russel* informed him, that the *French* had been endeavouring for two Years passed to bring over the lower *Charokees* to their Interest, and that he had already acquainted the Government with the Encroachments of the *French*, who had been building Forts in the *Creek* Nation for several Years passed.

Sir *Alex. Cummins* takes a View of *Florida*, 500 Miles West of *Charles-Town*.

*French* Forts there.

Sir *Alexander* taking Leave of Mr. *Russel*, arrived at *Keowee*, the first Town of the *Charokees*, being about three hundred Miles from *Charles-Town*, where he was informed by Mr. *Barker* a Trader, that the *February* before Messengers came from the lower *Creeks* to the *Charokees*, inviting them to come over to the *French* Interest; whereupon the *Charokees* directed the *Creeks* to go to the *French* and receive their Presents first, and then return to them with their Report: And upon the return



Carolina. of those Messengers, he (*Barker*) expected the lower *Charokees* would have risen, for at that time they were so unruly the Traders durst scarce speak to them.

The *Charokees* acknowledged the King of *Great-Britain* their Sovereign. However, Sir *Alexander* met with some of their Chiefs that Night in the Town-house, where they were assembled with three hundred of their People, and received their Submission to the King of *Great-Britain* on their Knees; he afterwards caused them to dispatch Messengers to all their Tribes, requiring the Chiefs of every Town to meet him on the 3d of *April* at *Nequassie*.

On the 27th of *March* Sir *Alexander* arrived at *Tassatche* in the Middle of their Settlements; and that Night there happened such a terrible Storm of Thunder and Lightning as had not been known in the Memory of Man, at which the *Indians* were amazed and confounded; and their Conjurer (or Priest) came the next Morning, and told Sir *Alexander*, he knew he was come to govern their Nation, and they must submit to whatever he commanded. On the 29th arriving at *Telliguo* in the upper Settlements, two hundred Miles West of *Keowee*, *Moytoy* their chief Warrior told him, that the several Nations intended to make him their Head or Generalissimo, but that was now left to Sir *Alexander*.

On the 3d of *April*, Sir *Alexander* returned to *Nequassie*, where the King's Warriors, Conjurers and beloved Men of all the Tribes assembled, according to his Summons: Here with great Solemnity he was placed in a Chair by *Moytoy's* Orders, *Moytoy* and the Conjurers standing about him while the Warriors stroaked him with thirteen Eagles Tails, and their Singers sung from Morning till Night: and, as their

their Custom is on solemn Occasions, they fast-  
ed the whole Day. Carolina,

After this Solemnity of Stroaking him was  
over, Sir *Alexander*, in a Speech to them, re-  
presenting the great Power and Goodness of  
his Majesty King *George*, whom he called the  
great Man on the other Side of the great Wa-  
ter, said, That himself and all his Subjects  
were to him as Children, and they all obeyed  
whatever the great King ordered; and required  
*Moytoy* and all the head Warriors to acknow-  
ledge themselves dutiful Subjects and Sons to  
King *George*, and promise that they would do  
whatsoever Sir *Alexander* should require of  
them (that he might be the better able to an-  
swer for their Conduct) all which they did on  
their Knees, calling upon every thing that was  
terrible to them to destroy them, and wishing  
they might become no People if they violated  
their Promise of Obedience! Sir *Alexander* then  
ordered that the head Warriors should answer  
for the Conduct of their People to *Moytoy*,  
whom he declared their Chief and Generalissi-  
mo by the unanimous Consent of the whole  
People, and to whom, at Sir *Alexander*'s de-  
fire, they all gave an unlimited Power over  
them, provided he were accountable to Sir *Alexander*  
for his Administration.

April 4th, the Crown was brought from  
*Great-Tannassie*, which with five Eagles Tails,  
and four Scalps of their Enemies, *Moytoy* pre-  
sented to Sir *Alexander*, empowering him to  
lay the same at his Majesty's Feet.

Sir *Alexander* then proposing to take six of  
their Chiefs to *England* with him to do Ho-  
mage to the King in Person, six of them im-  
mediately offered to go with him, and a seventh  
joined him at his Arrival at *Charles-Town* on  
the

Six of  
their  
Chiefs  
come to  
*England*.

Carolina. the 13th of *April*, and embarking together in the *Fox Man* of War the 4th of *May*, they arrived at *Dover* on the 6th of *June*, 1730.

The *Indian* Chiefs having been admitted to an Audience by King *George*, and in the Name of their respective Nations promised to remain his Majesty's most faithful and obedient Subjects, a Treaty of Alliance was drawn up, and signed by the six Chiefs on one side, and *Alured Popple*, Esq; Secretary to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations on the other, on *Monday Sept. 7th*, 1730; and the Treaty was read and interpreted to them.

A Treaty  
of Alliance  
with them.

The Preamble whereof recites, That whereas the said Chiefs with the Consent of the whole Nation of *Charokee-Indians* at a general Meeting on the 3d of *April*, 1730, were deputed by *Moytoy* their head Warrior to attend Sir *Alexander Cummins*, Bart. to *Great-Britain*, where they had seen the great King *George*; and Sir *Alexander*, by Authority from the said *Moytoy* and all the *Charokee* People, had laid the Crown of their Nation, with the Scalps of their Enemies, and Feathers of Glory, at his Majesty's Feet, as a Pledge of their Loyalty: The great King had commanded the said Lords Commissioners to inform them, that the *English* every-where on all Sides of the great Mountains and Lakes were his People, that their Friends were his Friends, and their Enemies his Enemies, and that he took it kindly the great Nation of the *Charokees* had sent them so far to brighten the Chain of Friendship between him and them, and between their People and his People: That the Chain of Friendship between him and the *Charokee-Indians* is like the Sun, which both shines here and also upon the great Mountains where they live, and equally warms

Warms the Hearts of the *Indians* and of the *English*: That as there are no Spots or Blackness in the Sun, so is there not any Rust or Foulness in this Chain; and as the King has fastened one End of it to his own Breast, he desires you will carry the other End of the Chain and fasten it well to the Breast of *Moytoy* of *Tellico*, and to the Breasts of your old wise Men, your Captains, and all your People, never more to be broken or made loose; and hereupon we give two Pieces of blue Cloth.

The great King and the *Charokee-Indians* being thus fastened together by the Chain of Friendship, he has ordered his People and Children, the *English* in *Carolina*, to trade with the *Indians*, and to furnish them with all manner of Goods that they want, and to make haste to build Houses, and to plant Corn from *Charles-Town* towards the Town of the *Charokees* behind the great Mountains; for he desires that the *Indians* and the *English* may live together as the Children of one Family, whereof the great King is a kind loving Father; and as the King has given his Land on both Sides of the great Mountains to his own Children the *English*, so he now gives to the *Charokee-Indians* the Privilege of living where they please; and hereupon we give one Piece of red Cloth.

The great Nation of *Charokees* being now the Children of the great King of *Great-Britain*, and he their Father, the *Charokees* must treat the *English* as Brethren of the same Family, and must be always ready at the Governor's Command to fight against any Nation, whether they be white Men or *Indians*, who shall

Carolina. shall dare to molest or hurt the *English*; and  
 whereupon we give twenty Guns.

The Nation of the *Charokees* shall on their Part take care to keep the trading Path clean; and that there be no Blood in the Path where the *English* white Men tread, even tho' they should be accompanied by any other People with whom the *Charokees* are at war; whereupon we give four hundred pound Weight of Gun-powder.

That the *Charokees* shall not suffer their People to trade with the white Men of any other Nation but the *English*, nor permit the white Men of any other Nation to build any Forts or Cabins, or plant Corn amongst them, or near any of the *Indian* Towns, or upon the Lands which belong unto the great King; and if any such Attempt shall be made, you must acquaint the *English* Governor therewith; and do whatever he directs, in order to maintain and defend the great King's Right to the Country of *Carolina*; whereupon we give five hundred pound Weight of Swan-shot, and five hundred pound Weight of Bullets.

That if any *Negroes* Slaves shall run away into the Woods from their *English* Masters, the *Charokee-Indians* shall endeavour to apprehend them, and either bring them back to the Plantation from whence they run away, or to the Governor; and for every *Negro* so apprehended and brought back, the *Indian* who brings him back shall receive a Gun and a Watch-coat; whereupon we give a Box of Vermilion, ten thousand Gun-flints, and six Dozen of Hatchets.

That if by any accidental Mistrortune it should happen, that an *Englishman* should kill an *Indian*, the King or great Man of the *Charokees*

*rokees shall first complain to the English Go-<sup>Carolina.</sup>vernor, and the Man who did it shall be punished by the English Laws, as if he had killed an Englishman; and in the like manner, if an Indian kills an Englishman, the Indian who did it shall be delivered up to the Governor, and be punished by the same English Laws, as if he were an Englishman; whereupon we give six Dozen of Spring-knives, four Dozen of Kettles, and ten Dozen of Belts.*

You are to understand all that we have now said to be the Words of the great King whom you have seen; and as a Token that his Heart is open and true to his Children and Friends the *Charokees*, and to all their People, he gives this Belt, which he desires may be kept and shewn to all your People, and to their Children and Childrens Children, to confirm what is now spoken, and to bind this Agreement of Peace and Friendship between the *English* and *Charokees*, as long as the Mountains and Rivers shall last, or the Sun shine; whereupon we give this Belt of *Wampum*.

O. K. Oukab Ulah

By Command of their K. Shalclofken Ketagustab  
Lordships, White- T. Tathtowe  
ball, September 9, C. Clogoittab  
1730. K. Kollannab

*Alured Popple. U. Ukwaneecqua.*

These are to certify *Moytoy* of *Telliquo*, that I have seen, perused, and do approve of all the Articles contained in the above Agreement, to which the *Indians* above-mentioned have by my Advice given their Consent.

*Alex. Cummins.*

Carolina.



*The Answer of the Indian Chiefs to the foregoing Articles, as it was delivered by Ketagustah, the 9th of September, 1730.*

The  
Speech of  
the *Indians*  
on signing  
the Arti-  
cles.

“ We are come hither from a dark mountainous Place, where nothing but Darknefs is to be found, but are now in a Place where there is Light.

“ There was a Person in our Country with us, he gave us a yellow Token of warlike Honour that is left with *Moystoy of Telliquo*, and as Warriors we received it. He came to us like a Warrior from you, a Man he is, his Talk is upright, and the Token he left preserves his Memory amongst us.

“ We look upon you as if the great King *George* was present, and we love you as representing the great King, and shall die in the same way of thinking.

“ The Crown of our Nation is different from that which the great King *George* wears, and from that which we saw in the *Tower*, but to us it is all one, and the Chain of Friendship shall be carried to our People.

“ We look upon the great King *George* as the Sun, and as our Father, and upon ourselves as his Children, for tho’ we are red and you are white, yet our Hands and Hearts are joined together.

“ When we shall have acquainted our People with what we have seen, our Children from Generation to Generation will always remember it.

“ In War we shall always be as one with you; the great King *George*’s Enemies shall be our Enemies, his People and ours shall be always one, and shall die together.

“ We came hither naked and poor as the Worm of the Earth, but you have every thing,

“ thing, and we that have nothing must love  
 “ you, and can never break the Chain of  
 “ Friendship which is between us. Carolina

“ Here stands the Governor of *Carolina*,  
 “ whom we know. This small Rope we  
 “ shew you, is all we have to bind our Slaves  
 “ with, and may be broken, but you have  
 “ Iron Chains for yours; however, if we  
 “ catch your Slaves, we shall bind them as  
 “ well as we can, and deliver them to our  
 “ Friends again, and have no Pay for it.

“ We have looked round for the Person  
 “ that was in our Country, he is not here;  
 “ however, we must say, he talked uprightly  
 “ to us, and we shall never forget him.

“ Your white People may very safely build  
 “ Houses near us, we shall hurt nothing that  
 “ belongs to them, for we are the Children of  
 “ one Father, the great King, and shall live  
 “ and die together.

Then laying down his Feathers upon the  
 Table, he added: “ This is our way of talk-  
 “ ing, which is the same thing to us, as your  
 “ Letters in the Book are to you; and to  
 “ you beloved Men, *we deliver these Feathers*  
 “ *in confirmation of all that we have said.*

The *Indian* Chiefs were entertain’d and  
 shewn the publick Buildings while they re-  
 main’d in *London*; and having receiv’d several  
 Presents from the Court and private Gentle-  
 men, took their Passage home again in one  
 of his Majesty’s Ships; and a Patent pass’d the  
 Seals in 1732, appointing the following Gen-  
 tlemen Trustees for the Planters of a new Pro-  
 vince to be called *Georgia*, and to be taken  
 out of the South Part of South *Carolina*, viz.  
 The Lord Viscount *Percival*, *John Carpenter*,  
*George Heathcote*, *Robert Moore*, *Rogers Hol-*  
The *Indian* Chiefs  
return  
home.  
A Patent  
for erect-  
ing *Georgia*  
into a  
Province.  
The  
Trustees.



*Carolina. land, Francis Eyles, James Vernon, Edward Digby, James Oglethorpe, Robert Hucks, William Sleeper, John Laroche, William Belitha, Esqrs; John Burton, B. D. Stephen Hales, M. A. The Reverend Richard Bundy, Arthur Bedford, and Samuel Smith, Adam Anderson, and Thomas Coram, Gentlemen. The Patent recites, That his Majesty having taken into Consideration the miserable Circumstances of many of his own poor Subjects, as likewise the Distresses of many Foreigners who would take refuge from Persecution; and having a princely Regard to the great Danger the Southern Frontiers of South-Carolina are expos'd to, by reason of the small Number of white Inhabitants there, hath granted a Charter for incorporating a Number of Gentlemen by the Name of The Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America; and They are empowered to collect Benefactions, and lay them out in clothing, arming, sending over, and supporting Colonies of the Poor, whether Subjects or Foreigners, till they can build Houses and clear Lands. And his Majesty farther grants them all his Lands between the Rivers Savannah and Alatamaha, which he erects into a Province by the Name of Georgia, for the Benefit of the Adventurers.*

Lord  
Percival  
President.  
Their  
Seal.

The Trustees soon after assembled, and elected the Lord Percival their President, and ordered a common Seal to be made with the following Device, viz. On one Side the Rivers *Alatamaha* and *Savannah*, the North and South Boundaries of *Georgia*, and between them the Genius of the Colony seated with the Cap of Liberty upon her Head, a Spear in one Hand, and a Cornucopia in the other, with this Motto, *Colonia Georgia Aug.* On the Reverse

verse, are Silk-worms at work, with this Motto, *Non sibi sed aliis.* — The Leader, Minister, and others of the *Swiss* Protestants who were going Adventurers to *Carolina* having attended the Trustees, they ordered a Library of Books to be given the Minister for him and his Successors, and a Sum of Money to the Planters to subsist them on their Voyage, and at their first Arrival. For Mr. Purry on his return from *Carolina* to *Switzerland* with the abovesaid Description of the Country, had prevail'd on many industrious Persons and their Families to the Number of four hundred to go with him thither, and while the Transports lay in *Dover Road*, Mr. Bignon their Minister came to *London* and received episcopal Ordination, so that the Reflections which some had cast on the Religion of these People seem to be unjustly founded.

*Carolina.*  
A Colony  
of *Swiss*  
sent to  
*Georgia.*

Their  
Minister  
episcopally  
ordain'd  
at *London.*

In the Month of *November* 1732, Mr. Oglethorpe, one of the Trustees, sail'd with several *English* Families to *Georgia*; the Men being Farmers, Carpenters, Bricklayers, and other working Trades, they took with them all manner of Tools and Instruments proper for their respective Employments. There was put on Board also twelve Ton of Alderman *Parsons's* best Beer, and they were to touch at the *Madera's*. and take in Wine there for the Use of the Colony. The Planters were instructed in military Discipline before they went by the Officers of the Guards, as all others were ordered to be who were sent thither, and furnished with Swords and Fire-Arms; his Majesty also sent over seventy-four Pieces of Canon, with a proportionable Quantity of Ammunition, warlike Stores, Tools and Implements for erecting Fortresses in proper Places,

Mr. Oglethorpe sails with a Detachment of *English* for *Georgia.*

*Carolina.* Places; and the Reverend Dr. *Herbert* went over with them as Chaplain: Large Sums were afterwards collected among the Nobility and Gentry, and twenty-five thousand Pounds raised at one time by Parliament for the Support of the Planters: For all the *Swiss*, *Saltzburghers*, and other Foreigners, as well as the *British* Planters, were furnished by the said Trustees with Necessaries and Provisions to subsist them in their Voyage, and for a Year after their Arrival, and till they should be able to provide for themselves by their Labour and the Produce of the Country.

Large  
Sums raised  
for the  
Colony.

The Town of *Savannah* founded. Mr. *Oglethorpe* arriving at *Port-Royal* in *Carolina* with his People, proceeded to lay out the Town of *Savannah* already described; and in a Letter dated from thence, *February* 10, 1732-3, tells the Trustees, That the Governor and People of *Carolina* had given him great Assistance, that they had ordered a Party of Horse and their Scout-boats to attend and protect the new Colony, while they were employ'd in erecting the Town and Works, and had made them a Present of an hundred breeding Cattle, besides Hogs, and twenty Barrels of Rice.

The *Creeks* confirm the Lands to the *English*. On the 20th of *May*, 1733, the Chiefs of the lower *Creek* Nation to the Number of fifty Persons with their Attendants arrived at *Savannah*, and acquainted Mr. *Oglethorpe* that they laid claim to all the Lands on the South of the River *Savannah*, but said, as he who had given the *English* more Wisdom had sent them thither for their Instruction, so they freely gave and resigned to them all their Right in the said Lands which they did not use themselves: And having heard that the *Charokee Indians* had killed some *Englishmen*, they offered

ferred to revenge their Death on the *Charokees*, if Mr. *Oglethorpe* commanded them. After which, Articles of Commerce were agreed on between the Colony and the *Creeks*, and a lac'd Coat, Hat, and Shirts were given to each of the Chiefs, with a Present of Gunpowder, *Irish* Linen, Tobacco, Pipes, Tape of all Colours, Bullets, and eight Cags of Rum to carry home to their several Towns, with some Cloth for their Attendants.

Carolina.

Articles of Commerce.

A Present made the *Creeks*.

The first Ship that carried Goods to *Savannah* was the *James*, Captain *Yoakly* Commander, of a hundred and ten Tons, which arrived there the 14th of *June*, 1733; and the Prize that was ordered by the Trustees to be delivered to the first Ship that unloaded there was given to the Captain.

In the Year 1734, an Alliance was made with another *Indian* Nation called the *Natchees*, tending greatly to the Security of the Colony, and the same Year the Planters reaped their first Crop of *Indian* Corn, which yielded them a thousand Bushels.

An Alliance with the Natives.

Mr. *Oglethorpe* returning to *England* again was accompanied by *Tomo Chichi*, one of the Kings of the *Creek* Nation, and *Senauki* his Queen, with *Tooanakowki* their Son, and *Hillispilli* one of their War-Captains. *Tomo Chichi* had an Audience of his Majesty at *Kensington* on the first of *August*, 1734, when 'tis said he made the following Speech:

An Indian King and Queen come to *England* with Mr. *Oglethorpe*.

*This Day I see the Majesty of your Face, the Greatness of your House, and the Number of your People; I am come, for the Good of the whole Nation called the Creeks, to renew the Peace which was long ago had with the English; I am come over in my old Days, tho' I cannot*

His Speech to King George.

Carolina. *cannot live to see any Advantage to myself; I am come for the Good of the Children of all the Nations of the upper and lower Creeks, that they may be instructed in the Knowledge of the English.*

*These are the Feathers of the Eagle which is the swiftest of Birds, and who flieth all round our Nations: These Feathers are a Sign of Peace in our Land, and have been carried from Town to Town there; and we have brought them over to leave with you, O Great King, as a Sign of everlasting Peace.*

*O Great King, whatsoever Words you shall say unto me, I will tell them faithfully to all the Kings of the Creek Nations.*

To which his Majesty graciously answered,

*I am glad of this Opportunity of assuring you of my Regard for the People from whom you come, and am extremely well pleased with the Assurances you have brought me from them; and accept very gratefully this Present as an Indication of their good Disposition to me and my People. I shall always be ready to cultivate a good Correspondence between them and my own Subjects, and shall be glad of any Occasion to shew you a Mark of my particular Friendship and Esteem.*

Tomo Chichi afterwards made the following Speech to her Majesty,

*I am glad to see this Day, and to have the Opportunity of seeing the Mother of this Great People.*

*As our People are joined with your Majesty's, we do humbly hope to find you the common Mother*

*Mother and Protectress of us and all our* Carolina.  
*Children.*

To which her Majesty returned a most gracious Answer.

The War-Captain, and other Attendants of *Tomo Chichi*, were very importunate to appear at Court in the manner they go in their own Country, which is only with a Covering round their Waist, the rest of their Body being naked, but were dissuaded from it by Mr. *Oglethorpe*; however, their Faces were variously painted after their Country manner, some half black, others triangular, and others with bearded Arrows instead of Whiskers. *Tomo Chichi* and *Senauki* his Wife were dress'd in scarlet trimm'd with Gold.

When they return'd they were carry'd to *Gravesend* in the King's Coaches, and embark'd for *Carolina* on the 30th of *October*. While they staid in *England*, which was about four Months, they were allow'd twenty Pounds a Week for their Table, and were entertain'd in a most magnificent manner by the Court and Persons of Distinction; whatever was worth their Notice in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster* was shewn them, and nothing was wanting to give them a just Idea of the Grandeur of the *English* Nation, and their Regard for the *Creeks*. In return for which they promised eternal Fidelity. They carry'd away in Presents about the Value of 400 *l.* Sterling; and 'tis said Duke *William*, presenting the young *Indian* Prince with a Gold Watch, exhorted him to call upon *JESUS CHRIST* every Morning when he looked upon it. There went over with them Sir *Francis Barbours*, his Son, three Daughters, and their

Carolina.



Mr. Ogle-  
thorpe's  
Account  
of the  
Religion  
and Go-  
vernment  
of the  
Creeks.

Servants, with many of the Relations of the Planters already in *Georgia*, and fifty-six *Saltzburghers*.

Mr. Oglethorpe, speaking of the Religion and Government of the *Creek* Nation, in a Letter from *Georgia* to a Person of Honour in *London*, says, There seems a Door opened to our Colony towards the Conversion of the *Indians*. I have had many Conversations with their chief Men, the whole Tenour of which shews there is nothing wanting to their Conversion but one who understands their Language well, to explain to them the Mysteries of Religion; for as to the moral Part of Christianity, they understand and assent to it. They abhor Adultery, and do not approve of Plurality of Wives. Theft is a thing not known among the *Creek* Nation, tho' frequent and even honourable amongst the *Uchees*. Murder they look upon as an abominable Crime; but do not esteem the killing of an Enemy, or one that has injur'd them, Murder. The Passion of *Revenge*, which they call *Honour*, and *Drunkennes*, which they learnt from our Traders, seem to be the two greatest Obstacles to their being truly Christians. But upon both these Points they hear Reason; and with respect to drinking of Rum, I have weaned those near me a good deal from it. As for *Revenge*, they say, as they have no executive Power of Justice amongst them, they are forced to kill the Man who has injur'd them, in order to prevent others from doing the like; but they do not think that any Injury, except *Adultery* or *Murder*, deserves *Revenge*. They hold, that if a Man commits *Adultery*, the injur'd Husband is obliged to have *Révenge* by cutting off the Ears of the *Adulterer*, which if he is too

too sturdy and strong to submit to, then the <sup>Carolina.</sup> injur'd Husband kills him the first time that he has an Opportunity so to do with Safety. In Cases of *Murder*, the next in Blood is obliged to kill the Murderer, or else he is look'd upon as infamous in the Nation where he lives: And the Weakness of the executive Power is such that there is no other way of Punishment but by the Revenger of Blood, as the Scripture calls it; for there is no coercive Power in any of their Nations. Their Kings can do no more than to *persuade*. All the Power that they have is no more than to call their old Men and their Captains together, and to propound to them without Interruption the Measures they think proper; after they have done speaking, all the others have liberty to give their Opinions also, and they reason together till they have brought each other into some unanimous Resolution. These Conferences, in matters of great Difficulty, have sometimes lasted two Days, and are always carry'd on with great Temper and Modesty. If they do not come into some unanimous Resolution upon the Matter the Meeting breaks up; but if they are unanimous (which they generally are) then they call in the young Men, and recommend to them the putting in execution the Resolution with their strongest and most lively Eloquence. And indeed they seem to me, both in Action and Expression, to be thorough Masters of true Eloquence; and making Allowances for Badness of Interpreters, many of their Speeches are equal to those which we admire in the *Greek* and *Roman* Writings. They generally in their Speeches use Similies and Metaphors. Their Similies were quite new to me, and generally wonderful proper



Carolina.



and well carry'd on: But in their Conferences among the chief Men they are more *laconick* and concise. Infine, in speaking to their young Men they generally address to the Passions; in speaking to their old Men they apply to Reason only. For example, *Tomo Chichi*, in his first Speech to me among other things said, *Here is a little Present*; and then gave to me a Buffalo's Skin painted on the In-side, with the Head and Feathers of an Eagle: He desir'd me to accept it, because the Eagle signify'd *Speed*, and the Buffalo *Strength*: That the *English* were as swift as the Bird, and as strong as the Beast; since like the first they flew from the utmost Parts of the Earth over the vast Seas; and like the second, nothing could withstand them: That the Feathers of the Eagle were *soft*, and signify'd *Love*, the Buffalo's Skin *warm*, and signify'd *Protection*, therefore he hoped that we would love and protect their little Families. One of the *Indians* of the *Charokee* Nation, being come down to the Governor upon the Rumour of the War, the Governor told him, that *he need fear nothing, but might speak freely*. He answered smartly, *I always speak freely, what should I fear? I am now among my Friends, and I never feared even among my Enemies*.

My *Carolina* Correspondent, already mention'd, speaking of the Religion and Government of the *Florida Indians*, says, The Natives have no Religion that ever I could hear of, but are extremely superstitious, and afraid of an evil Spirit without any Notion of a good one. Their Morals (notwithstanding much has been said in favour of them) in my Opinion are very loose. They will cheat you if they can; and when they can't pay their Debts they

they knock their Creditors on the Head; for <sup>Carolina.</sup> which Reason the Legislature have made it a Forfeiture of the Debt to trust them; so that they may chuse whether they will pay any Debts or not. They are excessive Lovers of <sup>Morals.</sup> Drinking, both Sexes; and like all the World, except Christians, allow of Poligamy; and are so charitable to Strangers, that they will spare their Daughters, or any body but their Wives: But Adultery they punish by setting a Mark <sup>Women.</sup> of Infamy on the Woman, and putting her away; and they have been pretty free with some of our Countrymen when they have caught them, by putting some to death in a summary Way, by a Knife or a Gun, or cutting off their Ears. I have seen one so served. Their Government is said to be monarchical, <sup>Govern-</sup> but I own I can't find it out to be so. Their <sup>ment.</sup> chief Commanders, who are honoured by us with the Title of Kings, are appointed by our own Governors by a Writing seal'd with the Great Seal of the Province; which Seal to them is every thing, for they know not a Word of the Writing. I never heard they did or durst put any Man to death for not obeying them; and their Conjurors or Fortune-tellers, and their War-Captains or Generals, are always greater Men than their Kings. They pretend to an hereditary Succession, and recommend the next in Blood, in the Male Line, to the Governor; but I have been told they often alter that; and I know our Governors have appointed others who have shewn themselves better Friends to the *English*, and these have been obey'd; but indeed very few of their Kings have much Power among them. They have something like a Council, consisting of about twelve or fourteen, more or less, whom

Carolina. whom they call *belov'd Men*; and those are such as have distinguish'd themselves in War, and have Relations and large Families, consequently some Credit and Power in the Clan they belong to; and by their Assistance and Concurrence they keep up some Face of a Government.

Religion  
of the  
English in  
the Plan-  
tations.

Having mention'd the Religion of the *Florida Indians*, I proceed in the next place to inquire into the State of Religion among the *English* in our Colonies on the same Continent, of which Doctor *Bray*, who visited most of them, gives but a melancholy Account, in the Year 1700, in his Representation to the Bishops of the Want of Missionaries: And tho' Things are altered for the better in some of our Colonies, it remains much as it was in others.

This reverend Doctor relates, that in *Maryland*, in the Year 1700, after great Struggles with the Quakers, they had obtain'd an Act for the Establishment of the Church of *England* there, and a Revenue of about four-score Pounds *per Annum* settled upon the Minister of every Parish by a Tax on Tobacco; but at that time there were many Parishes that wanted Incumbents.

That the Papists in that Province were then about a twelfth Part of the Inhabitants, but their Priests were numerous: And tho' the Quakers boasted so much of their Numbers and Riches, upon which Considerations they moved the Government to excuse them from paying their Dues to the establish'd Church, they did not make a tenth Part of the Inhabitants, and did not bear that Proportion they would be thought to do in Wealth and Trade.

That in *Pennsylvania* there was then pretty near an equal Number of Churchmen (or those that

that were well-disposed to the Church) and Quakers, but there was a great want of Ministers; and there were some Independants, but not many, nor much bigotted to their Sect. There were also two Congregations of *Swedes*, who were *Lutherans*, whose Churches were finely built, and their Ministers lived in very good Terms with the Minister of the Church of *England* at *Philadelphia*; and the King of *Sweeden* had lately made an Addition to their Library of three hundred Pounds worth of Books.

That in the neighbouring Colonies of *East* and *West-Jersey* there were some Towns well peopled, but entirely left to themselves without Priest or Altar. The Quakers were then a Majority there; but there were many however well affected to the Church, and he thought six Missionaries necessary for both the *Jerseys*.

That at *New-York* Ministers were much wanted also, there being but one there: In *Long-Island* there were nine Churches, but no Church of *England* Minister then in the Island.

In *Rhode-Island*, for want of Clergy, the Inhabitants were sunk into down-right Atheism.

In *North-Carolina* there was not one Clergyman then, and but one in *South-Carolina*.

As to *Virginia*, the Church of *England* was at that time well establish'd there, and the several Parishes generally supply'd with Ministers, who had a Revenue out of the Tobacco and otherwise of about an hundred Pounds *per Annum* each.

As to *New-England*, Independancy was then, as it still is, the prevailing Religion in that Country; tho' the Church of *England* gains ground there apace, as appears by the Number of Missionaries lately settled there.

Doctor

Carolina.

Doctor *Bray* concludes his Address to my Lords the Bishops in the following manner :

For my own part, I take this to be so happy a Juncture to lay the Foundation of lasting Good to the Church of GOD in those Provinces, that tho' after the Expence already of above a thousand Pounds in its Service, and tho' it is likely to be still at my own Charge when I go again, yet I shall not make the least Difficulty in accompanying your Lordships Missionaries whom from your respective Diocesses you shall please to send into those Parts. And being therefore so little interested myself in the Mission, I hope I may with a better Countenance, through your Lordships Patronage, presume to offer the following Proposals to the very reverend Dignitaries and wealthier Clergy, and other well-disposed Persons of the Church, for a small Subscription from each of them towards the Maintenance of those Missionaries their Brethren, whom your Lordships shall please to send.

PROPOSALS for the Propagation of the Christian Religion in the several Provinces on the Continent of *North-America*.

Dr. Bray's  
Proposals.

*WHEREAS* it hath pleased God of late to stir up the Hearts of many People in the American Plantations, who seemed formerly to have forgot Religion, now to be very solicitous and earnest for Instruction, so as of themselves to call for those Helps which in Duty they ought to have been prevented in by us from the Beginning : And whereas, to our Shame, we must own that no Nation has been so guilty of this Neglect as ours ; the Papists of all Countries

Countries having been most careful to support <sup>Carolina.</sup> their Superstitions wherever they have planted; the Dutch with great Care allowing an honourable Maintenance, with all other Encouragements for Ministers in their Factories and Plantations; the Swedes, the Danes, and other small Colonies being seldom or never deficient in this Particular, and we of the English Nation only being wanting in this Point. And lastly, whereas tho' it be true, that some of our most considerable Plantations have set out Parishes and Allowances for Ministers, yet it is not so in all, and where some Provision is made, it is as yet far short of being sufficient to maintain a Minister; and there is a total Neglect of informing the poor Natives. Out of all these Considerations we do not think a more charitable Work can be carry'd on than as much as in us lies to contribute towards the Redress of these great Failures: And therefore do subscribe to that Purpose the several Sums to our Names annexed.

It seems to have proceeded from this Gentleman's Representation, in a great measure, that a Society was erected the following Year, viz. in the 13th of W. III. for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign Parts, the Charter for the establishing whereof has this Preamble:

1. Whereas we are credibly inform'd that in many of our Plantations, Colonies, and Factories beyond the Seas belonging to our Kingdom of *England*, the Provision for Ministers is very mean, and many others of our said Plantations, Colonies, and Factories are wholly destitute and unprovided of a Maintenance for the Ministers and the publick Worship of God; and for lack of Support and

Carolina.



Maintenance for such, many of our loving Subjects do want the Administration of God's Word and Sacraments, and seem to have been abandon'd to Atheism and Infidelity ; and also for want of learned and orthodox Ministers to instruct our said loving Subjects in the Principles of true Religion, divers *Romish* Priests and Jesuites are more encourag'd to pervert and draw over our said loving Subjects to Popish Superstition and Idolatry.

2. And whereas we think it our Duty, as much as in us lies, to promote the Glory of God by the Instruction of our People in the Christian Religion ; and that it will be highly conducive for accomplishing those Ends, that a sufficient Maintenance be provided for an orthodox Clergy to live amongst them, and that such other Provision be made as may be necessary for the Propagation of the Gospel in those Parts.

3. And whereas we have been well assured, that if we would be graciously pleased to erect and settle a Corporation for the receiving, managing, and disposing of the Charity of our loving Subjects, divers Persons would be induced to extend their Charity to the Uses and Purposes aforesaid.

Know ye therefore, that we have, for the Considerations aforesaid, granted, &c.

*The Success of which Charter will appear from the following List of the Missionaries that have since been sent to the Plantations.*

Missionaries sent to the Plantations by the Society for Propagation of the Gospel.

The Names of the Societies, Missionaries, Catechists, and Schoolmasters ; with their yearly Salaries, and the Places to which they are appointed, as they stand on the List the 31st of January, 1733.

NEW-

# of CAROLINA.

457

Carolina.

