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1743-1742
WILLIAM & MARY DA...
UNIVERSITY OF...
The British Empire

IN

AMERICA,

Containing

The HISTORY of the Discovery, Settlement, Progress and present State of all the

British Colonies,

ON THE

Continent and Islands of *America.*

In Two VOLUMES.

Being an Account of the Country, Soil, Climate, Product and Trade of them, *Viz.*

Vol. I.	Carolina,	Montserrat,
Newfoundland,	and	Newis,
New-Scotland,	Hudson's-Bay.	St. Christophers,
New-England,	Vol. II.	Barbuda,
New-York,	Barbados,	Anguilla,
New-Jersey,	St. Lucia,	Jamaica,
Pensylvania,	St. Vincents,	The Bahama
Maryland,	Dominico,	and
Virginia,	Antego,	Bermudas

} Islands.

With curious Maps of the several Places, done from the newest Surveys. By *Herman Moll*, Geographer.

LONDON, Printed for *John Nicholson* at the King's Arms in Little Britain, *Benjamin Tooke* at the Middle-Temple-Gate, Fleetstreet, and *Richard Parker* and *Ralph Smith* under the Piazza of the Royal Exchange. 1708.

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TO
JOHN BROMLEY,
 OF
HORSET-HALL
 IN
Cambridgeshire, Esq;

S I R,

NOthing had been more preposterous, than to have address'd the History of the *British West-Indies* to a Gentleman who has no Interest there. Such a one would have look'd upon this Design with that Contempt or Neglect which is ever the Effect of Ignorance and Prejudice.

But you, Sir, who are so considerable a Proprietor, both in *England* and *Barbados*, are the best Judge how far this Treatise may be use-

useful and entertaining to the *English* Reader in this Island and that. Your Authority will be sufficient to protect it, as well in *America* as in *Europe*. For none in *England* will imagine I durst offer Falsties for Fact to you, who from your own Knowledge could easily detect them; and none in the Plantations will be severe in their Censures upon a Work which comes forth under the Patronage of one of their greatest Names. Whatever Hardships our *American* Colonies, especially the Islands, have met with at home, nothing has ever been able to shake their Loyalty to the Crown of *England*, or their Affection for the People. They have ever been zealous for the Service of the Prince, and as hearty for that of the Publick.

'Tis these Principles that procur'd you the general Voice of the County where you reside, to represent them in the Parliament of *Great-Britain*. 'Tis these Principles that will always render you useful to the Common-wealth, the Glory of your Native Country, and the Delight of ours.

Among the Scandal which the Enemies of the Plantations maliciously throw upon them, one is, The vulgar Descent of the Inhabitants, which is as ridiculous as unjust; for if by their Prudence and Industry they have rais'd Fortunes, that might ennoble them, if they have Sense to acquire Estates, and Souls to enjoy them; is not that really true Nobility, and that which is deriv'd from a long Roll of *Ancestry*, and enjoy'd without any other Reason and Merit, false and chimerical? I say this with the more Freedom to you, Sir, for that with the Advantages of Fortune you have the Happiness to be descended from one of the most ancient and honourable Families in *England*, which has furnish'd the Law with so
many

many Ornaments, the Courts with so many Judges, the Chancery with a Lord-Keeper, which lately represented two Counties in Parliament; and was always full of Heroes, and Patriots. It cannot therefore be thought, that I have vindicated the Characters of the Gentlemen of the *West-Indies*, to make my Court to you; but to do Justice to that Worth, which is always noble in the Eyes of Men of Reason and Modesty: And tho there is no Herald-Office, no Court of Arms in *Barbados*, it may be said, without Flattery or Vanity, there is no Trading County in *England* of that Extent, where there are so many Gentlemen of so good Estates, and so good Families.

What other Prejudices have been rais'd by the Enemies of the Plantations against their Interest and Reputation, will, 'tis hop'd, in the Opinion of the Impartial, be remov'd by the *Introduction*; but the Historian would not here trouble you with such an unreasonable Controversy, which rather deserves your Contempt than Consideration.

S I R,

The Parliament, of which you were a Member, have lately done several things for their Ease and Advantage; and if there were more Gentlemen, concern'd to promote their Welfare, who would, with the same publick Spirit, maintain it in that Assembly; there's no doubt, but so just a Body would soon redress all their Grievances, and they would again flourish as before they were oppress'd by the late Impositions, which have reduc'd them to their present low Estate.

Addresses of this Nature have so long lain under the Reproach of Insincerity and Adula-

tion, that the Character of a Man of Worth and Honour suffers by appearing in this Manner; but there are certain Qualities so conspicuous in themselves, so universally known and admir'd, and yet so rarely to be met with, that when they are found, 'tis an Injustice to Mankind to pass 'em by in Silence: For if the selfish Spirit that prevails in Court, City, and Country, were without Exception, the Race of Men would be the most sordid and worthless of the Creation. The rare and amiable Qualities we are speaking of, are such as your Love for your Country, your Affection for your Friends, and your Humanity to all; your free use of the Goods of Fortune, which is worthy of the Generous Stock from whence you sprung; and whatever might be added to such a Character as this, would meet with Credit for the sake of such Goodness; but tho' there may be much said of Yours without offending the Truth of History, yet I forbear, knowing it might be suspected in this Place. I therefore conclude with desiring your Protection for the following History, and Permission to subscribe my self with all due Respect,

SIR,

Your most Humble, and

most Obedient Servant,

J. OLDMIXON.

THE PREFACE.

THE Author is apprehensive that this Undertaking will meet with many Censures, rais'd by the Prejudice of some Readers, and the Ignorance of others: The Candid and Impartial will, 'tis hop'd, find sufficient Memoirs to entertain them with Pleasure; and such Faults as may have been committed through Misinformation, they will excuse, when they consider what a difficult Task the History of the British West-Indies must be to an Historian, that never was in America.

Whatever particular Account has been, or might be given of any one of our Colonies, 'tis impossible, unless Men of Interest and Capacity would write it on the Spot, for an exact History of all the British Empire in the West-Indies to be fram'd by one Man in America or Europe, but he must inevitably be guilty of Errors, which will find Matter enough for the Criticks to exercise their ill Nature upon. It will therefore be said, such a Design as this should be undertaken in the Plantations; and since it is so reasonable and so useful, why has it not been done? There's none can tell better than the Writer of this History, who must in Justice to himself own, that tho he believes all who look over his Work, and know any thing of the Subject of it, will rather wonder they meet with so much, than so little in it; yet he has found his Industry to inform himself fully of all

The PREFACE.

Information from Capt. Congreve, who has had a Command in the Regular Forces there several Years.

Mr. Dockwra and Dr. Cox were both so kind as to inform him fully of the Jerseys, and Mr. Pen did him the same Favour for Pensylvania; those three Gentlemen doing him the Honour to admit him into their Friendship.

It will be seen in the History of Maryland, that he had not the same Helps for that Province; but his Authorities are good, as far as they go.

The History of Virginia is written with a great deal of Spirit and Judgment by a Gentleman of the Province, to whom this Historian confesses he is very much indebted; but in some Places he was forc'd to leave him, to follow other Guides; and whoever compares the one History with the other, will see enough Difference to give that which is now publish'd the Title of New. Several old Writers and modern Papers fell into this Author's Hands, which that Gentleman never saw: However he had seen and knew so much, that by his Assistance, the Account of Virginia is one of the most perfect of these Histories of our Plantations.

For Carolina, Mr. Archdale and Mr. Boone, of whom Mention is made in the History of that Colony, oblig'd him so far, as to communicate several important Facts to him, and let him into the Rise and Causes of the Differences among the People of that Province: They have also printed some Tracts on the same Subject, which were very useful to him.

The History of Hudson's Bay may be depended upon, for the Author took it from Original Papers, he having in his Possession the Journal of a Secretary of the Factory, the Commissions and Instructions of some of the Governours, and other Memoirs, out of all which he could gather no more, and does not believe that even by the Company's Books much more is to be gather'd. The Reader will perceive he is not about looking into a spurious Performance, nor that
he

he will venture much in giving Credit to what he reads, since there is no Dispute to be made of the Goodness of such Information; from which the Historian has deviated as seldom as was consistent with Decency.

Thus with much Pains and Care he went over the British Empire on the Continent, which is 14 or 1500 Miles in Length, from the Northern Bounds of New-Scotland, to the Southern of Carolina, besides the Tract known by the Name of Hudson's Bay, and another bordering on the River Mississippi, to which the Kings of England pretend, but there is no Notice taken of it in this Work, because there never was any Settlement there, tho it has been attempted.

This Country lies in Florida, Southward of Carolina, and was granted by King Charles I. to the E. of Arundel, which Grant some Years ago was assign'd to Dr. Daniel Cox, and he is the Proprietary. He gave it the Name of Carolana; and in King William's Reign sent two Ships thither, with 200 People, to make a Settlement, intending to prosecute that Enterprize, by dispatching away more Ships with more People, over whom Sir William Waller was to have been Governour; but the French disturbing the first Adventurers, hinder'd their settling there, and this Part of the English Territories in America is neglected; tho by the Situation it must be very pleasant, and by the Description that the Author had given of it, 'tis one of the most amiable Places in the World.

This Account was too little to be incerted particularly in the History, and besides the Writer heard of it too late; as he did also of the Governments of Connecticut and Rhode Island, the latter of which it seems is still separate from that of New-England.

About the Year 1630. King Charles I. made a Grant to Robert Earl of Warwick, of that Part of New-England, which lies and extends it self
from

from a River there, call'd *Narragantset*, for the space of 40 Leagues, upon a strait Line near the Sea-shore, towards the South-West, and by South or West, as the Coast lies towards *Virginia*, accounting three *English* Miles to the League; and also all and singular the Lands and Hereditaments lying and being within the Lands aforesaid, North and South, in Latitude and Breadth, and in Length and Longitude of, and within all the Breadth aforesaid, throughout the Main Lands there, from the Western Ocean to the South-sea, and all Lands, &c. Which Grant the Earl of Warwick made over to William Viscount Say and Seale, Robert Lord Brooks, Robert Lord Rich, Charles Fiennes, Esq; Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Richard Knightly, Esq; John Pym, Esq; John Hampden, Esq; John Humphry, Esq; and Herbert Pelham, Esq; As appears by a Copy of the Patent, bearing Date, Anno 1631, which was shewn the Historian since this History of New-England was printed; and he desires the Reader to add it to that of Connecticut Colony in particular. He mentions it here the rather, because it confirms what has been reported by several Historians, that Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Pelham, and other great Men in the long Parliament, were about to remove to New-England before the Alterations that happen'd at home kept them here. This Colony of Connecticut surrender'd their Charter in 1688. and have holden no Courts since.

That of Rhode Island, where stands the Town of Warwick, is a Proprietary or separate Government to this Day. To the History of New-England may be further added, that Mr. Bradstreet mention'd in the following Pages, claim'd the Country of Narragantset, call'd the King's Province. But William Stoughton, Esq; and Peter Bulkley, Esq; Agents for Massachusetts, disclaim'd it. The Sa-
chem

them of that Country formally surrender'd it in 1644. and afterwards in 1664. to King Charles II. which entitl'd the Crown of England to the Propriety. Major Atherston is said to have purchas'd it, but that Purchase was declar'd void. The Magistrates of Rhode Island were Justices of the Peace in Narragantset, and there was a Settlement belonging to it, call'd Providence Plantation. For a Letter was shewn the Historian from K. Charles, directed, To the Governour of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation.

Mount Hope, which is often mention'd in the Article of New-England, was begg'd by Mr. John Crown, who is famous for two excellent Comedies written by him, call'd Sir Courtly Nice and the City Politicks. When his Petition was presented to King Charles II. his Majesty knew nothing of the Country's being taken from the Sachem, Philip, as he declares in the Letter, and wonders he should have no better Information. This Mr. Crown's Father was a Proprietary of Part of New-Scotland, and he begg'd Mount Hope as a Satisfaction for his Loss there, but he had never any Recompence for it, and indeed 'tis no hard Matter to calculate, what a Country should be valu'd at that was never thought worth keeping or planting.

This Digression is to render the Account of those Northern Parts of our American Continent as compleat as could be, and if the Gentlemen of the several Provinces will be so just to themselves and this Design, as to communicate any farther Memoirs to the Author, they shall be inserted in their due Place, if this Treatise is printed again, and all the Errors the Historian has committed, be corrected. He hopes there will not be many material Ones, and recommends to the American Readers, not to condemn him presently, if they meet with things out of their Knowledge, but to suspect their own Judgment and Information, as well as his; for he treats of the Plantations historically,
and

and was therefore to relate Things past as well as present, and 'twill be unjust for any one to conclude, they never were, because they never heard of them, as too many will incline to do.

His Author for that part of the History which may be call'd the Antiquities, was Mr. Delaet, whose Character for Judgment and Care is allow'd by the Learned and Experienc'd. 'Tis true, the Assistance he had from him was not very considerable; nor was what he found in Hackluit, Purchase, or other Collections of Voyages, much more to the Purpose. Smith of Virginia and New-England gives a better Account of that Part of the Continent than any older Writer; and those of foreign Countries knew so little of our Colonies, that there are not historical Events in them relating to those Parts of America sufficient to fill a Sheet, unless he enter'd into the Indian Stories, among which is much Fable and much Impertinence.

There are several Pamphlets in our Tongue in the Temple Library which he look'd over; as also others which he procur'd elsewhere, and several Accounts transmitted to the Royal Society, that furnish'd him with better Materials than any of the Voyagers have publish'd; for in Hackluit's Time little was known of our Provinces. What is in his Collection is in this, and the whole has been perfected by Inquiries of Persons who have been on the Spot. Some of them have been nam'd, and the rest, tho they were not Persons of the same Note, were of as good Credit.

The Author declares once for all, that there is no part of this History which has not been shewn to Persons who have liv'd in those Parts of the World, and been approv'd of by them, yet he is not so vain as to imagine there are not several Faults, for it was impossible to perform such a Work without it: All he hopes, is, there are fewer than will be expected, together with much more Matter.

As to our Islands: Barbados, the chief of them, makes the chief Part of his History, and the Inhabitants of that fruitful and pleasant Island may take his own Word in most Cases, he having been for above 10 Years conversant with their Affairs, and kept a constant Correspondence with them. They will see that he speaks things of his own Knowledge: And as to the Memoirs of Events which happen'd before his Time, he had recourse to the Papers of an eminent Merchant, Sir John Bawdon, his Uncle, with whom he liv'd, and might have made it much larger, if it would not have run out the History of Barbados to a Size very disproportionable to that of the other Histories. Ligon is old, and his Geographical, and even Natural Account of the Island, differs very much from the present. His Description of Ingenio's, of working Sugar, of clothing Negroes, and several other Things, seems strange to an Inhabitant of the present Barbados; neither does his Account of their way of Living, of the Product of the Island, as the Trees, Plants, &c. agree better with the modern ones. All the Fact in his History will be found in this, and every thing which remains in the same State as it was when he wrote. All the rest is new, and taken from Original Manuscripts. The Historian has been particularly diligent in his Collections and Inquiries concerning this Island, for he takes it to be the most beneficial of any of our Colonies to England, Jamaica perhaps not excepted. He has consulted several Persons who have liv'd there, and communicated what he has done to them, that the Gentlemen of Barbados, some of whom have done him the Favour to place him in the Number of their Friends, may meet with nothing here which may in any wise injure his Reputation with them. All may not be pleas'd; but if he has always been a severe Observer of Truth, let his free speaking be excus'd; for sometimes he could not be so without it. He has not designedly run into an Error, nor told a Fal-sity, to gain the good Will of any Man. Such a
View

View wou'd have been as vain as it was base; for where there are so many to be displeas'd for the pleasing of one, the Man must have but a small Portion of Sense, as well as Integrity, that would sacrifice the Character of a faithful Historian to that of a wretched Flatterer. He had many Opportunities to have shewn a vicious Complacency to other Mens Interests, as has been already hinted, if he could have been guilty of so much Baseness; an Instance of which he will relate, to give the World an Idea of Mens Dispositions in this Affair. When he was once in Conversation with a Gentleman, a Proprietary in America, on the Subject of his Country there, he summ'd up all he had to tell him in this Rapture: Our Seas flow with Ambergrease; our Rivers are almost choak'd with Gold; and the worst Mineral we have, which we do not think worth taking up, is Copper; for 'tis so near the Surface, that we may almost stoop and have it. This he introduc'd with a most romantick Account of the Situation of his Country, the Groves of Oranges, Forrests of Cedar, the Fields of Spices, the spacious Plains, noble Harbours, and so many other Advantages, that one could hardly believe he spoke true, when the Writer ask'd him, how many Inhabitants there were, and he answer'd, None? Some Gentlemen have not only recommended the Praise of their Province, but even of their part of it, which was generally done with so much Warmth, that they were immediately suspected, and nothing of that Nature reported, which was not confirm'd by Persons of Ingenuity and Disinterest.

As for the Leward Islands and Jamaica, the Historian is not altogether unacquainted with their Concerns, and has had several Manuscript Papers to refer to. Bermudas he has said little of; but as much of Providence as the Subject would bear, having been very much assisted in it by Col. Trot, who was once Governour there.

To these Authorities he may add, *Pere du Tertre's History of the Charibbee-Islands*, *Davis's of Kidwelly*, &c. but there was little to his Purpose, except their Description of the Animals.

The Maps are newly engrav'd; and tho' some of the Surveys are older than the Description given by the Historian, yet there has been due Care taken in that Performance, and the newest Surveys that could be procur'd were made use of. Some Counties and Parishes may have been added in several Places, which are not mention'd in the Maps, though they are in the Book, which was occasion'd by the Niceness of the Engraver, not to add any thing by a verbal Description, for which he had not a regular Survey to authorize his Corrections. 'Twas for this Reason the Six New Counties in Virginia are omitted; for though 'tis known where about they lye, yet unless they were survey'd, to have incerted them, would have made the rest of the Map imperfect. As the Historian desires the Gentlemen of the West-Indies to do for the Memoirs, the Geographer does the same for the Maps; and if they will transmit any Observations, Amendments, or Additions to be made to them, and will let him understand how he may safely do it, he will be careful to give them Satisfaction.

The Author having thus far given the Reader a View of his Work, recommends it to his Candour, and desires him to weigh well the Difficulties of this Undertaking, before he gives his Judgment. There is no History of any Part of the West-Indies in any Language so full and so particular; and there's no Mistake, which he knows to be such, and has not already provided against it, either in the Body of the Book, or the Preface.

Before he enters upon the *History*, he thinks himself oblig'd to remove some general Objections to our Colonies; for while they are left of any Weight in the Minds of Men, the Author cannot expect that this Work will be receiv'd with the Favour he might hope for, after the Pains he has taken to inform and please his Readers.

T H E

I N T R O D U C T I O N .

The common Arguments against our Plantations in America, answer'd ; and the Advantages of them to England, asserted.

TH E main Objection made by the Enemies of our *Colonies* against them, is, That by draining *England* of her People, they weaken us at Home, and consequently are more hurtful than beneficial to the Kingdom. On this Argument are founded all their Reasons to excuse the ill Usage the *Plantations* have met with ; of which particular Mention is made in the particular Histories of the Provinces ; we shall therefore in this Place keep to the General Interest, and see how far the Objection will hold good.

'Tis said, People are the Wealth of a Nation, and to take away their People is to impoverish them ; those that say it, mean only laborious and industrious People, and not such as have no Employ, or, which is worse, are employ'd

ploy'd only in disturbing and robbing such as have any. If this is granted, as it always has been in this Controversy, those who improve their Talents to most Advantage, are of most Value to a Nation. A Man, whose Skill amounts to no more than to earn 3 d. a Day by his continual Labour, cannot add to the Wealth of such a Kingdom as *England*, because it will not supply his necessary Consumption: However even such a one is less a Burthen to it, than one totally idle. He who earns 6 d. a Day, and consumes just so much, is neither burthensome nor advantagious: But he who by his Industry and Labour, not only maintains himself and Family, but enriches them, is, to the Proportion of his Wealth, so much Addition to the National Stock of the Kingdom. On the contrary, he who labours not at all, or so much as not to encrease the National Stock of his Country, is, to use an eminent Merchant's own

Sir Dalby Thomas's Hist. Acc. of the Rise & Growth of the W. India Colonies.

Words, *just good for nothing*: He adds, *To leave this Truth plain beyond Dispute, I beg the Doubter but to consider, that if all the laborious People of the Kingdom left working, and were to live on the Natural Produce of it, to be distributed by them in equal Proportions, by way of Charity, as Parish-Poor and Beggars are now supported, how long it would be before the Nation became necessitous, naked and starving, and consequently the Land and Houses worth nothing.*

Many Reasons may be urg'd to prove, that the Increase of People, wilfully or accidentally idle, is so far from being National Riches, that it is the surest and speediest way to inevitable Poverty, and must decay the Value of the Real and Imaginary Wealth of a Nation, proportionably to the Decay of Industry: But this will be so readily consented to, it would be im-

pertinent

pertinent to enlarge upon it here. Who then will deny, That those Men who add most, by their Labour, to the intrinsic Wealth of the Nation, either Real or Imaginary, and consume least, are best employ'd? On the contrary, that those who consume most, and add least, are the worst employ'd? 'Tis true, all who are not mischievously employ'd, or totally idle, are of some Benefit to the Common Wealth, and should find due Encouragement; and those ought to be most protected, and least discourag'd by the Laws, who are most usefully busy'd for the increasing the Value of the Real and Imaginary Wealth of the Nation. By Real Wealth is generally understood Money, Lands, Houses, &c. by Imaginary, the Art and Labour of the People.