## NEW-ENGLAND.

|                                                                                         |      |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Mr. <i>Honeyman</i> Missionary at <i>Rh de-Island</i>                                   | 70   |
| Mr. <i>Pigot</i> Missionary at <i>Marble-head</i>                                       | 60   |
| Mr. <i>Mac-Sparran</i> Missionary at <i>Norra-ganset</i>                                | } 70 |
| — Ditto for officiating at <i>Warwick</i>                                               |      |
| Mr. <i>Plant</i> Missionary at <i>Newbury</i>                                           | 60   |
| Dr. <i>Cutler</i> Missionary at <i>Christ-Church</i> in <i>Boston</i>                   | } 70 |
| Mr. <i>Miller</i> Missionary at <i>Braintree</i>                                        |      |
| Mr. <i>Usher</i> Missionary at <i>New-Bristol</i>                                       | 60   |
| Mr. <i>Grainger</i> Schoolmaster at <i>Boston</i>                                       | 15   |
| Mr. <i>Johnson</i> Missionary at <i>Stratford</i> in <i>Connecticut</i>                 | } 70 |
| Mr. <i>Caser</i> Missionary at <i>Fairfield</i> in <i>Connecticut</i>                   |      |
| Mr. <i>Browne</i> Missionary at <i>Providence</i>                                       | 60   |
| — Ditto for officiating at <i>Warwick</i>                                               | 15   |
| Mr. <i>Watts</i> Schoolmaster at <i>Annapolis-Royal</i>                                 | 20   |
| Mr. <i>Seabury</i> Missionary at <i>New-London</i>                                      | 50   |
| Mr. <i>Beach</i> Missionary at <i>New-Town</i> and <i>Reading</i> in <i>Connecticut</i> | } 50 |
| Mr. <i>Flemming</i> Schoolmaster at <i>Providence</i>                                   |      |
| Mr. <i>Davenport</i> Missionary at <i>Scituate</i>                                      | 60   |
| Mr. <i>Brown</i> Schoolmaster at <i>Stratford</i>                                       | 15   |

## NEW-YORK.

|                                                              |      |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Mr. <i>Standard</i> Missionary at <i>West-Chester</i>        | 50   |
| Mr. <i>Colgan</i> Missionary at <i>Jamaica, Long-Island</i>  | } 50 |
| Mr. <i>Jenny</i> Missionary at <i>Hempstead, Long-Island</i> |      |
| Mr. <i>Gilderfleeve</i> Schoolmaster at <i>Hempstead</i>     | 10   |
| Mr. <i>Purdy</i> Schoolmaster at <i>Rye</i>                  | 15   |
| Mr. <i>Noxon</i> Schoolmaster at <i>New-York</i>             | 20   |
| Mr. <i>Stoupe</i> Missionary at <i>New-Rochel</i>            | 50   |

N n n z

Mr.



Carolina.

|                                                        |   |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------|---|----|
| Mr. <i>Charlton</i> Catechist at <i>New-York</i>       | — | 50 |
| Mr. <i>Forster</i> Schoolmaster at <i>Wefcheſter</i>   |   | 20 |
| Mr. <i>Taylor</i> Schoolmaster at <i>Staten-Iſland</i> |   | 15 |
| Mr. <i>Weimore</i> Miſſionary at <i>Rye</i>            | — | 50 |
| Mr. <i>Miln</i> Miſſionary at <i>Albany</i>            | — | 50 |
| Mr. <i>Keeble</i> Schoolmaster at <i>Oyſter-Bay,</i>   | } | 10 |
| <i>Long-Iſland</i>                                     |   |    |
| Mr. <i>Dwight</i> Schoolmaster at <i>North-caſtle</i>  |   | 10 |
| Mr. <i>Kilpatrick</i> Miſſionary at <i>New-Wind-</i>   | } | 50 |
| <i>for</i>                                             |   |    |
| Mr. <i>Davies</i> Schoolmaster at <i>Southampton</i>   |   | 10 |
| Mr. <i>Browne</i> Miſſionary at <i>Brook-haven</i>     |   | 60 |
| Mr. <i>Hariſon</i> Miſſionary at <i>Staten-Iſland</i>  |   | 50 |
| Mr. <i>Willit</i> Schoolmaster at <i>Jamaica on</i>    | } | 15 |
| <i>Long-Iſland</i>                                     |   |    |

## NEW-JERSEY.

|                                                        |   |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------|---|----|
| Mr. <i>Vaughan</i> Miſſionary at <i>Elizabeth-Town</i> |   | 60 |
| Mr. <i>Skinner</i> Miſſionary at <i>Amboy</i>          | — | 60 |
| Mr. <i>Weyman</i> Miſſionary at <i>Burlington</i>      |   | 70 |
| Mr. <i>Ellis</i> Schoolmaster at <i>Burlington</i>     | — | 20 |
| Mr. <i>Forbes</i> Miſſionary in <i>Monmouth Coun-</i>  | } | 50 |
| <i>ty</i>                                              |   |    |
| Mr. <i>Pierſon</i> Miſſionary at <i>Salem</i>          | — | 60 |

## PENNSYLVANIA.

|                                                         |   |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------|---|----|
| Mr. <i>Rofs</i> Miſſionary at <i>Newcaſtle</i>          | — | 70 |
| Mr. <i>Becket</i> Miſſionary at <i>Lewes</i>            | — | 60 |
| Mr. <i>Hackett</i> Miſſionary at <i>Apoquineminck</i>   |   | 60 |
| Mr. <i>Richard Backhouſe</i> Miſſionary at <i>Chef-</i> | } | 60 |
| <i>ter</i>                                              |   |    |
| Mr. <i>Howie</i> Miſſionary at <i>Oxford and White-</i> | } | 60 |
| <i>maſh</i>                                             |   |    |
| Mr. <i>Hughes</i> Miſſionary at <i>Radnor and</i>       | } | 60 |
| <i>Perquihoma</i>                                       |   |    |

Mr.

# of CAROLINA.

459

Mr. *Frazer* Missionary in Kent County — 60  
 Mr. *John Backhouse* School-master at Chester 10

Carolina.

## NORTH-CAROLINA.

The Rev. Mr. *Boyd* itinerant Missionary there — } 80

## SOUTH-CAROLINA.

Mr. *Hazel* Missionary at *St. Thomas's* — 50  
 Mr. *Guy* Missionary at *St. Andrew's* — 50  
 Mr. *Morrit* Missionary at *Winyaw* — 50  
 Mr. *Varnod* Missionary at *St. George's* — 50  
 Mr. *Leslie* Missionary at *St. Paul's* — 50  
 Mr. *Jones* Missionary at *St. Helen's* — 50  
 Mr. *Dwight* Missionary at *St. John's* — 50  
 Mr. *Faulton* Missionary at *Christ Church* 50  
 Mr. *Millechamp* Missionary at *St. James's* } 50  
     *Goose Creek* — — — }  
 Mr. *Gowie* Missionary at *St. Bartholomew's* 50

## GEORGIA.

The Rev. Mr. *Quincy* Missionary — 50

## The BAHAMA ISLANDS.

The Rev. Mr. *Smith* Missionary — 60

2965

N. B. The Society allow ten Pounds worth of Books to each Missionary for a Library, and five Pounds worth of small Tracts to be distributed among their Parishioners; and several other Parcels of Books as Occasion offers, where the Society find them wanting. As

Carolina.



As to the Provinces of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, they maintain their own Clergy, and the rest of the Colonies assign their Ministers Glebes, build them Houses, and increase their Revenues by Subscriptions, so that the Church of *England* now makes a considerable Figure in most of our Colonies, especially in *New-England*, where the Inhabitants were in a man-

North-Carolina still without a Clergy.

ner all *Independants* formerly : *North-Carolina*, however, seems to be destitute of a Clergy still, there being only Mr. *Boyd* an itinerant Preacher, tho' the Country be of between two and three hundred Miles extent, and a well-peopled flourishing Colony ; and here the People, now sensible of their Misfortune, shew a great Disposition for the Church of *England*, and are ever making Application for Ministers to be sent amongst them, offering to contribute largely to their Maintenance.

It is a melancholy Consideration, that it has hitherto been thought more necessary to propagate and support the Superstitions of the *French Hugonots* and the *Scots Presbyterians* (the former having an Allowance of fifteen thousand Pounds *per Ann.* and the other a thousand Pounds *per Ann.*) than to support and propagate Christianity in our own Plantations ; in some of which, particularly *North-Carolina*, our People have no Opportunity of hearing Divine Service, or having the Sacraments of Baptism or the Lord's-Supper administer'd to them, and are in a manner become Heathens for want of them. It is not to be supposed, that one Minister can perform Divine Service in every Part of that well-planted Colony, two hundred Miles in Length, and almost of equal Breadth ; nor do we trouble ourselves with maintaining Missionaries for the Conversion

sion of the neighbouring *Indians*, who seeing no Appearance of Religion amongst the *English*, and probably as little Morality, must naturally conclude, we have very little of either.


I shall conclude the State of the *British* Colonies on the Continent of *America*, with some Observations on their Minerals.

It was it seems the Expectation of meeting with Gold and Silver Mines, that first induced Sir *Walter Ralegh* and other *English* Adventurers to send Colonies thither; and we find our Princes, in every Charter almost, have reserved a fourth or fifth Part of all Gold and Silver Ore that should be found there for their own Use; and it seems highly probable, that such Mines will some time or other be discovered in the Mountains of *Apalach*, for the Silver Mines in *New-Mexico* are upon the same Continent and in the same Climate; and from these of *Apalach* there are frequently wash'd down glittering Sands, which seem to promise something valuable. Sir *Hans Sloane* also informs us in his *History* of *Jamaica*, that the Duke of *Albemarle*, then Governor of that Island, shewed him a rich Piece of Silver Ore, which his Father had from the *Apalathian* Mountains on the Confines of *Carolina*. The *Portuguese* were much longer possessed of *Brazil* than we have been of this Part of *Florida*, before they discovered any such Mines, and now we find there are Mines wrought there surprisngly rich: We are yet very little acquainted with the *Apalathian* Mountains, we have no Towns or Settlements upon them (tho' we may when we please, for there are scarce any other Inhabitants but wild Beasts) our People only pass over them when they go to traffick with the *Indians* near the Banks of the River

Carolina.



Of the Minerals in the British Plantations.

Carolina.  River *Mississipi*; so that these Mountains may be as well furnished with Silver as those in *Mexico* for any thing we know. But farther, supposing there should happen a Rupture between us and the *Spaniards*, I see nothing that can prevent our passing the *Mississipi*, and possessing ourselves of the Mines of *St. Barbe*, if we make the *Indians* of those Countries our Friends, who are frequently at war with the *Spaniards*. I am apt to think, that neither the Forces of the *Spaniards* or the *French* would be able to oppose our Arms on that Side, if our Colonies were united in such an Enterprize, and well supported by a Body of regular Troops from *Great-Britain*.

As to Mines of Lead, Iron and Copper, it is evident, our Plantations do not want these, for some of them are actually wrought, and these Metals manufactured there; which is apprehended may in time prove prejudicial to *Great-Britain*, since it will lessen the Demand for *British* Iron and Copper, and all manner of Manufactures made of those Metals; the Importation therefore of Iron wrought or in Bars from our Plantations has already been prohibited. But was their Iron and Copper equal to that of *Sweden*, I can't see why we might not import them unwrought from our Plantations as well as from *Sweden*, where we pay Crown-pieces for them ('tis said) whereas when we have them from our Plantations we purchase them with our Manufactures, as we do also Pitch, Tar and other Naval Stores, and yet we chuse to take these Articles also of our Northern Neighbours, which I must confess is a Mystery to me.

But

But to return to the Silver and Gold Mines, which 'tis presumed will one Day be discovered, or reduced under our Power in *Florida* or *New-Mexico*; such an Event must necessarily make a considerable Alteration in our Constitution, if it does not entirely overturn it when it does happen; for as Power is the constant Attendant on Riches, in this case the Crown will become possessed of Treasures, which will give it a much greater Influence than it has at present, and render Parliaments much less necessary; whether it would be to the Advantage of *Great-Britain* therefore, that our Colonies should be possessed of Mines of any kind may be difficult to determine.

*Carolina.*  
Whether the Discovery of Silver Mines would be any Advantage to *Great-Britain*.

However, I must still be of opinion such Mines would be much better in our own Hands than in the Hands of our Rivals; and if we suffer the *French* to build Forts and fix themselves on the *Mississipi*, or in the Neighbourhood of the *Apalathian* Mountains, they will not only be in a Condition to invade and harass our Plantations from North to South, but will possess themselves of the Mines there, if there be any, which will render that Nation more formidable, even in *Europe*, than it is at present; and if they should meet with no Silver in those Mountains, I am inclined to believe, they will seize the Mines of *St. Barbe* in *New-Mexico* in a few Years, which will affect the *Spaniards* first indeed, but may probably in the End be of pernicious Consequence to the rest of the Nations of *Europe*, and particularly *England*. It were to be wished therefore, that *Spain* and *England* would in time understand their mutual Interest, and enter into a defensive Alliance in *America*, at least since the *French* can only be defeated in their ambitious

Better in our own Hands than in the Hands of the *French*.

The Interest of *Spain* and *Great Britain* to drive the *French* from *Florida*.

Carolina. and covetous Views by the united Forces of *Great-Britain* and *Spain*. If they are suffered to establish themselves in *Florida* on the Banks of the *Mississippi*, it will be in their Power in that case to disturb either the *British* or *Spanish* Settlements from thence when they please; but the *Spaniards* seem to be in the most imminent Danger on account of their Silver Mines.



THE



THE  
PRESENT STATE  
OF THE  
*British American* ISLANDS.

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C H A P. I.  
*Of the Island of Jamaica.*



HIS Island was called *Jamaica* by the British Natives when *Columbus* discovered it, and he changed the Name to *St. Jago*; but it soon recovered its primitive Name, by which it is called at this Day.

*American Islands.*  
*Jamaica.*  
The Name. Situation.

*Jamaica* is situated in the *Atlantick Ocean*, between 17 and 18 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude, and between 76 and 79 Degrees of Western Longitude. It lies near five thousand Miles South-West of *England*, about twenty Leagues East of *Hispaniola*, and as many South of *Cuba*, and upwards of an hundred and fifty Leagues to the Northward of *Porto Bello* and *Carthagera*, on the Coast of *Terra Firma*.

This Island stretches from East to West, being one hundred and forty Miles in Length, and about sixty in Breadth in the Middle; but growing less towards each End, the Form is pretty near oval.

The whole Island has one continued Ridge of Hills running from East to West through the Middle



British  
American  
Islands.



Face of the  
Country,  
Etc. from  
Sir Hans  
Sloane.

dle of it, which are generally called the *Blue Mountains*. The Tops of some are higher than others; one of the highest is called *Mont Diablo*. Other Hills there are on each side of this Ridge of Mountains, which are much lower.

The outward Face of the Earth seems to be different here (says Sir *Hans Sloane*) from what I could observe in *Europe*; the Vallies in this Island being very level, with little or no rising Ground or small Hills, and without Rocks or Stones. The mountainous Part for the most part is very steep, and furrowed by very deep Gullies on the North and South Sides of the highest Hills. The Gullies are made here by frequent and very violent Rains, which every Day almost fall on these Mountains, and first making a small Trough or Course for themselves, wash away afterwards whatever comes in their way, and make their Channels extraordinary steep.

The greatest part of the high Land of this Island is either Stone or Clay; these sorts of Soil resist the Rains, and so are not carried down violently with them into the Plains, as are the Mould proper for Tillage, and other more friable Earths; hence it is, that in those mountainous Places one shall have very little or none of such Earths, but either a tenacious Clay, or a Honey-Comb, or other Rock upon which no Earth appears.

Woods.

All the high Land is covered with Woods, some of the Trees very good Timber, tall and straight; and one would wonder (says my Author) how such Trees could grow, in such a barren Soil, so thick together among the Rocks: But the Trees send down their fibrous Roots into the Crannies of the Rocks, where here and there they meet with little Receptacles, or natural Basins of Rain-water, which nourish the Roots.

'Tis a very strange thing (says the same Writer) to see in how short a time a Plantation, formerly cleared of Trees and Shrubs, will grow foul, which comes from two Causes; the one, the not stubbing up the Roots, whence arise young Sprouts; and the other, the Fertility of the Soil. The Settlements

lements and Plantations, not only of the *Indians* but the *Spaniards*, being quite overgrown with tall Trees, so that there would be no Footsteps of them left, were it not for old Pallisadoes, Buildings, Orange Walks, &c. which shew plainly Plantations have been there.

British  
American  
Islands.

There are the same Strata or Layers of Earth one over another, in the fruitful Part of the Island, as are to be met with in *Europe*. And the same Difference of Soil appears here as does in *England*, on digging of Wells, &c.

Most of the Savannas or Plains fit for Pasture, and cleared of Wood like our Meadow Land, lie on the South Side of the Island, where one may ride a great many Miles without meeting the least Ascent: Some of these Plains are within Land encircled with Hills.

These Savannas, after Seasons, *i. e.* Rain, are very green and pleasant; but after long Droughts, are very much parched and withered.

The Tides here are scarce discernable, there being very little Increase or Decrease of the Water, and that depending mostly, if not altogether, on the Winds; so that the Land Winds driving the Water off the Island, makes a Foot, two, or more Ebb, which is most apparent in the Morning. In the Harbour of *Port-Royal* one may see the *Coral-Rocks*, then sensibly nearer the Surface of the Water; and all along the Sea-shore the Water is gone for a small Space, leaving it dry; and this much more on the South Side of the Island, when the Norths blow. On the contrary, the Sea-breeze driving the Water on the Shore of the Island, makes the Flood; so that in the Evening it may be said to be High-water, especially if a South or other Wind blows violently into the Land for some time together, with which the Water comes in and is much higher than ordinary. The Breezes being stronger or weaker according to the Moon's Age, it may be thought the Tides or Currents may follow that; but I rather believe, *they only are the Effect of the Winds* (says Sir Hans Sloane).

Tides.

British  
American  
Islands.

Ports.

The chief Ports in the Island, are 1. *Port-Royal*, a fine capacious Harbour, which will be described hereafter, with the Town from which it received its Name. 2. *Old Harbour*, which lies seven or eight Miles South-West of *St. Jago*. 3. *Port-Morant*, at the East End of the Island: And 4. *Point Negril*, at the West End of the Island. Besides which, are several more on the South and North Sides of the Island; but it is dangerous approaching the Coast without a Pilot, on account of the *Coral-Rocks* which almost surround it.

Rivers.

*Sir Hans Sloane* mentions near an hundred Rivers in *Jamaica*, but none of them navigable; for rising in the Mountains in the Middle of the Island, they precipitate themselves down the Rocks to the North or South, falling into the Sea before they have run many Miles, and carrying down with them frequently great Stones, Pieces of Rock, and Timber.

Water  
bad.

The Doctor, speaking of their Waters, in another place, says, Fresh Water is very scarce in dry Years in the Savannas distant from Rivers, so that many of their Cattle die with driving to water. Near the Sea the Well-water, as at *Port-Royal*, is brackish. This brackish Water, which is very common in Wells on Sea-shores, is not wholesome, but the Cause of Fluxes and other Diseases in Sailors drinking of it.

Their River Water, because of its great Descent and Precipices, carries with it much Clay or Earth, whereby it is muddy and thick, and has an odd Taste; which in *St. Jago* or the Town River gave occasion to the *Spaniards* to call it *Rio Cobre*, and the *English* to say 'tis not wholesome and tastes of Copper; whereas on trial of the Sand and other Sediments, there is no Metal found therein. This River Water, if suffered to settle some Days in earthen Jars, is good.

Springs  
and petri-  
fying Wa-  
ters.

Spring Water, at a distance from the Sea, is preferred to River or Pond Water: There are some Springs as well as Rivers, which petrify their Channels, and stop their own Course by a Cement uniting the Gravel and Sand in their Bottoms.

There

There is a Hot Bath or Spring near *Port-Mo-Brant*, in the East Part of the Island, situated in a Wood, which has been bathed in and drunk of late Years for the Belly-ach, the common Disease of the Country, with great success. British American Islands. Hot Bath.

A great many Salt Springs arise in a level Salt Ground under the Hills in *Cabbage-tree-bottom*, Springs. about a Mile or two distant from the Sea, which united make what is called the *Salt River*.

Salt is made here in Ponds, whereinto the Sea Salt Ponds. or Salt-water comes, and by the Heat of the Sun the Moisture being exhaled, leaves the Salt, which is in great plenty at the Salt Ponds about *Old Harbour*, &c. The Salt is not perfectly white, nor in small Grains, but in large Lumps, and has an Eye of red in it, as some *Sal Gemma* I have seen come from *Spain*, or what comes from the Island of *Salt Tartuga*, near the Main of *America*, which is here reckoned the stronger and better Salt.

*Lagunas* or great Ponds, there are many here, Lakes. one whereof, *Rio Hoa* Pond, receives a great deal of Water by a River which yet has no visible Rivulet or Discharge runs from it.

Some Rivers in the Mountains rise above and go under Ground again in a great many Places; under *Rio d' Oro* particularly falls under and rises above Ground. Ground three or four times; and so it is in many others.

At *Abraham's* Plantation, on the North Side, is a River which has stopt its own Course by letting a Settlement fall and petrifying its own Bottom.

It is ordinary to have Cataracts or Cascades, in Rivers among the Mountains, fifty or sixty Foot high.

This Island being several Degrees within the Tropick, has the Trade-Wind continually there, which is on the South Side of the Island called *The Sea Breeze*. It comes about eight o' Clock in the Morning, and increases or freshens till twelve in the Day, and then as the Sun grows lower, so it decreases till there is none at four in the Evening. About eight in the Evening begins the Land Breeze, blowing four Leagues into the

British  
American  
Islands.



the Sea, and continues increasing till twelve at Night, and decreases again till four, when there is no more of it. This Course generally holds true. The Sea Breeze now and then is more violent than at other times, as at new or full Moon, and encroaches very much on the Land Winds and the Norths when they reign, viz. in the Months of *December, January* and *February*, blow over the Ridge of Mountains with Violence and hinder the Sea Breeze, which blows stronger and longer near the Sea, as at *Port-Royal* or *Passage-Fort*, than it does within Land, as at *St. Jago de la Vega* or *Spanish-Town*; as contrariwise the Land Wind blows harder at the Town than at *Passage-Fort* or *Port-Royal*.

As the Trade Wind between the Tropicks comes not directly from the East, but varies from North-East to South-East, according to the Place and Position of the Sun, so the Sea Breeze here has the like Variation, not coming always from the same Point; on the contrary, the Land Winds or Breezes come always from the Ridge of Hills, and from the same Point of them, and this holds both on the North and South Sides of this Island. In Vallies amongst the Mountains, the Sea Breeze or Land Breeze has seldom any great Influence, but the North Winds very much prostrating great Trees.

The Land Wind blowing at Night, and the Sea Breeze in the Day-time, no Shipping can come into Port except in the Day, nor go out but soon after Break of Day.

The Norths come in when the Sun is near the Tropick of *Capricorn*, and so farthest off Southerly. This North is a very cold and unhealthy Wind; it is more violent in the Night, because it then has the additional Force of the Land Wind with it. It checks the Growth of Canes and all Vegetables on the North Side of the Island, but is hinder'd by the Ridge of Mountains from shewing much of its Fury on the South, where it seldom rains with this Wind.

Rains.

The South Winds bring the most lasting Rains  
or

or Seasons. No Rains from the Land are lasting <sup>British</sup> <sup>American</sup> <sup>Islands.</sup>  
on the South Side of the Island.

As at Sea in the Trade Winds one meets with Tornadoses, so at Land here sometimes will be a violent West, directly contrary to the Trade Wind ; but this happens seldom, and is soon over.

The Sea Breeze, when it blows hard, is thought to hinder the Rain from coming to the Plains, it for the most part then raining on the Hills. On this account 'tis that there are in the Mountains many Springs and Rivers, and few or none in the Plains ; and this is likewise the Cause why there is never any Want of Water in the Rivers coming from them through the Plains, and likewise that sometimes Rivers suffer very great Increase and Inundations in the Plains, when no Rain has fallen in the Places where such Inundations appear.

Earthquakes, as they are frequent in *Hispaniola* <sup>Earth-</sup> where they have formerly thrown down the Town <sup>quakes</sup> of *St. Domingo*, so they are too common here also. <sup>from the</sup> The Inhabitants expect one every Year, and some <sup>same.</sup> of them think they follow their great Rains. One happen'd on *Sunday* the 19th of *February*, 1688, about eight in the Morning. I found in a Chamber, one Story high, the Cabinets and several other Moveables on the Floor to reel as if People had raised the Foundation of the House. It came by Shocks, there were three of them, with a little Pause between : It lasted about a Minute in all, and there was a small Noise accompanied it : It was felt all over the Island about the same time, some Houses being crack'd and very near ruin'd, and very few escaped some Injury. The People were in a great Consternation, and the Ships in *Port-Royal* Harbour felt it. It was observed that the Ground rose like the Sea in Waves as the Earthquake passed along : But this was nothing to the Earthquake which happen'd at *Port-Royal*, in the Year 1692, when that Town was almost swallowed up by one ; of which I shall give a further Account when I come to describe their Towns.

British  
American  
Islands.



Thunder.

Thunder is here almost every Day in the Mountains with the Rains there, so that any Person in the Plains may hear it as well as see the Rain. It does not so ordinarily accompany those Rains that come from the Sea, altho' when it does 'tis very violent, and has on the several Substances it meets with, either animate or inanimate, the same Effects as follow Thunder in *Europe*.

Lightening for the most part precedes Thunder in this Island as elsewhere : And if it be fair Weather, especially in the hottest Seasons, it lightens almost all the Night, first in one part of the Sky or Horizon out of some Clouds, and then out of others opposite to them, as it were answering one another, as it happens often in the Summer in *England, &c.* and gives Occasion to People of Fancy to foretell strange Wars, &c. when they please, making these Apparitions in the Air Soldiers in Battalia, &c.

Hail.

Frost or Snow are never seen in this hot Climate, but sometimes Hail, and that very large, of which, during my being here, I saw one Instance ; it comes with very great Norths, which reach with great Violence to the South Side, and throw down every thing before them.

Dews.

The Dews here are so great within Land, that the Water drops from the Leaves of Trees in the Morning as if it had rained. One riding in the Night will find his Cloaths, Hair, &c. very wet in a small time. But there are few if any Fogs in the Plains or sandy Places near the Sea.

Rains  
from the  
same.

The Rains here are violent, and the Drops very large.

According to the different Positions of Places, so the Rains are more or less violent, and come at different times ; but generally speaking, the two great rainy Seasons are in *May* and *October*, in which Months, at new or full Moon, they begin and continue Day and Night for a whole Fortnight : so that the Earth in all level Places is laid under Water for some Inches, and it becomes loose for a great many Inches deep, and consequently the Roads are almost unpassable. In the Town of  
St.

*St. Jago de la Vega*, in those rainy Seasons, I was forced to ride on Horseback (says Dr. *Sloane*) al- though but from Door to Door, to visit the Sick. And these *Seasons*, as they are called, from their being fit to plant in, are generally so over the whole Island, tho' they are much alter'd in their Time and Violence of late Years, which arises from the clearing much of the Country of Wood.

In the Month of *January* is likewise expected a *Season* or Rain, but this is not so constant nor violent as the other two, and probably may come from the violent Norths at that time passing over the Mountains with part of their Rains with them.

The Island is divided into fourteen Parishes or Towns. Precincts. They have very few Towns; the chief are, 1. *St. Jago de la Vega* or *Spanish-Town*. 2. *Kingston*. 3. *Port-Passage*; and, 4. That of *Port-Royal*.

*St. Jago de la Vega*, or *Spanish-Town*, is pleasantly situated in a fine Plain upon the River *Cobre*, which falls into a Bay of the Sea that forms the Harbour of *Port-Royal*, about seven Miles below. It consists of eight hundred or a thousand Houses, and is the Capital of the Island; for here the Governor resides, and the General Assembly and Courts of Justice are held: This was the Capital of the Island also when in Possession of the *Spaniards*; and then it was much larger and more magnificent than at present, containing, as 'tis said, two thousand Houses, besides several fine Churches and Monasteries, which were laid in ashes by the Soldiers when it was taken by the *English*.

*Kingston* in the *Liguanea*, is a Port Town situated on the North Side of the Bay of *Port-Royal*, ten or twelve Miles South-East of *St. Jago*; and, since the repeated Misfortune of the Town of *Port-Royal*, is become a large and populous Place, much frequented by Merchants and Sea-faring Men.

*Port-Passage* is a Sea-port Town, situated at the Mouth of the River *Cobre*, seven Miles South-East of *St. Jago*, and obtained its Name from being the greatest Thorough-fare in the Island, at



British  
American  
Islands.

least between *Port-Royal* and the City of *St. Jago de la Vega*. The Town is not large, but consists chiefly of Houses of Entertainment; and being a considerable Pass has a Fort erected for its Defence.

*Port-Royal* *Port-Royal*, before it was destroy'd by an Earthquake, in the Year 1692, is thus described by Mr. *Blome*:

It was situated in the South-East Part of the Island, at the Extremity of a long Slip or Point of Land, running Westerly about twelve Miles from the main Island, having the Ocean on the South, and a fine Bay of the Sea, which forms the Harbour, on the North, well defended by several Forts and Platforms of Guns. The Harbour is about three Leagues broad in most Places, and so deep that a Ship of seven hundred Tons may lay her Side to the Shore and load and unload at pleasure, nor does there want good Anchorage in any Part of it.

The Point of Land on which the Town stood was exceeding narrow, and nothing but a loose Sand that afforded neither Grass, Stones, fresh Water, Trees, or any thing that could encourage the building a Town upon it, but the Goodness and Security of the Harbour.

It contained above fifteen hundred Houses, and was so populous and so much frequented by Merchants and Planters, that the Houses were as dear rented as in the well-traded Streets of *London*.

Three  
times de-  
stroy'd.

*This was the Condition of Port-Royal when Mr. Blome wrote, in the Year 1688.* But this unfortunate Town has been almost totally destroy'd three times in our Memory: *First*, In the Year 1692 by an Earthquake. *Secondly*, In the Year 1702 by a Fire; and, *Thirdly*, In the Year 1722 by a violent Storm and Inundation of the Sea.

1<sup>st</sup>, By an  
Earth-  
quake.

It was on the 7th of *June*, 1692, the Earthquake happened, which, in two Minutes, destroy'd most of the Town. The Earth opened and swallowed up abundance of Houses and People; the Water gushed out from the Openings of  
th.

the Earth and tumbled the People on Heaps, but some of them had the good Fortune to catch hold of Beams and Rafter's of Houses, and were afterwards saved by Boats. Several Snips were cast away in the Harbour; and the *Swan* Frigate, which lay in the Dock to careen, was carry'd over the Tops of the sinking Houses, and did not however overset, but afforded a Retreat to some hundreds of People, who saved their Lives upon her. Major *Kelley*, who was in the Town at this time, says, the Earth opened and shut very quick in some Places, and he saw several People sink down to the Middle, and others appear'd with their Heads just above Ground and were squeezed to death. The Sky, which was clear before the Earthquake, became in a Minute's time as red and as hot as an Oven. The Fall of the Mountains made a terrible Crack, and at the same time dreadful Noises were heard under the Earth. The principal Streets which lay next the Key, with large Warehouses and stately brick Buildings upon them, were all sunk. Part of the Town, however, was left standing on a Neck of Land which run into the Sea, at the Extremity whereof stood the Castle, which was shatter'd but not demolish'd. The Water of the Harbour, says another Writer, rose on a sudden with huge Waves, and drove most of the Ships from their Anchors, and immediately the Sea retired again two or three hundred Yards, leaving the Fish dry upon the Sand, but returned in less than two Minutes and overflowed Part of the Shore. After the first great Shock, as many People as could got on Board the Ships left in the Harbour, not daring to venture on Shore for some Weeks, the Shocks still continuing. It is computed fifteen hundred People were lost in the Earthquake, and as many more by Sicknefs, supposed to be occasion'd by the noisome Vapours that proceeded from the Openings of the Earth.

The Earthquake was general all over the Island, and the Noise in the Mountains so terrible, that many of the fugitive Slaves that had run away  
thither

British  
American  
Islands.



thither returned to their Masters. Two Moun-  
tains which lay between *St. Jago* and *Sixteen-Mile-  
Walk* joined together and stopped the Current of  
the River, so that it over-flowed several Woods  
and *Savannahs*. On the North Side of the Island  
above a thousand Acres were sunk with the Houses  
and People in them; the Place appearing for some  
time like a Lake was afterwards dry'd up, but no  
signs of Houses were to be seen. At *Yellows* a  
great Mountain split and destroy'd several Plan-  
tations with the People on them, and one Plan-  
tation was removed a Mile from the Place where  
it formerly lay. The Houses were in general  
thrown down or damaged all over the Island, and  
it is computed that three thousand People were  
kill'd with those that were lost in *Port-Royal*.

2dly, De-  
stroy'd by  
Fire.

The Town being rebuilt near the Place where  
the former stood, was a second time destroy'd by  
Fire on the 9th of *January*, 1702-3. Every House  
was consumed that Day, only the two royal Forts  
and Magazines were left standing. Whereupon  
the Government looking on the Place as unfor-  
tunate, order'd the Inhabitants to remove to *King-  
ston* on the opposite Side of the Harbour, and there  
the Courts and Offices were order'd to be held  
that used to be held at *Port-Royal*. However,  
this was found to be so commodious a Station for  
Shipping, that the People some time afterwards  
ventured to rebuild it a second time.

3dly, De-  
stroy'd by  
an Inun-  
dation.