Now as we in *England* are Inhabitants of an Island, we have no ways of conveying our Product and Manufactures abroad, but by Navigation, the best and easiest of all ways; we have no ways of making our selves considerable in the World, but by our Fleets; and of supporting them, but by our Trade, which breeds Seamen, and brings in Wealth to maintain them; such Hands therefore as are employ'd for any of these useful Ends, whether it be the Merchant, the Mariner or the Planter, are most to be encourag'd; for on them depends our Strength, and on that our Safety. If we had none, or but little foreign Traffick, could we long equip those mighty Fleets, that render the *English* Name formidable to the utmost Bounds of the Earth? Would one Man's consuming what another rais'd, and handing Commodities from one to t' other, do our Business, without the Addition of foreign Wealth? No Commodity is truly an Increase of the National Stock,

but that which is exported, and all other Trades receive their Vigour and Life from the Merchant, Commodities rising in Esteem or Value as they are rightly distributed from Place to Place. By him the Mariner is subsisted, the Planter supply'd, and they all mutually assist each other, in promoting the Advantage of all other Tradesmen in particular, and of Trade in general. By Planter in the *West-Indies*, we mean the Country Gentleman, who minds wholly the cultivating the Growths of the Place, and exporting them to *England*; from whence he yearly draws so many Manufactures, as maintain several Families in that Kingdom. 'Tis not easy to decide how much more such a Man is useful than an *English* meer Country Gentleman; when a Labourer in our *American Colonies* is by the before-cited Author said to be of more Advantage to *England*, tho' out of it, than any 130 of the like kind can be in it. His Explanation of this Assertion refers in the first Place to the *Sugar Plantations*; and the Reader shall have it abstracted from him, to judge of it as he thinks fit.

“ 1. The greatest Consumption of Sugar
 “ is made by the rich and opulent People of
 “ the Nation. 2. The Quantity yearly pro-
 “ duc'd is not less than 45000 Tuns. 3. The
 “ Moiety of this is consum'd in *England*, and
 “ amounts to about 800000 *l.* in Value. The
 “ other Moiety is exported, and after it has em-
 “ ploy'd Seamen, is sold for as much, and con-
 “ sequently brings back to the Nation in Mo-
 “ ney, or useful Goods, 800000 *l.* Add to
 “ this, That before Sugars were produc'd
 “ in our Colonies, it bore four times the Price
 “ it does now; and by the same Consumption

“ at

“ at the same Price, except we made it our
 “ selves, we should be forc'd to give in Money
 “ or Money's worth, as *Native Commodities*
 “ and Labour, 2400000 *l.* for the Sugar we
 “ spend.

'Tis certain we bought as much Sugar of *Portugal* as amounted to 400000 *l.* yearly, which is sav'd by our making it. To continue *Sir Dalby's Explanation* :

“ We must consider too the Spirits arising from
 “ *Melasses*, which is sent from the *Sugar Colonies*
 “ to the other Colonies, and to *England*; which if
 “ all were sold in *England*, and turn'd into Spirits,
 “ it would amount annually to above 500000 *l.*
 “ at half the Price the like Quantity of Brandy
 “ from *France* would cost. The *Indigo* coming
 “ from thence amounts to 50000 *l.* yearly.
 “ *Logwood*, for which we formerly paid the
 “ *Spaniards* 100 *l.* a Tun, now comes un-
 “ der 15 *l.* and amounts to 1000 Tuns a Year.
 “ *Ginger* amounts to 400 Tuns a Year, and is
 “ not the 6th part of the Price of what the
 “ Nation paid formerly for that Commodity;
 “ not to speak of *Drugs, Woods, Cocoa, Pie-*
 “ *mento, Spices, Gold and Silver* from the *Spa-*
 “ *nish West-Indies*, for our Negroes and Manu-
 “ factures: By all which the Nation saves and
 “ gains by the People employ'd in those Colo-
 “ nies 4000000 *l.* per *Ann.* Now if it be confi-
 “ der'd again, that in all those Sugar Colonies
 “ there is not 60000 White Men, Women,
 “ and Children, it necessarily must follow, that
 “ one with another, above what they consume,
 “ each of them earns for the Publick above 60 *l.*
 “ per *Annum.* The Rents of Houses and Lands
 “ in *England*, by *Sir William Petty's Computa-*
 “ tion,

“ tion, amount to 10000000 *l.* the Consump-
 “ tion to 50000000 *l.* then by reducing Labour
 “ and Consumption to a proper Ballance with
 “ the Produce of Rents, and supposing the
 “ imaginary Wealth of the whole Kingdom
 “ to increase in time of Peace the tenth part
 “ annually, that will be but four Millions,
 “ which does not amount to 12 *s.* a Head clear
 “ Increase of Wealth, one with another, above
 “ necessary and constant Expences; from which
 “ it follows, beyond Controversy, that Hands
 “ employ'd in the Sugar Plantations are, one
 “ with another, of 130 times more Value
 “ to the Common Wealth than those that stay
 “ at home. To this some may object, That
 “ those there consume nothing of Native Com-
 “ modities, which if they did, as these do who
 “ stay at home, their Consumption would a-
 “ mount to 350000 *l.* annually, at 6 *l.* 10 *s.* a Head,
 “ the Allowance made by Sir *Will. Petty*, and
 “ others; and would consequently encrease the
 “ Rents at least a fourth Part of that. But, as
 “ has been said, whatever is consum'd by idle
 “ Men, can never encrease either the Real or
 “ Imaginary Wealth of the Nation, and no-
 “ thing but the Overplus can be reckon'd ad-
 “ ditional, which, according to a reasonable
 “ Computation, cannot be above 2 *s.* a Head;
 “ so that if we would grant, that those in the
 “ Colonies did consume nothing of our home
 “ Produce, the Loss by the want of them here
 “ could amount only to 1200000 *s.* annually,
 “ or 60000 *l.*

Thus far we have taken from the Knight,
 and have only to object against his Number of
 Souls in the Sugar Colonies, which, at the time
 he wrote that Tract, was as many more as he
 men-

mentions, there being then 40 or 50000 *Whites*, Men, Women, and Children at *Barbados* only. However, supposing that we should consume not above 800000 *l.* in Sugar, did we make none, a third Part of what he proposes, and that there was not above 2500000 *l.* gain'd and sav'd by 120000 Men, Women, and Children, double the Number he makes it, every Soul then earns for the Publick near 20 *l.* and consequently every Hand employ'd in the Sugar Plantations is forty times as good as one that stays at home, which is all the Alteration that seems necessary in his Argument.

As to what he says, may be objected, That they consume nothing of Native Commodities: That Objection is best answer'd by the Bills of Entry at the Custom-house. A Man must be so ignorant of Trade, that one may despair of convincing him, who does not know that the Planters in our Sugar-Islands have for themselves, Servants and Slaves, all manner of Necessaries, for the House or the Field, for Cloathing or Food, from *England*. Sir *Dalby* allows five *Blacks* at least for one *White* in the Sugar Colonies, but we cannot agree with him; for when there were 50000 *Whites*, Men, Women and Children, in *Barbados*, as there were when he wrote, can any one suppose there were 250000 *Blacks*? There might be then 80000, and never more, which with 50000 *Whites*, made 130000 Souls in all; and allowing but as many more for the other Islands, who can imagine that 260000 Souls can subsist there, where nothing is to be had but Sugar, Cotton, Ginger, and the Commodities before-mention'd, without consuming prodigious Quantities of all sorts of Goods from *England*, besides the Provisions they have from the Northern Colonies.

In treating of the Trade of each Colony, this Matter will be more particularly handled, with Reference to their particular Exports and Imports; but *Barbados* being the Chief of our *Sugar* Islands, comes first naturally to be mention'd on all Occasions. If the Plantations take away one Man to maintain about three at home: If they take up almost half of our foreign Commerce, and are a perpetual Nursery of able Seamen: If they yearly encrease the National Stock 800000 *l.* only, as by the following History will appear, they are of as much Advantage to this Nation in Trade, as near half of all their People elsewhere; for the annual Encrease of the National Stock, according to Dr. *Davenant*, is not above 2000000 *l.*

How they encrease it, is by our Exports; and least the Reader may not have a clear Idea of it, let him see what Judge *Littleton* of *Barbados* wrote on this Head:

Groans of
the Plan-
tations.

“ There is one main Advantage by the Plan-
 “ tations, which has not been sufficiently ex-
 “ plain'd, and that is, that the *English* have now
 “ several good Commodities of their own,
 “ which before they had not, which does very
 “ much conduce to the enriching them; for
 “ it is agreed by all who pretend to understand
 “ Trade, that a Country does then grow rich,
 “ and then only, when the Commodities ex-
 “ ported out of it are of more Value than those
 “ that are imported into it. This Proportion
 “ between the Importation and Exportation, is
 “ call'd the Ballance of Trade; and there is no
 “ way in the World for a Country to grow rich
 “ by Trade, but by setting this Ballance right,
 “ and in sending out more than it takes in.
 “ Some other Tricks and Shifts there are, which
 “ make

“ make a shew of doing great Matters, but they
 “ prove idle and frivolous, and signify nothing.
 “ A Country is, in this Respect, in the same
 “ Condition with a private Man, that lives
 “ upon his Land: If this Man sells more than
 “ he buys, he lays up Money; if he buys more
 “ than he sells, he must run in Debt, or at
 “ least spend out of the quick Stock; and
 “ where the Bought and the Sold are e-
 “ qual, he has barely brought both Ends to-
 “ gether.

This Gentleman was a Man of excellent
 Sense, and this Treatise of his hits the Case of
 the *Plantations* better than any. He represents
 their Grievances in the most lively Colours,
 speaks like a Man, who felt what he wrote,
 and who complain'd with no dissembled Sor-
 row.

After he has touch'd on our Argument of the
 Increase of the National Stock by *Barbados*, and
 it will hold for the other Sugar Islands, he goes
 on:

“ Why should *England* grudge at the Prospe-
 “ rity and Wealth of the Plantations, since all
 “ that is ours she may account her own, not
 “ only because we are a part of *England*, (what-
 “ ever we may be accounted) as it is taken
 “ largely, but also because all comes to this
 “ Kingdom of *England*, properly so call'd,
 “ these two and fifty Shires. By a kind of
 “ Magnetick Force, *England* draws to it all
 “ that is good in the Plantations. It is the
 “ Centre, to which all things tend: Nothing
 “ but *England* can we relish or fancy: Our
 “ Hearts are here where-ever our Bodies be:
 “ If we get a little Money, we remit it to
 “ Eng-

“ *England.* They that are able, breed up their
 “ Children in *England.* When we are a little
 “ easy, we desire to live and spend what we
 “ have in *England,* and all that we can rap
 “ and rend is brought to *England.*

It may be pretended, that the other Colonies, where there is no such Consumption of *English* Commodities, as there is not in the Provinces on the *Continent,* have not that Pretence to be an Advantage to *England.* But sure this will not be said of *Virginia* and *Maryland,* of which Colonies, their Trade and Profit to *England,* we have spoken in the Histories of those Provinces. To which we shall add what Sir *Dalby Thomas* wrote on this Subject, in the before-mention'd Treatise.

“ The Price of every Pound Weight of To-
 “ bacco imported into the Nation before we
 “ planted it, was from about 4 s. to 16 s. a
 “ Pound; and now the best *Virginia* is not a-
 “ bove 17 d. to the Merchant, of which the
 “ King has 5 d. Two Thirds of the Tobacco
 “ brought from these Colonies, is exported
 “ to foreign Markets; which at about
 “ 3 Pound a Hoghead (the least the Nation
 “ gets by it) amounts to above 200000 Pound,
 “ besides the great Quantity of Shipping it
 “ employs. It is not so little as a Million
 “ the Kingdom saves yearly by our planting
 “ Tobacco; so that reckoning the White Peo-
 “ ple in our Tobacco Colonies to be 100000
 “ Men, Women, and Children, they, one with
 “ another, are each of them 12 l. a Year Profit
 “ to the Nation. There are in those Colo-
 “ nies, by a probable Computation, 600000
 “ Negroes and Indians, Men, Women, and
 “ Chil-

“ Children, and would be more, could they
 “ readily get Negroes from *Guinea*, every one
 “ of which consumes yearly two Hilling-Hoes,
 “ two Weeding-Hoes, two Grubbing-Hoes,
 “ besides Axes, Saws, Wimbles, Nails, and
 “ other Iron-Tools and Materials, consum'd
 “ in Building and other Uses, to the Value of
 “ at least 120000 *l.* in only Iron-Work: The
 “ Clothes, Guns, Cordage, Anchors, Sails,
 “ and Materials for Shipping, besides Beds and
 “ other Household-Goods, consum'd and us'd
 “ by them, are infinite: Nor is the Benefit of
 “ them to the Kingdom sufficiently to be ex-
 “ plain'd, therefore let it suffice, in one Word,
 “ to say, that the Produce and Consumption,
 “ with the Shipping they give Employment
 “ to, is of an infinite deal more Benefit to the
 “ Wealth, Honour, and Strength of the Nation,
 “ than four times the same Number of Hands,
 “ the best employ'd at home that can be.

To this we can only object, That the Num-
 ber of *Indians* and Negroes, Men, Women, and
 Children, is not above one half as many as he
 makes them; but that of the Whites exact,
 which Mistake does not prejudice the Argu-
 ment much, for the *Indians* make the least
 Consumption of our Goods, and there lies
 most his Error.

As for the other Colonies, *Pensylvania* is now
 falling into the *Tobacco-Trade*, *Carolina* into the
Silk and *Rice*, *New-England* into that of *Naval-*
Stores: And indeed since we can so easily, so
 cheaply, and so safely be furnish'd with these
 Commodities from thence, it is a Reflection on
 our Politicks, that we will be oblig'd to the
 Northern Nations, and send for our Stores to
 the *Baltick*. *New-York* has the same Advantages
 of

of *Naval* Stores, and so have all the other Colonies in a less degree. But if *New-England*, *New-York*, the *Ferseys*, *Pensylvania* and *Carolina*, furnish the *Sugar* Islands with Provisions and Cattle, and they could not subsist without them, as they can tell by woful Experience, 'tis enough that they are of such Advantage to *England*; for not to say any thing of the great Exportation of our Commodities to those Provinces, allowing that there are in all 350000 *Whites*, Men, Women and Children, in our *American* Colonies, which is the largest Computation, and they encrease annually, the National Stock 800000 *l.* and the whole Encrease is but 2000000 *l.* yearly, there is but 1200000 Encrease, for the rest of the Subjects of the *British* Empire, computed at 8000000, which is little more than half of the whole Encrease. Thus it appears, that one Hand in the Plantations is as good as twenty employ'd at home, as has been prov'd already, by another way of working it.

Let us further consider the many Mouths that are fed at home by this Trade, the many Families that are enrich'd, the vast Sums it brings into the Exchequer, to which *Barbados* only pays 50000 *l.* yearly, tho not twice as big as *Rutland*, and is after the rate of 10 *s.* for every cultivated Acre in the Island.

Thus we see that the Colonies are far from being a Disadvantage to us by the Men who live there. But then 'tis said, they are certainly so by the Men who die, that they have been Graves for several Years, and kill more Seamen than they breed: Were this true in Fact, as it is false, it should never be objected to them by an *European*.

From whence did that fatal Sicknes come which infected *Barbados* and the other Islands?

Was

Was it not from *Europe*, brought by the Soldiers sent in an ill time for their Defence, being under the leading of Captains that not only betray'd those they brought with them, but those who join'd them. We may see how it was with them before the unhappy Arrival of those sickly Soldiers and Seamen.

“ We employ (says Judge *Littleton*) seven or eight hundred Ships in a safe and healthy Navigation. They find less Danger in a Voyage to our Parts, than in a Voyage to *Newcastle*; and as the Ships come safe, so the Men come sound. Whereas of those that go to the *East Indies*, half the Ships Company (take one Ship with another) perish in the Voyage.

Besides the great Increase of Wealth by our Colonies, added to the National Stock, the Treasure sav'd has been prov'd to be of almost as great Advantage. Nations enough would immediately fall into the *Sugar* and *Tobacco* Trades, and supply us at their own Rates for our Money. We should soon miss our *Plantations* if we had none, and their Enemies then would have their Objections answer'd in a Stile which they might tremble to hear, for Envy has made them too free of their Reflections, especially considering they have so little Appearance of Reason on their side.

Is not the Situation of the Islands for annoying the *Spaniards* or *French* in *America*, a sufficient Argument for us to be as careful of their Defence, as if they were our Frontiers? And this relates more particularly to *Barbados*. Should we in *England* be so negligent of our selves and them, as to expose them to a *French* Con-

Conquest, of which they have been in Danger more than once, What would be the Consequence? All the *Leeward Islands* must inevitably follow; nor could *Jamaica* hold out long. The *French* being to Windward, can send their Men down to *Petit Guaves* with a small Charge, and would force the Inhabitants of *Jamaica* to surrender in a few Months. The Loss of the *Sugar* Islands would soon affect the Northern Colonies, who are of great Use to *England*, for their Tobacco, Masts, Timber, breeding of Seamen, and Navigation. All which, except *Virginia* and *Maryland*, have their chief Dependance on the *Leeward Islands* and *Jamaica*, for their Lumber and Fishery. The Colonies of *New-England*, *New-York*, the *Ferseys*, *Pensylvania*, and *Carolina*, have very little Use for any Navigation directly for *England*, but have a great Trade with the *Sugar-Islands*, which is very much for the Interest of *England*; and if these Trades were lost, one third at least of the Navigation of this Kingdom would follow it. What Effect this would have on the Merchants, Manufacturers, Mechanicks and Mariners, let every reasonable Man judge.

'Tis certain, our *American* Plantations take off more of the Manufactures of *England* than any other foreign Trade whatsoever; and is not this Consideration enough to silence all the Clamours of the unthinking *Peasantry*; for sure no Man who has convers'd in the World, and been tolerably educated, can give into such an Error, or imagine 'tis not well worth our while to spare Hands for the Culture of our Land in *America*.

Should we neglect our Islands, what Port wou'd be left us to enter the *Spanish West-Indies*? What Damage might we not do the *French* and

Spani-

Spaniards from *Jamaica*? Is not that Island a Key that lets us into *Hispaniola* and the *Continent*? 'Twill soon be answer'd, What have we got by it in this War? Which Question let others reply to; I take the Liberty to assert, that there is nothing so plainly to be made out, as that we might have got, and still may get by it. Perhaps too, whether it has turn'd much to our immediate Profit or not, the *French* and *Spaniards* could give a very good Account for us of their Losses by it, and the Expence it has put them to. As little as we have made of the Advantage of its Situation, had we had no Ports so situated, the Plate-Fleets from *Spain* would not have come home with so much Uncertainty and so many Delays. *Jamaica* is an Awe upon them, and has had a Share of their Silver. Why it was not greater, let the Concern'd tell us; for it might have been, we all know. The *French* have not quite so much Reason as we, to be zealous for the promoting Navigation; yet they know their Interest so well, that 'tis a long while ago that they began to put in for a Share of the *American Continent* and Islands; and whatever they have got, they are careful to defend. They have always a great regular Force at *Canada*, for the Preservation of that cold, barren Province, and their Care for the Defence of their richer Plantations is answerable. The *French* King sets such a Value upon his *Plantations*, and is so far from thinking his People lost who go to them, that he pays a good part of the Freight of all such as go thither to settle, and gives them other Encouragements: There's no Man will doubt his understanding his Interest. And if those People weaken'd or impoverish'd him by transporting themselves to *America*, he would sooner send them to the Gallies.

The *Dutch*, we know, have Colonies in the *East-Indies*, do these exhaust and depopulate *Holland*; or are they, at least, a Burthen and Inconvenience? The *Hollanders* are so far from thinking so, that they justly esteem them the chief Foundation of their Wealth and Traffick: Their *East-India* Trade depends on their *East-India* Colonies, and the Greatness and Glory of their State depend on their *East-India* Trade. Tho their Colonies drain and destroy their Men as fast as ours; as their Trade and Wealth encrease, their People encrease also; and 'tis or 'twill be the same with us, when the Plantations are so far eas'd of their Burthens, that they may flourish, and pour in Treasure upon us, which in such Case they would again do as they have formerly done. As to the *Dutch West-India* Colonies; how do they cherish *Surinam*, tho one of the basest Countries in the World? Are they not as sollicitous for the Preservation of *Curasso*, (as 'tis commonly pronounc'd,) and the Settlement of *Tobago*? Did they not spare their Admiral *De Ruyter* with a Fleet, in their War with *France* above 30 Years ago, to fall upon the *French* Sugar Illands; and would they have done it, had they not thought them highly valuable?

What a Figure have the *Portuguese* made in *Europe*, since the *Dutch* drove them in a great Measure out of their *East-India* Trade, in comparison to their Strength and Riches, while they were in Possession of it? The *Portuguese* have so true a Notion of the Advantage of such Colonies, that to encourage them, they admit the Citizens of *Goa* to send Deputies to sit in the Assembly of the *Cortez*: And if it were ask'd. Why our Colonies have not their Representatives? who could presently give a satisfactory

An.

Answer? There are some Persons who pretend the *Spaniards* have ruin'd themselves, by exhausting their Country, for the sake of their *American* Acquisitions. To which may be answer'd, their banishing the Convert-Moors, the *Jews*, and the setting up of the Inquisition, with the Tyranny of their Government, have more exhausted *Spain* than all their Settlements in the *West-Indies*. Had moderate Counsels prevail'd, there would have been no Scarcity of Men in that Kingdom, and their Pride and Sloth have impoverish'd them much more than their Want of Hands. Besides, grant that every Nation best understand their true Interest, do not the *Spaniards* Politicks even now justify our Assertion, That the *West-India* Colonies are highly advantagious to their Mother Countries? What do they fight for at this time? Why do they suffer themselves to be torn to Pieces on all sides? What is this Dispute for? Would they give up the *West Indies* to the right Owner, K. *Charles III.* Matters would soon be accommodated; and without doing it, this War can never be well ended.

We hope the Reader is by this time satisfy'd, that our *American* Plantations are an Advantage, and a very great one, to this Kingdom; and the Arguments brought from Antiquity will be of no use to the Enemies of Colonies.