It was a third time destroy'd by a Storm and  
Inundation of the Sea, on the 28th of *August*,  
1722, of which we receiv'd the following Ac-  
count, in a Letter from *Jamaica* :

The Sea being raised by the Violence of the  
Wind to a much greater Height than was ever  
known before, broke over its ancient Bounds, and  
on a sudden over-flowed a large Tract of Land,  
carrying away, with an irresistible Fury, Men,  
Houses, Cattle, and every thing that stood in its  
Way : And in this Calamity the unfortunate  
Town of *Port-Royal* had its full Share. I want  
Words to give you a just Description of the  
Horror of that Scene which we the unfortunate  
Sufferers

Sufferers beheld when the Sea broke in upon us <sup>British</sup> from all Quarters with an impetuous Force, con-  
curring with the Violence of the Wind to cut  
off all Hopes of Safety ; for we had no other  
Choice but to perish in the Waters if we fled from  
our Houses, or of being bury'd under the Ruins  
if we remain'd in them. In this dreadful Suspense  
we were held for several Hours, for the Storm  
began about eight in the Morning, and did not  
sensibly abate till between twelve and one, during  
which time the Wind and Sea together demolish'd  
a considerable Part of the Town, laid the Church  
even with the Ground, destroy'd above one hun-  
dred and twenty of the white Inhabitants, and an  
hundred and fifty Slaves, and ruined all the Store-  
houses, with the Goods and Merchandize in them.  
The Situation of the Place, it being surrounded  
on all Sides with the Sea, rendered it more ex-  
posed than any other to the Fury of this Element ;  
for our only Defence against the Sea is a great  
Wall running all along the Eastern Side of the  
Town where we used to apprehend most Danger.  
This Wall is raised about nine Foot above the  
Surface of the Water, and is about seven Foot  
thick, and for twenty Years had proved a sufficient  
Security to the Town ; but in this Storm it broke  
over the Wall with such a Force as nothing was  
able to withstand. Two or three Rows of Houses  
that run parallel to the Wall were entirely washed  
away, among which the Church, a handsome  
Building, and very strong, was so perfectly de-  
molish'd that scarce one Stone was left upon ano-  
ther. Great part of the Castle also was thrown  
down, tho' it was of a prodigious Thickness, and  
founded upon a Rock : And the whole Fortrefs  
was in the utmost danger, the Sea breaking over  
the Walls which stood thirty Foot high above the  
Water.

In the highest Streets of the Town, most re-  
mote from the Sea, the Water was five Foot deep,  
and so rapid that the strongest Man could not  
stem it, so that we were oblig'd to keep in our  
Upper-rooms, tho' we were in danger of perishing  
every

British  
American  
Islands.

every Minute by the Fall of the Houses, which shook in a very terrible manner, and the Roofs were generally blown off.

The Morning in which the Storm happen'd, there was a great Fleet of Merchant Ships riding in the Harbour, most of which had taken in their full Freight, and were to have return'd home in a few Days, but the Storm left only one Vessel in the Harbour, besides four Sail of Men of War, and these had all their Masts and Rigging blown away; but the most sensible Proof of the irresistible Force of the Storm was the vast Quantities of Stones that were thrown over the Town-Wall, of which such a prodigious Number were forced over, that an hundred Negroes were employ'd six Weeks in throwing them back into the Sea, some of them being so large that nine or ten Men could not heave one of them back again over the Wall. I'm sensible this Part of the Relation will seem strange, but I doubt not obtaining your Belief when I affirm it to you for a certain Truth.

The Town of *Kingston* also received great Damage, abundance of Houses being blown down there, and many more shatter'd and uncover'd; abundance of rich Goods were spoiled by Rain which fell at the same time, and some People were kill'd. And of all the Vessels which rode in *Kingston* Harbour, which were between forty and fifty Sail, they were either driven on Shore, or over-set and sunk, abundance of Seamen lost, and some large Ships with all their Loading were thrown upon dry Land. The Damage which the trading Part of the Island has sustained by the Loss of their Shipping and Goods is not to be expressed: And the planting Interest has shared in the Calamity by the Loss of their Dwelling-Houses, Sugar Works, and otherwise; and had the Fury of the Storm lasted much longer universal Ruin must have ensued.

**Buildings.** The Buildings of the *Spaniards* in this Island were of Timber, seldom more than one Story high, and they fixed the principal Posts deep in the Ground to prevent their being shook in pieces by

by Earthquakes. On the contrary, the *English* British build with Brick, and frequently pretty high as in *England*, which has sometimes proved fatal to them; neither are these Brick Houses so cool as those of the *Spaniards* were: Their Kitchens are always at a distance from the House, on account of the Heat and Smells occasion'd by the Cookery; and they have no Chimnies or Fire-places in their Dwelling-Houses. The Houses of the great Planters also are at a distance from their Sugar-works, to avoid the disagreeable Smells: And the Negroes Houses stand at a distance from their Masters, being only long thatched Hutts, furnished with Mats to lie on, earthen Pots to dress their Food, and some Calabashes, which serve them for Pails, Bowls, and Dishes.

The Inhabitants are either *English*, or of *English* Extraction born in the Island, *Indians*, *Negroes*, *Mulatto's* or *Mestize*, or the Descendants of these Numbers.

The *English*, and those of *English* Extraction, may be fifty thousand; the *Indians* are but few, all the Natives having been destroy'd by the *Spaniards*, and only some remaining they import-ed afterwards for Slaves, and some few the *English* have brought hither; the rest, *viz. Negroes*, *Mulatto's*, *Mestize*, and their Descendants, may amount to an hundred and fifty thousand, or thereabouts.

The *English* here follow the Fashions of their Habits. Mother Country in their Habits, making no Allowance for the Difference of Climate; which Sir *Hans Sloane* reproves them for. As to their Slaves they work naked, except a piece of Linnen Cloth about their Loins, but have a little Canvas Jacket and Breeches given them by their Masters annually at *Christmas* to wear on Holy-days.

The Meat of the Inhabitants of *Jamaica* is generally such as in *England*, namely, Beef, Pork, and Fish, Flour and Pease, salted Flesh and Fish sent from the *British* Colonies on the Continent, on which not only the Masters feed, but, according to Sir *Hans Sloane*, they are oblig'd to furnish their Servants, both Whites and Blacks, with three

British  
American  
Islands.



Pounds of Salt Beef, Pork, or Fish, every Week, besides *Cassavi* Bread, *Yams* and Potatoes, which they eat as Bread, and is the natural Product of the Country.

There are in the Savannas great plenty of Cattle; but they cannot keep Beef many Days, tho' it be salted; and fresh Beef is ready to corrupt in four or five Hours. Butchers always kill in the Morning therefore, just before Day, and by seven a-Clock the Markets for fresh Meat are over.

Their Beef here is well-tasted and good, unless when *Guinea* Hen-weed rises in the Savannas, which is immediately after Rains, or when they are so parched that Cattle can find nothing else to feed on.

The Butchers remedy the Smell of the *Guinea* Hen-weed in Cattle, by putting them into other Feeding Grounds before they are slaughtered.

Veal is very common, but none thought good but what comes from *Luidas*, where the Calves are white-fleshed; whether this comes from this Place being mountainous, or bleeding and giving them Chalk as in *Essex*, I cannot tell; but the Price of it was so extravagant, that in the Assembly they past an Act that it should not be sold dearer than twelve Pence per Pound.

A great part of the Food of the best Inhabitants, for their own Table, is of the Produce of the Island, *viz.* Swines-flesh, and Poultry of their own raising.

Their Swine are of two sorts, one running wild in the Country amongst the Woods, which feed on the fallen Fruits, &c. and are sought out by Hunters with Packs of Dogs, and chiefly found in the more unfrequented woody Parts of the Island. After they are wearied by the Dogs and come to a Bay, they are shot or pierced through with Lances, then being cut open, the Bones are taken out, the Flesh gash'd, and the Skin filled with Salt and exposed to the Sun, which is called *Jirking*. It is brought home to their Masters by the Hunters, and eats much like Bacon if broiled on Coals. These Hunters are either Blacks or Whites,

Whites, and go out with their Dogs, some Salt and Bread, and lie far remote from Houses in Huts in the Woods for several Days, in Places where Swine come to feed on the Fruits. The *Indians* are very expert at this Sport. The same Method is used for wild Kine, which are now but very few, and those in the Woods on the North Side. Wild Goats there are some on the Salt-pan Hills, not to be seen but in dry Seasons when they come down for Water.

Swine fed at *Crawles* are in very great plenty: These *Crawles* are Houses and Sties built for feeding and breeding Hogs. The Swine come home every Night from feeding on the wild Fruits in the neighbouring Woods on the third Sound of a Conch-shell, where they are fed with some Ears of Corn thrown amongst them, and let out the next Morning not to return till Night or they hear the Sound of the Shell.

A *Palenque* is here a Place for bringing up of Poultry, as Turkeys, which here much exceed the *European*, and are very good and well-tasted, Hens, Ducks, *Muscovy* Ducks, and some very few Geese. *Muscovy* Ducks are here most plentiful and thrive extremely, they coming originally from *Guinea*. These Poultry are all fed on *Indian* or *Guinea* Corn, and Ants Nests brought from the Woods, which these Fowls pick up and devour greedily.

Cattle are penn'd every Night, or else in a short time they run wild: These Pens are made of Palisadoes, and are look'd after very carefully by the Planters. The Oxen which have been drawing in their Mills and are well-fed on Sugar Cane Tops, are reckoned the best Meat if not too much wrought. They are likewise fattened by *Scotch* Grass.

Turtle (Tortoises) are of several Sorts; those of the Sea call'd Green Turtle, from their Fat being of that Colour, feed on Conches or Shell fish, and are very good Victuals: These are eaten by abundance of the People, especially of the poorer sort of the Island. They are brought in Sloops, as the Season is for breeding or feeding, from the *Cay-*



British  
American  
Islands.

*manes*, or *South Cayos* or Rocks near *Cuba*, in which forty Sloops, part of one hundred and eighty belonging to *Port-Royal*, are always employed. They are worth fifteen Shillings apiece, best when with Egg, and brought and put into Pens or pallisadoed Places in the Harbour of *Port-Royal*, whence they are taken and killed as occasion requires. They are much better when brought in first than after languishing in those Pens.

They infect the Blood of those feeding on them; whence their Shirts are yellow, the Skin and Face of the same Colour, and their Shirts under the Armpits stained prodigiously. This, I believe (says Sir *Hans Sloane*) may be one of the Reasons of the Complexion of our *European* Inhabitants, which is changed in some time from white to that of a yellowish Colour, which proceeds from this as well as the Jaundies, which is common Sea-Air, &c.

Land-Turtles are counted more delicate Food than those of the Sea, although smaller.

All sorts of Sea-Turtle or Tortoise, except the Green, are reckoned fishy and not good Food.

The *Manati* or Sea-Cow is taken in this Island very often in calm Bays by the *Indians*; it is reckoned extraordinary good eating.

Fish of all sorts are here in great plenty; but care must be taken they are not poisonous; this is known by the Places where they are; if *Manchaneel* Apples are eaten by them they are very dangerous, and these Apples frequently drop into the Sea from the Boughs of that Tree.

Salt Mackarel are here a great Provision, especially for Negroes, who covet them extremely in Pepper-pots or Ogllos, &c.

What is used for Bread here by the Inhabitants is very different from that in *Europe*; that coming nearest our Bread is made of *Cassavi* Flour.

This Bread is worth about twenty Shillings and Six-pence the Hundred Weight, sometimes double that, according to its Scarcity. People who feed altogether on this live as long and in as good Health as they who feed on any other sort of Bread;

Bread; tho' the Juice pressed from this Root is British rank Poison. American

Plaintains is the next most general Support of Life in this Island. They are brought in from the Plaintain-walks, or Places where these Trees are planted, a little green; they ripen and turn yellow in the House before they are eaten. They are usually roasted, after their first being cleared of their outward Skins, under the Coals. They are likewise boiled in Ogllos or Pepper-pots, and prepared into a Paste like Dumplings; and several other ways. A Drink is also made of them.

Potatoes are eat as Bread in this Place; also roasted under the Coals, or boiled.

*Yams* are likewise used here in lieu of Bread, and are prepared as the others; only because they are very large they are usually cut in pieces.

Grains in use here are, 1. *Guinea* Corn. 'Tis prepared and used as Rice, and tastes as well, and is as nourishing. It is also the Food of the Poultry and Pigeons.

2. *Indian* Corn or *Maiz*, either roasted or boiled, is fed on by the Slaves; especially the young Ears of it before ripe baked under the Coals and eaten; this is thought by them very delicious, and call'd Mutton; but it is most used for feeding Cattle and Poultry.

3. Rice is here planted by some Negroes in their own Plantations, and thrives well; but because it requires much beating, and a particular Art to separate the Grain from the Husk, it is thought too troublesome for its Price, and so neglected by most Planters.

Pease, Beans and Pulse, of sorts different from those of *Europe*, are here very common. They are eaten when green as ours of *Europe*; and when dry, boiled, affording the Negroes very good and strong Provision.

Flour from *New-York* is counted the best; but this as well as all other Flour and Bisket, are very subject to be spoiled with Weevils or small *Scarabæi*, if long kept.

Chocolate

British  
American  
Islands.

Chocolate is here drank at all times, but chiefly in the Morning.

The common Use of this by all People in the several Countries of *America* (Sir *Hans Sloane* observes) proves its being a wholesome Food. The drinking of it warm may make it the more stomachic; for we know by anatomical Preparations that the Tone of the Fibres are strengthened by dipping the Stomach in hot Water, and that hot Liquors will dissolve what cold will leave unaffected.

Besides these ordinary Provisions, the Raccoon, a small Quadrupede, is eaten. Rats are likewise fold by the Dozen, and when they have been bred amongst the Sugar-canes are thought by some discerning People very delicious Victuals. Snakes or Serpents, and *Coffi* (a sort of Worms) are eaten by the *Indians* and *Negroes*.

And  
Snakes.

Liquors.

The most common Drink is Water, and reckoned the most wholesome by many, among whom I am one (says Doctor *Sloane*) and he seems to recommend the drinking a Draught every Morning. Madera is the next most general Drink mixed with Water. *Madera* Wines have this particular Quality, different from *French* Wines and all others that are brought hither, that it keeps better in a hot Place or exposed to the Sun, than in a cool Cellar; whereas other Wines must be kept cool here, and if you do they turn sour in a short time. Syder, Beer, and Ale, are also brought hither from the Northern Colonies, or from *England*, but do not keep well.

Cool Drink made of Molosses and Water *Perrino*, Cane-drink, Cane drink, that made of Sorrel or Pines, are all accounted unwholesome, turning sour in twelve or twenty-four Hours, and owing their Strength to the Sugar and Fermentation they are put into; although I have known some People drink nothing else, and yet have their Health very well.

*Acajou* Wine, made of the Fruit so called, is very strong, keeps not long, and causes vomiting; it is reckoned a good Remedy in the Dropsy.

Plantain-

Plantain-drink is stronger than any of the others <sup>British</sup> except *Acajon* Wine, though subject to grow sour <sup>American</sup> in a short time. <sup>*Islands.*</sup>

The common fuddling Liquor of the Vulgar is Rum-punch. Rum is made of Sugar-cane Juice, not fit to make Sugar off, being eaten with Worms, growing in a bad Soil, or through some other Fault; but chiefly of the Skummings of the Copper in Crop-time, or of Molosses and Water fermented about fourteen Days in Cisterns and then distilled: It has all the good and bad Qualities of Brandy, or any fermented or vinous Spirit.

The better Sort of People lie as in *England*, Lodging: though more on Matresses or Quilts, and with little Covering. They hold here, that lying exposed to the Land Breezes is very unhealthy, which I do not believe (says my Author) to come so much from the Qualities of the Air either manifest or more obscure, as from this, that the Air when one goes to sleep here being very hot, the Sun-beams having heated it so long it retains this Heat for some considerable Time in the Night, which afterwards wearing away it grows towards Morning very cold, and affects one by the Coldness sometimes so much as to awake one if sleeping. This must of necessity check Transpiration, and so may be the Cause of many Diseases. To avoid this, *Negroes* and *Indians* sleep not without a Fire near them.

*Hamacas*, or Hamocks, are common Beds of ordinary White People; they were in use amongst the *Indians*, and are much cooler than Beds; so cool as not to be lain in without Cloaths, especially if swung, as is usually the Custom here.

*Indians* and *Negroes* lie on the Floors, generally on Mats made of Rushes, with very little or no Covering, and a small Fire near them in their Cottages. Hence the Servants who lie not in Beds are not said to go to bed, but to go to sleep; and this Phrase has generally obtained all over the Plantations.

Beds are sometimes covered all over with Gauze, to hinder the Mosquitos, or Gnats, from buzzing about,

British about, biting, or awaking those lying in them.  
 American This is chiefly after Rain.

*Islands.* It is esteemed here the wholesomest way to go  
 to Bed early and rise early.

*Exercises.* Exercises here are not many because of the Heat of the Air; Riding in the Mornings is the most ordinary, which by its easy moving the *Abdomen*, and so consequently its Contents, and by that Means forwarding the Depuration of the Blood in the several *Emunctories* there placed, has a very great Power in keeping a Man in sound Health as well as recovering a Man when sickly and ill.

*Vegetables.* The principal Vegetables and Produce of this Island are Sugar-canes, Cacao of which Chocolate is made, Oranges, Lemons, Citrons, Palms, Coco Trees, Cotton, Indigo, Tobacco, the Prickle Pear, Woods for Dying, Salt, Ginger, Cod, Pepper, *Pimento* Drugs, such as Guaiacum, China Root, Sarsaparilla, Cassia, Fistula, Tamarinds, Venella's, Gums and Roots used in Medicines and Surgery.

Here grow the Manchineel Tree, which bears a beautiful but poisonous Apple, and the Mohogany, the Timber and Planks of both which are now in great Esteem with us; and they have the like Forest Trees as are found on the Continent of *America* in the same Climate.

*Animals.* Their Animals are Horses, Mules, Asses, Oxen, Sheep, and Hogs, Goats and Rabbits; but they have no Deer or Hares.

They have also very good Sea and River Fish, and Poultry, Turkeys, Geese, Ducks wild and tame, Pigeons, *Guinea* Hens, Snipes, Parrots, Parakeets, and several others already mentioned in speaking of their Food.

There are also Aliigators, or Crocodiles, in their Waters, and they have some Snakes; but the latter are not venomous it is said.

*Diseases and Remedies.* Sir *Hans Sloane* speaking of their Diseases and Remedies observes, that here are the same Diseases and the same Methods of Cure as in *Europe*: That Fluxes and Fevers of all Kinds, as well as Dysenteries or Bloody-fluxes, are very common here  
 with

with all kind of People : And for Fluxes, provided they were moderate, he gave some easy Medicine to forward them ; but if attended with a high Fever, or there was so great an Evacuation that the Patient was grown weak, he used to order Bleeding : That very often in this Distemper, and in the Gripes or Belly-ach, which is another common Disease in this Country, occasion'd chiefly by drinking sour Punch and other pernicious Liquors, there was an Inflammation in the Guts, which often occasion'd a Gangreen, if not timely remedied : And in this Case, besides the usual Remedies, he used to order Rice to be boil'd in Water for their ordinary Drink : And in epidemick Dysenteries he had known Flour boil'd in Milk, with some Wax scraped in it, do very great Cures. But I must refer my Reader to Dr. Sloane's *Natural History of Jamaica* for a full Account of their Diseases and Cures, it not being consistent with so general a Work as this to be more particular.

I shall only observe further, that the Harbour of *Port-Royal* may well be looked upon as the Grave of our marine Officers and Seamen, many thousands having perish'd there by the Unhealthfulness of the Place, or their own irregular Way of Life in a Climate so different from that of their native Country. And it must be admitted that let a Man be never so careful of his Health here, both the Air and the Water are so bad near the Coast, that these alone are sufficient to destroy his Health ; but as I understand Dr. Sloane, both the Water and Air are good at a distance from the Shores ; and the inland Country of *Jamaica* is as healthful as any other, but hither sea-faring People, who belong either to Men of War or Merchantmen, seldom come ; their Business obliges them to remain on Board in that fatal Bay, or at the Port-Towns bordering upon it, which are not much better.

*Jamaica* was discover'd by Columbus in his second Voyage to America, Anno 1493, and planted by the Spaniards some few Years afterwards.

British  
American  
Islands.



wards. Their first Colonies were settled on the North side of the Island, and here they built a Town, giving it the Name of *Seville*; but observing that neither the Weather nor the Soil was so good as on the South, they built the Town of *St. Jago de la Vega* on the River *Cobre*, which falls into the Bay of *Port-Royal*, in the South-East Part of the Island: This Town in time increased to a large City, consisting of two thousand Houses; and here they lived in great Splendour and Security for near a Century, having parcell'd out the richest Lands amongst them, which they planted chiefly with Cacao for their Chocolate, Corn, Sugar, and delicious Fruits that were cultivated by their Negroes, of whom they entertain'd great Numbers: They also stock'd the Country with all manner of *European* Cattle, many of which being turn'd into the Woods, grew wild, and increas'd prodigiously in the Mountains.

In the Year 1596, being about an hundred Years after the *Spaniards* discover'd it, Sir *Anthony Shirley* cruizing in these Seas with a single Ship of War, landed on the Island of *Jamaica*, took the Town of *St. Jago de la Vega* and plunder'd it, so little did the *Spaniards* dream of an Enemy here, or provide for their Defence, imagining this new World to be all their own, and that no *European* Power durst disturb them in the Enjoyment of it.

After this Misfortune, the *Spaniards* erected a Fort at the Mouth of the River *Cobre*, to which they gave the Name of *Passage-Fort*, by which they imagin'd they should prevent their Capital being surpris'd for the future; but Colonel *Jackson* coming before *Port-Passage* with a Fleet of *English* Privateers, in the Year 1635, or as others say, 1638, landed five hundred Men, drove the *Spaniards* from their Works at *Port-Passage*, and advancing to *St. Jago* made himself Master of the Town and plunder'd it, obliging the Inhabitants to raise a considerable Sum to ransom it from burning; after which he retired to his Ships.

Still the *Spaniards* remain'd in possession of the Island till the Year 1656, when Admiral *Penn*  
and

and General *Venables* being sent by the Usurper *Cromwell* to reduce *Hispaniola*, and being disappointed in that Attempt, to save their Credit, invaded *Jamaica*, and made a complete Conquest of it. British American Islands.

And the *Spaniards* have been so far from attempting the Recovery of the Island, that they yielded and confirm'd it to *Great-Britain* by a subsequent Treaty of Peace.

Some Disturbance however the *English* have met with from time to time from the Negroes in the Mountains; for when the *Spaniards* left the Island, their Negroes retired to the most inaccessible Part of the Mountains, and there fortifying themselves, bid Defiance to the *English*, who were never able to reduce them entirely, but some of them remain'd there till they were joined by other Fugitives of the same Complexion, Slaves to the *English* Planters, and at length increased to so great a Body that they became formidable to the Plantations, in which they committed many Murders and Robberies. And notwithstanding his Majesty has sent two Regiments to the Assistance of the Colony, they still maintain their Ground I perceive, and all that the Soldiers can do is to guard the Plantations from their Ravages.

During King *William's* War also, I find, the *French* from *Hispaniola* landed some Forces on the Island in the Year 1694, and plunder'd several of the Plantations: But they were soon beat off, and some Forces being sent from *England* to their Assistance, the Gentlemen of *Jamaica* return'd their Visit, made a Descent on *Hispaniola*, and plunder'd several Places in possession of the *French*, bringing away with them fourscore Pieces of Cannon, and a considerable Booty.

As for the present State of *Jamaica*, we may best understand it from themselves, in their Address or Representation to the Throne, viz.



British  
American  
Islands.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

The Humble Address and Representation of  
the Council of *Jamaica*.

*Most Gracious* SOVERAIGN,

The pre-  
sent State  
of *Jamaica*  
represented  
in an  
Address  
to the  
Throne.

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, your Council of *Jamaica*, having taken into our Consideration the declining State and Condition of this Island, think ourselves indispensibly oblig'd, in Duty to your Majesty, and in Justice to ourselves and our Country, humbly to make some Representation thereof to your Majesty. We shall forbear troubling your Majesty with the many melancholy Reflections the present Situation of our Affairs hath naturally led us into, and shall chiefly confine ourselves to the most obvious and visible Causes of our Misfortunes, the Increase and Success of our rebellious Slaves, the Decrease of our white People, and the Decay of our Trade and planting Interest: The first hath in some part been guarded against by your Majesty's great Goodness in sending, and we hope continuing amongst us, two Regiments of Soldiers for our Preservation. The Decrease of our People is in great measure owing to our Loss of Commerce; and therefore we shall endeavour to point out some of the many Causes of this latter Evil. We are, of late Years, depriv'd of the most beneficial Branch of our Trade, the carrying of Negroes and dry Goods to the *Spanish* Coast; the Loss of this occasion'd the Desertion of a considerable Number of our Seafaring Men and others from this Island for want of Employment. A farther Discouragement to our Trade is the frequent Hostilities committed by the *Spaniards*, who, regardless of the solemn Treaties entered into with your Majesty, spare no *English* Vessel they can overcome, and from whom it has hitherto been in vain to attempt the obtaining any Satisfaction in these Parts. We likewise

likewise beg Leave to observe, that the Bays of *Campeachy* and *Honduras* were many Years in the possession of your Majesty's Subjects, and reputed Part of the Territories depending on your Majesty's Government of this Island, and gave Employment to a considerable Number of Shipping and People to cut and carry Logwood from thence ; but we have been dispossessed of them by the *Spaniards*, who likewise there seiz'd and made Prizes of a great number of Ships belonging to your Majesty's Subjects.

The low Value of our Produce may be very justly attributed to the great Improvement the *French* have made in their Sugar Colonies by the Encouragement given them, particularly in allowing them to export their Commodities to foreign Markets without first introducing them into any of the Ports of *France* ; and from the Lowness of their Duties, and being under no Necessity of double Voyages, they can afford to undersell us ; and likewise by the pernicious Trade that is carry'd on from *Ireland* and your Majesty's Northern Colonies to the *French* Sugar Islands.

It is well known, that Sugar and other Commodities produced in the *French* and *Dutch* Colonies are frequently imported into *Ireland* without introducing them into the Ports of *Great-Britain*, and paying the Duties as your Majesty's Subjects of your Sugar Colonies are oblig'd to do, and consequently those Foreigners are supply'd with Provisions at easier Rates than we ; and we are in a manner deprived of a very considerable Market in that Part of your Majesty's Dominions.

Your Majesty's Northern Colonies import into this Island great Quantities of Provisions and other Goods, for which they take no Part of our Produce in Exchange (a small Quantity of Molasses excepted) but are paid in Bullion, which they carry to *Hispaniola*, and buy Sugar, Rum, and Molasses for their own Use. This Trade is not only unequal and injurious to us, but prejudicial even to themselves, and highly so to our Mother Country, and drains us of so much Bullion in

Favour

British Favour of *France*, which otherwise must have centered in *Great-Britain*.

American  
Islands.

We further beg Leave to observe to your Majesty, that Cacao was one of the principal Commodities of this Island, and a great Encouragement to the settling it; but that it is now lost, which is in a great measure owing to the Restrictions and heavy Duties laid on it in *Great-Britain*; and possibly our Sugar, Rum, Ginger, and other Produce, may be attended with the same ill Consequences, if not timely remedied.

As the industrious Planters of this Island have lately introduced Coffee, and begun to make Plantations thereof, we humbly beg Leave to represent it, and to address your Majesty for some Encouragement, either by a Bounty on Importation or otherwise, that such Settlements may be carried on with the greatest Chearfulness (*an Act has pass'd since for encouraging the Planting of Coffee.*)

We have already taken up too much of your Majesty's Time and Patience in this Representation; but our Zeal for your Majesty's Service in the Preservation of this Colony, and the natural Love we owe to ourselves and to our Country in which is our ALL, has encouraged us to lay these Particulars before your Majesty. We humbly submit them to your Royal Consideration, and hope for such Relief as in your Majesty's great Wisdom shall be most advisable, that we with the rest of your Majesty's Subjects may enjoy the Blessings of a Reign glorious in itself, and so capable of making us and our Posterity a happy and flourishing People.

St. Jago de la Vega,  
Nov. 27, 1731.

By order of the Council,  
JOS. MAXWELL,  
Clerk of the Council.

But it must be remember'd here, that the Trade of the *British* Northern Colonies with the *French* and other Foreigners for Sugar, Rum, &c. is now in some measure restrained by a Duty laid on foreign Sugar, Rum, and Molosses; and the Trade  
of

of Foreigners to *Ireland*, with foreign Sugar, &c. British is likewise in a great measure prevented by a late American Act of Parliament; but the *Spaniards* it seems continue at this Day to take our Ships in the *West-Indies* as formerly, as appears from an Address of the Merchants of *Jamaica* to the Honourable *John Gregory*, Esq; President and Commander in chief of that Island; wherein they shew,

That the *Spaniards* have lately (*An. 1737.*) taken and carried into the *Havanah* three Ships all laden in this Island with the Produce thereof and Commodities purchased there, or Money received of the Agents of the *South-Sea* Company for *Negroes* legally sold and exported to the *Spanish* Settlements pursuant to the *Assiento* Treaty; and that the said Ships were all homeward bound to *Great-Britain*, and not the least Pretence of their being engaged in, or attempting to carry on an unlawful Trade.

I shall conclude the State of *Jamaica* with some Account of the Logwood Trade, of which his Majesty's Subjects have been violently and unjustly deprived by the *Spaniards*: This Trade was carried on chiefly by the People of *Jamaica*, and our Right to it has been set in a proper Light by the Lords of Trade and Plantations in their Representation to his late Majesty King *George I.* in the Year 1718.

Their Lordships insist that the *English* have an unquestionable Right to the Logwood Trade, and have always been protected in it by the Kings of *England* his Majesty's Predecessors.

They observe that Logwood is the Product of *Jucatan*, a Peninsula that extends itself an hundred Leagues into the North Sea (on each Side whereof are the Bays of *Campeachy* and *Honduras*, where this Wood is chiefly cut by the *English*.)

That the *Spaniards* are possess'd only of the Town of *Campeachy* and two more small Places in this Part of *America*, and that the rest of *Jucatan* was an uninhabited Desert till our Logwood Cutters settled at *Cape Catoch*, the North East Promontory of *Jucatan*, and at *Trist* or the *Laguna*

The Right to the Logwood Trade insisted on by the Lords Commissioners for Trade.

British  
American  
Islands.

*ganza de Terminos* in the Bay of *Campeachy*, before or in the Year 1662, when a Treaty of Peace was concluded between *Great-Britain* and *Spain*. And thereupon the Privateers of *Jamaica*, who used to disturb the *Spanish* Trade, being obliged to quit that Way of Life, became Logwood Cutters and settled with others of their Countrymen at *Trist* and the *Lake de Terminos* aforesaid; and great Quantities of Logwood were afterwards imported from thence to *Old* and *New England*. They observe that Sir *Thomas Lynch*, Governor of *Jamaica*, under whose Direction that Trade was carried on, in the Year 1671, gave his Majesty King *Charles II.* the following Reasons for his encouraging this Trade: 1. That the *English* had then used it for divers Years. 2. That the Logwood was cut in desolate and uninhabited Places. 3. That it was a Right confirmed by Treaty with the *Spaniards*. 4. That thereby we excluded the *French* and *Dutch* from that Trade. 5. That the *Spaniards* had not then made any Complaint of it. 6. That this Employment made the reducing our Privateers, who used to commit Hostilities against the *Spaniards*, more easy. Lastly, That this Trade employed an hundred Sail of Ships annually, and increased his Majesty's Customs and the Trade of the Nation more than any of his *American* Colonies.

Sir *Thomas Modyford*, the succeeding Governor of *Jamaica*, informed the Lords of the Privy Council, in the Year 1672, That the *English* Logwood Cutters had used that Trade for three Years, that they had planted Corn and built Houses for their Conveniency; and though they frequently hunted Deer in the Country, they had never seen a single *Spaniard* or any other Man in that Part of the Country in all the Time they had been there: And concludes, That their felling of Wood, building Houses, and clearing and planting the Ground, was such a Possession as in the *West-Indies* gave them an undoubted Right to the Countries they thus occupied.

And

And Sir Thomas, to justify his Conduct in encouraging this Trade, in the Year 1672 (when the Spaniards first complained of it) sent home the Copies of several Depositions he had taken from Masters of Ships and others concerned in the Logwood Trade, with a Proclamation he had issued for the Regulation and Security thereof, as a Confirmation of what he had asserted. And the Lords of the Council thereupon let the Governor know, that they approved what he had done.

The Lords Commissioners of Trade further observe, That there is a Clause in the abovesaid American Treaty, which provides, That the King of Great-Britain shall keep and possess, in full Right of Sovereignty and Propriety, all Places situate in the West-Indies or any Part of America which he or his Subjects were then in possession of; and that they actually were then, and had been for several Years in possession of Trist, the Lake de Terminos, and several other Places in the Province of Yucatan, which the Spaniards began to set up a Title to about this Time, notwithstanding they enjoyed the full Benefit of what Great-Britain stipulated on her Part, viz. 1. The securing the Trade of the Spanish West-Indies to them, a Point which had never before been yielded. 2. The obliging the Privateers to cease their Depredations, whereby the Spanish Trade had been miserably harrassed; and this had been effected chiefly by the Care of his Majesty's Governors, and the employing those People in the Logwood Trade.

That in 1680 the Spaniards proceeded in a hostile Manner to dispossess the English Logwood Cutters of their Settlements of Trist, &c. and even of the Island of Providence, a British Plantation to which they had no Pretence; but these were soon repossessed by his Majesty's Subjects, and the Logwood Trade in 1682 was greater than ever, and was maintained and carried on by the English 'till the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, when the Adjustment and Settlement thereof came again under Consideration; and it was stipulated that (only) such Places should be restored to the Spaniards

British  
American  
Islands.

as had been taken during the preceding War (in the Reign of Queen *Anne*) among which *Trist* could not be reckoned one, because the *English* were in possession of it many Years before that War commenced, and indeed had been in the actual possession of it from 1669 to 1713, except for two or three Months in the Year 1680, when the *Spaniards* surpris'd and expelled them by Force, as related above.

They further represented, That by a Clause in the Treaty of Commerce concluded in *November* 1713, the *American* Treaty of 1670 is confirmed and ratified; and it was thereby declared, that this should be understood to be without Prejudice to any Liberty or Power which the Subjects of *Great-Britain* enjoyed before, either through *Right*, *Sufferance*, or *Indulgence*; and the *English* having long enjoyed the Liberty of cutting Logwood without interruption, either through *Right*, *Sufferance*, or *Indulgence*, they are by this Treaty entitled to the same in as plain and exprefs Words as can be imagined.