'Tis said, *Aristotle* speaking of the Wonders of the World, writes, " That certain
 " *Carthaginian* Pilots having discover'd a vast
 " Island, very fruitful, beyond *Hercules Pillars*:
 [Which must be *America*, for *Britain* was
 known to them, so were *Africa* and the *East*]
 " several Families of that Republick left
 " their Country, to transport themselves thi-
 " ther, and settle there; but the Magistrates

“ of *Carthage* forbid any, on severe Penalties,
 “ to make that Voyage.

By which means 'twas so neglected, that the Country became unknown again, till 'twas discover'd by *Columbus* 1700 Years afterwards. This is told us by some Inquirers into the History of *America*; of which more will be said, when this Author treats of those Parts of it that belong to the *Spaniards*, *Portuguese*, *Dutch*, *Danes* and *French*, as he intends to do, according as this Treatise is encourag'd. Tho' the *Carthaginians* might have had such an ill Opinion of Colonies, that is no Argument of their being hurtful; for the Judgment of greater Nations, and the Success of it make against them. Did the *Athenians* and other *Greeks* lose by the Colonies they sent into *Asia*? Or rather, was not *Ionia* the Barrier of *Greece*, which defended it against the *Persian* Usurpation? Did these Colonies dispeople *Greece*? Is there any Complaint of it in all the *Greek* Story? No certainly! On the contrary, the *Grecian* States thriv'd after it; their Navigation encreas'd, and by their Navigation they became Masters of *Asia*; for had they not destroy'd the Naval Power of the *Persians*, they could not have injur'd their Dominion by Land. But after they were entirely Masters at Sea, they never ceas'd till they were so at Land also. Was it ever pretended that the *Roman* Colonies dispeopl'd *Rome*? Whenever that wise and renown'd State thought it convenient to send forth a Colony, Thousands of People were sent away at a time, at the publick Charge, and that as far as the *Tygris* on the one hand, and the *Tweed* on the other. These Colonies were the Security of their Conquests; and the greatest Politicians have been of Opinion,

“ That

“ That as the *Roman* Empire was the greatest
 “ that ever the World saw, so it chiefly ow'd
 “ its Grandeur to its free Emission of Colo-
 “ nies.

It would not be very difficult to prove, that in the present Circumstances of Affairs, the *British* Colonies are, or may be much more advantageous to the *Britains* than the *Roman* Colonies, of which they were so free, were to [the *Romans*, by how much more the Safety of a Nation is of greater Consequence than its Extent of Empire ; but that would draw this Tract out to too great a Length. If we have not been too tedious already, 'tis well ; and we shall leave the Decision of this Argument now to the Reader, having said as much for it as we could, and as we believe is necessary to convince the Impartial and Disinterested, That our Colonies in *America* are so far from being a Loss to us, that there are no Hands in the *British* Empire more usefully employ'd for the Profit and Glory of the Commonwealth.

Of all our *American* Commerce that of Sugar is most valuable, because most necessary. Sir *Josiah Child*, in his Discourse of Trade, speaking of this, says,

“ It is in his Majesty's Power, and the Parlia-
 “ ment's, if they please, by taking off all Char-
 “ ges from Sugar, to make it more entirely
 “ an *English* Commodity, than White Herrings
 “ are a *Dutch* Commodity ; and to draw more
 “ Profit to the Kingdom thereby, than the
 “ *Dutch* do by that. And that in Consequence
 “ thereof all Plantations of other Nations,
 “ must in a few Years sink to little or nothing.

This Authority will confirm all that has been said before, and it might be made out, which way so great Good may be done to the Publick; but that would be to enter into the *detail* of the Hardships the Colonies have lain under for many Years, the Means of easing them, and other Articles, some of which are treated of in the particular Histories of the Plantations; and others that remain, we must forbear mentioning till a more convenient Time and Place offer; for we have already kept the Reader too long from the Story.

Adver-

Advertisement.

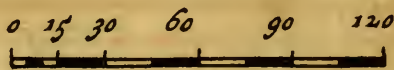
ALL Gentlemen, Merchants, or others, who live in our American Colonies, and will communicate any thing to the Author, to be added or amended in the next Edition of this History, are desir'd to direct it to either of the Booksellers whose Names are in the Title-Page of this Book, and Care shall be taken to have it inserted.

There

There are some few *ERRATA's* of the
PRESS; as,

VOL. I. Page 403. l. 6. del. *him*, read *Raddison*. p.
344. l. 1. read *by the King*. p. 349. l. 29. del. *Go-*
vernour of Providence. Vol. 2. p. 110. *Baronets created the*
same Day should be only *Sir John Colliton* and *Sir James*
Modiford. p. 112. for 150000, read 130000, in the Num-
ber of Souls. The rest are mostly Litterals, and the Rea-
der will easily correct them.

THE



English Miles

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Breakheart P.

Bacolaen I.

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Lorhay

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Petty Harbour

Bull Bay

Goose I.

Ferryland Head

Freshwater Bay

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THE
HISTORY
OF
NEWFOUNDLAND.

Containing

An Account of its Discovery,
Settlement, Encrease, Pre-
sent State, Inhabitants, Cli-
mate, Soil, Product, Trade,
&c.

THIS large Island was discover'd by *Sebastian Cabot*; who was sent to the *West-Indies* by *Henry VII*, in the Year 1497. to make Discoveries. 'Tis of a Triangular Figure, as big as *Ireland*, about 300 Leagues in Circumference; separated from *North Canada* on the Continent to the North, and *New-Scotland* to the South; about as far as the nearest part of *England* is from *France*: 'Tis no more than 600 Leagues distant from the *Lands End*; and the *Great Bank* is hardly half way to *Virginia*: It lies between 46 and 53 Degrees of North Lat. and has many commodious Bayes along the Coast; some of them running into the Land towards one another more than 20 Leagues.

A. D. 1497.

The Figure of the Island.

Its Latitude.

But before we enter upon a further Description of the Country, we shall proceed with the History of it from its Discovery to its Settlement by the *English*.

Discovery. In the Reign of *Henry VIII*, Mr. *Thorn* and Mr. *Elliot*, two English Adventurers, made a Voyage thither; and one Mr. *Hore*, another Adventurer of our Nation, attempted a Settlement, but was reduc'd to such Streights, that many of his Company were kill'd and eaten by their Fellows: Those who surviv'd, were so chang'd, that Sir *William Butts*, a *Norfolk* Knight, did not know his Son at his Return, and cou'd not be convinc'd 'twas the same Person, till he shew'd him a Mark in his Body which his Father remembred. The English after this neglecting the Place, the *French* and *Portuguese* resorted to it, and carry'd on a very profitable Trade in Fish and other Commodities. In the year 1579. Captain *Richard Whitburn* of *Exmouth* in *Devonshire*, was employ'd by Mr. *Cotten*, a Merchant of *Southampton*, to fish at the *Great Bank*; but his Companions not being able to endure the Cold, he put into *Trinity-Harbour*, where they kill'd store of Fish, Deer, Bears, Beavers, Seals, Otters, Sea-Fowl, &c. and having made a tollerable Voyage, return'd to *England*. In 1583. Mr. *Crook*, a Merchant of the same Port, fitted him out for the same Voyage; and while he was at *Newfoundland*, Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, a *Devonshire* Knight, and a famous Adventurer, related to Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, came thither with two stout Ships and a Pinnace, and brought with him a Commission from Queen *Elizabeth* to take possession of the Place in her Name, which he did in *St. John's Harbour*, Mr. *Whitburn* my Author being present. Sir *Humphry* sailing thence towards *Virginia*, lost his biggest Ship; and he himself going aboard the Pinnace, was cast away in his Return to *England*: His other Ship, Captain *Hay* Commander, arriv'd and brought the News of that worthy Gentleman's hard Fortune.

1585. Two Years afterwards, Sir *Bernard Drake* of *Devon*, was sent thither with a Squadron of Men of War, and took several *Portuguese* Ships laden with Fish and Oil, which he brought into *England* as Prizes: For tho the *French* and *Portuguese* went thither to fish, the English look'd on themselves as the true

The History of Newfoundland.

3

Lords and Proprietors of the Country, as appears by several Grants from the Crown before the French seated themselves there, and the Confession of Foreigners themselves: tho' 'tis pretended *John Verazzan*, a Florentine, sent by *Francis I.* the French King, possess'd himself of the Island in the Name of that Prince, calling it *Terre Neuve*, or *Newfoundland*; yet that does not lessen the Right of the English to this Country; for it was done several years after *Sebastian Cabot* had been there a second time; and brought thence 3 of the Natives, whom he presented to *Henry VIII.* as a Token of his having taken possession of the Place in his Name: And Sir *Humphry Gilbert* when he was there, forbid all other Nations to fish on the Coast.

Hæc Insula ab Anglis, uti apparet, primum inventa, Delaet.

'Tis true, the English were not for a long time very fond of settling on such an unfriendly Shoar, where there were few or no Conveniencies for Life, but Interest at last prevail'd; and in the Year 1509.

Mr. *John Guy* a Merchant, and afterwards Mayor of *Bristol*, who wrote a Treatise to encourage Persons to undertake a Settlement, by writing and soliciting the Business succeeded so well, that in the following Year King *James* made a Grant, dated April the 10th, 1610. of all that part of the Island

The First Newfoundland Company.

from *Cape Bonavist* in the North, to *Cape St. Mary's* in the South, to the Earl of *Northampton* Lord Keeper, Sir *Lawrence Tansfield* Lord Chief Baron, Sir *John Dodderidge* King's Sergeant, Sir *Francis Bacon* Solicitor General, Sir *Daniel Donn*, Sir *Walter Cope*, Sir *Piercival Willoughby*, Sir *John Constable*, *John Weld* Esquire, Mr. *Ellis Crisp*, Mr. *Richard Bowdler*, Mr. *Anthony Haviland*, Mr. *William Lewis*, Mr. *Humphry Hook*, Mr. *John Guy*, Mr. *Phillip Guy*, Mr. *William Meredith*, Mr. *John Doughtie* and others; who sent over a Colony thither under the Direction of Mr. *John Guy*: This Gentleman arriv'd there in 20 days,

1610.

landed at *Conception-Harbour*; and he and his Companions built Houses, or rather Hutts, for their Habitations, during their stay. Mr. *Guy* behav'd himself so courteously to the Natives, that he entirely gain'd their Friendship, and the English were not at all disturb'd by them in carrying on their Settlement, as they were in other Places. In the next Year 1611.

1611.