Then the Lords Commissioners proceed to shew the Importance of the Logwood Trade to *Great-Britain* by the following Account of what Logwood had been imported since the late War, viz.

|                                           |          |   |   | Tons  | C. | Qt. | lb. |
|-------------------------------------------|----------|---|---|-------|----|-----|-----|
| Importation of Logwood from 1713 to 1716. | In 1713, | — | — | 2189  | 15 | 3   | 22  |
|                                           | In 1714, | — | — | 4878  | 14 | 3   | 24  |
|                                           | In 1715, | — | — | 5863  | 12 | 1   | 14  |
|                                           | In 1716, | — | — | 2032  | 17 | 2   | 0   |
|                                           |          |   |   | 14965 | 0  | 3   | 4   |

Price reduced from 40*l.* to 16*l.* a Ton. Once 100*l.* a Ton. That is *communibus annis* 3741 Tons, which cannot be computed at less than 60,000*l.* per ann. tho' the Price is already reduced from 40*l.* to 16*l.* per Ton; and before your Majesty's Subjects were settled there it was worth 100*l.* the Ton.

Nor is this Trade less necessary than beneficial to your Majesty's Dominions, by reason of the great Encouragement it gives to our Seamen and Shipping,

Shipping, which at all Times require a particular <sup>British</sup> Attention; but now especially, when it is daily <sup>American</sup> observed that very many *British* Mariners either <sup>Islands.</sup> through Defect of the Laws for want of Employment at home, or in hopes of greater Advantage abroad, enter themselves into foreign Service.

Upon the whole therefore we are humbly of opinion;

That the Subjects of this your Majesty's Kingdom for some Years before as well as after the Conclusion of the *American* Treaty in 1670, did enjoy an uninterrupted Liberty of cutting Logwood in the *Laguna de Terminos*, and in other Places not inhabited by the *Spaniards* in the Province of *Yucatan*, either through Right, Sufferance, or Indulgence.

That the said *American* Treaty did establish a Right in the Crown of *Great-Britain* to the *Laguna de Terminos* and the Parts adjacent; those Places at the Time of the Treaty, and for some Years before, being actually in possession of the *British* Subjects. Signed

Whitehall,  
Sept. 25th,  
1717.

*Suffolk,* *J. Molesworth,*  
*J. Chetwynd,* *D. Pulteney,*  
*Charles Cooke,* *M. Bladen.*

*Jamaica* is a Royal Government. The King appoints both the Governor and Council. Their Assembly of Representatives has nothing to do in the Election of these, as they have in the Charter Governments; and I look upon this Island as the most profitable Government in the Disposal of the Crown of *England*, next to that of *Ireland*. There have been Governors who have made seven or eight thousand Pounds a Year by their Salary and Perquisites ordinary and extraordinary, if not more.

Their Laws are much the same as those in the Colonies on the Continent; both the one and the other I perceive have recourse to Tortures in the Punishment of their Slaves. These are not treated as Subjects of *Great-Britain*; but as if they were Creatures of a different Species, such exquisite Tor-



British  
American  
Islands.



ments are inflicted on them (according to Sir *Hans Sloane*) as must raise the utmost Horror and Detestation of the Practice in *Englishmen* who have not lost all Humanity and Compassion for their Fellow-creatures.

The Knight relates, that for Rebellion they lay the Offender on the Ground, and having extended his Legs and Arms fasten them to the Earth, and then applying Fire gradually to his Hands and Feet burn them up to his Head, whereby he suffers the most exquisite Pain.

For Crimes of a less Nature they geld the Offender, and cut off half his Foot with an Ax; and for Negligence only they whip him; and when his Back is raw they strew Pepper or Salt on their Wounds to make them smart; and some Planters will drop melted Wax on their Skins, which puts them to most intolerable Pain.

And these Cruelties the Doctor justifies, by telling us the *Blacks* are a very perverse Generation, and merit such Torments. Thus we find the late Czar of *Moscow* also justifying the barbarous Usage of his own Subjects, from the Obstinacy of their Tempers. And we have known *English* Officers affirming the like of their Soldiers, and treating even Subjects of *Great-Britain*, over whom they had no Authority, with equal Cruelty.

We cannot wonder, after this barbarous Treatment of their Bodies, the Planters have so little Concern for the Souls of these poor Creatures, as to neglect the instructing them in the Christian Religion; or, that their Negroes have so little Inclination to embrace the Religion of a People who use them so barbarously.



## CHAP. II.

### Of the Island of Barbadoes.



THE *Caribbee-Islands*, of which *Barbadoes* is one of the chief, were so American called by the *Spaniards*, from the *Islands*. *Caribbees* or *Canibals* that were supposed to inhabit them; but upon the strictest Inquiry, and a full

*Barbadoes.*

Survey of every Country in *America*, I can meet with no tolerable Evidence that there ever was a Nation of *Canibals* either here or on any Part of the Continent or Islands of this new World; the first Discoverers indeed agreed unanimously in relating that the Natives were *Canibals* in almost every Province and District of *America*; the Reason whereof I have already consider'd. But later Travellers meet with no *Canibals* either in those Countries that have been subdued by the *Europeans*, or in those Parts of *America* where the Natives are still Masters, and still retain the rest of their superstitious Rites. In *Florida* particularly, where the People were represented as the most barbarous of human Race, and charged with sacrificing their own Children, now we are better acquainted with them it appears they have no such Custom.

As to this Island in particular, it is imagin'd by The some that the *Spaniards* or *Portuguese* gave it the Name. Name of *Barbadoes* from the barbarous Inhabitants they found upon it; but who discover'd it or gave it this Name, or whether there were any Inhabitants upon it when the *Europeans* discover'd it, is very uncertain. All that I can learn concerning the Name is, that it was called *Barbadoes* by the *Spaniards*, *Portuguese*, *English*, *Dutch*, and *French*, who frequently pass'd by it or touch'd at it in their

British  
American  
Islands.

Situation  
and Extent.

The Face  
of the  
Country.

Coast and  
Harbours.

Winds.

Hurricanes

Rivers,  
Wells, &c.

their Voyages to the Continent long before it was planted, none of them imagining it would turn to account to take possession of it. But to proceed :

The Island of *Barbadoes* is the most considerable of all the *British* Islands in *America*, next to that of *Jamaica* : It is situated in the *Atlantick-Ocean*, in 13 Degrees North Latitude, and 59 Degrees of Western Longitude, being of a triangular Form, about twenty-five Miles in Length from South to North, and fifteen in Breadth from East to West where broadest. It is a plain level Country for the most part, with some small Hills of an easy Ascent, and scarce any Wood upon it at present. It was cover'd with Woods indeed when the *English* first sent Colonies thither, but they are all cut down to make room for Plantations of Sugar-Canes, which take up almost the whole Island at present, nothing else being cultivated in any great Quantities ; their very Corn, Flesh and Fish being imported for the most part from the Northern Colonies.

There is scarce a Harbour in the Island ; the best is that of *Bridge-Town* in *Carlisle* Bay, on the South-West Part of the Island, and this lies open to the Westward. However, it is secure from the North-East, which is the constant Trade-Wind here, and blows from Morning till Evening, except during their Tornado's and Hurricanes, which happen usually about *Midsummer*, and in *July* and *August*, and blow from every Quarter. The Ships in the Bay at such times are pretty sure of being wreck'd on Shore if they can't get out to Sea, and therefore seldom attempt to ride out these Storms. The Coast is defended on the East by Rocks and Shoals from the Invasion of an Enemy, and on the West, where it is more exposed to a Descent, Breastworks and Redoubts are erected for its Security, but the Repair of them is too much neglected.

There is scarce a Stream in the Island that deserves the Name of a River ; however, we find two on the East Side, to which they have given the Names of *Scotland-River* and *Joseph's-River*.  
They

They have good Water in their Wells almost all over the Island, and do not dig very deep for it. They have also large Ponds or Reservoirs where they preserve Rain-Water. British  
American  
Islands.

They have generally fine serene Weather; their Rains fall as in other Parts of the Torrid Zone, chiefly when the Sun is vertical; and after the Rains are the proper Seasons for planting. Their Heats are not so excessive as in the same Latitude on the Continent, being constantly refreshed by the Sea Breezes in the Day-time, which increase as the Sun advances, and abate as the Sun declines: And they have this further Satisfaction, that their Days seldom exceed twelve Hours. But there being no Mountains in the Island, there are no Land-Winds in the Night as in *Jamaica*. Weather.

The only Town of any Consequence in the Island is that of *Bridge-Town*, or *St. Michael's*, situate in *Carlisle Bay*. It was formerly encompassed with a Morass, which render'd it unhealthy; but this has been drained in a great measure; however, the low Situation makes the Town still subject to Inundations. It is said to contain a thousand or twelve hundred Houses, tolerably well built of Brick or Stone. They have commodious Wharfs and Keys for loading and unloading of Goods, and three Forts or Castles for its Defence, which, if kept in repair, would render the Town no easy Conquest. Bridge-Town.

The chief Produce and Manufacture of the Produce Island, as has been intimated already, is Sugar of the the Molasses or Dross whereof they make great Quantities of Rum. They have also some Cotton, Indico, Ginger and Pimento; and formerly Tobacco was planted here in good Quantities, but very little at present. Forest-trees they have scarce any left. Their Fruits are Oranges, Limes, Citrons, Pomegranates, Pine-Apples, Guava's, Plantains, Coco-Nuts, *Indian* Figs, Prickle-Pears, Melons, and almost all manner of Roots and Garden-stuff, but very few Flowers. Trees and  
Plants.

Their Horses they import from *New-England*, &c. and have a slight Breed of their own. They have

British have also some Asses, Cows and Sheep, but the  
 American last do not thrive here. They have a good num-  
 ber of Hogs, the Flesh whereof is the best Meat  
*Islands.* that is eaten in those hot Climates. Here are also  
 Food. good Sea-fish and Poultry, but no fresh-water  
 Fish, and in general all manner of Provision is  
 very dear. There is no dining at an Ordinary  
 under a Crown a Head. Fresh Meat is a Rarity,  
 and chiefly the Food of People of Condition, the  
 rest are glad of salt Beef, Pork and Fish imported  
 from the Northern Colonies; from whence also  
 comes their Wheat-Flower, *Indian* Corn, Peas,  
 Beans, &c. They make Bread also of the Cassavi  
 Root; and the Negroes feed on Yams, Potatoes,  
 Plantains, and other Roots and Fruits. The Li-  
 quor drank by the Gentry here is chiefly *Madera*  
 Wine, or Wine and Water; and great Quantities  
 of Punch are drank by the Vulgar. They have  
 also strong Beer imported from *Old* and *New-*  
*England*, and Liquors made of their Maize and  
 Fruits, as in *Jamaica*.

Government. The Government here also resembles that of  
*Jamaica* and the rest of our *American* Islands,  
 having a Governor and Council appointed by the  
 Crown, which, with the House of Representa-  
 tives, are vested with a legislative Power, and  
 make Laws for the Government of the Island.

Number of People. The Numbers of white People here are said to  
 have been once forty thousand and upwards, and  
 are computed to be near thirty thousand at present;  
 the *Negroes*, *Mulatto's* and *Mestize* Slaves about  
 an hundred thousand. Their Militia consists of  
 fifteen hundred Horse and three thousand Foot,  
 or thereabouts. As to their present Trade, Re-  
 venues, Strength of the Island, and Fortifications,  
 Forces. these will be seen in the Controversy between the  
 Sugar Islands and the Northern Colonies, of  
 which I shall give an Abstract hereafter, and pro-  
 ceed now to inquire into the first Plantation of  
 the Island, and the vast Improvements made in it.

Their Trade, Revenues, &c. The *Caribbee-Islands*, as has been observ'd al-  
 ready, were first discover'd by *Columbus* in his  
 second Voyage to *America*: But this of *Barbadoes*  
 lying

History. The *Caribbee-Islands*, as has been observ'd al-  
 ready, were first discover'd by *Columbus* in his  
 second Voyage to *America*: But this of *Barbadoes*  
 lying

lying so far South, probably was not seen by him : British  
And whether the *Spaniards* or the *Portuguese* first American  
discover'd it in their Voyages to the Continent of *Islands.*  
*America* is uncertain : There is no doubt but one  
or both of them touch'd here (tho' they did not  
think it worth while to plant Colonies in the  
Island) for the *English* found Hogs at *Barbadoes*  
when they first arriv'd there ; and it appears to  
have been the constant Usage of the *Spaniards* and  
*Portuguese* to stock such Islands with Hogs as lay  
in their way, that they might not want fresh Pro-  
visions in their long Voyages.

The first *Englishmen* that landed here, 'tis said,  
were some of Sir *William Curteen's* Seamen that  
were cruizing in these Seas in the latter End of  
the Reign of King *James I.* who reporting, at  
their Return to *England*, that the Soil was fruitful,  
some Adventurers went thither with an Intent to  
plant it, but finding the Island cover'd with Wood,  
and scarce any other Animals upon it than Hogs,  
it did not answer their Expectations a great while.

The Propriety of this Island was afterwards  
granted by King *Charles I.* to *James Earl of Carlisle*,  
in the first Year of his Reign, of whom  
several Adventurers purchasing Shares, transported  
themselves thither, and first fell to planting To-  
bacco ; which not thriving here as they expected,  
they proceeded to try Cotton and Indico, which  
yielded them a considerable Profit ; but they made  
little Sugar till 1647, when Colonel *Modiford*,  
Colonel *Drax*, Colonel *Walrond*, and several  
other Cavaliers, finding there was no living with  
any Satisfaction in *England* under the Usurpers,  
converted their Estates into Money, and transport-  
ed themselves to *Barbadoes* with such Machines  
and Implements as were proper to carry on Sugar-  
works there. Colonel *Drax*, 'tis said, in a few  
Years acquir'd an Estate of seven or eight thousand  
Pounds per Ann. and marry'd the Earl of *Carlisle's*  
Daughter, then Proprietor of the Island : And the  
Adventurers fixing their principal Settlement on  
the great Bay in the South-West Part of the Island,

British  
American  
Islands.

gave it the Name of *Carlisle Bay*, in Honour to their Proprietor, which it still retains.

The Island was afterwards divided into four Circuits and eleven Parishes, each Parish being allowed to send two Representatives to the General Assembly; and every Parish had its Church and an Incumbent, with a handsome Maintenance assigned him. In the Year 1650, the White Inhabitants of the Island are said to have increased to between thirty and forty thousand, besides Negroes, which were much more numerous, and frequently plotted the Destruction of their Masters; but their Plots were constantly discovered, and the most terrible Punishments inflicted on the Ring-leaders; which did but increase the Disaffection of the rest, and laid the Foundation of fresh Conspiracies; but notwithstanding the repeated Plots of their Slaves, never any Plantation of so small an Extent arrived to that Riches and Grandeur as *Barbadoes* did in the Space of twenty or thirty Years. *Cromwell* apprehended this Island of such Consequence during his Usurpation, that he sent a strong Squadron of Men of War thither, *Ann.* 1651, under the Command of Sir *George Ascue*, who compelled the Lord *Willoughby* (appointed Governor by King *Charles II.*) to surrender the Island upon Condition the Royalists should remain in the Possession of their Estates and Liberties; and Mr. *Searl* was constituted Governor by the Usurpers. The *Dutch* War succeeding soon after, the Colony was prohibited trading with the *Hollanders*, with whom they had principally trafficked hitherto; for the *Dutch* it seems constantly furnished the Island with Negroes 'till this time, and taught the *Barbadians* how to plant and manage their Sugars to the best Advantage, taking most of it off their Hands, with which they supplied themselves and the rest of *Europe*: But after the Usurpers quarrelled with the *Dutch*, the *Barbadians* were compelled by an Ordinance of Parliament to bring all their Sugars directly to *England*, which was imitated by the Ministry after the Restoration of King *Charles II.* and was the Foundation of the Act of Navigation,

tion, which requires all the *British* Colonies to bring their Sugars and Tobacco directly to *Eng-land*; and prohibits their Trading with Foreigners in these and some other Articles.

In the Year 1661, King *Charles II.* purchased the Propriety of this Island of the Lord *Kinowl*, Heir to the Earl of *Carlisle*, and appointed the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* Governor again; ever since which *Barbadoes* has been a Regal Government. And the Colony granted a Duty of four and a half *per Cent.* for the Support of the Civil Government of that Island, and maintaining the Forces and Fortifications thereof: Which Duty (according to my Author) amounts to ten thousand Pounds a Year; but instead of being applied to the Purposes it was given, it is disposed of in Pensions to Courtiers (as he suggests) to the irreparable Damage of that Colony, no other Island having laid so high a Duty on their Sugars. In the Year 1664, *De Ruyter*, the *Dutch* Admiral, with a great Fleet of Men of War, treacherously attempted to surprize the Island of *Barbadoes*, tho' *England* was then in full Peace with *Holland*; but he was bravely beaten off by the *Barbadians*, and obliged to abandon that Enterprize.

In the Year 1674, Sir *Jonathan Atkins* being made Governor, had Orders to seize all Ships trading to *Africa* for Negroes, that Trade being granted to the *Royal African* Company about that time, exclusive of all others; and several Ships belonging to the Merchants of *Barbadoes* bringing over Negroes afterwards were condemned as forfeited, being denominated Interlopers, which that Colony complained of as a great Grievance, the *African* Company setting what Price they pleased upon their Negroes; but this was not redressed till after the Revolution, when that Trade was laid open to all the Subjects of *England*, paying 10 *per Cent.* towards the Charge of their Forts. The *Barbadians* also suffered great Losses by a terrible Hurricane that happened there on the 10th of *August*, 1674, when three hundred Houses were blown down, two hundred Persons killed,

*British American Islands.*

King *Charles II.* purchases the Propriety of the Island.

The Trade of Negroes monopoliz'd.



British  
American  
Islands.

most of their Sugar-works and Plantations destroyed, and all their Windmills for grinding Canes were blown down, except those that were built of Stone; eight Ships also suffer'd Shipwreck in the Harbour: Insomuch that the *Barbadians* were disabled making much Sugar the two succeeding Years. Another Calamity with which the *Barbadians* were afflicted, was an Epidemical Distemper that reigned several Years in the Island, differing very little from the Plague: This began about the Year 1691, and occasioned a great Decrease of the White Inhabitants, which they have not recovered from that Day to this. It seems the Ministry in *England* sending a Squadron of Men of War to *Barbadoes*, with a Body of Land Forces on Board, to protect the Trade of the *Caribbee* Islands, which had suffered very much by the Depredations of the *French* Privateers, the *Barbadians* on their Arrival concerted an Enterprize with the Commanders against the *French* Islands of *Guadalupe*, *Martinico*, *St. Christopher's*, &c. and joining the King's Forces with some of their own formed a Body of four or five thousand Men, with which they made a Descent on *Guadalupe* and *St. Christopher's*, and ruined several *French* Settlements; but did not make a Conquest of any of them as was expected:

The Island  
depopu-  
lated by a  
Plague.

And what was still more unfortunate the Distemper above-mentioned broke out in the Army, which the Soldiers brought back to *Barbadoes*, and almost depopulated that Island of White Men. The King's Ships also lost so many of their Men that there were not Hands enough left to carry them home. But this Distemper the *Barbadians* comfort themselves was brought into the Island from abroad, and did not begin there, assuring us that their Country is generally exceeding healthful.

The People  
oppressed  
by their  
Governors

There is another Calamity which the *Barbadians* seem to lament as much as any of the former; and that is, the Oppression of several of their Governors; and particularly of Colonel *Francis Russell*, Brother to the late Earl of *Orford*, in the Year 1695, whose Extortions exceeded those of any Governor that had gone before him; but he had the good

good Fortune to die before he was called to account.

British  
American  
Islands.

We meet with very severe Reflections also on *Henry Worsely*, Esq; another of their Governors, in the Report of the Committee appointed to prepare a Representation of the Grievances of this Island, made on the 15th of February, 1730, wherein they set forth, " That in the Year 1722, " when his Excellency *Henry Worsely*, Esq; took " the Administration of the Government upon " him, and for many Years before, the Gentlemen " of the Island having been harrassed with Parties " and Divisions, in hopes to put an End to the " same, and to obtain the Redress of several Grievances, were wrought upon to submit to a Settlement of six thousand Pounds *Sterling per* 6000*l. per* " *Ann.* on the said Governor, during his Residence *Ann. ex-* " here in the Quality of his late Majesty's Governor; a Settlement so very extravagant, and so " much more than what the Country could afford, *Ann. ex-* " that the Inhabitants could not long support them- *Ann. ex-* " selves under the same; but which however they *Ann. ex-* " had cheerfully submitted to for several Years, *Ann. ex-* " notwithstanding the Island had been so far from *Ann. ex-* " reaping any Advantage from their indiscreet *Ann. ex-* " Generosity, that on the contrary, the Publick *Ann. ex-* " Good had been entirely neglected, and no Mea- *Ann. ex-* " sures taken to redress the Grievances of the *Ann. ex-* " Island: But his Excellency and his Creatures *Ann. ex-* " had thereby been the better enabled, and more at *Ann. ex-* " leisure, to oppress the Inhabitants; the Militia *Ann. ex-* " had been totally neglected; the Forts, Breast- *Ann. ex-* " works, and Batteries were gone to ruin; the *Ann. ex-* " Publick Stores were embezzled and wasted; and *Ann. ex-* " all Persons, in Office under his Excellency, busied *Ann. ex-* " in nothing but how to raise Fortunes from *Ann. ex-* " the Ruins of the People, by inventing new Fees *Ann. ex-* " and Perquisites, and by increasing the former *Ann. ex-* " Fees and Emoluments of their several Offices. *Ann. ex-* " And the said Petition further sets forth, That the *Ann. ex-* " Freeholders of the Island, moved at last with a *Ann. ex-* " just Sense of their Danger and ill Usage, had in *Ann. ex-* " the Month of *July*, 1727, chosen such Persons

Fortifications run  
to ruin.  
Various  
Oppressions.

" to

British  
American  
Islands.

“ to represent them in the General Assembly, as  
 “ might inquire into and attempt to procure a Redress of some of their most crying Grievances;  
 “ and that when the said Assembly were sitting about that Affair with all the Calmness and Moderation imaginable, and with due Deference and  
 “ Regard to his Excellency, he had sought all Occasions to exasperate, maltreat, insult, and abuse the Assembly, who however resolved to overlook all Indignities for the Good of their Country; and that the said Governor finding he could not provoke them to return the ill Treatment they met with from him, had, on the 5th of *October* then last past, commanded them to adjourn for four Weeks; and tho’ upon the Application of the Assembly (who upon that Occasion humbly represented to him that several Bills, and other Affairs of great Consequence to the Publick, were then depending before the House, and therefore prayed the Adjournment might not be for so long a time) he had been pleased to shorten the Adjournment by the Space of two Days only; yet, before the Time of their Meeting came, he had prorogued them to the 9th of *December*; and from thence, by several repeated Prorogations, to the Month of *June*, 1728; and then dissolved them, apparently to prevent any Inquiry into, or Representation of his Misdemeanours.

As to the Diet and Cloathing, the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants of *Barbadoes*, whether White People or Negroes, they are much the same as in *Jamaica*; only there is not so great Plenty of Provisions in *Barbadoes* as there is in *Jamaica*.



C H A P. III.

*Of the Islands of St. Vincent, St. Lucia,  
Dominica, Tobago, Barbuda, and  
Anguilla.*



*SAINT Vincent* is situated twenty British Leagues and upwards to the West- American ward of *Barbadoes*, and may be *Islands.* seen from thence in a clear Evening, being about twenty Miles in *St. Vincent.* Length from North to South, and almost as broad from East to West.

The *English* and *Dutch* had formerly small Settlements upon it; whether they have any at present I am not informed; but thus much is certain, that neither of these Nations have thought fit to cultivate the Soil so as to render the Traffick thither of any Consequence.

*St. Lucia* lies about five and twenty Leagues *St. Lucia.* North-West of *Barbadoes*, and has two high Mountains in the Middle of it, which may be seen from thence in a fine Day. The Soil is said to be good, and yet the *English* and *French* have possessed and quitted it alternately more than once. It was, however, held by the *English* to be Part of the Dominions of the Crown of *Great-Britain*, and as such inserted in the Governor of *Barbadoes's* Commission: And Sir *Hans Sloane* relates, that when he was there, in the Year 1687, it was inhabited by a small Number of People from *Barbadoes* (within sight of which it lies) who kept it on account of its Wood, which it has in plenty, and they at *Barbadoes* very much want. It has been disputed by the *French*, says Sir *Hans Sloane*, whether the *English* were Proprietors of it or they; but I was told, that being in Possession of

British  
American  
Islands.



of the *English* at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Neutrality with *France*, it ought to remain quietly in the Hands of the *English*. However, in the Reign of King *George I.* when his Grace the present Duke of *Montague* had been at forty thousand Pounds Expence to plant that Island and fix a Colony there, the *French* from *Martinico* obliged the *English* Planters to quit the Island; and the Court of *Great-Britain* did not think fit to assert their Title to it, but gave his Grace some Equivalent, partly lucrative partly honorary, for his Loss. What Satisfaction the rest of the Adventurers had for their Losses and Disappointment I could never learn; but we seem, by acquiescing in this Outrage, to have yielded up our Interest in the Island to the *French*.

*Dominica.*

The Island of *Dominica*, so called by the *Spaniards* from their discovering it on a *Sunday*, is situated in 15 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude, about thirty Miles to the Northward of *Martinico*. This is another small Island which the *English* have not thought fit to cultivate yet to any degree, tho' they may have some inconsiderable Settlements upon it.

*Tobago.*

The Island of *Tobago*, so called from its yielding a good sort of Tobacco, is situated in 11 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude, forty Leagues due South of *Barbadoes*, being about thirty-two Miles in Length and twelve in Breadth.

The Temperature of the Air and Fruitfulness of the Soil in this Island is much commended: And it is said to be well stock'd with all manner of *European* Cattle, and to be well furnished with Sea-Fish, especially Manati and Turtle. It is also covered with excellent Timber, viz. Cedar, Mahogany, Ebony, Lignum-Vitæ, White-wood, Box, Brasil, Cassia, &c. and that it has or will produce Sugar, Tobacco, Indico, Ginger, and every other Plant that the best of the *Caribbee-Islands* do. This Island was granted by King *Charles II.* to *James* Duke of *Courland*, on condition that none should inhabit the said Island but the Subjects of the King of *England* and the Duke  
of

of *Courland*; and Captain *John Poyntz* contracted with the Duke, that the said *Poyntz* and Company would settle one hundred and twenty thousand Acres of Land in the said Island on certain Conditions: And *Poyntz* thereupon published Proposals to encourage Planters to go over and settle Colonies in the said Island; and some Adventurers thereupon went over thither. The *Dutch* also obtain'd a Grant of Part of it from the Duke of *Courland*, and planted it; but both the *English* and *Dutch* were so harass'd by the *Caribbees* from the Continent of *Guiana* or *Caribbiana*, from which it is not above forty Leagues distant, that they were compelled to quit the Island: And whether we have any Settlements upon it at present I am not inform'd. Certain I am, neither the Produce or Traffick of that Island, is of any Consequence at present; tho' why we should not improve and cultivate so profitable and desirable an Island, now we are no longer under any Apprehension of the *Caribbees*, I can't conceive. If we do not in a little time, possibly the *French* will ravish this Island also from us, as they have done *St. Lucia*, especially since they see the *English* tame enough to put up every Affront, and all manner of ill Usage from the most contemptible naval Power in *Europe*.

*Barbuda* is situated in 18 Degrees North Latitude, about 15 Leagues North, of *Antego*, being about twenty Miles in Length and twelve in Breadth. It produces the same Fruits as the rest of the *Caribbees*; but the Inhabitants, instead of cultivating Sugar-Canes, apply themselves to breeding of Cattle and raising Provisions, for which they meet with a very good Market at *Barbadoes* and the rest of the *Caribbee-Islands*. This is the Property of the *Codrington* Family, who have a great Number of Negroes on this Island as well as in *Barbadoes*; and it was their Ancestor, Colonel *Christopher Codrington*, Governor and Captain-General of the Island of *Barbadoes*, who dying in the Year 1710, gave and devis'd two Plantations in *Barbadoes*, and also Part of this Island of *Barbuda*.

British  
American  
Islands.



*buda*, of the Value of two thousand Pounds *per Annum* and upwards, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, partly for the Instruction of Negroes in the Christian Religion in *Barbadoes* and the rest of the *Caribbees*, and partly for the erecting and endowing a College in the Island of *Barbadoes*, for propagating the Christian Religion and teaching the Liberal Arts, particularly Physick and Surgery : And a College has accordingly been erected there by the Society, in pursuance of the Doner's Will ; for which unparallel'd Benefaction his Name will ever be gratefully remembered by all good Christians.

*Anguilla.*

*Anguilla*, the most Northerly of all the *Caribbee* Islands belonging to the *English*, lies in 18 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude, twenty Leagues North-East of *St. Christopher's*, and is about ten Leagues long and three broad. There is very little Sugar raised in this Island, the Inhabitants applying themselves to feeding of Cattle, planting *Indian* Corn, and other kinds of Husbandry.





C H A P. IV.

Of the Islands of Antego, St. Christopher's,  
Nevis, and Montserrat.



THESE do not lie far asunder, and are subject to the same Governor, usually stiled *Governor of the Caribbee Islands*; for tho' Barbadoes be in reality one of the *Caribbee Islands*, yet that and two or three Islands more dependant on it, having a distinct Governor, the Name of *Caribbee Islands* seems now to be restrain'd to *Antego, St. Christopher's, Nevis, Montserrat*, and some of the rest of the small Islands which lie near them.

*Antego*, or *Antigua*, is situated in 17 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude, and 61 Degrees of Western Longitude, being of a circular Form, and about sixty Miles in Circumference. The chief Towns are *St. John's*, situate on the Harbour of *St. John's* in the North-West Part of the Island, and *Falmouth*, which lies on a Bay on the South Side of the Island. They raise a great Quantity of Sugar here, but the Scarcity of fresh Water, and the Unhealthfulness of the Climate, make it not so desirable as it would otherwise be. They were also the last Year in great danger of being massacred by their Negroes, the Plot being discover'd but very little before the time it was to have been executed.

*St. Christopher's* is situated in 17 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude, twenty Leagues West of *Antego*, to which the celebrated *Christopher Columbus* gave his Christian Name. It is about twenty Miles in Length and seven in Breadth, an exceeding pleasant Island, having high Mountains



British  
American  
Islands.



*Nevis.*

tains in the middle of it ; and declining every way to the Sea-side. It is watered with Rivulets from the Hills, and has some hot Springs in it as well as others, and produces great Quantities of Sugar, besides Cotton, Ginger, Indico, &c.

*Nevis* is situated two or three Leagues South-East of *St. Christopher's*, being about six Leagues in Circumference, and produces Sugar also in Proportion to its Dimensions.

*Montserrat.*

*Montserrat* was so named by the *Spaniards* from a Mountain in it, resembling that of *Montserrat* in *Catalonia*, and is situated about ten or twelve Leagues South-West of *Antego*. It has been computed by some, that there are in *Antego* ten thousand white Inhabitants, in *St. Christopher's* six thousand, in *Nevis* three thousand, and in *Montserrat* four thousand, and at least three times as many Negroes ; but this Calculation is by others said to be much too large.

A late Governor of the *Caribbee Islands* (Lieutenant General *Mathews*) gives the following short Account of them.

The present  
State of the  
*Caribbee*  
*Islands.*

*St. Christopher's* was formerly jointly possessed by the *English* and *French*, but by the Treaty of Peace made at *Utrecht*, Anno 1713, the whole Island was yielded to the *English*. 'Tis about twenty-two Miles long, and its greatest Breadth is not much above seven Miles : The middle Part is so full of Hills that there is but twenty-four thousand Acres of Land fit for Sugar. They make *Communibus Annis* ten thousand *Boucaux* (Hogheads) of Sugar. *Nevis* is about twenty-four Miles in Circuit, *Montserrat* about eighteen, and *Antego* about forty-five. They reckon at *Antego* seventy thousand Acres of Land in all ; and they make *Communibus Annis* sixteen thousand Hogheads of Sugar there, six thousand at *Nevis*, and twenty-five hundred at *Montserrat*. The Militia is regulated thus : At *St. Christopher's* a Regiment of Foot containing about seven or eight hundred Men, a Troop of Horse of two hundred and twenty Men, and another of about an hundred and twenty Dragoons. There are several  
Forts,

Forts, but that called *Souphriere*, or *Brimstone-Hill*, is now finished, and said to be impregnable: 'Tis well provided with Cistern Water, and has a large Well dug in it. There is at *Antegoa* a Troop of about one hundred and twenty Troopers and three Regiments of Foot, in all twelve hundred Men, besides a Regiment of Foot, which his Majesty keeps there, viz. five Companies at *Antegoa*, two at *St. Christopher's*, two at *Nevis*, and one at *Montserrat*. The Fortifications of *Monks-Hill* at *Antegoa* are now finished, and the Governor-General of the *Caribbees* resides in this Island, because it is by Nature and Art the strongest of all the Islands, tho' it is not very wholesome; and they have scarce any fresh Water but what they can save when it rains.

British  
American  
Islands.

But the State of the *British Caribbee Islands*, as well as that of our Plantations on the Continent, will be best understood from the late Dispute between these Islands and the Northern Colonies before the two Houses of Parliament, of which I shall give an Abstract in this Place.

A Bill was brought into the House of Commons, on the Petition of the Merchants and Planters concerned in the Sugar Colonies, in the Year 1731, for securing and encouraging the Trade of the said Colonies: The Intent whereof was to enable them to supply foreign Markets with Sugar as cheap as the *French*; which they suggested might be done by prohibiting the Exportation of Horses, Provisions and Lumber from our Northern Colonies on the Continent of *America* to the *French* and *Dutch* Plantations, and by prohibiting the Importation of all foreign Sugar, Rum and Molasses to our Northern Colonies; for the permitting of this, they suggested, was giving the *French* and *Dutch* at least twenty-five *per Cent.* upon the whole Produce of their Sugar Colonies, and thereby enabled them to afford their Sugar at foreign Markets cheaper than our own Sugar Colonies can. It was finding them Plantation Necessaries, as well as Money to pay for them (that is) the foreign Colonies paid our Northern

The Case  
of the  
Sugar  
Islands  
stated by  
them-  
selves.

British  
American  
Islands.

thern Colonies for their Horses, Provisions, and Lumber, with Molasses and Rum, which otherwise the *French* must throw away, as they did formerly.