Captain *Whitburn* went thither again, and the Arch

- Pirate *Peter Easton* came here with 10 Sail of stout rich Ships; he desir'd Mr. *Whitburn* to procure a Pardon for him, and would have return'd to *England*: In expectation of it, he waited on the Coast of *Barbary*; but the Court tiring out his patience, he enter'd the *Streights* with his Treasures, and the Duke of *Savoy* took him into his Service. There was very little Frost this Year in *Newfoundland* all Winter long, which, if true, is next to a Miracle. In the Year ensuing, the English found some of the Indian Habitations, which were Hutts made of Poles set round, and meeting on the Top, about 10 Foot broad, cover'd with Deer Skins, and the Fire in the middle. In the next Year, 54 Men, 6 Women, and 2 Children winter'd there, and the Season prov'd moderate. The English sow'd Wheat and Rie, and planted Turnips and Coleworts, which 'tis said grew as well as in *England*; and this is the more rare, because Wheat and other Grain cannot now be brought to thrive there. The new Planters got plenty of Fowl and Fish for Food; and Bears and Otters for Skins: But we have reason to believe that things did not answer their Expectation, for 'tis certain that Mr. *Guy* and his Colony return'd to *England*. The Disease that troubled them most, was the Scurvy, which they cur'd with their Turnips. In the Year 1614. Sir *Henry Manwaring* was sent thither with a Squadron of 5 Men of War to secure the Fishery. And in the following Year Captain *Whitburn* made another Voyage, carrying with him a Commission from the Admiralty, to *Impannel Juries, and make Inquiry upon Oath, of divers Abuses and Disorders committed amongst Fishermen yearly on that Coast.*
- Dr. *W. Vaughan* of *Carmarthenshire*, purchas'd a Grant from the Pattentees for part of the Country, to make a Settlement, which however he never effected. In 1616. Captain *Whitburn* was taken in his way from *Newfoundland* to *Lisbon* with a Cargo of Fish; and in the Year 1618. he went thither as Dr. *Vaughan's* Deputy; tho' whom he was to govern, we don't find any where mentioned by himself or other Writers; or that there was any Settlement of English till 2 or 3 years afterwards, when Sir *George Calvert*, Principal Secretary of State to King *James*, got a Grant of the best part of the Island. This Gentleman

tleman being of the Romish Religion, was uneasy at home, and had the same Reason to leave the Kingdom, as those Gentlemen had who went to *New-England*, to enjoy the Liberty of his Conscience: He therefore resolv'd to retire to *America*, and finding the *Newfoundland* Company made no use of their Grant, he thought of this Place for his Retreat; to which end he procur'd a Patent for that part of the Island that lies between the Bay of *Bulls* in the East, and Cape *St. Mary's* in the South, which was erected into a Province, and call'd *Avalon*, the Name it goes by to this Day.

How this Grant cou'd be made without the Consent of the former Proprietors, we cannot comprehend; for he seated himself within the Limits of their Territories: And he either agreed with them for it, or King *James* invaded the Company's Property. Sir *George*, afterwards Lord *Baltimore*, sent over Persons to plant and prepare things for his Reception; and in 1621. Capt. *Edward Wynn* went thither with a small Colony at Sir *George's* Charge, who seated himself at *Ferryland*, built Houses, planted a little Garden, and set up a Salt-Work in 1622. and the same Year, Himself, Capt. *Powel*, 21 Men, 7 Women, and 2 Boys Winter'd there. In the following Year the Lord *Faulkland*, Deputy of Ireland, sent a Colony thither under Sir *Francis Tanfil*, who return'd without making a Settlement.

When Capt. *Wynn* had giv'n Sir *George* a satisfactory Account of his Proceedings, he remov'd thither with his Family, built a Fine House and strong Fort at *Ferryland*, Northward of *Cape de Raz*, and dwelt there some time; but having a better Settlement in view in *Virginia*, he return'd to *England* to get the Grant of the Country which is since call'd *Maryland*: However he still retain'd the Propriety of *Avalon* in *Newfoundland*, and govern'd the little Colony at *Ferryland* by Deputies till his Death. His Son *Cecilius* Lord *Baltimore* did the same, till the distractions in *England* during the Civil War, render'd his Possession precarious; and about the Year Sir *David Kirk*, a Gentleman whose Fortune oblig'd him to change the Climate more than his Constitution, went thither, and by Warrant of the Govern-

1620.

Lord Baltimore's Settlement.

1621.

1622.

1623.

1654.

Sir David Kirk's Settlement.

ment then in being, possess'd himself of the Lord *Baltimore's* Plantation, which he afterwards treated with that Lord to purchase; but the Family of *Calvert*, wou'd never formally give up their Pretences, notwithstanding which Sir *David* liv'd there all his time, gave his Name to a *Sound* on the Western Shoar; and his Children and Grand Children dwelt there after him, the latter being reduc'd to the mean Condition of the Ordinary Inhabitants. Sir *David* undertook an Expedition against the *French* at *Canada*, and destroy'd their Settlements, which the French not only recover'd in the Reign of *Charles II.* but they were suffer'd in his time first to settle on the Southern Shoar of *Newfoundland*, to fortify themselves at *Placentia*, *St. Peter's*, and other Places. Thus they who are Intruders, by their Industry, and the Convenience of their Neighbourhood with *Canada*, the Glory, such as it is, of the French Dominions in *America*, have got the better Part of this Island, and have a more numerous Colony and better Fortifications than the English, who have all along contented themselves with some scatter'd Settlements on the Coasts, which they do not call by the Name of *Towns*, but by that of *Harbours*. Before we go on further with our History of the Country, we shall give an Account of the Places where the English have settled, the number of Families, by the latest Surveys taken from a Merchant who liv'd some time in the Island, in what way they live, for their Constitution does not deserve to be call'd a Government. Of the Indians, the Climate, the Soil, Animals, Trade, and other things worthy the Reader's Knowledge.

The Isles.

Under the Name of *Newfoundland* those Isles are comprehended which lie on the West Side of it in the Gulph of *St. Lawrence*, and the River of *Canada* or *New France* to the North and West. These Isles are 15 in number, of which the most considerable are, the Isles of the Sand or Bank of *Cape Breton*, *St. John's* Isle about 30 Leagues long, 16 over, and 90 in Circuit; 'tis properly nothing else but a great Forest of Fir-trees, and is surrounded with steep Rocks. *Cape Breton* Isle in the South of the Gulph of *St. Lawrence*, is 60 Leagues long, 10 or 12 broad, and 140 in Circuit; 'tis almost cut in two Parts by that Gulph.

Robbe.
Geog.

The

The History of Newfoundland.

The Isle of *Assumption* is also call'd *Anticosti*, 'tis about the bigness of *Cape Breton* Island, situated at the Mouth of the Great River of *Canada*; *Bears Port* is the best Haven in it. Between *Anticosti* and the flat Island, the old Writers tell us was the best Cod Fishing, and that 'twas common to take 100 in an Hour there. 'Tis certain so many have been caught in an hour; but 'tis as far from being a common thing, as that Place from being the best on the Coast for Fishing, neither the English nor French ever fishing between those Islands.

The English had Settlements formerly as far as Cape *St. Mary's* on the Southern Shoar; but now they begin at *Ferryland* Head, and are scatter'd along the Coast at 8 or 10 Miles distance from one Harbour to another, as far as *Greenpond*: And passing *Cape de Raz*, the most Easterly Point of Land in the Island, we come to

*English
Settle-
ments.*

Ferryland, where are about 30 Houses and Families.

Cape Broil, 12

Bay of Bulls, 20

Brigas Bay, 6

Bell Inn, 3

Toads Cove, 2

Mummables Bay, 6

Petty Harbour, 6

St. John's Town, 60

The latter is call'd a Town, and is situated within *St. John's* the Neck of the Harbour in the Bay, form'd by a *Town*. River that falls into the Sea there; the Mouth of that Harbour is about half a Mile over: On the North Side of it at the Entrance is a Battery, and another on the South-East, where there's a cover'd Fortification, and 8 or 10 Guns, which with the opposite Battery command the Harbour, and render it almost impossible for an Enemy to come at *St. John's Town*, there being besides this a Chain of 15 Tunn weight, which they can let down a-cross it from one Fortification to another. There was a Church before the late Invasion of the French. The Houses were built on the Northern Shoar, and every Family had a sort of a Wharfe before their Houses to dry their Fish on. The Church then stood about the Middle of the Town, but since

for the better Security of the Settlement, the English have remov'd their Dwellings. The Fort there is mounted with about 50 Guns, including the Outworks added by Col. *Richards*, when he commanded there, A Garison consisting of an independant Company of Foot, whose Captain at present is Major *Thomas Lloyd*, always do Duty there, and in the late Troubles were of great Service to the Country. Within the Fort on the Right Hand and on the Left are Barracks for the Soldiers, and opposite to the Gate the Captain's House, built *a la Modern*, with Sash Windows, and is a very fair Edifice. Next to *St. John's Town* is,

<i>Kittavitty,</i>	. . .	20 Houses and Families.
<i>Torbay,</i>	. . .	4 Families.
<i>Holyrood,</i>	. . .	} 12 Families.
<i>Salmon Cove,</i>	. . .	
<i>Havre de Grace,</i>	. . .	
<i>Carboneer,</i>	. . .	30 Families.
<i>Bay Virds,</i>	. . .	10 Families.
<i>Old Parlikin,</i>	. . .	6 Families.
<i>New Parlikin</i>	deserted.	
<i>Silly Cove.</i>		
<i>Trinity Harbour,</i>	. . .	12 Families.
<i>Bonavist,</i>	. . .	25 Families.
<i>Greenpond Island,</i>	. . .	3 Families.

In all 267 Families, some of which are very large; and all together, before the French destroy'd the Settlements from *Cape de Raz* to *St. John's Town*, contain'd 4000 English Inhabitants, Men, Women and Children; tho in the year 1698, there were but 1500 Souls, the Number encreasing after the rate of about 500 every Year, till they came to be upwards of 4000. Most of the People fled to *St. John's Town*, and were safe there; but such as cou'd not crowd into the Fort were abandon'd to the Mercy of the Enemy, who burnt all the Houses in the West End of the Town; and the few they left, were, as they said, only spar'd that they might be a Receptacle for themselves when they came there again, which they threatned to do, but have not yet been as good as their Words. They staid in the Town
5 Weeks,

5 Weeks, and continually harrast the Soldiers in the Fort by False Allarms: At last, they were tir'd with attacking, before the English were with defending the place, and left it, carrying away with them some hundreds of the Inhabitants.

The English had no Settlement for many Years farther than *Bonavist*; but 10 Years ago they sat down at *Greenpond* Island, and thus take up the N.E. and E. Part of the Country, as the French do the S. and S. W. the Natives living in the North. There are several fine Bays within the limits of the English Territory, as, *Bonavist*, *Trinity*, *Conception*, which stretch themselves towards the South West; *Torbay* and *Capelin* Bay, *St. John's* Harbour, the Bay of *Bulls*, *Fresh Water* Bay, and others: For there's no Shore in the World so well accommodated with Excellent Harbours. On the French side are the Bays *Trepasey*, *St. Mary's*, *Borrell* and *Placentia*, which extend their Arms towards the North. The Great Bay of *St. Peter* lies on the South West side of the Island 20 Leagues distant from the River of *Canada*. The Bottom of all the Bays meet within the Compass of a small Circuit, by which means the Communication from Bay to Bay is easy. There are abundance of other Bays round about the Western Shore, as far as the *Great Bay*, and many more between that and *Trinity* Bay, which lies in about 49 Deg. N. L. and is very commodiously situated to receive Shipping in bad Weather. It has 3 Arms or Rivers, long and large enough for many hundred Sail of Ships to moar fast at Anchor, above a Mile from the Harbours Mouth. The Bay of *Flowers* near *Greenpond* is Dangerous for shelves. The Bay of *Trepasey*, which is the present Bounds of the English, Southward, lies in about 46 Deg. N. L. is a bold and safe Coast, and convenient for Ships in distress to touch at, passing to or from *Virginia*, *New England* or the *Bermudas* Isles.