To induce the Parliament to pass this Bill, the Advocates for the Sugar Colonies endeavour'd to shew the vast Importance these Colonies are to *Great-Britain*, observing, that they produced at an Average eighty-five thousand Hogsheads of Sugar annually at least, which at ten Pounds a Hogshead amounted to eight hundred and fifty thousand Pounds. This Sum, or much the greatest Part of it, as they affirm, is spent here by the several Proprietors of Estates in the *West-Indies* who live in *England*, or is sent out annually in the Manufactures of *Great-Britain*, either directly to the Sugar Colonies, or to the Coast of *Guinea*, to purchase Negroes for the Use of these Colonies.

Besides this neat Produce of Sugar, another vast Advantage arising from the Sugar Colony Trade is the great Number of Ships and Seamen employ'd and maintain'd in the Course of our Commerce with them: And they calculate that there are three hundred Sail of Ships sent from *Great-Britain* (not to mention those from other Places) every Year to our Sugar Colonies, which are navigated by about four thousand five hundred Seamen: And that the Freight, from the Sugars brought hither, amounts to an hundred and seventy thousand Pounds a Year; and the Duties, Commissions, &c. to little less than two hundred thousand Pounds more, which, upon the whole, is a good one Million two hundred thousand Pounds a Year Profit and Advantage to *Great-Britain*.

But besides this considerable Article of Sugar they observe that those Islands produce great Quantities of Cotton, Ginger, Indigo, Aloes, &c. which are all brought to *Great-Britain*, where the whole Profit of all our Plantation Produce does and must center. They have been equal, they insist, to the Mines of the *Spanish West-Indies*, and have contributed in a particular manner to the Trade, Navigation, and Wealth of this Kingdom.

What

What they will do for the future, they said, British must depend in a great measure on the Event of American this Bill. *Islands.*

At present they were in a very bad and languishing Condition; *their Duties high, their Planters poor, their Soil worn out, and their Fortifications destroy'd.*

They had been true and faithful Drudges for *Great-Britain*, but the Time of their Visitation seemed to be at hand, unless they received some timely and effectual Relief from the Parliament of *Great-Britain*.

They observe further, that the *French* Sugar Islands are much larger, more fruitful, better inhabited, pay less Duties, and have greater Encouragement from *France* than ours have from *Great-Britain*.

And that if our Sugar Islands, for want of being put in a posture of Defence, should either be taken, as some have been, or moulder away and come to ruin, it would be one of the greatest Blows this Kingdom ever received.

It would then lose the Benefit of all their Product imported hither; it would lose the Exports of our Woollen and other Manufactures thither to the Amount of several hundred thousand Pounds a Year; it would lose, in a great measure, the Trade to *Guinea*; it would lose the employing and maintaining of many hundred *British* Ships, and many thousand *British* Seamen every Year. And lastly, it would lose one of the most considerable and main Branches of our Funds, the Deficiency of which must be made good, and the Weight and Burthen fall entirely on our Lands.

On the other hand I meet with an Address and The Case Representation of the President, Council, and of *New-York* stated General Assembly of *New-York* to his present Majesty on the same Subject; wherein they say, in an Address.

With Grief and Concern we have heard of the Monopoly aimed at by the Sugar Colonies, which if obtained will, we conceive, tend to the Ruin of

British of this Colony, and be prejudicial to the Trade  
American and Navigation of *Great-Britain*: For  
*Islands*.

They af- There is imported yearly into and consumed in  
firm that this Colony a very large Quantity of the Woollen  
they take Manufacture of *Great-Britain*, for our Cloathing  
off more and Preservation from the excessive Cold of our  
*British* Winters; and so great is our Consumption of  
Manufac- those Commodities, that we have reason to believe  
tures than the whole Sugar Colonies (excepting *Jamaica* on  
all the Su- account of the *Spanish* Trade) do not consume  
gar Colo- the like Quantity; and should we be disabled to  
nies except pay for that Manufacture, we must be reduced to  
*Jamaica*. Nakedness, or to make our own Cloathing.

That they The Product of this and the neighbouring Co-  
traffic lonies of *New-Jersey* and *Pensylvania*, is Provi-  
with our sions, Horses, and Lumber, which are exported  
own and to the *British* and Foreign Sugar Colonies; and  
the foreign in exchange for them, are had Monies, Rum, Su-  
Colonies. gars, Molosses, Cacao, Indigo, Cotton, &c.  
whereof, the Rum and Molosses are chiefly con-  
sumed in this Colony, and the Monies and other

They im- Merchandize are most applied to make good the  
port more Ballance of our Trade to *Great-Britain*; and so  
Silver and great a Part of that Ballance is paid in Money,  
Gold than that we have reason to believe that all the *British*  
all the Sugar Colonies together (except *Jamaica*) do not  
Islands ex- import so much Silver and Gold into *Great-Bri-*  
cept *Jamaica*. *tain* as this single Colony.

The *British* Sugar Colonies cannot take off the one half of the Provi-  
sions which this and the other two Bread Colonies  
do export; nor are they able to supply the  
Northern Colonies with the Rum and Molosses  
there consumed, without vastly diminishing the  
Quantity of Sugar which they now make; and  
though we be not by express Words in the Mo-  
nopoly aimed at, or restrained from exporting our  
Provisions to the Foreign Sugar Colonies; yet the  
restraining us from taking any Part of that Product  
in exchange will as effectually do it.

Wherefore we have reason to apprehend, that  
if the Monopoly aimed at be obtained, our Pro-  
duct now exported to the Foreign Sugar Colonies  
will

will be as lost to us ; and that we shall have little more from the *British* Sugar Colonies for all our Provisions that they can consume, than the Rum, Molosses, and Sugar, which we want to consume among ourselves ; seeing the Glut of our Product with them must greatly lower the Price thereof, and the great Demand of Rum and Molosses must vastly enhance the Price of them, and disable us to pay for the *British* Manufactures we have already had and owe for, and diminish the Consumption of the *British* Woollen Manufacture, and the Navigation now employed in bringing it to us, and in carrying our Product to the Foreign Sugar Colonies, and will enhance the Price of Sugar so much, that *Britain* will probably be disabled to export any Part of it.

British  
American  
Islands.

and they  
shall be  
disabled to  
pay for  
British  
Manufactures.

*Most Gracious SOVERAIGN,*

WE implore your most Sacred Majesty, the Father of all your Subjects, who has the Care and Prosperity of all of them equally at heart, and who will be far from countenancing any Endeavours to make one Part of them the Slaves and Bondmen of another (with whatever specious Pretence it may be aimed at) to have Pity and Compassion upon us your poor but most loyal and dutiful Subjects of these Bread Colonies, upon the Merchants of *Great-Britain* to whom we are greatly indebted, upon them and the many Tradesmen and Seamen of *Great-Britain* who get their Living by the *British* Trade with us ; and to grant us your most gracious Protection against this Attempt, which in its Consequences would tend, we humbly conceive, to deprive them of their just Debts and future Support, and to cut us off from being of any other Use to our Mother Country than to be the Bondmen and Slaves of her Sugar Colonies, by confining us to them for the Vent of the Produce of our Industry, and in Consequence obliging us to take what Price for it they please, and to give what Price they please for what we receive in exchange.

But the  
American  
Islands.

Objections  
made by  
the rest of  
the Nor-  
thern Co-  
lonies to  
the Bill.

There were other Advocates for the Northern Colonies, who made the same and some further Objections against the said Bill. They objected, 1. That such a Prohibition as was desired by the Bill would put the *French* upon supplying themselves with Lumber from their own Settlements, and the *British* Colonies on the Continent would thereby lose this Trade, in which many Ships and Seamen were employed.

*Obj. 2.* A second Objection was of the like Tenour as that made by *New-York*: *That the British Sugar Colonies could not take off their Lumber, or supply them with Rum for their Fisheries, their Trade with the Indians, and what they wanted in Harvest-time.*

*Obj. 3.* That the restraining the Northern Colonies from disposing of their Horses, Provisions and Lumber to the *French* and *Hollanders*, might draw them into Employments prejudicial to *Great-Britain*.

*Obj. 4.* That the *French* would distill their Molasses themselves, and supply the Fisheries with Rum, if the Northern Colonies did not.

*Obj. 5.* If the Northern Colonies did not take off the *French* Sugars, they would carry them to Market themselves.

*Obj. 6.* If the Importation of *French* and *Dutch* Rum and Molasses into *New England* was prohibited, and they could go to no other Market for Rum, or sell their Lumber and Provisions any where else, the *English* Sugar Colonies, like other Monopolies, would exact an unreasonable Price for their Rum, and beat down the Price of Lumber and other Goods as low as they saw fit.

*Obj. 7.* That the *French* and *Dutch* Colonies furnish the Northern Colonies with Money, which they bring to *Great-Britain*, and lay out in our Manufactures.

*Obj. 8.* That the Luxury and Extravagance of the Sugar Colonies was the Occasion of their declining.

*Obj. 9.* That the Trade of the Sugar Colonies is still vastly profitable, instancing in *Barbadoes*, which, in

in the Year 1730, imported 22,769 Hhds of British Sugar into *England*, valued at 340,306*l*. and that this was the net Profit they insisted, because it was admitted that the Rum and Molasses of a Sugar Plantation bears the Charges of it; the Sugar Planters therefore could have no Reason to complain, when to small an Island as *Barbadoes* produced so vast a net Profit.

1. To the first of these Objections, *That the French would supply themselves with Lumber from their own Settlements, if the Northern Colonies did not furnish them with it:* These Objections answered by the Sugar Colonies.

The Advocates for the Sugar Colonies answer'd, That the *French* could not be supplied with Lumber from their own Settlements; or if they could, it must be at great Charge and Expence; the only Places they can pretend to be supplied from are *Cape Briton* and *Quebeck*.

Some indeed have gone so far, and been so extravagant as to imagine that the *French* Islands may be supplied with Lumber from the Bay of *Apalachy*, or the Settlements at *Mississipi*.

But we must consider that great Snows (which the *French* have not at their Colonies on the *Mississipi* or the Bay of *Apalachy*) are necessary, both for drawing down Trees to the Sides of the Rivers, and likewise (upon the Snows melting) for floating them down to the Mills; and if they had Snows, those Countries do not produce any Quantity of such Wood as is proper to work into Lumber; nor have they any Saw-mills, which are expensive to build; and the Labour and Time required to manufacture such Trees into Lumber would make it extremely dear to the *French*.

Besides, the Navigation to and from these Places to *Martinico* and the *French* Islands, so much to wind-ward, would be so difficult and long for such Vessels as are proper to carry Lumber by reason of the Calms, Contrary-winds, and strong Currents against them, that such a Project would probably end in the Ruin of the People concerned in it.



British  
American  
Islands.

As to *Cape Briton*, tho' it has the Advantage of Snows, yet it has no other Convenience; it produces little Wood; they have few Rivers, and those longer froze and sooner dry'd than in *New-England*; it is thinly inhabited, and is a small inconsiderable Island, commodious only for Fishing.

And as for *Quebeck*, allowing it all the Advantages the other Places want, and all that our Northern Colonies have with respect to Wood and Mills, yet the Navigation of the River *St. Lawrence* (which is practicable only a few Months in the Year) is so very long and dangerous, that all the Lumber from thence must be exceeding dear.

And tho' some may think that these Difficulties may in time be removed, and the Navigation of that River become safe and easy, it were to be wished the *French* had no Supply of Lumber 'till these Difficulties were removed; but these Difficulties must always continue, from the Nature of the Coast, the Rocks, Shoals and Sands in that River, and from the Inclemency of the Air, and other natural Causes, which will make that Navigation for ever unsafe.

If then the *French* can't be supplied at all with Lumber, or at least not upon any reasonable Terms, how much will this give our Sugar Colonies an Advantage over the *French*? But let us suppose the worse and utmost that can be, that they can be supplied with Lumber from their own Settlements, yet what must this Lumber be bought with? Not with Rum and Molosses, but with Money.

So that if this Prohibition of foreign Rum and Molosses takes place, so much clear Profit and Gain will be lost to the *French* Plantations, because they can have no Vent for their Rum, as interfering with Brandy.

But what stronger Argument can we have that the Trade carried on by some of the Northern Colonies is a prejudicial Trade, than the Permission of it by the *French* themselves?

They

They understand the whole Compass of Trade perfectly well; and to do them Justice, steadily and unalterably pursue their Interests.

British  
American  
Islands.

They know that their Colonies either can't be supplied at all with Horses, Lumber, and other Plantation Necessaries, or else they must purchase them at a great Expence: They find they have them for Rum and Molosses, which is all clear Gains to them; that they save at least 25 *per Cent.* in having Lumber and Horses so conveniently from the Northern Colonies, and get 25 *per Cent.* by their Rum and Molosses, which else would be all lost to them; and what is more, they plainly perceive that this Trade must shortly and most effectually destroy and ruin our Sugar Plantations, by enhancing the Price of our Plantation Necessaries, and stopping the Vent of our Product and Manufacture.

However specious therefore the Arguments may be in Favour of this Trade, nothing less than a Prohibition of Horses and Lumber, as well as of foreign Sugar, Rum and Molosses, will be of any real Service or Benefit to our Sugar Colonies.

For if you allow them to carry Lumber, what must they have in exchange for it but Sugar, Rum, or Molosses? And how will it be possible on so long a Coast of seven or eight hundred Miles, as that of these Northern Colonies, where there are so many Bays, Creeks, and Rivers, and so few Officers, to prevent the Running of these Goods, let your Penalties be never so strict.

A Permissive Trade will be an Inlet to all the Fraud imaginable, and destroy the Act; and your Forfeitures and Penalties will be only like Scarecrows and Pasteboard Soldiers, which may seem to be some Security, but in reality are none at all.

But they'll say, perhaps, that *France* will allow them to carry their Rum to their own Settlements on the Continent; but that is altogether as improbable, and as unlikely, as that we should suffer *Ireland* to supply our Plantations with Woollen Manufactures.

Those

British  
American  
Islands.

Those Colonies there are abundantly supplied with Brandy from *France* very cheap; and which is a Spirit much better liked, and what they have been used to.

2. As to the second Objection, *That the English Sugar Colonies cannot take off their Lumber, or supply them with Rum:*

The Advocates for the Sugar Colonies answer'd, If the Trade and Navigation from the *British* Colonies on the Continent to the foreign Colonies be prejudicial to the *British* Sugar Colonies, and consequently to *Great-Britain*; and if the restraining it will effectually cramp and check our Rivals the *French* in the Sugar Trade, it ought to be prohibited, tho' some few Traders should suffer Hardships and Inconveniencies by it. The Owners of Wool might complain that the Government would not suffer them to carry Wool to *France*; but it must be admitted, however, that the Prohibition of exporting Wool is absolutely necessary in order to our supplying foreign Markets with the Manufactures of *Great-Britain*.

As to the Disposal of their Lumber, the Sugar Colonies have more Reason to apprehend that they shall find a Want of it, than that the *New-England* People will have too much lie upon their Hands.

For we have for many Years been alarmed with the Scarcity of Lumber in *New-England*; and we have felt the Effects of it in the advanced Price we have paid for it for some Time.

Those who were principally concerned there in the Lumber-Trade, complained last Year of the great Want of Oak and Fir near the Rivers on which their Saw-mills stand: And as they are restrained by several Acts of Parliament from cutting the King's Trees, they will hardly be able to supply us long with Lumber of private Property at any reasonable Rate.

The last Letters from *Newberry*, in *New-England*, inform us, that Lumber was risen there from three Pounds *per* thousand Foot to five Pounds ten Shillings; and that some Ships have failed

failed from thence to the *West-Indies* without being able to get their Loading at any Price ; and that others continue there in hopes to get a Lading, tho' it is very uncertain whether they will or no.

British  
American  
Islands.

The other Part of this Obejection, that our Sugar Colonies are not able to supply them with a sufficient Quantity of Rum, is as groundless as the former.

A Gentleman of Distinction of *St. Christopher's* informed the Committee, that he himself made only two thousand Gallons of Rum a Year ; but that if he had Encouragement, he could make twenty thousand Gallons. And that other Gentlemen of *St. Christopher's*, *Nevis*, and *Montserrat*, who made little or no Rum now, could make a very great Quantity, had they a Demand for it.

Therefore the Question that was asked by a *New-England* Gentleman, whether we have any Rum left on our Hands at the End of the Year, is not at all to the Purpose.

We say they have sometimes. But that is not the Point : They have little left because they make but little ; and they make but little because there is not a Demand for more, *French* Rum or *Molosses* being cheaper. But where those Islands make now but one Gallon of Rum, they could upon Encouragement make ten.

And notwithstanding they make but little Rum, they would still have a good deal upon their Hands every Year, if they did not send it to *Great-Britain* and other Places, because nothing wastes more than Rum : And after they have exported it, they have frequently the Mortification of finding it produce not above Two-pence a Gallon clear of all Charges, to their very great Loss.

The Distillers in *New-England* find this Trade in Spirits made of foreign *Molosses* a gainful one, and for that Reason raise Objections which have nothing in them, in order to make *Boston* the great Staple for Rum : For should the Prohibition take place on foreign Rum and *Molosses*, then our Sugar Colonies might send again their Rum to *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Carolina*, and *Newfoundland*, as they

British  
American  
Islands.

they did before, and save the Lives of many hundreds of poor Wretches, who if this Trade be not stop'd will probably be destroyed by this pernicious Spirit made of foreign Molosses; which is so very unwholsome, that it commonly goes by the Name of *Kill-Devil* in that Country.

If we should admit for Argument sake, that the *French* Sugar Colonies, and *Surinam* (belonging to the *Dutch*) do take off one half of the *New-England* Lumber (which by the way is more than can be proved) the Deficiency then of the Demand of Lumber will be one Moiety. Now if it can be proved that the *British* Sugar Colonies upon a proper Encouragement might be improved sufficiently to make as much more Rum and Sugar as they now do, it will follow that the *British* Sugar Colonies may take off all the *New-England* Lumber.

*Barbadoes*, one of the *British* Sugar Colonies, is allowed to be at its Perfection, and perhaps incapable of being further improved so as to increase its annual Product.

*Antigua* (all People that know it will acknowledge) is capable of further Improvement, and may enlarge its Product of Sugar, according to the best Computations, at least one fifth Part *per Ann.* As to the Product of Rum there, it may certainly be enlarged near one half upon proper Encouragement; for the Rum it now makes is not quite one half of its Product of Sugar; that is to say, if *Antigua* makes twenty thousand Hogsheads of Sugar *per Ann.* its Product of Rum is not quite ten thousand: But it is evident from the Experience of *Barbadoes*, that out of twenty thousand Hogsheads of Sugar there ought to be made near fourteen thousand Hogsheads of Rum; and this Increase, both of Sugar and Rum in *Antigua*, would certainly be made, if there was proper Encouragement.

*Montserrat*, *Nevis*, and *St. Christopher's*, for want of Encouragement, do not make (as may appear by the Custom-House-Books of each Island) one Hoghead of Rum for three Hogheads of Sugar: Whereas it is evident by the Experience of *Barbadoes*,

*Barbadoes*, that three Hogheads of Sugar ought to produce two Hogheads of Rum; consequently the Product of Rum in these three Islands might be, upon proper Encouragement, increased to as much more as it now is.

British  
American  
Islands.

Add to this, the Improvement to be made in those Islands by which the Quantity of Sugar would be increased, it will follow still farther, that the Quantity of Rum which those Islands are capable of making would be above as much more as they now make, and consequently the Demand for Lumber would be proportionate.

*Jamaica*, the largest of all the *British* Sugar Colonies (nay bigger than all the rest put together) is yet but in its Infancy, having now as much Land uncultivated as would produce above three times its present Product, were it cultivated, as it certainly would be, upon proper Encouragement.

But farther, as to the Sugar Colonies not being able to furnish the Colonies on the Continent with Rum, it appeared by the Custom-house Books, That all the *British* Sugar Colonies do produce about one hundred thousand Hogheads of Sugar *per Ann.* and they ought in proportion to make about seventy thousand Hogheads of Rum; a Quantity more than sufficient to supply the *New-England* Fishery and *Indian* Trade, even according to their own hyperbolical Computation. But the present Product of the Sugar Colonies under all the incumbent Disadvantages is more than the *New-England* Casuists can prove to be necessary for both those Trades; nay, on the contrary, they will have a Proof sooner than desired, that their Fishery and *Indian* Trade do not take off one half of the Rum now actually made in the Sugar Colonies.

A Gentleman who had resided a great while at *South-Carolina* affirmed, that that Colony traded with eight thousand *Indians*, and yet nine hundred Hogheads of Rum was the most they ever imported in one Year, both to supply their home Consumption, all their Trade with these eight thousand *Indians*, and to trade to other Ports

Vol. XXXI.

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with;

British  
American  
Islands.




with; and yet this is a Colony that is the hottest, has the largest Harvest of Rice, &c. and not supply'd so well with Beer, &c. as the other Northern Colonies are.

So let us allow this Colony of *South-Carolina* these nine hundred Hogsheads, *North-Carolina* one thousand Hogsheads, *Virginia* and *Maryland* three thousand Hogsheads, *New-York* and *Philadelphia* four thousand Hogsheads, *Rhode-Island* and *New-England* ten thousand Hogsheads, which Calculation, both by their respective Custom-House Accounts, and by the largest Estimates that ever have been made, are too large; and yet the whole amounts but to eighteen thousand nine hundred Hogsheads.

The same Person attested that the *English* Sugar Colonies, under their present Improvement, did make forty thousand Hogsheads of Rum *per Ann.* and could make (had they a Demand for it) about fifty-five thousand Hogsheads *per Ann.* besides what those large Tracts of uncultivated Land would produce, should they have Encouragement to plant them.

It was observ'd also, that the *New-England* People thus taking from the *French* their Molosses, Rum, and Sugar, and supplying all the other Northern Colonies as well as *New-foundland*, *Great-Britain*, *Ireland* and *Africa* with large Quantities thereof, was a very great Hurt to the Revenue; for if these Places were not thus supply'd they must be supply'd from our own Sugar Colonies, and then every thousand Pound Value of Rum or Molosses of our own Growth must pay his Majesty a Duty of forty-five Pounds, and every thousand Pound Value of Sugar a Duty of one hundred and twenty Pounds. It might have been added, that it was likewise a great Hurt to the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom, as well as to the Sugar Colonies, that we cannot supply those Places with Rum, Sugar and Molosses of our own Growth, and in Ships and Vessels of this Kingdom, without the Disadvantage of paying for our Rum and Molosses a Duty of four

four and a half *per Cent.* and for our Sugar a British Duty of twelve *per Cent.* when *New-England* can supply all the Markets with Rum, Sugar and Molosses of foreign Growth without paying any of these Duties. Was it not for this Advantage they have over us, a great many of our Vessels that miss a Freight of Sugar in the *West-Indies* for *London*, would take some Rum, Molosses and Sugar, and go to *New-foundland* and barter it for Fish or Oil, and then proceed to some other Market with it, and might probably employ themselves to Advantage, or might with a little Rum, Sugar and Molosses, go to *North-Carolina*, &c. and barter them for a Cargo of Pitch, Tar and Skins, and bring to *Great-Britain*. 

3. As to the third Objection, That the restraining the Northern Colonies from disposing of their Horses, Provisions and Lumber to the *French* and *Hollanders*, might put them upon some Employments prejudicial to *Great-Britain* :

The Advocates for the Sugar Colonies answer'd, That it had been shewn already we have more Reason to fear that our Islands will not be supply'd with Lumber, as they ought to be, than that the Northern Colonies will want a Vent for their Lumber ; but if the *British* Sugar Colonies could not take off all their Lumber, they might send it to *Spain* or *Portugal*, or to *Great-Britain*, where it might be imported Duty free. They might employ themselves in raising naval Stores, the Government hath given them a large Bounty to go upon that Trade, which would be of vast Advantage to our Navigation, and save the Nation three or four hundred thousand Pounds a Year, which is sent out annually to purchase naval Stores from the North : But this favourite Trade with the foreign Sugar Colonies hath diverted them from this excellent Design to the enriching of the *French*, and to the great Prejudice and almost Ruin of our own Colonies.

4. As to the fourth Objection, That the *French* would distill their Molosses themselves, and supply the Fisheries with Rum, if the Northern Colo-



British  
American  
Islands.

nies did not, it was answer'd, That the *French* distill'd but very little Rum at present and know little of the matter; Worms, Stills, and other distilling Utenfils cost a great deal of Money, and this must be a Work of Time and a very great Expence: However, a Possibility of an Inconvenience that might happen ought not to have that Regard paid to it as to prevent our own Colonies being reliev'd in a Point so very prejudicial to them, as well as to the Malt Spirits of *Great-Britain*, with which the Fisheries were formerly supply'd.

5. To the fifth Objection, That if the Northern Colonies did not take off the *French* Sugars, they would carry them to other Markets themselves, it was answer'd, The *French* do already carry as much Sugar to foreign Markets as they can sell to Advantage; and the Surplus, which foreign Markets won't take off, goes to our Northern Colonies, to purchase what is absolutely necessary for them, and what they could not have conveniently from any other Place.

But even here the Profit of the Freight is gained not by *Great-Britain*, but by the Northern Colonies only, which is a very small Advantage in comparison of the Damage done by this Means to our Sugar Colonies, especially as the *French* can afford their Sugars cheaper than ours, and as the high Duties paid for our Sugars in our Plantations make it impossible for us to send any to the Northern Colonies.

6. To the sixth Objection, That if the Importation of *French* and *Dutch* Rum and Molosses was prohibited, and they could have none but what they bought of the *English* Sugar Islands, or sell their Lumber and Provisions any where else, then the *English* Islands, like other Monopolizers, would set what Price they pleased upon their Rum, and beat down the Price of their Lumber and other Goods as they saw fit:

It is answer'd, If the Case was just as the Objection states it, the *British* Sugar Colonies would be only upon a level with *New-England*; for as that

that Place is the only Market from whence Lumber is imported to the Sugar Colonies, *New-England*, by a Parity of Reason, is a Monopoly of the Lumber-Trade, and therefore does exact an unreasonable Price for its Lumber. British American Islands.

But this is not, nor ever can be, the Truth of the Case, either with regard to *New-England* or the Sugar Colonies; for as in a Place of such Extent as *New-England* is, where the Lumber-Trade is carry'd on by a Multitude of People with a View to each Trader's separate Interest, a Monopoly of Lumber cannot probably be made: So in the Sugar Colonies that lie at a vast Distance from each other, and are Rivals to each other by the Production of the same Commodities, a Monopoly is impracticable.

The *New-England* Traders have no less than six different *British* Islands to go to for Rum and Molasses: Each of those Islands is as independent upon the other in its Polity as distant in Situation. There is little or no Intercourse, and less Commerce between those of them which are situated the nearest to the others, and no Intercourse at all between the remotest of those Islands, because the Produce of them all being the same, there can be no Exchange of Commodities, and consequently no Commerce or Intercourse. It follows, therefore, where there is no Intercourse there can be no Combination, no Monopoly. On the contrary (as has been observ'd) each Island is a Rival to its Neighbour, producing the same Commodities, and will in common Prudence use all proper Means to have its full Share of Trade, to which End nothing can be more conducive than to sell its Produce at the cheapest Rate imaginable.

7. As to the seventh Objection, That the *French* and *Dutch* Colonies furnish our Northern Colonies with Money, which they bring to *Great-Britain* and lay out in our Manufactures:

They answer'd, That there is no Money among the *French* and *Dutch* Sugar Colonies is as true as there are no Gold or Diamond Mines in *New-England*: How therefore they can bring Money from

British  
American  
Islands.

from Places where there is not enough for the common Uses of Life among the Inhabitants, is a Paradox which they must explain before the World will take it upon their Word.

If then that Assertion be not founded in Truth, it follows that they do not lay out Money brought from those Places in the Manufactures of *Great-Britain*. Their Traffick for Fish in the Streights (a Trade in which they have supplanted *Great-Britain*) may furnish them with Money, but we deny that such Money is laid out by them in the Manufactures of *Great-Britain*. On the contrary, it is to be presumed, that their Money is laid out with the *French* and *Dutch* in *Europe* for *East-India* Goods, *French* Silks, and other foreign Commodities; for as it appeared by their own Evidence, at the Bar of the House of Commons, they import such Wares into *New-England*, and we must suppose they pay for them in Money or Fish, till they can prove that Lumber is a valuable Commodity in *France* and *Holland*.

But supposing the *New-England* People do lay out their Product of Fish in *British* Manufactures, is that a sufficient Compensation to *Great-Britain* for robbing her of the Fish-Trade to the Streights? Does not the *New-England* People by their Confession acknowledge by Implication, that they reap the Profit both in the Navigation and Trade up the Streights, which used to be enjoy'd by *Great-Britain* itself? What Advantage is it to *Britain* to have this Money laid out in her Manufactures? Would it not be a far greater to be the Carrier of these Manufactures to the Streights, and to bring home this Money in her own Ships, navigated by her own Sailors?

8. To the Charge, That the Luxury and Extravagancy of the *English* Sugar Colonies is the real Occasion of their declining:

It was answer'd, That the People of *New-England* may be both industrious and parsimonious; for if we will take their own Words for it, they are very poor, and can't be otherwise. But is it a Virtue to be very frugal when a Man has no Money

Money to spend? ——— perhaps it is a *New-England* Virtue.

British  
American  
Islands.

The Inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies, 'tis said, are very rich and very luxurious: That the Product of these Colonies is of the richest sort, and is a Mine to *Great-Britain* is allow'd, and has been fully prov'd; but that the Proprietors of the Soil and Manufactures are far from being rich is evident from the Proofs already made to the Parliament, that they do not clear five Shillings for every hundred Pound Weight of Sugar they make.

This the *New-England* Traders would think but a moderate Profit upon one of their short Voyages; but it is too much for an Inhabitant of the Sugar Colonies, who runs infinite more Risque in the Heat of the Torrid Zone, does the Duty, and is liable to all the Hazards of a Camp in Time of War, and in Time of Peace lives the most careful Life of any of the Inhabitants under the Sun. That this is truly the Case of the Planter in the Sugar Colonies, all Mankind that are well acquainted with them will attest; but it may be evinced, from the Nature of a *West-India* Estate itself, which is subject to Ruin by the *French*, to Fire from the combustible Nature of the Sugar Canes, which are its Product; from the vast Expence of Buildings and Materials for making Sugar and Rum, from the like Expence in Negroes, Cattle and Mules; from the Risque of Mortality in this Part of their Property, which is always half the Value of a well settled Plantation. And lastly, the Expence of feeding, the Care, Anxiety, and prudent Conduct of governing two or three hundred Negroes with strict Justice and Humanity, and with Advantage to himself, is the Station of a Planter: And is not this a Station that requires as much Fortitude, Industry, and Oeconomy as catching Fish, or buying Skins from the *Indians* of *New-England*? In short, without a good Share of all the Qualifications necessary to conduct an Affair the most complicated in its Nature, surrounded with Difficulties and Hazards, and

British  
American  
Islands.

and in which the nicest OEconomy and Order must be observed, it is impossible a Planter can reap any Profit from his Estate. Therefore if Planters are rich; they must be the best OEconomists, and the most industrious Men in the World.

But let us hear what all Gentlemen that have travelled to the Sugar Colonies and to *New-England* will say of the Inhabitants of both. To them let the Appeal be made, as being impartial Observers of a Country to which they are attached by no Prejudice of Education. It will appear, by their Testimony, that the Inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies are a polite People, being generally educated in *England* in the best manner: And if Virtue and Morality be the Result of a good Education, they are as well entituled to both as the Subjects of *England*, and more than the People of *New-England*, who are educated in their own mean Seminaries.

To all impartial Strangers we appeal whether the inhabitants of the *British* Sugar Colonies are not the most benevolent hospitable People in the World, and whether every Stranger, and especially *Englishmen*, be not received there with singular Regard? On the contrary, let them say whether the Inhabitants of *New-England*, and especially of *Boston*, do not always express a *Jewish* Antipathy to Strangers, even to their fellow Subjects of *England* and the Sugar Colonies, whom they call by the invidious Name of *Foreigners*, and indeed treat them accordingly.

But perhaps Hospitality is not in the *New-England* Catalogue of Virtues, but stands for a Vice, and goes by the Name of Luxury or Profuseness — This Mistake of Hospitality for that Vice was perhaps the Reason why the *New-England* People thought it applicable to the Inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies.

9. To the ninth Objection, That the Trade of the *English* Sugar Colonies is in their present Circumstances vastly profitable; for that little Island of *Barbadoes*, in the Year 1730, imported twenty-two thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine Hogheads

heads of Sugar, of which they made 340,396 *l.* British  
clear Profit. American  
Islands.

It is admitted to be true, when Rum and Molasses bears a reasonable Price, then a Plantation may with the nicest OEconomy pay its own Charges out of these Articles. But if the *New-England* Traders take Rum from Foreigners, and Molasses to be distill'd, into Rum by themselves, then the Rum and Molasses will be so far from bearing such a Charge, that on the contrary, they will bear no Charge at all, but the Molasses must be given to the Hogs, as the *French* used to do till *New-England* taught them how to make a better Profit of it. Have not then the *Barbadians* Reason to complain?

By the Assistance of the *New-England* Traders, the *French* now have that great Advantage, and the *French* Plantations are increas'd above one Third in the annual Value purely by that pernicious Trade. This Increase to Foreigners is a proportionable Diminution of our own Sugar Colonies, and consequently a Disadvantage to *Great-Britain*.

But is the Product of that little Island *Barbadoes* no less than 340,396 *l.* brought into the Ports of *Great-Britain* in one Year? What then must be the net Product of all the Sugar Colonies?—an immense Sum no doubt. And is this all brought into the Ports of *Great-Britain*? What a Fountain of Treasure must this be to the Kingdom, even by the Confession of the Enemies to our *British* Sugar Colonies! Do therefore the *New-England* Traders imagine that the Parliament of *Great-Britain* will sacrifice this immense Treasure to the Advantage of a few *New-England* Distillers? Or if it was a Disadvantage to all *New-England* (from whence *Great-Britain* derives no Advantage in comparison of that) would it not be just Policy to support the Sugar Colonies? But when the present Opposition is consider'd as founded on a Trade with the *French*, the natural and implacable Enemies of this Kingdom, what honest *Englishman* will look upon it without Disdain?

British  
American  
Islands.

especially after it has appear'd evident from Reason, from undoubted Testimony, and even by the implicit Confession of the *New-England* People concerned in this Opposition, that the *French* have increas'd one Third *per Annum* in their Wealth by this very Trade; that our Sugar Colonies have declined in Proportion, as has been proved already; and to complete the Misfortune, the *New-England* Traders have drained even the *British* Sugar Colonies of all their current Cash, for no other Purpose but to purchase Molosses and Rum of the *French*. This is a Fact known by all the Inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies, who are ready to prove it in the most solemn manner.

*The two Houses having heard the several Facts stated, with the Proofs, and considered the Arguments and Inferences drawn from them, passed an Act of the following Tenour:*

An Act  
passed in  
Favour  
of the  
Sugar  
Colonies.

That after the 25th of December, 1733, there should be paid a Duty of Nine-pence a Gallon for all Rum and Spirits made in any of the Plantations not subject to *Great-Britain* on the Importation of them into any of the *British* Plantations. That Six-pence a Gallon should be paid for all foreign Molosses and Sirrups imported; and five Shillings *per* hundred Weight, *English* Money, for Sugar and Paneles imported: And that no Sugars, Paneles, Sirrups, or Molosses, should be imported into *Ireland*, unless ship'd in *Great-Britain*.

And an Allowance of two Shillings *per* hundred Weight is allowed more than heretofore on the Exportation of refin'd Sugars. But the Importation of *Spanish* or *Portuguese* Sugars into *Great-Britain* is still permitted by the same Act.

Since the passing the abovesaid Act, the Merchants and Planters concerned in the *British* Sugar Colonies prefer'd a Petition to the House of Commons, setting forth, That by two Acts of Parliament, passed in the 12th and 22d of *Car. II.* the Inhabitants of the said Colonies were restrain'd from sending Sugars to foreign Markets before they are first landed in *Great-Britain*.

That

That how prudent soever this Restraint may have been at the Time the Sugar Trade in the *West-Indies* was entirely in our Hands; yet now that our Sugar Islands are in a declining Condition, chiefly by the Increase of the *French* Settlements, it would be highly beneficial to *Great-Britain*, as the Petitioners apprehend, to put the *British* Subject in a Capacity of disputing foreign Markets with the *French*; and to permit him to carry his Sugars earlier and cheaper to these Markets than he can now do under the Restraint aforesaid.

That the Sugar Colonies import yearly into this Kingdom Sugar enough for our own home Consumption, and also a large Surplus for Re-exportation to foreign Parts; but the Demand from abroad has greatly decreas'd within these few Years, and the Markets for that Commodity have been forestalled by the *French*, not only to the Prejudice of the Sugar Trade, but also of the general Trade of *Great-Britain*.

That if *British* Ships were permitted to go to foreign Markets under proper Restrictions, without unloading here, the whole Charge, and in a great measure the Risque of a double Voyage, would be saved, and the obliging such Ships to return to *Great-Britain*, unload and take their Clearance here, before their proceeding on another *American* Voyage, would be attended with this farther good Effect, that they must afford to carry Freight at the cheapest Rates, or return home empty; so that this Regulation (as the Petitioners conceive) would extend our Navigation, and contribute to make us the Carriers of *Europe*, without prejudicing the Revenue, all the Duties on Sugar being drawn back on the Re-exportation of it to foreign Parts.

For these Reasons the Petitioners humbly pray this honourable House, that a Liberty may be granted of carrying *British* Sugar from our Sugar Colonies in *America* directly to any foreign Markets to the Southward of *Cape Finisterre*, upon the same Conditions that the People of *Carolina* are permitted to carry their Rice to the said Markets, and also of carrying such Sugars to any foreign



British  
American  
Islands.

foreign Markets to the Northward of *Cape Finis-terre*, after first touching at *Great-Britain*, giving in a Manifest of their Cargo, and entering into Bond to return to *Great-Britain* before they proceed on another *West-India* Voyage.

But I don't find the Parliament are yet inclin'd to indulge our Sugar Colonies so far as to alter the Acts of Navigation in their Favour; nor did they think fit, by the Act they pass'd in the Year 1733, to prohibit the *British* Colonies on the Continent to carry their Horses, Lumber and Provisions to the *French* and *Dutch* Settlements, tho' they laid Duties on Sugar, Rum and Molosses imported from thence.





# CHAP. V.

*Of the Lucayo or Bahama Islands; of Bermudas or the Summer-Islands; and of the Island of Newfoundland.*



THE *Lucayo's* or *Bahama* Islands, the chief whereof are *Bahama*, *Lucayo*, *Eleathera* or *Long Island*, the Islands of *Andros*, *Providence*, *St. Salvador* or *Cat-Island*, *Samana*, *Maquana* and *Heneago*, are situated in the *Atlantic-Ocean*, North of *Cuba*, extending from the South-East to the North-West, between 21 and 27 Degrees of North Latitude, and between 73 and 81 Degrees of Western Longitude. There are said to be several hundreds of them; but then I presume every little Rock that appears above Water is taken into the Account; however, there are about thirty of them (of which *Lucayo* is the largest) that make a tolerable Figure, some of them twenty or five and twenty Leagues in Length, but most of them very narrow.

British American Islands.  
Bahama Islands.  
Situation.

The Island of *Bahama*, which communicates its Name to the rest, is situated between 26 and 27 Degrees North Latitude, twenty or thirty Leagues to the Eastward of the Continent of *Florida*, being about twenty Leagues in Length, but scarce four in Breadth. Neither this or any of the rest are constantly inhabited, except *Providence* and three or four more near it in possession of the *English*.

*Guanahani*, to which *Columbus* gave the Name *St. Salvador*, is situated in 24 Degrees North Latitude, and 76 Degrees of Western Longitude: This and the rest of the *Bahama* Islands are said

British  
American  
Islands.



Provi-  
dence.

to enjoy a good Air and Soil; but having no Gold or Silver in them, and being surrounded by Rocks and Shoals which render the Navigation difficult, the *Spaniards* did not think them worth the Planting after they had extirpated the Natives.

*Providence*, the chief of these Islands possessed by the *English*, is situated in 25 Degrees North Latitude, and 78 Degrees Western Longitude, being about eight Leagues in Length and three in Breadth. The Reason the *English* chose to plant this rather than some of the larger Islands, I presume, was because here was a good Harbour capable of being defended by a small Force, and so situated that a Ship can't pass from *Spanish America* to *Europe*, without being met with by Cruisers stationed here in Time of War. At least these were the Views the Pirates and Privateers had who resorted hither before the *English* establish'd a regular Government in these Islands, and erected Fortifications for their Defence. Nor do the *English* confine themselves to the Island of *Providence* only, but have Plantations in several of the Neighbouring Islands which lie more exposed to the Ravages of an Enemy in Time of War; but upon apprehension of an Invasion, I presume, the People in them, with the best of their Effects, may retire to *Providence* for Protection.

History of  
the *Baba-*  
*ma* Islands.

These Islands, as has been hinted already, were discovered by *Columbus* on the 11th of *October*, 1492, of which the Island of *Guanabani* being the first Land he made, the Admiral altered the Name of it to that of *St. Salvador*, in Memory of his Deliverance; for his Men began to grow mutinous, looking upon themselves as lost in a boundless Ocean; and the Admiral, it seems, was at that time under Apprehensions they would throw him over-board for engaging them in so hazardous an Undertaking.

The Admiral relates, That he found the Island populous, well planted and watered, but generally flat, low Land, without Hills: That the People were perfectly naked, of a middle Stature and olive Complexion; their Eyes and Hair black,  
and

and some of their Faces and Bodies painted with a kind of Vermillion: Their principal Ornament being a thin gold Plate fashioned like a Crescent, which hung over the Upper-lip, and their Arms were Spears pointed with the Bones of Fishes; but that they were an exceeding inoffensive hospitable People, bringing the *Spaniards* such Provisions as their Island produced; that they had no other Merchandise to exchange for their *European* Goods, but Cottons and Parrots; and there were no four-footed Animals on these Islands, unless some little Cur-dogs. The *Spaniards* therefore having learnt that they had their Gold from the South, left these Islands for the present, and set sail for *Cuba* and *Hispaniola*; but discovering afterwards that there were Pearl Fisheries in these Seas, and finding the Inhabitants of the *Bahama* Islands were excellent Divers, they employed them in diving for Pearl Oysters; and obliging them frequently to continue in the Water beyond their Strength, by this and other Oppressions they destroyed all the *Indians* in the *Bahama* Islands, insomuch that in a few Years there was not a Man left upon them: And they remained destitute of Inhabitants for many Years, only the *Spaniards* from *Cuba* and *Hispaniola* visited them now then for such Fruits and Provisions as the Country afforded.

*Providence* and the neighbouring Islands afterwards became the Refuge of Privateers and Buccaneers; but about the Year 1667, Captain *William Sayle* being driven hither by Strefs of Weather, and acquainting the Proprietors of *Carolina* with the Commodiousness of the Station, they obtained a Grant of it from King *Charles II.* and Colonies were sent thither, which were often attacked by the *Spaniards*; and in the last War both *French* and *Spaniards* uniting their Forces, took and demolished the Forts erected on *Providence*, carrying off great Part of the Inhabitants and their Negroes; but quitting the Island afterwards, the *English* who escaped returned and rebuilt their Forts, and being reinforced from *England* made the Island stronger than ever; and *Providence* being now

British  
American  
Islands.

now a Royal Government, and found to be so commodiously situated to command the Navigation of those Seas through which the *Spaniards* bring all their Wealth to *Europe*, there is no doubt to be made but the Government will render this Island as strong as possible, and make it a Station for their Cruisers in Case of a Rupture with the *French* and *Spaniards*.

*Bermuda.*

The *Bermuda* or *Summer-Islands*, so called from Sir *George Summer*, who happened to run his Ship a-ground here in a Voyage to *Virginia* in the Year 1609, are situated in the *Atlantick-Ocean* in 32 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude, and in 65 Degrees of Western Longitude, about two hundred and fifty Leagues East of *Charles-Town* in *South-Carolina*. Bishop *Berkley*, who was about to erect a College here for the Benefit of the *Indians* on the neighbouring Continent, informs us, That they are a Cluster of small Islands lying in a very narrow Compass (almost in the Shape of a Shepherd's Crook) containing about twenty thousand Acres, walled round in a manner with Rocks, which render them inaccessible to Pirates or Enemies, there being but two narrow Entrances, both of them well-guarded by Forts.

That no Part of the World enjoys a purer Air or a more temperate Climate, the Heat being moderated by constant Sea-breezes, so that the whole Year is like the latter End of a fine *May* in *England*, and the Islands resorted to for Health as the *Montpellier* of *America*; nor are they more remarkable for their Health than their Plenty, there being besides Beef, Mutton, and Poultry, a great abundance of Garden-stuff of all kinds in Perfection, and a variety of good Fish taken on their Coasts; and the People at the same time are represented (by Dr. *Berkley*) as a plain, contented and easy People, free from Avarice and Luxury, and other Corruptions that attend those Vices; and says, they shew more Humanity to their Slaves, and Charity to one another, as well as a better Sense of Religious Matters, than the *English* in the other Plantations,

one

one Reason whereof is supposed to be, that con-<sup>British</sup>demn'd Criminals who are employed in the Ma-<sup>American</sup>nufactures of Sugar and Tobacco are never trans-<sup>Islands.</sup>ported hither; and among a People of such a Character, and in a Situation thus circumstantiated, he apprehended a Seminary of Religion and Learning (for the Instruction of the Natives of *America*) might very fitly be planted, especially as it was a Place where neither Riches or Luxury abounded to divert them from their Studies, none of those rich Commodities of Sugar or Tobacco. All the Employment of the Inhabitants was, the making of Joyner's-work, the building of Sloops, making Hats of the Palmeto Leaves, raising Corn, Fruit, Garden-stuff, and other Provisions, which they sent to the Plantations that wanted them.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had so good an Opinion of the Proposal made them by Bishop *Berkley* (then Dean of *Kerry*, in *Ireland*) of erecting a College or Seminary at *Bermudas*, that they assisted him in procuring a Patent for it from King *George I.* and contributed to the Expence of the Undertaking. And the Doctor with three Fellows of *Trinity College* in *Dublin*, viz. the Revd. Mr. *William Thompson*, *Jonathan Rogers* and *James King*, Masters of Art, with several of the Doctor's Relations, who were People of Fortune, embarked for *Bermudas*, in order to lay the Foundation of the intended College; but they were unfortunately driven by a Storm to *Long Island*, in the Province of *New-York*, from whence the Doctor with his Companions visited *Boston* and several other great Towns in *New-England*, where they preached and performed other Parts of their Function. But the erecting a College at *Bermudas* was at length entirely laid aside: Doctor *Berkley* returned home without effecting any Thing of that Kind, and is now a Bishop in *Ireland*.

A College intended to be erected here.

The Design of a College laid aside.

I am not fully acquainted with the Reasons that brought the Doctor back, but have heard it suggested by some, that he found the Design of erecting a College at *Bermudas* impracticable, without

British a much larger Stock than he carried with him;  
 American and some great Men that had promised to contri-  
 bute largely to the Design did not answer his Ex-  
 pectations, tho' they made him some amends for  
 his Disappointment, by procuring him the Bi-  
 shoprick he enjoys. Whether the Revd. Gentle-  
 men that went over with him returned to *England*,  
 or had Cures assigned them in our Plantations  
 abroad, I am not informed.

*Islands.*

Chief  
 Town.

No Islands were better covered with fine Groves  
 of Cedar than these, when the *English* first arriv'd  
 here: They built their Houses and Sloops with  
 scarce any other Wood; but it is almost all cut  
 down, and the Island thereby more exposed to  
 Storms and Hurricanes than formerly, which some-  
 times destroy the Fruits of the Earth.

The chief Town is that of *St. George*, situated  
 in the North-West Part of these Islands, and con-  
 tains about a thousand Houses, with a Town-  
 house, or Guild-hall, in which their Assembly and  
 Courts of Justice sit, the Government being the  
 same here as in the *British* Islands. They have  
 also a handsome Church in the Town, and a good  
 Library, said to be chiefly the Benefaction of *Dr.*  
*Bray*; and the Inhabitants may amount to eight or  
 ten thousand People in all the Islands. Their prin-  
 cipal Grain is *Indian* Corn, and they have almost  
 all manner of Plants and Fruits that grow in the  
 opposite Continent of *South-Carolina*, with Plenty  
 of *European* Cattle, Fish and Fowls. The Water  
 preserved in their Ponds or Reservoirs in the time  
 of Rains, is said to be preferable to their Spring-  
 water.

*Newfound-*  
*land.*  
 Situation.

*Newfoundland* is situated in the *Atlantick-Ocean*,  
 between 47 and 52 Degrees North Latitude, and  
 between 55 and 60 Degrees of Western Longi-  
 tude, bounded by the Straights of *Belle Isle*, which  
 separates it from *New-Britain* on the North, by  
 the *Atlantick-Ocean* on the East and South, and  
 by the Bay of *St. Lawrence*, which separates it  
 from *Canada*, on the West. This Island is of a  
 triangular Form, about three hundred and fifty  
 Miles

Extent.

of the British American Islands.

545

Miles in Length from North to South, and about two hundred Miles in Breadth at the Base or broadest Part from East to West.

British  
American  
Islands.  
Climate.

Notwithstanding this Island lies more to the Southward than *England*, the Winters are much colder, and the Earth covered with Snow for a great Depth for four or five Months annually, in-  
somuch that it is scarce habitable when the Sun is in the Southern Signs; the Reason whereof must be, that it lies near the Coast of *New-Britain*, a vast frozen Continent, over which the North-West Wind blowing for many hundred Miles, makes the Countries that lie on that Side of the *Atlantick* much colder than those on this Side that Ocean in the same Latitudes; however, at *Midsummer* it is said it is much hotter in *Newfoundland* than it is with us.

The Face of the Country is high and moun- Face of  
tainous, covered for the most part with Woods of the Coun-  
Pine and Fir; and where it is cleared of Wood it try.

is all a barren Heath, on which neither Corn or Grass will grow: There is not, however, any Want of good fresh Water, and the Coast affords abundance of commodious Bays and Harbours, Harbours.  
particularly those of *Bonavista*, *Trinity*, *Concep-  
tion*, *St. John's* and *Bull-bay* on the South-East Part of the Island; and those of *St. Mary's*, *Pla-  
centia* and *Fortune's-bay* on the South. The Fish- Fishery.  
ing-banks of *Newfoundland* have proved an inex-  
haustible Fund of Wealth to the *English*, *French*,  
and other Nations of *Europe* for a hundred Years  
past, there being seldom less than five or six hun-  
dred Sail of Ships that load with Cod-fish here  
every Season for the *Mediterranean* and other Parts  
of *Europe*.

The chief Bank lies about twenty Leagues from Banks.  
*Cape Race*, the South-West Promontory, and is  
about a hundred Leagues in Length, and five and  
twenty in Breadth. There is another to the West-  
ward called *Verte-bank*, about twenty-five Leagues  
in Length, and twelve in Breadth; and the Season  
of Fishing continues from the Vernal 'till the Au-  
tumnal Equinox, and of late something longer.

A a a a

There



British  
American  
Islands.

Inhabi-  
tants.  
Chief  
Towns.

There are but very few native *Indians* on the Island; but at the Season for Hunting, the *Indians* from *New-Britain* pass the *Streights* of *Belle-Isle* and come over hither to hunt.

The chief Towns or Harbours are, 1. *Bonavista*, on the East Side of the Island. 2. *St. John's*, the Capital, situate in 47 Degrees North Latitude, on the South-East Part of the Island: And, 3. *Placentia*, situate on a Bay of the same Name, which belonged to the *French*, 'till it was yielded to *Britain* with all the rest of the Island then in the Hands of the *French*, by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, *Ann.* 1713.

It is so cold and uncomfortable a Country, that there do not above four or five hundred Families of *English* remain here all the Year, besides the Garrisons that are kept in *St. John's*, *Placentia*, and other Fortresses; but in the Fishing Season there may be eight or ten thousand People more here, which come over here either to take or cure the Fish, and make them fit for Market: These all lived without Divine Worship, 'till the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent a Missionary thither lately, who resides at *Bonavista* usually; but he is a kind of Itinerant Preacher, visiting *Trinity-Harbour*, *Placentia*, and other inhabited Places, as he has Opportunity.

The Soil. The Soil of this Country is a Mixture of Gravel, Sand, and Stones, and as has been observed, yields scarce any Corn, Grass, or Fruits; but here is great Plenty of Fish, Fowl, and Venison. As for other Necessaries, the Inhabitants receive them from *England* annually at the Return of the Shipping.

History. *Newfoundland* was claimed as Part of the Dominions of *Great-Britain*, by virtue of *Cabot's* Discovery of it in the Reign of *Henry VII.* and some Voyages that were made thither in the succeeding Reigns by *English* Adventurers, who brought from thence Furs and Fish; but the *English* making no Settlements there, the *Portuguese* and *French* used to fish upon the Banks, and trade with the *Indians* for Furs and Skins at the proper Seasons:  
Whereupon

Whereupon the *English* revived their Claim to the Country again, and actually seized several *Portuguese* Ships on the Coast of *Newfoundland*, bringing them to *England* as lawful Prize. In the Year 1610, King *James I.* made a Grant to the Earl of *Northampton*, and others, of that Part of the Island which lies between *Cape Bonavista* and *Cape St. Mary's*, and the Grantees being incorporated and form'd into a Company, sent a Colony thither; but the Severity of the Weather, Sickness, and Scarcity of Provisions, obliged the Planters to return to *England*: And in the Year 1720, Sir *George Calvert*, afterwards Lord *Baltimore*, obtained a Patent of that Part of the Country which lies between the Bay of *Bulls* and *Cape St. Mary's*; and Sir *George* sent a Colony to *Ferriland*, being within the Limits of his Patent, where they built Houses, and erected a Salt-work: And in 1623, the Lord *Baltimore* himself went over with his Family, and erected a Fort for the Security of his Plantation; and other *English* Adventurers came over and settled on the Island. In the mean time, the *English* insisted on the sole Right of Fishing on the Coast; and having a Squadron of Men of War sent thither for their Protection, in the Reign of King *James I.* drove all others from thence: But in the Reign of King *Charles II.* the *French* were suffered to settle at *Placentia*, and afterwards possess'd themselves of great Part of the Island. In the War that happen'd after the Revolution, there were perpetual Skirmishes between the *English* and *French* at *Newfoundland*, both by Sea and Land; sometimes the *English* attacked the *French* Colonies, but to little Purpose; and the *French* from *Placentia* returned their Visits with better Success, making themselves Masters of several *English* Settlements: And in Queen *Anne's* Reign, in the Year 1705, they burnt *St. John's*, the *English* Capital, but could not however take the Fort which commanded the Town. And at the Peace of *Utrecht*, Anno 1713, the Queen obliged the *French* to yield up all that Part of the Island they possess'd to *Great-Britain*, by an Article of the following Tenour, viz.

The

British  
American  
Islands.



The Island of *Newfoundland*, with the adjacent Islands, shall belong of Right wholly to *Britain*; But the Subjects of *France* shall be allowed to catch Fish and dry them on the Land, in that Part only of the said Island, and no other, which stretches from the Place called *Cape Bonavista* to the Northern Point of the said Island, and from thence running down by the Western Side reaches as far as the Place called *Point Riche*; but the *French* shall not fortify any Place in *Newfoundland*, or erect any Buildings there, besides Stages made of Boards, and Huts necessary and usual for drying of Fish; or resort to the said Island beyond the Time necessary for Fishing and drying of Fish.

The State  
of the For-  
tifications  
in the *Bri-  
tish* Colo-  
nies.

As to the State of the Fortifications in the *British* Plantations four Years ago, and particularly those of the Islands, this may in a great Measure gathered from a Protest of the House of Lords in the Year 1734, upon its being carried in that House not to give the Committee Power to take the *Security* of the Plantations into their Consideration.

To which Resolution several noble Lords dissented, for the following Reasons:

1<sup>st</sup>, Because we apprehend that the Power proposed to be given to the Committee was not only expedient but absolutely necessary, since (by the Account given by several Lords who attended the Committee, and contradicted by none) it appeared to the House, that, from the Information of Merchants of undoubted Credit, *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, and the *Leeward-Islands*, were in so defenceless and miserable a Condition that they might be taken in twenty-four Hours; and we conceive that such imminent Danger of such valuable Possessions required an immediate and minute Examination, in order to discover the Causes and Nature of the Danger, and to apply proper and adequate Remedies.

2<sup>dly</sup>, Because we conceive that the chief Reason urged in the Debate against this Inquiry, is the strongest Argument imaginable for it, *viz.*  
That

That it might discover the Weakness of these British Islands in the present critical Juncture of Affairs, and invite our Enemies to invade them: Whereas, we think, that this critical Juncture calls upon us to put our Possessions in a State of Defence and Security in all Events; and since we cannot suppose that their present defenceless Condition is unknown to those Powers who are the most likely to take the Advantage of it, we apprehend it to be both prudent and necessary that those Powers should at the same time know, that the Care and Attention of this House was employed for providing for their Security: We conceive likewise, that such an Argument may tend to debar a House of Parliament from looking into any of our Affairs either Foreign or Domestick, if in any Transaction at any time there shall appear to have been a weak, treacherous, or negligent Management, the Directors will never fail to lay hold of that Argument to stop any Parliamentary Inquiry; and the Fear of discovering a National Weakness may be urged only to prevent the Detection of a Ministerial Negligence or Guilt.

3dly, Because we have found by Experience that we can never be too attentive to the Preservation of the Possessions and Dependencies of this Kingdom, since Treaties alone will not bind those Powers, who from the Proximity of their Situations, from favourable Opportunities or other Inducements, may be tempted to attack or invade them. But the Interposition of a *British* Parliament will be more expected, and more effectual, than the occasional Expedients of fluctuating and variable Negotiations, which, in former Times, have been often more adapted to the present Necessities of the Minister, than to the real Honour and lasting Security of the Nation.

4thly, Because we apprehend the debarring this House from any Inquiry into the Conduct of Ministers for the Time past, or from giving their Advice in Matters of great Concern to the Publick for the Time to come, tends to destroy the very Being of this House, and of Consequence the whole

British  
American  
*Islands.*

whole Frame of our Constitution: And how melancholy a View must it be to all his Majesty's Subjects, to see the private Property of so many Particulars, and so advantageous a Trade to the Whole, refused to be brought under the Inspection of this House; and yet (as far as it appears to us) totally neglected by the Administration? And we are the more surpris'd to find this Backwardness with regard to the Interest of our Colonies, since we are perswaded that the Ballance of Trade is at present against us in most Parts of the World, and only compensated in some degree by what we gain by our *West-India* Trade: Neither can we allow that they ought to be left to look after themselves, since they have a Right to claim even more than the Protection of their Mother-Country, by the great Wealth they annually transmit to it, and the great Duties they pay to the Increase of the Publick Funds and the Civil List: And we are fully convinced, that if this beneficial Trade should once be lost, it will be irrecoverably lost, to the infinite Damage of this Kingdom: For though the Islands should be restored to us afterwards, the Utensils and Stock of Negroes being carried away, it would take up a long Tract of Time, and would be a very great Expence to the Publick, to reinstate them in their present Condition: We rather think it impracticable to restore them; tho' we can by no means suppose it difficult, by timely Precaution, to prevent their Destruction.

What has been done towards putting the Fortifications of the *British* Plantations in a better State than they were in the Year 1734, I confess I am not informed; but I hope they will no longer be suffered to lie open to the Insults and Invasions of our Enemies, and of every petty Pyrate.

A LIST of the several Governors, Officers  
and Agents in the British Plantations.

British  
American  
Islands.

SOUTH-CAROLINA and GEORGIA.

——— *Horsley*, Esq; Governor. *James Oglethorpe*, Esq; General and Commander in chief of the Forces in *Carolina* and *Georgia*. Colonel *Broughton*, Lieutenant-Governor. ——— *Abercromby*, Attorney-General. *John Hamerton*, Secretary. *George Morley*, Provost-Marshal.

NORTH-CAROLINA.

*Gabriel Johnston*, Esq; Governor. *Nathaniel Rice*, Secretary. *John Montgomery*, Attorney-General.

VIRGINIA.

Earl of *Albemarle*, Governor. Major *William Gooch*, Lieutenant-Governor. *John Carter*, Secretary. *John Clayton*, Attorney-General.

PENNSYLVANIA.

A Proprietary Government. ——— Lieutenant-Governor.

MARYLAND.

Lord *Baltimore*, Proprietor and Governor. *Samuel Ogle*, Esq; Deputy-Governor.

NEW-YORK.

*John Lord De la War*, Governor. *George Clark*, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor. *George Clark*, Esq; Secretary. *James Delancy*, Esq; Chief-Justice. *Richard Bradley*, Esq; Attorney-General. *Philip Livingston*, Esq; Town-Clerk, Clerk of the Peace, and Clerk of the Common Pleas in the County and City of *Albany*, and Secretary to the Commissioners for *Indian* Affairs.

NEW-JERSEY, or NOVA CÆSAREA.

*Lewis Morris*, sen. Esq; Governor. Honourable *John Hamilton*, Esq; President. *Robert Lettice*, Esq; Chief Justice. *Archibald Hume*, Esq; Secretary. *James Alexander*, Esq; Attorney-General.

## The PRESENT STATE

## RHODE-ISLAND.

The Governor is chosen annually by the People.

## CONNECTICUT.

The Governor chosen in like manner annually by the People.

## MASSACHUSETTS-BAY.

*Jonathan Belcher*, Esq; Governor. ———  
Lieutenant-Governor. *Josiah Willard*, Esq; Secretary.

## NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

*Jonathan Belcher*, Governor. Colonel *David Dunbar*, Lieutenant-Governor.

## NOVA SCOTIA.

*Richard Philips*, Esq; Governor. *Lawrence Armstrong*, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.

## NEWFOUNDLAND.

Governor and Commander in chief: The Commander in chief of his Majesty's Ships of War for the Time being, which go annually to protect the Fishery, who hath a Commission to be Governor. *Horatio Walpole*, Esq; Auditor-General of the Plantations. *John-Anthony Balagniere*, Esq; Secretary. *Peter Forbes*, Esq; Provost-Marshal.

## JAMAICA.

*Edward Trelawny*, Esq; Governor. *Andrew Stone*, Esq; Register. *Anthony Corbiere*, Esq; Naval Officer. *Matthew Concanen*, Esq; Attorney-General. *John Lowtan*, Esq; Clerk of the Crown and Peace, and chief Clerk of the Supreme Court. *Richard Mills*, Receiver of all Duties and Impositions, &c. *Anthony Weelock*, Esq; Clerk of the Markets.

## BARBADOES.

Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Bart. Governor. *Anthony Cracherode*, Esq; Register. *Francis Whitworth*, Esq; Secretary. *Alexander Burnet*, Esq; Clerk of the Markets. *Richard Carter*, Esq; Attorney-General. *George Plaxton*, Esq; Treasurer. *John Cornelius*, Naval Officer. *Thomas and Francis Reynolds*, Provost-Marshal. *Charles Huggins*,

*of the British American Islands.*

553

*Huggins*, Esq; Clerk and Remembrancer. *William Rawlin*, Register of the Admiralty.

British  
American  
Islands.

LEEWARD-ISLANDS.

Lord Viscount *Gage*, Governor. *Gilbert Fleming*, Lieutenant-General of the said Islands. Ditto, Lieutenant-Governor of *St. Christopher's*. *Edward Byam*, Lieutenant-Governor of *Antegoa*. *William Hammer*, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor of *Nevis*. Captain *Forbes*, Lieutenant-Governor of *Montserrat*. *Wavel Smith* and *Samuel Cust*, Esq; Secretary and Clerk of the Crown. *William Floyer*, Esq; Clerk of the naval Office in the *Leeward-Islands*. *William Janssen*, Provost-Marshal of the *Leeward-Islands*.

BAHAMA-ISLANDS.

*Richard Fitz-William*, Esq; Governor. *Thomas Granger*, Chief Justice.

BERMUDA.

— *Popple*, Esq; Governor. *George Tucker*, Esq; Secretary and Provost-Marshal.

AGENTS for the Plantations.

*Barbadoes*, Mr. *Leheup*, Mr. *John Sharp*, Dr. *Teissiere*. *Jamaica*, Mr. *John Sharp*. *St. Christopher's* and *Montserrat*, Mr. *Coope*. *Bermud*, Mr. *Noden*. *Bahama's*, Mr. *Buck*. *Nova Scotia*, Mr. *King Gould*. *New-England*, Mr. *Wilks*. *New-Hampshire*, Mr. *Newman*. *New York*, Mr. *Pacheco* and *Maynard Guerin*, Esq; *New-Jersey*, Mr. *Richard Partridge*. *Virginia*, Mr. *Leheup*. *Maryland*, Mr. *John Sharp*. *Pensylvania*, Mr. *Paris*. *Carolina*, Mr. *Fury*. *Antegoa*, Mr. *Yeamans*. *Rhode-Island* and *Providence Plantation*, Mr. *Richard Partridge*.





## C H A P. I

Of the French Colonies on the Continent  
of North-America.French  
America.

THE French Colonies in America may be divided into three Classes; 1<sup>st</sup>, Those on the Continent of *South-America*; 2<sup>dly</sup>, Those on the Continent of *North-America*; and, 3<sup>dly</sup>, Their Islands in the *Atlantick-Ocean*.

Southern  
Colonies.

1. Their Colonies on the Continent of *South-America*, which lie between the *Dutch Colonies* of *Surinam* on the North, and the Mouth of the River *Amazon* on the South, to which they have given the Name of *Equinoctial France*, from its Situation under or near the Equator, have been already describ'd in treating of *Terra-Firma*, in the second Volume of *America*, p. 67.

Northern  
Colonies.

2. Their Colonies on the Continent of *North-America* are vastly large, if we comprehend all the Countries the *French* claim a Right to there; but if we restrain their Territories to what they have actually planted and possessed themselves of, those of *Great-Britain* are seven times as large.

The *French* call all those Countries their own which lie between the Mouth of the River *St. Lawrence* and the Bay of *St. Lewis* on the North-West Part of the Gulph of *Mexico*, extending their Dominions from the North-East to the South-West, near four thousand Miles, and from the South-East of *Florida* to the North-West of *Canada*, being an Extent of Land very little short of the former.

The Countries included within these Limits, which formerly went under the general Names of *Canada* and *Florida*, the *French* have changed into  
New-

*New-France* and *Louisiana*. *New-France* or *Ca. French* *nada* they seem to divide from *Louisiana* or *Florida* America. by an imaginary Line drawn directly from the *British* Plantations on the East, to *New-Mexico* Limits of on the West, in 39 Degrees of North Latitude. *Louisiana*, In the Grant of *Louisiana* to *Monf. Crozat*, by and of *Lewis XIV. Anno 1712*, the Bounds of it are said *New-France*, according to the *French*. to be the River and Lake of *Illinois* on the North, *Carolina* on the East, the Gulph of *Mexico* on the South, and *New-Mexico* on the West. As to *Canada* or *New-France*, the *French* would scarce admit it had any Bounds to the North on this side the Pole, till they were limited on that side by an Article in the Treaty of *Utrecht*, which assigns *New-Britain* and *Hudson's Bay* on the North of *Canada* to *Great-Britain*. And Commissioners on both Sides afterwards ascertained the Limits by an imaginary Line running from a Cape or Promontory of *New-Britain* in the *Atlantick-Ocean*, in 58 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude, and running from thence South-West to the Lake *Misconsin*, or *Mistassin*, and from thence further South-West indefinitely to the Latitude of 49, all the Lands to the North of the said Line being assigned to *Great-Britain*, and all to the South of that Line, as far as the River of *St. Lawrence*, to the *French*.

The Eastern Boundaries of *New-France* or *Canada* the *French* admit are the *British* Plantations of *Nova Scotia*, *New-England*, &c. the Southern Boundary, the Line which divides *New-France* from *Louisiana*; and to the Westward the *French* extend the Country of *New-France* as far as the *Pacifick-Ocean*, and the *Asiatick* Continent of *Asia* shall be found hereafter to be contiguous to *North-America*.

But how far they will admit the *British* Plantations to extend to the Westward, or the *Spanish* Territories of *New-Mexico* to extend to the East, this they do not inform us. If we leave it to the *French* to settle the Limits, no doubt the Dominions of *Great-Britain* and *Spain* in *North-America* will be confined within very narrow Bounds. There is an honest *French* Writer that freely declares,

French  
America.