The Climate is very hot in Summer and Cold in Winter; the Snow lies on the Ground 4 or 5 Months; and the English in the Northern Parts are forc'd to remove from the Harbours into the Woods, during that Season, for the convenience of Firing. There they build themselves Cabbins, and burn up all that Part of the Woods where they sit down. The next Winter they do the same

The Climate.

Way of Living.

by

by another, and so clear 'em as they go. The People at *St. John's* Town who do not remove, are put to great Streights for want of Firing. Wood, 'tis true, is very plentiful, but the Difficulty is to come at it, the Access to the Forests for Rocks and Snow being very troublesome, and sometimes impassable; and 'tis no small part of the Profits of the Under-Officers of the Garison to let out their Men to fetch Wood. There's hardly any stirring out of the House for 5 Months in the Year. The Inhabitants have no Corn nor any other sort of Provision or Necessaries, (except Wild Fowl, Fish, and Venison) but what is sent them from *Europe*. The Island is full of Mountains and *impracticable* Forests; its Meadows are like Heaths, and are cover'd with a sort of Moss instead of Grass. The Soil is good for nothing, being a Mixture of Gravel, Sand and Stones. Thus says the Baron *La Hontan*, and several Gentlemen, whom I have consulted upon the matter, particularly Capt. *Francis*, a Man of Worth and Honour, who commanded there in the Year 1702. And yet Mr. *Guy*, Capt. *Whitburn*; and from them Mr. *Delaet* set it out as a Paradise, as fruitful as the Banks of the *Nile*. Without the Labour of Mens Hands, says Capt. *Whitburn*, the Earth produces great Plenty of Green Pease, Fitches and Haumes, and great Store of Hay may be made with little Labour. Strawberries, Raspberries, Bilberries, Pears, Cherries, Filberds, &c. are there in abundance; as also Flowers: And for Corn, the Ground is as apt to bear as the *English* Soil. I thought it might not be improper to shew the difference that there is in the account of the Soil giv'n by different Persons. Mr. *Guy* and Capt. *Whitburn* were, as one may perceive, willing the Island should be inhabited by the fair Description they gave of it, whereas 'tis in truth one of the most uncomfortable Places in the Universe for 6 Months in the Year, and not one of the most delightful for the other 6. We may see by this, that even Men of the best Judgment, as *Delaet* is thought to be, may err when they treat of things which they must take upon trust, and that we shou'd be cautious how we give Credit to those Authors who write of Plantations wherein they are themselves concern'd. As this Place is scarce tolerable

The Soil.

La Hontan.

Æstate
sponte sua
non modo
Lætissima
ma grama
mina sed
Æ varias
fruges
progengeret.
Delaet.
Whitburn.
P. 47.

to the English for the Seasons, so 'tis no less wretched in its Government, which is altogether as barbarous as that of their Fellow-Inhabitants the Indians.

They have no settled Governour: But in time of *The Go-*
Peace the first Master of a Ship that arrives there, *vernment.*
tho he commands a Bark but of 30 or 40 Tuns, is Chief Governour for that Fishing Season, by the Stile of, *Lord of the Harbour.* In time of War the Governour is more noble, for then 'tis lodg'd in the Commadore, or Commander of the Squadron who is sent thither to defend the Fishery. If there come but two or three Men of War, the eldest Captain is Governour of the Country as well as Admiral at Sea; if but a single Ship, the Commander has that honourable Office, and in the Absence of the Captains of the Men of War, and the Lord of the Harbour, the Captain of the Land Forces in the Fort of *St. John's* Town, is Governour by his Place; and both the one and the other are Lord Chancellors, and decide arbitrarily in all Cases. There's no need of much Law, for the Inhabitants have not much Land, and no Money. They truck with one another for what they want and have; and Breaches of the Peace, or taking away a Man's Goods without giving Truck, stealing of Nets or Fishing-Tackle, are the main Causes that come before the Governour for the time being, who summons the Criminal before him, and his Sentence is definitive. If 'tis the Land-Officer, he keeps 'em in awe by threatning 'em with a File of Musketeers; and as much as they are without Law and Lawyers, the want of them, for what I can hear, is one of their least Inconveniencies. If a Man commits murder, he is sent in Chains to *England*, and unless Witnesses are sent with him, which is expensive and not always possible, he takes his Trial at the *Old Baily*, is acquitted, and goes home again; as was the Case of a Person who was accus'd of Sodomy 3 or 4 years ago. As severe as the Climate is, it agrees very well with English Constitutions, and our Countrymen have generally been healthy there, except when they brought Diseases with them.

As for the Product of the Country, Fir and Spruce *Trees.*
Trees are the most remarkable, being reckon'd as fit for
Masts, as those of *Normay.* Pine and Birch-Trees are as
big

big there as any where, and almost all sorts of Timber-Trees abound in the Island. As for Quadrupedes, Dear, Hares, Foxes, Squirrels, Wolves, Bears, Beavers and Otters, afford them Plenty of Food; Pleasure and Traffick; and may we believe Capt. *Whitburn*, the wild Beasts as well as the Natives, were so civil to the first Discoverers, that they never gave 'em the least molestation, or put 'em to much trouble to catch 'em.

Beasts.

Fish.

But such Stories as these, are of equal Credit with that of the Mermaid he pretended to see; and we shall not endeavour to impose either of 'em as Truth on our Readers: What's certain, is, That the Sea on this Coast is almost full of Fish; as Cod, the staple Commodity of the Country, Salmon, Herrings, Mackerel, Flounders, and an infinite Number of Trouts in the Rivers, which are not very broad or long, but there's plenty of them, and of Springs of good Water: Fowl for Food, and Game is to be met with every where of all sorts, and is the greatest Convenience in the Country; the Trade of which consists in the Fishery, one of the most beneficial in the World, and yet it has been miserably neglected. Does it not look something like a Paradox, that we who are Masters of the Sea, should not be Masters of Trade, and especially of that Trade which is by Right our own; and that the French, the meanest Nation in the World with respect to Commerce, considering their Advantages, shou'd rival us in so considerable a Branch of our Traffick? 'Tis pity, we who have driv'n 'em out of the *British* and the *Mediterranean* Seas, should not clear the *Atlantick* of 'em, and be entirely Masters of our own Fishery, which wou'd be so advantagious to the Publick in general, and private Men in particular: For besides the Encouragement it gives to Navigation, the Seamen that it breeds, and the Trades that it maintains, it encreases the National Stock wonderfully; for let a Ship of 150 Tuns, Mann'd with 20 Hands make the Voyage with nothing but Victuals and Fishing-Tackle, she shall bring 3000 *l.* worth of Fish to Market in a good Year; and that's a certain Gain to the Kingdom, as well as to private Men. The English and French seldom load less than 500 Ships a year, to

Trade.

France,

France, Portugal, Spain and Italy, with Cod and Poor. The Fishery

John: And if the former did rightly consider the vast Advantages of this Trade, they would spare no Cost to establish it on so firm a Foundation, that all the Nations of Europe cou'd not hurt them in it. They would think no Expense too great in building Forts, and fortifying the Harbours, so that they may command the Fishery in them: They would gladly be at the charge of a Squadron of Men of War to protect our own Fishers, and hinder others from fishing; and if they always lay there, we might easily in a few years engross the Trade to our selves, drive the French out of the Island, and the Neighbouring Continent; which, tho it may seem to be more easily projected than 'tis to be effected, is a very feasible Design, and what I doubt not the Wisdom of the Nation will take into Consideration. Whenever this is brought to pass, the Banks of Newfoundland will be more valuable to the English, than the Mines of Mexico and Peru to the Spaniards. Tho our Fishers seldom fish on the Banks, but off their Harbours in Sloops, yet the Great Bank and the others are so much talk'd of, that 'twill be expected we should say something of 'em.

All these Banks are vast Heaps or Shoals of Sand, The Banks, that lie along in the Ocean at several distances from the Shore: The Great Bank is about 20 Leagues from Cape de Raz, the nearest Point of Land to it; 'tis 300 Miles long, and 75 broad; the Sea that runs over it is, when 'tis Flood, several Fathom deep, and the largest Ships may venture upon it without fear of striking, except at a place call'd the Virgins, where 'tis thought several Ships have been cast away, and the Men all perish'd; for many passing that way have never been heard of. The next Bank is Vert-Bank, about 80 Miles long, and 40 over where 'tis broadest: Then Banquero-Bank lying in the shape of a Shoe, about the bigness of the other; then the Shoals of Sand-Island, Whalebank; the Shoals of Acadia, Mizana-Bank, and the Bank of the Islands in St. Peter's Bay: Off these Banks, now almost wholly frequented by the French, and on the Coasts, there have been 6 or 700 Sail of Ships fishing at a time. Round the Great Bank, which is cover'd when the Sea is high, and dry in some places at Ebb, there are 200 Fathom Water

ter on all sides of it; and about it lie several small Islands call'd *Los Buchalops*, or the Isles of Cod-fish, from the prodigious quantity of Cod there. The Fishing-season is from *Spring* to *September*: The 20th of *August* some years ago us'd to be the last day of the Season, and kept as a Holiday; but lately the Fishers stay longer; and whereas they us'd to sail before for *Portugal* and the *Streights* in *September*, they now seldom sail till *October*; they fish always in the day-time, the Cod not biting by Night: Train Oil is drawn off the Livers of the Fish; which are thrown up in Heaps when the Cod is cur'd, and thence there drains off the Oil which comes from *Newfoundland*. The Sea off these Banks are sometimes render'd unsafe by floating Islands of Ice, which have been often met with hereabouts by Voyagers, particularly in *May*, 1686. a Gentleman homeward bound from *Virginia* to *England*, wrote, that he saw off of the Banks of *Newfoundland*, several prodigious floating Islands of Ice; the Master of the Ship, at the Gentleman's Request, sail'd as near one of 'em as he durst securely, and 'twas judg'd to be a full League in length, higher above Water than the Main-mast Top, and the Snow drove to and fro upon it, as on a large Plain; a great Flock of small black *Divers*, about the bigness of a *Feldyfare*, came about the Ship a little before, but all of 'em left it, and betook themselves to the Island; this Gentleman perceiv'd about 30 of these Islands of Ice; and to the Northward they are larger and more numerous.

The Natives of this Island don't correspond much with the English, but the French have had some Dealings with them from *Canada*. They say they are a tractable People; and the English who have dealt with them say the same: They paint themselves, and are cloath'd with Stags-skins, all their Cloathing being an Apron of it round their Wastes; they are of small Stature, broad Face and breasted, without Beards, their Joints well knit, and their Limbs strong; they are crafty, great Pilferers, dextrous at making Kettles and Canoes; they believe in a God, which they say created all things, and Men and Women, by taking a number of Arrows and sticking them in the Ground, from whence they sprung up. One of their *Segamores* being askt what he thought of our Religion and

Low-
thorp's
Philos.
Transf.
Vol. III.
p. 592.

The Indi-
ans.

and the Trinity, answer'd; there was one God, one Son, one Mother, and the Sun, which were four, yet God was above all. Some of 'em converse visibly with the Devil, if we may give credit to the Superstition and Credulity of our Voyagers, and from the Devil receive Advice concerning their Wars and other Matters. Their young Women at Fifteen lie with as many Lovers as they please for 5 or 6 years, then each of 'em chooses one for her Husband, and is afterwards very constant to him. They set their Dead in the Ground upright, with their Goods and Provisions as for a long Journey. They are great Dancers and Singers, and in their Dances the Women often throw away the little Covering they have, and frisk about stark naked. We might enlarge our Discourse on the Indians of *Newfoundland*, but they differ so little from those of the Continent, whom we shall frequently speak of, that 'tis needless to say more of 'em here; besides, by conversing with Merchants and others who have dwelt on the spot, and consulting them about the Character of the Natives given by such as have written before us, we find there is little to be depended on in their Relations concerning them; the Indians are either quite different now from what they were, when the first Discoverers came thither, or those Adventurers impos'd upon the belief of their Readers in the Description they gave of them.

We left the English in Possession of the Eastern Shore of *Newfoundland*, and carrying on their Trade of Fishery peacefully and profitably, which continu'd all King *Charles* and King *James's* Reigns, but the French all that while grew upon them; and when the War broke out between *England* and *France* on the Revolution, the English and French in *Newfoundland* began to commit Acts of Hostility against one another: Both Nations were disturb'd in their Fishing, and their Settlements alternately destroy'd, but the French were more careful of preserving their own than the English, who were the greatest Sufferers, as will be seen in the following Pages. As to other Events in this Place from Sir *David Kirk's* coming thither, to the Late War, there were none worth remembering; and what can we expect of that nature

in

War between the English and French.

in the History of a Place so poor, and so void of Government?

After the Revolution, and the breaking out of the War, the English and French fell upon each other, as often as they had any opportunity of doing it with advantage. The English began first, and with 5 Men of War, the *St. Albans* a Third Rate Frigate, carrying 66 Guns, being Commadore, attack'd *Placentia*, but were oblig'd to retreat, the French having made better Preparations for their Reception than they expected; but the latter were more successful in their Attempts on the English, for in September, 1696. they came down upon our Harbours with 6 Men of War; the *Pelican*, *Diamond*, taken from the English, Count *de Tholouse*, *Harcourt*, *Philip*, *Vendunge*, and some Fire-ships and Gallies: Off *Cape Spear*, they came up with the *Saphire*-Friggat, Captain *Cleasby* Commander, to whom they gave Chase, but he got into the Bay of *Bulls*, where he did all he could to fortify the Place in the little time he had to do it; the English who liv'd in that Harbour came to his Assistance, but on the approach of the French they all ran away. On the 11th of September, the whole French Squadron came down upon the *Saphire*, and fir'd with the utmost Fury; Captain *Cleasby* made a brave Defence for 2 hours, and hall'd most of the Ship's Guns on her side next the Enemy; the French at the same time made a Descent, and having driven the Men that were ashore into the Woods, attack'd the *Saphire* on all sides; the Captain finding 'twas impossible to maintain the Ship any longer, set her on fire, and retir'd with his Officers and 35 Men to the Woods. When the *Saphire* was on fire, 40 French Men came aboard, endeavouring to extinguish it, but they were all blown up into the Air as soon as the Fire reach'd the Powder Room; 100 more of the *Saphire*'s Crew getting ashore, made the best of their way towards *Ferryland*, but were intercepted and taken by the Enemy; Captain *Cleasby* and his Company reach'd that Harbour, where he did his utmost to defend the Settlement against the French, who came and attack'd it. The 21st of the same Month they landed 600 Men, who approach'd within Musket-shot very resolutely, and the English firing upon them with equal

equal Resolution oblig'd them to halt; the French return'd their Fire, and sent a Trumpet to summon them to surrender. Captain *Cleasby* seeing 'twas impossible for him to repel so many Men with so few, came to a Treaty, and deliver'd up the Place, which was not tenable: Himself, his Lieutenant, and his 35 Men, were made Prisoners of War, and sent to *France*; from whence they return'd to *England* by Exchange; and the French destroy'd that and all the other English Settlements, except *St. John's*, *Bonavist*, and *Carboneer* Harbours. King *William* being inform'd what Damage they had done to the English a-shore, and how they interrupted their Fishery upon the Coast, order'd a Squadron of Men of War to be Equip'd and Commanded by Admiral *Nevil*, and 1500 Men were put aboard under the Command of Sir *John Gibson*, at present Deputy Governour of *Portsmouth*. Admiral *Nevil* sail'd in the following Year, and arriving at *Newfoundland*, the French immediately abandon'd all the Places they had taken from the English, on the South side of the Island. Monsieur *Pointy* was at the same time on the Coast with a Squadron of French Men of War, and Admiral *Nevil* fell in with Him, but lost him in a Fog. After this Sir *John Gibson* held a Council of War, and the Sea-Officers assisting at it, 'twas debated whither they shou'd persue *Pointy*: The latter were for it; but the Land-Officers against it, *Pointy* having more Ships than *Nevil*; and if the English hou'd have had the worst of it, it had endanger'd the oss of their Part of the Island. The Marquess *de Nesmond* and Monsieur *Pointy* appear'd off *St. John's* Harbour with 15 Men of War, a few days afterwards, and Admiral *Nevil* had but 12 Ships of less Force in the Bay. He immediately sent notice to Capt. *Drake*, Commander of the *Sea-Horse*, in *Scabereen* Harbour, that the French were on the Coasts, and bad him be upon his Guard; but the Enemy did not think it to attack ev'n that single Frigot, for fear of daring the English to a Combat. Sir *John Gibson's* Men being very sickly, hinder'd his doing any thing considerable by Land. He built a regular Fort at *St. John's* Harbour, which he call'd Fort *William*, and left Col. *Handaside*, the present Governour of *Jamaica*

1697.
Admiral
Nevil and
Sir John
Gibson
there.

1698.
Coll. Hand-
aside Go-
vernour.

Commander there, with 80 Men; after which he return'd to *England*.

1699.

In the following year, Captain *Norris* arriv'd at *St. John's* Harbour with a Squadron of Men of War; and had a Commission to be Governour at land also. Colonel *Handaside* going for *England* soon after, Captain *William Lilburn* succeeded him in the Command of the Garrison in *Fort William*; but there being Peace with *France*, few Events worthy the Curiosity of the Reader happen'd in this Country; where the Fishery not being disturb'd, new Inhabitants came every year; infomuch that the People doubled in 3 years time.

Captain
William
Lilburn
Governor.

1700.

In the following year, Sir *Andrew Lake* arriv'd with a Squadron of Men; King *William*, notwithstanding it was a peaceable time, thinking the *Newfoundland* Trade of so much Importance, that 'twas worth the while to be at the yearly charge of a Squadron to defend it. This year Captain *Lilburn* resign'd his Command of the Garrison of *Fort William* to Captain *Humphry Haven*; who did not enjoy it long; for in the ensuing year, Captain *John Powel* was made Governor of the Fort: He was succeeded the next year by Colonel *Michael Richards*. This Gentleman being an excellent Engineer, made several Improvements at the Fort, added other Works, and so strengthen'd it, that 'tis a very regular Fortification, and one of the strongest in *America*.

Captain
Humphry
Haven
Governor.

1701.

Captain
John
Powel
Governor.

1702.

Colonel
Michael
Richards
Governor.

1703.

Captain
Th. Lloyd
Governor.

And now the English and French began to commit new Acts of Hostility on each other. Sir *John Lake* arriving with a Squadron of Men of War, destroy'd 3 French Men of War, and 30 Merchant-men, in the Bay of *St. Peter*, where the English landed, attack'd, took, and raz'd the Fort. Colonel *Richards* returning to *England*, Captain *Thomas Lloyd* was made Governour of *Fort William* in the following year: and Captain *John Moody* had the same command in the next; Captain, now Major *Lloyd*, being then in *England*.

1705.

Captain
Tho.
Lloyd
Governor.

In the ensuing year he return'd to *Newfoundland*; and his Government there: A fatal year was this to the English; the French invaded and destroy'd all their Settlements, burnt *St. John's* Town, and besieg'd the Fort with a 1000 Men; but the Garrison defended themselves with the utmost bravery for 5 Weeks together; during which time, the French held them in conti-

continual play night and day, with Attacks and Alarms, and at last weary'd out with the vigorous Resistance they made, retir'd, carrying off half of the English Prisoners with them, the rest saving themselves, and the best of their Effects in the Fort: The French wanted Stores themselves; and if the Sloop they expected with Supplies had arriv'd, they intended to have attackt the Redoubt again, and have storm'd the Fort; boasting, if they had St. John's Town, they would keep all the Fishery to themselves. They threaten still a new Invasion, expecting Ships and more Troops at *Quebeck* from *France* for that purpose. They destroy'd all the Fishing-craft, and left none of the English Youth they could light on there when they went away, some they sent to *France*, who came to *England* by Exchange: Others, for want of being exchang'd, enter'd into the French Service; and some are Slaves at *Quebeck*. They have now at *Placentia*, a Governour, a Lieutenant-Governour, a Major, 3 Captains, and Subalterns answerable, 3 Companies of Soldiers, 1 Gunner, 1 Bombardier, 3 Sergeants, 10 Masons, and other Artificers, 500 Fighting-Men, besides 300 Indians and *Canadians*; and do their utmost to fortify themselves, so that they may secure their own Fishery, and destroy ours; which, if effected, would be a Loss to the Nation of 600000 l. a year; for so much it has clear'd by this Trade only. To defend themselves till Supplies come from *England*, the Inhabitants at St. John's Town have now built their Houses round the Fort, under the Command of the Cannon, for fear of any new Insult from the Enemy: Within the Palisadoes drawn round this new Town, they have also built a Church, whose Minister is the Reverend Mr. *John Jackson*: 'Tis not so big as that which was destroy'd by the French; who have not since made any further attempts on the English; and those that left their Harbours, are since return'd to them.

Roope's
Account,
&c.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
 O F
NEW-SCOTLAND,
 From its DISCOVERY to the
 present Times.

Its Discovery.

N *Ova Scotia* is part of the *Terra Canadensis*; said to be first discover'd by some *Bretons* in the Reign of *Lewis XII.* but that was only *en passant.* *Francis I.* the French King, sent *John Verazzan*, whom we mention'd in the History of *Newfoundland*, to take possession of it in his Name. *Verazzan* landēd in *North Canada*, and possess'd himself of the Country that lies beyond the River of *St. Lawrence*, which is now the *French Canada*: But of that part to the Southward of the River, he made little or no Discoveries; for soon after he landēd in *