The real  
Limits of  
the French  
Territories  
in North-  
America.

clares, when the *Mississippi* Adventure was set on foot they were sanguine enough to expect that all *North-America* would in a few Years become a Province of *France*, and consequently they had in view the swallowing up both the *British* and *Spanish* Territories in that Part of the World; and if this should ever be effected, it is not to be supposed they would put a stop to their Conquests till they had subdued all the *Spanish* Provinces in *South-America*, and become Masters of the Mines of *Potosi*.

I shall inquire in the next place what the *French* are really possessed of in *North America* that can support their Claim to all those fine Countries which lie between the *British* Plantations on the East and *New-Mexico* on the West, or what Colour they have to oppose the *English* extending their Colonies Westward as far as they can agree with the *Indians* for their Lands, or to oppose the *Spaniards* in extending their Dominions from *New-Mexico* to the Eastward as far as the River *Mississippi*.

I cannot find that the *French* have yet five Towns in all that vast Extent of Country that lies between the *British* and the *Spanish* Dominions in *North-America*; and it is very well known that the *Spaniards* possessed the West Side of *North-America*, and the *English* the East, long before the *French* had a Settlement in the Country. Indeed the *French* have since crept into the Mouth of *St. Lawrence* on the North-East, and into the River *Mississippi* on the South-West, and have built a Town or two with some Forts on these Rivers and on the neighbouring Lakes which run through this vast Continent; and no doubt, were they strong enough in those Parts, they would elbow both the *Spaniards* and *English* out of *Canada* and *Florida*. But if the first Discovery, and the actual Possession and Improvement of a Country can give a Prince or State any Title to it, the *Spaniards* and *English* must have a better Right to it than the *French*, especially where the Natives have put themselves under the Protection of either Nation,  
and

and acknowledged themselves Subjects of the re-French  
pective Sovereigns. Now most of the Nations on America.  
the East of the Rivers *Mississipi* and *St. Lawrence*; it  
appears, voluntarily have acknowledged themselves  
subject to the Crown of *England*, and the Coun-  
tries West of the *Mississipi* have most of them sub-  
mitted to the *Spaniards*: Where then shall we  
find the Countries of *New-France* and *Louisiana*,  
unless it be within the reach of the great Guns of  
their Forts on the Rivers of *St. Lawrence* and  
*Mississipi*; and here they have scarce any other  
Title to the Country than what they obtain'd by  
Usurpation, or a lawless Force, very seldom ask-  
ing Leave of the Natives to settle in their Coun-  
try, which alone can give a Foreigner a just Right  
to the Dominion of it. I look upon it, therefore,  
that the *French* have the least Pretensions to *Florida*  
or *Canada* of any of the three Powers already  
mention'd. However, as they have actually  
been possess'd of some Countries in *Canada* be-  
tween the River of *St. Lawrence* and *New-Britain*  
or *Hudson's Bay* for about an hundred Years, and  
these Countries seem to be confirmed to them as  
far as the *English* had a Right to confirm them.  
I shall readily allow their Title to that Part of  
*Canada*. But as to the rest of *Canada* and *Louisiana*,  
I can't admit they have a Right to any Part of  
them, notwithstanding the Forts they have erected  
on those Rivers. The Eastern Side of the *Mississi-  
pi* is the Property of the *Indians* subject to *Great-  
Britain*, and the Western Side of it belongs to the  
*Indians* who are under the Dominion of the *Spani-  
iards*; and we find the *Spaniards* asserting their  
Title to it by demolishing the Forts that *Monf.  
de Sale* and *D'Ibberville* erected on the West  
Side of that River, and have as much Right to  
demolish the Forts the *French* have erected on the  
West Side of it.

The chief Rivers in this vast extended Country  
are, 1. The River *St. Lawrence*. 2. The River  
*Mississipi*. 3. The River *Illinois*. 4. The *Oubach*.  
5. The *Hohio*. 6. The *Pelefsipi*; and, 7. The  
*Hogohegee*.

1. The

French  
America.

Mississippi.

1. The *Mississippi*, or River *St. Lewis*, according to the *French* Accounts, rises in the North-West Part of *Canada*, taking its Course first to the South-East, and in 45 Degrees, turning almost due South, continues that Course till it discharges itself into the Gulph of *Mexico* in 30 Degrees North Latitude, and 95 Degrees of Western Longitude, by four or five Mouths several large Rivers falling into it both from the East and West. The *Mississippi* is agreed to be a very large deep River; and some *French* Writers add, that it is a gentle Stream, and navigable for large Vessels from the Source almost to the Mouth. But other *French* Writers, and some *English* Seamen, assure me, that it has a very rapid Stream, and that there are Cataracts in several Parts of it which obstruct the Navigation; and that there are such Shoals at the Mouth of the River that large Ships cannot enter it.

*St. Lawrence.*

2. The River of *St. Lawrence* issues out of the Lake *Ontario* or *Frontenac*, in 45 Degrees of North Latitude, and 78 Degrees of Western Longitude; and taking its Course to the North-East by *Montreal* and *Quebeck*, discharges itself into the Bay or Gulph of *St. Lawrence*, in 51 Degrees North Latitude, being navigable for large Vessels as high as *Montreal*, but near that Town there is a Cataract which interrupts the Navigation.

*Illinois.*

3. The River *Illinois* is another navigable River, which rising near the Lake of the same Name, takes its Course to the South-West, and falls into the *Mississippi*.

*Oubach  
and Hobio.*

4. and 5. The Rivers *Oubach* and *Hobio* are two navigable Rivers, which rising near the Lake *Erie* unite their Streams and fall into the *Mississippi* in 36 Degrees North Latitude.

*Pelefsipi  
and Hogobeegee.*

6. and 7. The *Pelefsipi* and *Hogobeegee* rise in the *Apalathian* Mountains, and uniting their Streams flow almost due West till they meet with the *Hobio* a little before it falls into the *Mississippi*, in 36 Degrees North Latitude; at the Mouths of which Rivers stands a *French* Fort, call'd the *Old Fort*.

This

This Country also has several spacious Lakes, French the chief whereof are, 1. The Lake of *Ontario* or *Frontenac*. 2. The Lake *Erie*. 3. The *Huron* Lake. 4. The *Illinois* Lake; and, 5. The *Upper* Lake, any of which are several hundred Miles in Length. The Lakes of *Ontario* and *Erie* have been already described in treating of *New-York*.

French America.

Lakes.

*Ontario* and *Erie*.

3. The Lake of *Hurons* has a Communication with that of *Erie*, and with the Lakes of *Illinois* and the upper Lake: And the River *Illinois* rising near the Lake of the same Name, and falling into the *Mississipi*, the *French* proposed by this means to have an easy Communication between the Rivers of *St. Lawrence* and *Mississipi*, and to unite *New-France* and *Louisiana* into one Province. But as there is no Passage by Water from the Lake *Ontario* to that of *Erie*, on account of the Cataract of *Niagara*; and that there are several Cataracts in the Rivers *St. Lawrence* and *Mississipi*, and they must take so vast a Compass to the North-East in such a Journey to pass through the Lakes of the *Hurons* and *Illinois*, and that there is a considerable Space between the Lake and the River *Illinois*, I question whether it would not this way take up five or six Months for a single Man to travel from *Quebeck* to the Mouth of the River *Mississipi*: And probably it would be impracticable for a great Body of Men to march the same Ground in twice that time.

*Hurons*.

*Illinois*.

*Upper*

Lake.

I don't find the *French* pretend to have divided this vast Continent of *North-America* into Provinces yet, only they are pleased to call the North Part of it *New-France*, and the South *Louisiana*. In the former they have had Settlements for upwards of an hundred Years; in the latter they had not one till the Year 1717, if we except two or three Forts built in the Bay of *Spirito Sancto* and at the Mouth of the River *Mississipi* by Messieurs *de Sale* and *D'Ibberville*, which were demolish'd by the *Spaniards* soon after they were erected. And as for Towns, I meet with the Names of no more than three in *Canada*, viz. 1. *Quebeck* the Capital. 2. *Montreal*; and, 3. *Trois Rivieres*; and

No Sub-division of *New-France* or *Louisiana*.

Towns,

French America. in *Louisiana* only the Town of *New-Orleans* lately erected.

*Quebeck.* 1. *Quebeck*, the Capital, is situated in 47 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude, and in 71 Degrees of Western Longitude, on the North Shore of the River of *St. Lawrence*, about two hundred Leagues South-West of the Mouth of it, being divided into the upper and lower Town, both of them about three Miles in Circumference, and defended by a Castle which stands on an Eminence, there being in the upper Town five Churches, besides the Cathedral; the Bishop and twelve Prebends residing together in the Chapter-House, which 'tis said is a most admirable Structure.

This City is the Metropolis of the *French* Dominions in *North-America* as well as a Bishop's See, the Viceroy, who resides here, assuming the Title of Governor and Captain-General both of *New-France* and *Louisiana*, which, according to the *French*, comprehends all *Canada* and *Florida*, except some little Portions they are pleased to permit *Great-Britain* to possess, till they are in a Condition to drive our Colonies from thence into the Sea, in the Language of one of their Writers.

*Montreal.* 2. *Montreal* is situated on an Island in the River of *St. Lawrence*, sixty Leagues South-West of *Quebeck*, the Island being about fourteen Leagues in Length and five in Breadth. The whole Island is full of fine Plantations, and the Town strongly situated; at least we find it was strong enough to defend itself against the Attacks of the *Iroquois* or five Nations, when they burnt and plunder'd all the *French* Settlements in the Island but this Town, in the Year 1688: And I don't doubt but the Fortifications have been since improved, as it is the principal frontier Garrison of the *French* against the *Iroquois* or *Indians* under the Protection of *New-York*. The River of *St. Lawrence* is not navigable above *Montreal* on account of some Cataracts and the Rapidity of the Stream.

*Trois Rivières.* 3. *Trois Rivières* is a Town so named from its Situation at the Confluence of three Rivers, one whereof

whereof is that of *St. Lawrence*, and lies almost French in the Midway between *Quebec* and *Montreal*: It is said to be a well-built Town, and considerable Mart, where the *Indians* exchange their Skins and Furs for *European Goods*. America.

As to the Town of *New-Orleans*, said to be erected lately near the Mouth of the *Mississipi*, in *Louisiana*, I confess I have not met with any particular Description of this or any other *French* Settlements on that Side. New Orleans.

As to the Air, the *Indian* Inhabitants, the Animals, Vegetables, and Produce of *French Canada*, these are much the same as in *New-England*, *New-York*, and *Nova Scotia*, which lie contiguous to them; and *Louisiana*, or *French Florida*, in like manner resembles *Carolina* in these Articles. However, I shall present the Reader with some of those Accounts the *French* give us of these Countries, and inquire what is to be depended upon either in their Relations or ours.

Monsieur *Joutel*, who accompanied *de Sale* in his Discoveries in the Bay of *Spirito Sancto* to the Westward of the *Mississipi*, gives the following Character of the Natives: Allowing, says this Gentleman, that there are some *Barbarians* less wicked and brutal than others, yet there are none good, nor thoroughly capable of such Things as are above the Reach of our Senses; there is no relying on them; there is always Cause to suspect them; and in short, before a Savage can be made a Christian, it is requisite to make him a Man; and we look upon these Savages as having neither King nor Laws, and what is most deplorable, no God; for if we rightly examine their Sentiments and their Actions, it does not appear they have any sort of Religion, or well-form'd Notion of a Deity. If some of them upon certain Occasions do sometimes own a First or Sovereign Being, or do pay some Veneration to the Sun. As to the first Article, they deliver themselves in such a confused Manner, and with so many Contradictions and Extravagancies, that it plainly appears they neither know or believe any thing of it. And as for the



French  
America.

Second, it is only a bare Custom, without any serious Reflections on their Part.

The same Traveller speaking of an Interview he had with the Chiefs of another Nation to the Westward of the River *Mississipi*, says, Their Elders came to meet us in their Formalities, which consisted in some Goats Skins dress'd and painted of several Colours, which they wore on their Shoulders like Belts, and Plumes of Feathers of several Colours on their Heads like Coronets. Six or seven of them had square Sword Blades like the *Spanish*, on the Hilt whereof they had fastened great Plumes of Feathers and several Hawks Bills; some of them had Clubs, which they called Head-breakers; some only their Bows and Arrows; others Pieces of White Linen reaching from Shoulder to Shoulder. All their Faces were daubed with Black or Red: There were twelve Elders who walked in the Middle, and the Youth and Warriors in Ranks on the Right and Left of the old Men.

Being come up to us in that Manner, he that conducted us made a Sign for us to halt, which when we had done, all the old Men lifted up their Right Hands above their Heads, crying out in a most ridiculous Manner; but it behov'd us to have a care of Laughing. That done, they came and embraced us, using all sorts of Endearments.

The whole Company conducted us afterwards to their Chief's Cottage; and after we had staid there a short Time, they led us to a larger Cottage a quarter of a League from thence, being the Hut in which they have their publick Rejoicings and great Assemblies. We found it furnished with Mats for us to sit on. The Elders seated themselves round about us, and they brought us to eat some *Sagamite*, which is their Pottage, little Beans, Bread made of *Indian* Corn, and another Sort they make with boiled Flower; and at last they made us smoke.

Their  
Buildings.

The Cottages that are inhabited are not each of them for a private Family, for in some of them there are fifteen or twenty, each of which has its Nook

Nook or Corner-Bed, and other Utensils to its French self, but without any Partition to separate it from America. the rest: However, they have nothing in common besides the Fire, which is in the Midst of the Hut and never goes out. It is made of great Trees, the Ends whereof are laid together, so that when once lighted it lasts a long Time; and the first Comer takes care to keep it up.

The Cottages are round at the Top, after the Manner of a Bee-hive or a Rick of Hay. Some of them are sixty Foot Diameter. In order to build them, they set up long Poles as thick as a Man's Leg, tall and straight, and placing them in a Circle join the Tops together; then they fasten and cover them with Weeds. When they remove their Dwellings they generally burn the Cottages, and build new ones on the Ground they design to inhabit.

Their Moveables are some Buffloes or Bullocks Hides, and Goats Skins well cur'd, some Mats able. close wove, wherewith they adorn their Huts; and some earthen Vessels, which they are very skilful at making, and wherein they boil their Flesh, Roots, and *Sagamite*, or Porrage. They have also some small Baskets made of Canes, serving to put their Fruit and other Provisions in. Their Beds are made of Canes raised two or three Feet above the Ground, handsomely fitted with Mats and Bullocks Hides, or Goats Skins, which serve them instead of Feather-Beds, Quilts, and Blankets; and those Beds are parted one from another by Mats hung up.

Their Tillage consists in breaking up just the Husbandry Surface of the Earth with a wooden Instrument dry. like a Pick-ax, which they make by splitting the End of a thick Piece of Wood that serves for a Handle, and putting another Piece of Wood sharp pointed at one End into the Slit. This Instrument serves them instead of a Hoe and a Spade, for they have no Iron Tools. When the Land has been thus broke up, the Women sow and plant the *Indian* Corn, Beans, Pompions, Water-Melons, and other Grain, and Garden-stuff.

The

French  
America.  
Persons of  
the Florida  
Indians.

The *Indians* are generally handsome, but disfigure themselves by making Streaks on their Faces from the Top of the Forehead down the Nose to the Tip of the Chin; which is done by pricking the Skin 'till it bleeds, and then strewing fine Powder of Charcoal on the Skin, which sinks in and mixes with the Blood. They also make, after the same Manner, the Figures of living Creatures, of Leaves and Flowers, on their Shoulders, Thighs, and other Parts of their Bodies; and paint themselves, as has been said before, with Black or Red, and sometimes both together.

Their Women.

The Women are generally well-shaped, and would not be disagreeable did they adhere to Nature; but they disguise themselves as ridiculously as the Men, not only with the Streaks they have like them down their Faces, but by other Figures they make at the Corners of their Eyes and on their Bodies, particularly on their Bosoms.

The Women do all the Work in the Cottage, either in pounding the *Indian* Corn, and baking their Bread, dressing their other Provisions, drying, parching, or smoaking their Flesh, fetching the Wood they have occasion for, or the Flesh of wild Beasts killed by their Husbands in the Woods, which are often at a great distance.

I did not observe that their Women were naturally given to Lewdness; but their Virtue is not Proof against some of our Toys when presented them, as Needles, Knives, and more particularly Strings of Beads, whereof they make Necklaces and Bracelets: That Temptation is rarely resisted by them, and the less, because they have no Religion or Law to prohibit the Practice. It is true, their Husbands when they take them in the Fact, sometimes do punish them either by Separation or otherwise; but that is rare.

Habits.

The Country of these *Indians* being generally warm, almost all of them go naked, unless when the North Wind blows, then they cover themselves with a Buffaloe's Hide or Goat's Skin cur'd. The Women wear nothing but a Skin, Mat, or Clout hanging round them like a Petticoat, and reaching

reaching half way down their Legs before and behind. On their Heads they have nothing but their Hair platted and knotted behind. French America.

As for their Temper, it may be said of these as of all other *Indians* of that great Continent, that they are not mischievous unless wronged or attacked; in which Case they are all fierce and revengeful. They watch all Opportunities to be revenged, and never let any slip when offered, which is the Cause of their being continually at war with their Neighbours, and of that martial Humour so predominant among them.

As to the Knowledge of a God, they did not seem to us to have any fixed Notion of him; it is true, we met with some in our Way who, as far as we could judge, believed there was some superior Being which was above all Things, and this they testified by lifting up their Hands and Eyes to Heaven, yet without any manner of Concern, as believing that the said exalted Being does not regard at all what is done here below. However, none of them having any Places of Worship, Ceremonies, or Prayers, to manifest their Devotion, it may be said of them all, that they have no Religion, at least those that we saw.

They observe some Ceremonies, it is true, but whether they have any Regard to a superior Being, or whether they are only popular and proceeding from Custom, is what we were not able to discover. Those Ceremonies are as follows: When the Corn is ripe, they gather a certain Quantity in a Basket, which is placed on a Stool dedicated to that Use, and serving only upon these mysterious Occasions, which they have a great Veneration for. Particular Ceremonies.

The Basket with the Corn being placed on that honoured Stool, one of the Elders holds out his Hands over it, and talks a long time; after which, the said old Man distributes the Corn among the Women, and no Person is allowed to eat of the New Corn 'till eight Days after that Ceremony. This seems to be in the Nature of Offering or Blessing the First-fruits of their Harvest.

At

French  
America.



At their Assemblies, when the *Sagamite* or Potage, which is the most essential Part of their Meal, is boiled in a great Pot, they place that Pot on the Stool of Ceremony abovementioned, and one of the Elders stretches out his Hands over it, muttering some Words between his Teeth for a considerable time, after which they fall to eating.

When the young Folks are grown up to be fit to go to the Wars, and take upon them to be Soldiers, their Garment consisting of some Skin or Clout, together with their Bow, Quiver, and Arrows, is placed on the aforesaid Stool, an old Man stretches out his Hands over them, mutters the Words as above, and then the Garments, Bows, Quivers, and Arrows, are given to the Persons they belong to. The same Ceremonies are used by them in the cultivating of their Grain and Produce, but particularly of the Tobacco.

Usage of  
their Pri-  
soners.

Monsieur Joutel speaking of two Women taken Prisoners in their Wars, says, That one of them was suffered to return home, but the other Woman was kept to fall a Sacrifice to the Rage and Vengeance of the Women and Maids; who having armed themselves with thick Stakes, sharp pointed at the End, conducted that Wretch to a By-place, where each of those Furies began to torment her, sometimes with the Point of their Staff, and sometimes laying on her with all their Might. One tore off her Hair; another cut off her Finger; and every one of those outrageous Women endeavoured to put her to some exquisite Torture, to revenge the Death of their Husbands and Kinsmen who had been killed in the former Wars; so that the unfortunate Creature expected her Death-stroke as Mercy.

At last one of them gave her a Blow with a heavy Club on the Head, and another run a Stake several times into her Body, with which she fell down dead on the spot. *Then they cut that miserable Victim into Morsels, and obliged some Slaves of that Nation they had been long possessed of to eat them;* which to me is a very strong Argument against there being Canibals in *Florida*, as the first Adven-

Adventurers reported ; for here we see the *Indians*, French instead of devouring the Flesh of their Enemies, America. compelling their Slaves to eat it, as being a Morsel they most detested and abhor'd ; so far were they from having a Gust for human Flesh themselves. They Had they in the Heat of their Fury taken the Heart of the Prisoner, broil'd and eaten it, as the Slaves *Dutch* did *De Wit's*, then there would have been to eat their some Colour to have denominated these People Flesh. Canibals. But as they in this Instance declare human Flesh only fit for Slaves and the vilest of Mankind to eat, and did not shew any Inclination to taste it themselves, *De Wit's* Executioners seem to have a much better Title to the Name of Canibals than the *Florida Indians*, who were certainly most grossly misrepresented by our first Voyage-Writers.

As for the Manners and Customs of the *Illinois*, Character they are, in many Particulars, the same as those of the of the other Nations we have seen. They are naturally fierce and revengeful ; and among them the Toil of sowing, planting, carrying of Burthens, and doing all other things that belong to the Support of Life, appertains peculiarly to the Women. The Men have no other Business but going to the War, and hunting.

The Nations I have spoken of before (says the same Writer) are not at all or very little addicted to thieving ; but it was not so with the *Illinois*. It behoves every Man to watch their Feet as well as their Hands, for they know how to turn any thing out of the way dextrously. They are subject to the general Vice of all the other *Indians*, which is to boast very much of their warlike Exploits ; that is the main Subject of their Discourse, and they are very great Liars.

They pay a Respect to the Dead, as appears by Their their Care in burying them, especially such as are Behaviour considerable among them. This is also practised to the among the *Accancea's*, but they differ in this Particular, that the *Accancea's* weep and make their Dead. Complains for some Days, whereas the *Chahonnans* and other People of the *Illinois* Nation do

French  
America.



just the contrary ; for when any of them die, they wrap them up in Skins, and then put them into Coffins made of the Bark of Trees, then sing and dance about them for twenty-four Hours, those Dancers tying Calabashes or Gourds about their Bodies, with some *Indian* Wheat in them to rattle and make a Noise, and some of them have a Drum made of a great Earthen Pot, on which they extend a Goat's Skin, and beat thereon with a Stick.

During that Rejoicing they throw their Presents on the Coffin, such as Bracelets, Pendants, or Pieces of Earthen-Ware and Strings of Beads, encouraging the Singers to perform their Duty well. If any Friend happens to come thither at that time, he immediately throws down his Present and falls a singing and dancing like the rest. When that Ceremony is over, they bury the Body with Part of the Presents, making choice of such as may be most proper for it. They also bury with it some store of *Indian* Wheat, with a Pot to boil it in, and repeat the same Ceremony at the Year's End.

Remarks  
on the  
Relations  
of design-  
ing Ad-  
venturers.

I have not troubled the Reader with the Voyages of the Baron *La Hontan* and *Hennepin* through *Canada* and *Florida*, because their Accounts are now generally agreed to be fabulous, and in the most material Articles, particularly Religion, directly contradict each other. With equal Reason I have omitted the Accounts the *French* gave us of *Louisiana* in the memorable *Mississipi* Year, 1717, when they represented that Country as a perfect Paradise, in order to engage the *bubbled* Adventurers in the Project of planting that Country : Nor is this the only Instance of abusing People with partial Accounts of new-discovered Nations. It is the Case of almost every Enterprise of this Kind. The Undertakers, who have some particular Views to their own private Advantage, observing that it is impracticable to bring them about without the Hands and Purse of others, draw the most agreeable Landskip of the Country they intend to visit to invite others to join with them : This was Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Conduct when he was about to plant Colonies in  
*Virginia*

## of FRENCH AMERICA.

369

*Virginia* and *Guiana*, where he expected to acquire immense Treasures; and in this he did but imitate the *Spaniards* that went before him. Thus did the *New-England* Adventurers also describe that Country, and the celebrated *Pen* his *Pensylvania*: And thus of late did *Purry* the *Swiss* amuse his Countrymen: He made them believe that the Climate of *Georgia* was free from the Inconveniences of Heat or Cold: That the Soil in a manner produced Corn and Fruits spontaneously, and that Estates might be raised on a sudden with very little Labour: But when the People he carry'd over came to be sensible of the Labour and Fatigue of clearing Plantations, the Hazard of being attack'd by *Indians* and *Spaniards*, and the Necessity of erecting Forts for their Security, as well as of building Houses for themselves, they began to curse the Man that led them thither: And if *Purry* had not in good time dy'd a natural Death in his new-erected Town of *Parrysburgh*, he would have run the Hazard of being pull'd in pieces by his deluded Countrymen, as a Gentleman who lately came from *Carolina* assured me.

I would not be understood by these Reflections, however, to discourage the further planting of *Carolina* or *Georgia*. I know there is a rational Prospect of considerable Advantage to the Nation from this Attempt, since we find these Countries will produce those very Articles we most want, such as Silk, Wine, Oil, Rice, Furs, Skins and naval Stores; but I would not have our People that go thither deceive themselves, as if nothing was to be done there, no Inconveniences to be met with, or Hazards to be run; for in the first planting and establishing Colonies in the best Countries this must be expected: And it is well if the first Generation live to see any thing brought to Perfection, tho' they may have this Satisfaction, that they are laying a Foundation of lasting Benefits which will hereafter probably accrue to their Mother Country in general, and to their own Prosperity in particular, by these glorious Toils.



French  
America.

Reflections  
on the  
State of  
the French  
Colonies  
on the  
Continent.

To return to the *French* Plantations, on the Continent of *North-America*. It is observable that the Inhabitants of the *British* Colonies are or are to be thought under some Apprehensions, that the *French* are so situated on the back of the *English* Settlements, that it is, or will soon be, in their Power to ruin our Trade with the *Indians*, and by harrassing the *British* Dominions on that Side, oblige us to quit that Continent: That the *French* will draw a Line from the Mouth of the River *St. Lawrence* to the Gulph of *Mexico*, and so strengthen it with Forts and Redoubts; that they will in time drive our People into the Sea: And to heighten our Terror of the *French*, they represent their Colonies as consisting of two hundred thousand Souls at least, supported by great Bodies of regular Forces from *France*, against which 'tis impossible, they suggest, to defend our Frontiers. And I must confess, that conversing with several *West-India* Merchants, who seemed to be in the same way of thinking, I was once of opinion our Colonies were in some hazard of being swallowed up by the *French*; but upon taking a more particular Survey of the Country, and the Circumstances of each Nation, I am inclin'd to think that this is an Event which we have a great deal of Reason to suppose will never happen, unless our Colonies should find themselves so ill used by their Mother Country as voluntarily to throw themselves into the Arms of *France*; which on many Accounts can never be supposed.

These Gentlemen, who talk of drawing a Line from the Gulph of *Mexico* to the Bay of *St. Lawrence*, a Tract of between three and four thousand Miles, and rendering it strong enough to resist the Forces of the *British* Plantations, must surely imagine that *New-France* is as well peopled as the *Old*, and maintains as many regular Forces; and that the *English* Settlements are destitute of Inhabitants, whereas the Case is the very reverse.

Some Gentlemen, 'tis true, have calculated, that the *French* in *North-America* amount to two hundred thousand Souls, tho' it is probable they are

are not half that number ; but admitting there was French as many as is pretended, we cannot suppose there America. are forty thousand Men fit for War amongst them, and of these but few can be spared from the Business of their Plantations. How then should the French defend a Line of three thousand Miles Extent, much less raise a Force sufficient to subdue our Plantations, where they must admit we have three times the Number of Men they have in theirs ? and these many of them brave hardy Fellows, used to the Sea and other laborious and hazardous Employments. Another great Advantage we have of them is, that we can raise good Bodies of Horse and Dragoons, which they cannot, and if they could it would be impracticable to march them over such vast Deserts and Mountains as there are in most Parts of that Country (from North to South) to come at us.

The Frontiers, 'tis true, of some of our Colonies may be exposed to the Ravages of the French Indians, and it will be Prudence in us to erect Forts, or keep some Troops on foot in such Places as lie most open to their Incurfions, particularly on the Lake of *Champlain*, on the Frontiers of *New-York*, and on the Lakes of *Ontario* and *Erie*, and to have some armed Vessels upon these Lakes, which would not only defend the Frontiers, but protect our *Indians* on that side, and prevent their deserting over to the French. It might be proper also to erect Forts on the Passes of the *Apalathian* Mountains on the back of *Virginia* and *Carolina* for the same End ; but I should by no means be for extending our Plantations beyond this natural Barrier. There is as much Land within it as we can ever plant to Advantage, and we shall only weaken our Settlements by endeavouring to enlarge those Bounds. If the French are determin'd to establish themselves on the Banks of the *Mississipi* and in the Bay of *Apalathy*, the best Reason we have to oppose this Project is, lest they should one Day penetrate to the *Spanish* Mines, or make themselves Masters of the Navigation of the Gulph of *Mexico*, which will

## The, PRESENT STATE

will enable them to put what Terms they please upon *Spain*. It will then be in their power to compell his Catholick Majesty to give them the Trade of *Old-Spain* and of the *Spanish West-Indies*, and to exclude the Subjects of *Britain* and all other *European* Nations from sending their Manufactures to the *Spanish West-Indies* by the Flota or otherwise; and possibly they will not rest satisfi'd till they have compell'd his Catholick Majesty to let them into a Share of his Mines.

But as to their raising Silk or Wine, Sugar or Tobacco, in the Country they have denominated *Louisiana*, I am apt to think the *French* are too wise to attempt any of them.

It might be prudent indeed in *Britain* to attempt the raising Silk and Wine in *Carolina*, because we have none of our own; but why the *French* should promote these in *Florida* I can see no more Reason than that we should encourage the Woollen or Iron Manufactures there: And as for Sugar, the *French* seem to have more already than they know how to dispose of; and they will surely never be able to raise good Tobacco cheaper than we do in *Virginia*, where I'm informed the Planter sells it frequently for a Penny a Pound.

The *English* also have this farther Advantage in raising Wine, Silk, &c. in their own Plantations, that they lie upon the Mouths of numerous Rivers, and may embark the Produce of these Countries immediately for *England* with very little Trouble and Expence; whereas the Navigation to *Louisiana* or to *Canada* is much longer and more hazardous. The *French* are not Masters of two Rivers that fall into the *Atlantick-Ocean*, from whence I conclude they will never plant that extensive Country of *Louisiana* far from the Coast; and if they should, it will not answer their Expectations, or be very prejudicial to *Great-Britain*.

Remarks  
on the  
State of  
our Fron-  
tiers a-  
gainst the  
*Spaniards*.

As to the *Spaniards* attacking our Plantations on the Side of *Georgia*, with which we have lately been alarm'd, what they do of this Nature must be done very suddenly if at all, for that Frontier will be put into such a Posture of Defence, in a very

very little time that it will not be in the power of *Spain* to hurt us. The Crown of *Great-Britain* has never interposed with that Vigour in Defence of any of her Colonies as it has in Behalf of *Georgia*, and that with very good reason, it being the King's peculiar Property as well as both the *Carolina's*, all of which will be secured by this Barrier; and the Lands of those Colonies consequently rendered of ten times the Value they were when they lay exposed to the Ravages of the *Spaniards* and *Indians*. As to the *French*, they have a desert Country of three or four hundred Miles to pass over from their Settlements on the *Mississipi* and the Bay of *Apalach*, before they can reach the Frontiers of *Georgia* and *Carolina*. We have no Reason therefore to be under any great Apprehensions from them at present. The *Spaniards*, both on the East and West of *Florida*, are much more in danger of the *French* than the *British* Colonies are, and they will probably one Day be made sensible that their Safety consists in a strict Union with *Great-Britain*; that there is no other way left to defend their Mines in *North-America* from the Incroachments of the *French*, if they establish themselves on the Northern Shores of the Gulph of *Mexico*, and on the Banks of the *Mississipi*.





## C H A P. II.

*Of the French Islands in the Atlantick-Ocean.*French  
America.Of the  
French  
Islands.

THE third and last Division of *French America* I propos'd to describe is that of their Islands in the *Atlantick-Ocean*, viz. of the *Caribbees* taking them from South to North. 1. *Granada*. 2. *Martinico*. 3. *Marigalante*. 4. *Guadalupe*. 5. *Desiada* or *Desirada*. 6. *St. Bartholomew*. 7. *Sancta Cruz*; and, 8. *St. Martin*; besides which they have three Islands of some Consequence in the Bay of *St. Lawrence* on the Coast of *Nova Scotia*, viz. 9. *Cape Breton*. 10. *St. John's*; and, 11. *Anticoste*.

*Granada*. 1. *Granada* is situated in 12 Degrees North Latitude, about thirty Leagues South-West of *Barbadoes*, and about the same Distance North of *Caribiana* or *New-Andalusia*. This Island is 25 Leagues in Circumference, and has several good Bays and Harbours, some of which are fortify'd. It is esteem'd a fruitful Soil, and well watered, producing Sugar and such other Plants as are found in the rest of the *Caribbee-Islands*. There are abundance of very small Islands that lie at the North-End of *Granada*, which are called the *Granadilla's*.

*Martinico*. 2. *Martinico* is situated between 14 and 15 Degrees of North Latitude, and in 61 Degrees of Western Longitude, lying about forty Leagues North-West of *Barbadoes*. It is twenty Leagues in Length, but of an unequal Breadth, the in-land Part of it hilly; and at a distance appears like three distinct Mountains, being exceedingly well water'd by numerous Rivulets which fall from the Hills; and

and there are several commodious Bays and Harbours on the Coast, some of them so well fortify'd that they bid Defiance to the *English* when they made a Descent here with several thousand Men in the last War: They were forced to return to their Ships after they had burnt and plunder'd some Plantations in the open Country.

The Produce of this Island is the same with that of *Barbadoes*, viz. Sugar, Cotton, Ginger, Indigo, Aloes, Piemonto, &c. And as it is much larger has many more Inhabitants, and produces greater Quantities of Sugar than *Barbadoes*. This Island was replenish'd with *Indians* when the *French* first attempted to settle here, Anno 1635, and many Battles were fought between them and the Natives with various Success; but the *French* at length over-power'd and extirpated the ancient Inhabitants, and it is now the chief of all the *French* *Caribbee-Islands*, and the Seat of their Governor-General.

3. *Marigalante* is situated in 16 Degrees North Latitude, a little to the South-West of *Guadalupe*, and is about five Leagues in Length and four in Breadth. It was discover'd by *Columbus* in his second Voyage to *America*, Anno 1493, and named by him *Marigalante*, or the *Gallant Mary*, after the Name of his Ship. The *French* began to send Colonies thither about the Year 1647; and having expelled the Natives after several Years Wars, the *French* remain'd in the peaceable Possession of the Island, the Produce of which is the same with the rest of the *Caribbees*.

4. *Guadalupe* so named by *Columbus* from its Hills, resembling those of that Name in *Spain*, is situated in 16 Degrees North Latitude, and 61 Degrees of Western Longitude, about 30 Leagues North of *Martinico*, and almost as much South of *Antego*. It is said to be the largest of all the *Caribbee-Islands*, being twenty two Leagues in Length, and half as much in Breadth at each End, but almost cut in two by a deep Gulph or Bay on each Side; so that the Ends are joined together by a very narrow Isthmus. This, like

French  
America.

*Martinico*, abounds in Sugar, Cotton, Indigo, Ginger, &c. and is in a very flourishing Condition; and agreeable to the Consequence it is of to the *French* they have taken care to fortify it with several regular Forts and Redoubts, which were in so good a Condition when the *English* Admiral *Benbow* made a Descent here with a considerable Body of Land Forces, Anno 1702, that he did not think fit to attack them, tho' he destroy'd a great many of their Plantations and open Villages.

The *French* began to send Colonies to this Island about the Year 1632, but knew so little what the Soil was good for then, that for many Years they were in danger of starving, and afterwards the Planters by their Divisions almost ruined one another; so that this Island did not make any great Figure till the present Century; since the beginning of which it has vastly increased, and makes more Sugar now than any of the *British* Islands except *Jamaica*.

*Desiada*.

5. *Desiada*, or *Desirada*, the desirable Island, so called by *Columbus*, because it was the first Land he discover'd in his second Voyage to *America*, Anno 1493. It is situated about ten Leagues North-East of *Guadalupe*, a little inconsiderable Island not so fruitful as some others which belong to the *French*.

*St. Bartholomew's*.

6. *St. Bartholomew's* is a small Island about ten Leagues North of *St. Christopher's*, taken by the *English* under the Command of Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, in the Year 1689, but restored to the *French* at the Peace of *Ryswick*.

7. *St. Croix* or *Sancta Cruz*, another small Island situated in 17 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude, about twenty Leagues East of *St. Christopher's*, and has been contended for by the *English*, *Dutch*, *Spaniards* and *French*, but is now in the peaceable Possession of the *French West-India Company*.

*St. Martin's*.

8. *St. Martin's*, another Island of no great Consequence belonging to the *French*, situate a little to the North-West of *St. Bartholomew's*.

The

The *Dutch* have also two very small Islands French among the *Caribbees*, named *Saba* and *St. Eustace*, America. situated between the Islands of *St. Croix* and *St. Christopher's*; and the *Danes* have another small Island called *St. Thomas*, at the East End of the Island of *Porto Rico*; but I could never understand that the Product or Traffick of any of them are very considerable.

*Dutch*  
*Caribbee*  
Islands of  
*Saba* and  
*St. Eustace*.  
*Danes*

We have already seen the declining State of the *British* Sugar Islands, which once furnished *France* and most of the Nations of *Europe* with Sugar: but are now in a manner beat out of that Trade by the *French*, who have not only cultivated this Commodity with great Application of late Years in their *Caribbee-Islands*, but in the great Island of *Hispaniola*, as has been observed already in the Description of that Island; where they have Land enough to furnish themselves and all *Europe* with Sugar, and do actually cultivate as much as they can dispose of; in which they have some great Advantages of the *English*, as 1<sup>st</sup>, Their paying little or no Duty, not above one *per Cent.* on the Exportation of Sugars; whereas the *English* pay very high Duties, as appears from the Dispute between the *British* Sugar Colonies and the Northern Countries. 2<sup>dly</sup>, They are allowed to export their Sugars directly to foreign Markets without bringing them home first, which saves a very great Charge the *English* are forced to be at, and enables the *French* to carry their Goods to foreign Markets much sooner than the *English* possibly can. 3<sup>dly</sup>, The *British* Northern Colonies take Sugar, Rum, and Molosses from the *French* Islands, which formerly those Islands had no Vent for; whereby the Demand for these Articles from the *British* Islands is continually diminished, and the Demand from the *French* Islands increased; the Northern Colonies taking scarce any Sugar, Rum, or Molosses, from the *British* Sugar Islands, but purchase them with their Lumber, Provisions, and Horses, and often with Money, of the *French*, or of the *Dutch* at *Surinam*.

Island of  
*St. Thomas*.



French  
America.

And lastly, as the *French* Islands, particularly that of *Hispaniola* (of which they possess two Thirds at present) *Martinico*, and *Guadalupe*, are larger than the *British* *Caribbee-Islands*, and consequently there is room to raise great Part of their Provisions in them, while the *English* receive their Provisions from abroad for the most part: This is another great Advantage on the Side of the *French*. They have also a great deal of Timber growing on the Island of *Hispaniola*, which is an Article the *English* Sugar Islands want, and must pay dear for; from all which Considerations it is but too evident, that unless the *British* Legislature think fit to alter the Acts of Navigation in their Favour, and suffer our Sugar Colonies to carry their Produce directly to foreign Markets, take off the Duties upon them, and restrain the Northern Colonies also from dealing so much with the *French* and *Dutch* for Sugar, Molosses, and Rum, the *British* *Caribbee-Islands* must still decline; since they will never have any Demand for their Produce, but what *Britain* itself takes off. And unless we put the Fortifications of our Islands in a better Posture of Defence than they are at present, we shall run the Hazard of losing the Islands themselves, as well as the Traffick they were once so famous for. No *English* Gentleman will be fond of having an Estate in the *Caribbees*, or contribute much to the promoting the Sugar Manufacture there; while those Colonies lie under such Discouragements in Point of Trade, and he is in danger of losing his Estate and all the Expence he shall be at upon the first Rupture with any *European* Power.

The *French*  
Northern  
Islands.

But to proceed to the *French* Islands which remain yet to be described, viz. *Cape Breton*, *St. John's*, and *Anticosti*.

*Cape Bre-*  
*ton*.

*Cape Breton* is situated between 45 Degrees and a half and 47 Degrees and a half North Latitude, separated from *Acadie* or *New-Scotland* by the narrow Streight of *Canso* on the South-West, and the other Passage or Streight of *Cape Ray* separates it from *Newfoundland* on the North-East: It is indented

dented on every Side by large Bays of the Sea, French which cut almost through it in some Places, and America. form several commodious Harbours. This Island is about one hundred and twenty Miles in Length, and fifty in Breadth; a barren Desert-Land, affording scarce any Trees or Herbage, and has very few Rivers; nor would it ever have been planted, probably, if it had not lain so convenient for the *French* to preserve their Communication with the River of *St. Lawrence* and *Canada*, and to protect their Fisheries, as well as to disturb the Trade and Fisheries of *Great-Britain* in Time of War: For here are several Harbours where the *French* Cruisers and Privateers may lie securely, and from hence interrupt the *British* Trade and Fisheries of *New-England*, *New-Scotland*, and *Newfoundland*, at their pleasure. Nor do I see how it is possible for an *English* Squadron to protect them intirely upon such extensive Coasts: All that can be done, in Time of War, is to make Reprisals on the *French* by our Cruisers and Privateers; and as our Merchantmen, and Fishermen are much the most numerous, we must expect to be the greatest Sufferers, as we always were in the late Wars, the *French* taking three Prizes for one we took from them.

The *New-England* Gentlemen therefore censure Queen *Anne's* Ministers that they did not insist more strenuously on this Island's being yielded to *Great-Britain* by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and will scarcely acknowledge the Benefits they received by those Articles which gained us the sole Property of *Nova-Scotia* or *Arcadie*, and *Newfoundland*; though they were very loud in the Complaints heretofore; that they were perpetually harraßed by the *French* and their *Indians* from *Nova-Scotia*, suggesting that nothing could be of greater Advantage to *New-England*, and the rest of the Northern Colonies, than the reducing *Nova-Scotia*, which now they see in our Hands, they seem as little satisfied as before, because sufficient Care is not taken, they say, to plant and people *Nova-Scotia*; but surely none lie more conveniently to do

French  
America.

do this than the *New-England* Men themselves. And I am of Opinion they would have done it long e'er this, if it had been annexed to the Province of the *Massachusetts*, as they once expected it would have been: but their natural Aversion to a Regal Government, which they find their Colonies must be subject to if they send any to *Nova-Scotia*, I'm satisfied prevents their Planting that Country; but then they ought to cease their Complaints, that it is no better planted.

As to the *French* King's yielding up *Cape Breton* and the other Islands in the Bay of *St. Lawrence*, it must be considered, if he had parted with these at the Treaty of *Utrecht*, he could no longer have had a Communication with *Canada* or *New-France* than we saw fit; and it could scarce be expected he should exclude himself from all Commerce with his Colonies of *North-America*, how low soever he was brought: However, I find it to be acknowledged on all Hands, that if we plant and people *Acadie*, and erect some Forts for its Protection; our Colonies there will be able, with the Assistance of a *British* Squadron in time of War, in a great Measure to maintain the Dominion of those Seas, if they can't entirely prevent the Depredations of the *French*.

*St. John's.* The Island of *St. John's* lies between *Cape Breton* and the Coast of *New-Scotland*, and is about twenty Leagues in Length. The Island of *Anticosti* is a much larger Island, lying just before the Mouth of *St. Lawrence* River: These, and the lesser Islands in the Bay of *St. Lawrence*, don't seem to be of any other Use to the *French*, than to preserve their Communication with *Canada*; I don't find they have any Towns or Plantations upon them.



THE  
CONCLUSION  
OF THE  
PRESENT STATE  
OF  
AMERICA.



PON a Review of the whole The Con-  
Work, it appears that never any clusion.

People were possessed of so fine a Country, and so happily situated, as that which is subject to the Crown of *Great-Britain* on the other Side of the *Atlantick-Ocean*;

a Country of fifteen hundred Miles Extent; where every thing that is necessary, every thing desirable in Life, is, or may be produced in the greatest Abundance, and brought to the Metropolis of the three Kingdoms with as little Labour and Expence almost as they may be brought from any distant County of *England*; it being but a six Weeks Voyage in an open Sea, not subject to the Interruptions and Accidents of Coasting Voyages.

The Eastern Shores of *North-America*, on which our Colonies are situated, abound in commodious Harbours

The Conclusion.

Harbours and Navigable Rivers, infomuch that Ships take in their Lading in many Places at the Planters Doors, and then falling down into the Ocean, sail directly home; whereas, both the *French* and *Spaniards* have a much longer and more difficult Navigation to and from those Parts of that Continent which are possessed by them.

It is evident to a Demonstration, that in these Countries it is in our power to raise Silk, Hemp, Flax, Pitch, Tar, Wine, Oil, Raisins, and other Fruits; and that the Sugar and Tobacco Colonies and Fisheries we already have in that Part of the World, bring us in an inconceivable Treasure.

But it is as evident these Articles are not considered with that Attention their Importance seem to demand.

Every one, who has made any Calculation of our National Expences, knows that we lay out annually with Foreigners four Millions of Money and upwards in Silks, Linnen, Lace, Wine, Naval-Stores, and other Merchandise, which we might make ourselves if our Colonies were encouraged to raise the Materials; and it is computed, that those Materials would employ half a Million of People at home, who are now a Burthen to their Country.

It is obvious, our People are vastly increased of late Years; and tho' Multitudes, when rightly employed, are the Strength and Riches of a Nation, many of ours are become an intolerable Charge upon the Land, purely for Want of being set to work on proper Materials under the Direction of skilful Masters.

If it be demanded what is the Reason we import such vast Quantities of Lace, Linnen, Naval-Stores, &c. from Foreigners, when our own Territories would produce them; and suffer our People at home to starve, or be a Burthen to the Nation, when we might find Employment for all of them and as many more, and not only ease our Lands from this Burthen, but vastly enrich the Nation by their Labour?

The

## *The* CONCLUSION.

583

The usual Answers we meet with are these, *The Conclusion.*  
1. That it will cost some Money, and be some Time before we can raise Silk, Flax, Wine, &c. and establish Manufactures: And 2. That foreign Goods pay great Duties to the Crown, which Duties would be diminished if we produced the like Materials and established the like Manufactures at home, or in our Plantations.

And I confess more formidable Objections cannot be made: For how advantageous soever a Proposal may be to the Nation in general, yet if Money is required to carry it on, or it may affect the Publick Revenue, it cannot be expected it should meet with much Countenance from Gentlemen whose Business it is to advance the Revenue; but as the Body of the People seem now convinced, that it is their Interest to raise and manufacture their own Consumption, and to support and encourage our Plantations in order to furnish them with Materials, I shall not despair but the thing will be effected one time or other, whatever Obstacles may be thrown in the Way by interested or designing Men.

It is admitted on all Hands that the Poor's Rates, though paid by the Tenant, are in reality a Charge upon every Gentleman's Estate. If the Rate amounts to one, two, or three Shillings in the Pound, the Gentleman must abate proportionably in his Rent, or the Tenant cannot hold his Farm.

Whatever lessens the Poor's Rates therefore is an Advantage to the landed Interest; and by keeping the Poor employed, you do not only save a great Expence, and enrich your Country, but you prevent their taking vicious Courses: You save them from the Gallows, and your Persons and Estates from Violence and Rapine: You improve the Morals of your People, and must live with more Satisfaction and Security among such Men, than among an unhappy Generation whose Necessities compel them to become Thieves and Beggars. Let us consider the Multitudes that would be employed in these Manufactures: And if the Goods should not be altogether so fine as the Linnen,

The Conclusion.

Lace, and Silks of *France* or the *Low-Countries* at first, they will probably prove as well wrought as theirs in Time, if suitable Encouragements are given to those that excel; but if they should be something coarser, why should we not imitate *France* and other Kingdoms, who are content to wear coarse Woollen-cloth, rather than impoverish their Countries by importing our fine Cloths. Is it of as much Importance to the Kingdom, that our Ladies should appear in foreign Linnen, Lace, and Silks, as that the People, by being employed in these Manufactures at home, should be kept from starving, and two or three Millions of Money annually saved to the Nation?

Let us consider also, that the Riches of the Plantations are our Riches, their Forces our Forces, and their Shipping our Shipping; as these prosper, so will their Mother Country prosper of course; hither all their Wealth flows in the End. They either bring their Estates over to *England*, if they meet with Success, or they live in an elegant Manner there and import our Manufactures. We should need scarce any other foreign Trade; therefore we should want nothing that other Countries produce, if the Plantations were encouraged; for the Materials they might raise would abundantly employ all our idle Hands, and furnish us with every thing that contributes to the Support or Conveniences of Life. Can we then do too much for our Colonies, when in supporting them we most effectually serve ourselves. Let us not be afraid of lessening the Revenue by prohibiting foreign Manufactures, if it tends to enrich the Nation; for the Richer the People are, the better able will they be to support the Government; and the Legislature can never be at a loss for Ways and Means to raise Money, if the People have it in their Purses.

But let us ever be cautious of laying high Duties on our own Produce and Manufactures, whether at home or in our Colonies; for this has totally destroyed some Branches of Trade, and prevents others from flourishing: By this we find the  
People

## The CONCLUSION.

585

People of *Jamaica* were entirely beat out of the Cacao or Chocolate Trade, other Nations being able to afford it cheaper than they could on account of the Duties: By the like Conduct it is apprehended the Sugar and Tobacco Trade may be lost, the Duties on which are so considerable a Branch of the Revenue. And were it not better to take a small Duty, than to lose all the Duties and the Trade together? And here at home, is it not the Duty on Paper made here that damps the Progress of that Manufacture, and still obliges us to import most of our Paper from abroad? And, indeed, we may ruin all our Trade, and all our Manufactures by high Duties; and when that is done, how is the Government to be supported: How shall we find Money to purchase even Necessaries of Foreigners? And how shall we maintain those Multitudes of Poor that a Failure in our Manufactures and Plantation Trade must occasion? But next to high Duties, nothing surely can be a greater Disadvantage to our Manufactures or Plantation Trade than the locking up our Money in Banks and Funds, which, 'till these were established, were employed in Commerce. The Man who lives purely on the Interest of his Money in these Banks, is the most contemptible and useless Member in the Common-wealth: Instead of increasing his own and the common Stock, he chuses a slothful indolent way of Life; he takes no pains to serve himself, his Friends, or his Country; but like a certain Animal he resembles, is only useful when he dies, and his Substance is transferred to Persons of a more publick Spirit.

As to such Gentlemen and Ladies as have small Fortunes in the Publick Funds, these might by employing them in our Manufactures at home, or in the Plantations abroad, make a much better Figure in the World than they can by the Interest of their Money. What will five hundred or a thousand Pounds produce in the Funds? an ordinary Porter or Cobler gets more by his Labour; but such Sums employed in any Manufacture at home, or a Plantation abroad, would produce a handsome Sub-

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sistence,



The Con-  
clusion.

istence. It were pity therefore, even for the Sake of these whose Condition has been so much lamented of late, but Interest were still lower, that they might be compelled to take their Fortunes out of the Funds, and employ them more to the Advantage of themselves and their Country.

And as to Gentlemen who have but small Estates, or such as are incumbered, were they duly apprized that with the Money arising by the Sale of one hundred Pounds *per Ann.* they might purchase a Plantation which would yield three hundred Pounds *per Ann.* in *British America*; or, that by applying Part of the Money they take upon their Estates in the Improvement of a Plantation, they might in a short time clear off their Debts and live in Plenty, they would never drag about a miserable Being in Necessity and Disgrace at home, but venture a little abroad and improve their Estates; after which they might return, make a Figure in the Decline of Life, and leave ample Fortunes to their Posterity.

I am not here inviting Gentlemen to run the Hazards, or to undergo the Fatigues that usually attend new Discoveries; there is more Land discovered already than we can possibly cultivate; nor would I advise them to settle upon the Frontiers of our Colonies that are liable to the Invasions of the *French* and *Spaniards*, or the *Indians*: This is a Post assigned to the necessitous and hardy *Highlanders* and *Swiss*, who richly deserve the Lands assigned them for securing the rest of the Provinces: But let a Gentleman go over, and take a View of *New-England*, *New-York*, the *Jerseys*, *Pennsylvania*, *Virginia*, or *Carolina*, and he will in any of them meet with fruitful Farms ready planted to his Hand, by the Purchase of which he may double and treble his Fortune with a very little Application; and when he has settled them to his Mind, may return to *England* again if he sees fit, and have the Produce of them sent over hither. This many have done, and continue to do to this Day; and it is surprising more do not follow their Example.

Among

## The CONCLUSION.

587

Among the Ancients, the greatest Men travelled and run many Hazards for the Improvement of Arts and Sciences, of Husbandry or Traffick; and whoever brought home any thing of this kind was looked upon as a good Angel, and in Afterwards worshipped as a God. And were our Gentlemen and Men of Quality, when they travel, as usefully employed, we should no doubt have them in equal Esteem; but what do these honourable Wanderers usually import, but foreign Fashions, foreign Fopperies, and foreign Vices?

Would they discover the Arts that have rendered the *Dutch*, and of late the *French*, such exquisite Merchants and Planters; would they, as Sir *Thomas Lombe* has done, to his immortal Honour, bring home the Model of some useful Engine, teach us to plant the Vine, to raise Silk and Flax, to improve our Sugar and Tobacco Colonies, to manage our Fisheries with success, and particularly the Whale Fishery, in which the Colonies of *New-England* and *New-York* have of late made some progress: Were these the Views of our Nobility and Gentry in their Travels, they would deserve the Honours and Estates they enjoy, and could not fail of acquiring still greater; their own Families would enjoy the Fruits of their glorious Labours, and they would be esteemed by all Mankind real Benefactors to their Country.

T H E

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T H E  
T A B L E  
O F T H E  
XXXI<sup>st</sup> VOLUME.

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A

|                                                   | Page |
|---------------------------------------------------|------|
| <b>A</b> CADIE, <i>or New-Scotland, described</i> | 338  |
| <i>The French Incroachments there</i>             | 340  |
| Albany Town                                       | 378  |
| America French                                    | 554  |
| Antego                                            | 513  |
| Anticoste Island                                  | 580  |
| Apalathian Mountains                              | 14   |
| Ambergris, <i>what</i>                            | 195  |

B

|                                                          |          |
|----------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| <b>B</b> ACON's Rebellion                                | 16       |
| Bahama Islands, <i>their Situation and present State</i> | 539      |
| BARBADOES, <i>The Name, Situation, Extent,</i>           |          |
| <i>Face of the Country</i>                               | 499, 500 |
| <i>Coast, Harbours, Winds, and Hurricanes</i>            | 500      |
| <i>Rivers, Springs, &amp;c.</i>                          | ibid.    |
| <i>Towns and Produce of the Island</i>                   | 501      |
| <i>Government, Number of People and Forces</i>           | 502      |
| <i>Their Trade, Revenues, and present State</i>          | ibid.    |
| Barbuda Island                                           | 511      |
| Bartholomew's Island                                     | 576      |
| Beavers                                                  | 135      |
| Beaufort                                                 |          |

## The TABLE.

|                                             | Page     |
|---------------------------------------------|----------|
| Beaufort Town                               | 410      |
| Bermuda Islands, <i>their present State</i> | 542      |
| Block Isle                                  | 175      |
| Boston City                                 | 166, 234 |
| Breton Cape                                 | 578      |
| Britain New                                 | 343      |
| <i>The first Discovery of it by Cabot</i>   | 344      |
| <i>A Patent to plant the Country, 1670</i>  | 347      |
| Burlington Town                             | 381      |

### C

|                                                                                                                |       |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| CAMBRIDGE New                                                                                                  | 169   |
| Canada, or New-France                                                                                          | 282   |
| <i>The Reduction of it attempted</i>                                                                           | ibid. |
| <i>An Expedition against Canada, Anno 1711,</i>                                                                | 312   |
| Canfo Town                                                                                                     | 339   |
| CAROLINA, <i>Situation and Extent</i>                                                                          | 404   |
| <i>The three Grand Divisions</i>                                                                               | 409   |
| Indian Town of Keowee                                                                                          | 414   |
| <i>Trees and Plants</i>                                                                                        | 415   |
| <i>Trade with the Indians</i>                                                                                  | 418   |
| Caribbee-Islands, <i>their present State</i>                                                                   | 514   |
| Champlain, or Corlaer Lake                                                                                     | 553   |
| Charles Town                                                                                                   | 232   |
| <i>Charter-Governments, the Difference between them</i><br><i>and those immediately depending on the Crown</i> | 354   |
| Christopher's Island                                                                                           | 513   |
| Connecticut Colony                                                                                             | 173   |

### D

|                        |     |
|------------------------|-----|
| DE la War River        | 356 |
| Defiada Island         | 576 |
| Dominica Island        | 510 |
| Dutch Caribbee-Islands | 577 |

### E

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| ELIZABETH Isle | 175 |
| Erie Lake      | 355 |
| Eustace Island | 577 |

### G GEOR-

# The TABLE

|                                                              | Page                    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <b>G</b>                                                     |                         |
| <b>G</b> EOORGIA, <i>Situation, and chief Towns</i>          | 411, 412                |
| German Town                                                  | 385                     |
| Gloucester Town                                              | 381                     |
| Granada Island                                               | 574                     |
| Guadalupe Island                                             | 575                     |
| <b>H</b>                                                     |                         |
| <b>H</b> AMPSHIRE New                                        | 172, 239, 274, 334      |
| Hertford County                                              | 173                     |
| Hudson's Bay and River                                       | 342, 356                |
| Hurons Lake                                                  | 559                     |
| <b>I</b>                                                     |                         |
| <b>J</b> AMAICA, <i>the Name, Situation, Extent, and</i>     |                         |
| Face of the Country                                          | 465, 466                |
| Tides, Ports, Rivers, Springs, Baths, and Lakes              | 467, 468, 469           |
| Winds, Earthquakes, Thunder, Rains, and Sea-                 |                         |
| sons for planting                                            | 469, 470, 471, 472, 473 |
| Buildings and Inhabitants                                    | 478, 479                |
| Foods and Animals                                            | 479                     |
| Vegetables                                                   | 486                     |
| Diseases and Remedies                                        | ibid.                   |
| The Right of the English to the Logwood Trade                | 493                     |
| Government and Laws                                          | 497                     |
| Illinois Lake                                                | 559                     |
| Indians, <i>their Motives to enter into an Alliance with</i> |                         |
| any European Power                                           | 359                     |
| Iroquois, or Five Nations                                    | 352, 357                |
| Jersey New                                                   | 551                     |
| <b>L</b>                                                     |                         |
| <b>L</b> ONG Island                                          | 378                     |
| Louisiana, or New-France                                     | 554                     |
| Lucia Island                                                 | 509                     |
| <b>M</b>                                                     |                         |
| <b>M</b> AINE Province                                       | 171, 239                |
| MARYLAND, <i>Situation, Extent, and Face</i>                 |                         |
| of the Country                                               | 117, 118                |
|                                                              | Springs,                |

# The T A B L E.

|                                                                                                                      | Page          |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| <i>Springs, Rivers, Sea-Coast, Air and Seasons</i>                                                                   | 119           |
| <i>Provinces, Towns, and Buildings</i>                                                                               | 123           |
| <i>Persons of the Maryland Indians</i>                                                                               | 127           |
| <i>Genius and Temper, Mechanicks, Arts, and Diet</i>                                                                 | 129           |
| <i>Diseases and Remedies of the Indians and English</i>                                                              | 137           |
| <i>Government and Laws of Maryland</i>                                                                               | 145           |
| <i>Martha's Vineyard and Island</i>                                                                                  | 175           |
| <i>Martinico Island</i>                                                                                              | 574           |
| <i>Marigalante Island</i>                                                                                            | 575           |
| <i>Martin's Island</i>                                                                                               | 576           |
| <i>Maffasoiet enters into an Alliance with the English, and acknowledges the King of Great-Britain his Sovereign</i> | 223           |
| <i>Massachusetts Colony</i>                                                                                          | 228, 236, 274 |
| <i>Maurice River</i>                                                                                                 | 356           |
| <i>Mohawk River</i>                                                                                                  | ibid.         |
| <i>Montferrat Island</i>                                                                                             | 514           |
| <i>Montreal Town</i>                                                                                                 | 560           |
| <i>Moose Deer</i>                                                                                                    | 181           |

## N

|                                                                     |          |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| <i>NEVIS Island</i>                                                 | 514      |
| <i>NEW-ENGLAND, its Situation and Extent</i>                        | 160, 161 |
| <i>Indian Kingdoms, and the present Divisions of the Country</i>    | 165      |
| <i>Towns</i>                                                        | 166      |
| <i>Persons of the Indians</i>                                       | 177      |
| <i>Arts and Sciences, Genius and Temper</i>                         | 178      |
| <i>New-England Plants, by Dudley</i>                                | 199      |
| <i>Trade and Manufactures</i>                                       | 204      |
| <i>They refuse to tolerate the Service of the Church of England</i> | 231      |
| <i>Boston, the Capital founded</i>                                  | 234      |
| <i>Divisions among the Planters</i>                                 | 234, 243 |
| <i>New-Hampshire and Maine planted</i>                              | 239      |
| <i>The War with the Pequots</i>                                     | 240      |
| <i>Several Quakers put to death</i>                                 | 250      |
| <i>The Indians on the South-West intirely subdued</i>               | 272      |

## The TABLE.

|                                                                                                    | Page     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| <i>A Surrender of the New-Hampshire Charter</i>                                                    | 274      |
| <i>Judgment aganst the Massachuset Charter</i>                                                     | ibid.    |
| <i>A new Charter granted the Massachusets</i>                                                      | ibid.    |
| <i>Sir William Phips's Expedition against Port-Royal</i>                                           | 277      |
| <i>The Reduction of Canada attempted</i>                                                           | 282      |
| <i>Witches of New-England</i>                                                                      | 286      |
| <i>The English take Port-Royal</i>                                                                 | 311      |
| <i>An Expedition against Canada, An. 1711,</i>                                                     | 312      |
| <i>Of the Independency of New-England on the Crown</i>                                             | 323      |
| <i>The Laws of New-England</i>                                                                     | 326      |
| <i>The Difference between the Charter Governments and those immediately depending on the Crown</i> | 334      |
| <b>NEWFOUNDLAND</b> , <i>its Situation, Extent, and Face of the Country</i>                        | 544, 545 |
| <i>Harbours, Fishery, Inhabitants</i>                                                              | 545, 546 |
| <i>Chief Towns</i>                                                                                 | 546      |
| <i>Soil and present State</i>                                                                      | ibid.    |
| <i>Niagara Cataract</i>                                                                            | 353      |
| <b>NOVA SCOTIA</b> <i>and its Fisheries yielded to Great-Britain by the Peace of Utrecht</i>       | 316      |
| <b>O.</b>                                                                                          |          |
| <b>O</b> <b>NANDAGA</b> <i>River</i>                                                               | 356      |
| <i>Ontario Lake</i>                                                                                | 353      |
| <i>Oppaconcanough taken Prisoner and kill'd</i>                                                    | 2, 3     |
| <i>Oxford Town</i>                                                                                 | 385      |
| <b>P.</b>                                                                                          |          |
| <b>P</b> <b>EAK</b> <i>and Roenoke described</i>                                                   | 110      |
| <b>P</b> <b>ENNSYLVANIA</b> , <i>Situation and Extent</i>                                          | 382      |
| <i>Rivers</i>                                                                                      | 382      |
| <i>Counties and chief Towns</i>                                                                    | 384      |
| <i>Pequot War</i>                                                                                  | 240      |
| <i>Philadelphia County and City</i>                                                                | 384      |
| <i>Plymouth Colony</i>                                                                             | 171      |
| <i>Port-Royal taken by the English</i>                                                             | 311      |
| <i>Sir William Phips his Expedition against it</i>                                                 | 277      |
| <i>Providence Plantation</i>                                                                       | 174      |
| <i>Providence one of the Bahama Islands</i>                                                        | 540      |
| <i>Purrysburgh Town</i>                                                                            | 413      |
| <b>Q. QUA-</b>                                                                                     |          |

# The TABLE.

|                                                                             | Page            |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Q.                                                                          |                 |
| <b>Q</b> UAKERS, <i>several put to death</i>                                | 250             |
| Quebeck Town                                                                | 360             |
| R.                                                                          |                 |
| <b>R</b> ADNOR Town                                                         | 385             |
| Raritan River                                                               | 356             |
| Rhode-Island Colony and Government                                          | 174, 333        |
| Rye Town                                                                    | 379             |
| S.                                                                          |                 |
| <b>S</b> ABA Island                                                         | 577             |
| Salem Town                                                                  | 170, 381        |
| Salisbury Town                                                              | 170             |
| Salvador St. <i>one of the Bahama Islands</i>                               | 539             |
| Sasquahanna River                                                           | 383             |
| Savannah Town                                                               | 412             |
| Schenechtida Town                                                           | 377             |
| Scotland New, <i>Situation and Extent</i>                                   | 388             |
| Schoonkill River                                                            | 383             |
| Staten Island                                                               | 378             |
| Sugar Islands, <i>their present State</i>                                   | 514             |
| T.                                                                          |                 |
| <b>T</b> HOMAS Island                                                       | 577             |
| Tobago Island                                                               | 510             |
| Trois Rivieres Town                                                         | 560             |
| V.                                                                          |                 |
| <b>V</b> ANE, Governor of the Massachusetts                                 | 236             |
| Vincent Island                                                              | 509             |
| VIRGINIA                                                                    |                 |
| Oppaconcanough taken Prisoner and kill'd                                    | 2, 3            |
| Virginia the last of the King's Dominions that<br>submitted to the Usurpers | 4               |
| They throw off the Usurpers Yoke                                            | 6               |
| Silk and Linnen Manufactures encourag'd there                               | 8               |
| Apalathian Mountains                                                        | 14              |
| Bacon's Rebellion                                                           | 16              |
| The English Merchants discourage the building<br>Towns in Virginia          | 29              |
| Fort demolished and Guards of light Horse in<br>their stead                 | ibid.           |
| A College erected                                                           | 39              |
|                                                                             | <i>Proposed</i> |



# The TABLE

|                                                                                           | Page   |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| <i>Proposed to have one Viceroy over all the Colonies, and a standing Army in America</i> | 44     |
| <i>The Seat of the Government removed</i>                                                 | ibid.  |
| <i>The Boundaries of the Counties corrected by Beverley</i>                               | 51     |
| <i>Other Mistakes of Mr. Oldmixon corrected by Beverley</i>                               | 53     |
| <i>Government of the Virginians</i>                                                       | 55     |
| <i>Huskanawing a necessary Qualification for an Officer</i>                               | ibid.  |
| <i>The Government of the English in Virginia</i>                                          | 57     |
| <i>Duties laid on Tobacco in England</i>                                                  | 64     |
| <i>Poll-tax in Virginia on all titheable Persons</i>                                      | ibid.  |
| <i>Laws and Religion of the Virginians</i>                                                | 66, 76 |
| <i>The State of the Christian Religion in Virginia</i>                                    | 85     |
| <i>The College endowed</i>                                                                | 89     |
| <i>Schools erected for the Natives</i>                                                    | 91     |
| <i>The Condition of the Poor in Virginia</i>                                              | 92     |
| <i>Servants and Slaves, the Difference between them</i>                                   | 96     |
| <i>The Pipe or Calamet of Peace</i>                                                       | 103    |
| <i>The English Forces in Virginia</i>                                                     | 106    |
| <i>Foreign Trade and Shipping</i>                                                         | 108    |
| <i>Manufactures and Coin</i>                                                              | 109    |
| <i>Iron and other Minerals</i>                                                            | 112    |
| <i>Hospitality of the Natives supplies the place of Inns</i>                              | 115    |
| <i>Upper Lake</i>                                                                         | 559    |

## W.

|                                        |     |
|----------------------------------------|-----|
| <b>WESTCHESTER</b> <i>Town</i>         | 379 |
| <i>Whales of New-England described</i> | 185 |
| <i>Witches of New-England</i>          | 286 |

## Y

|                                                                                                |          |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| <b>YORK NEW,</b> <i>Situation and Extent</i>                                                   | 352, 375 |
| <i>The History of the Plantation of the Colonies of New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania</i> | 388      |
| <i>The Produce and Traffick of the Northern Colonies</i>                                       | 396      |

# F I N I S.

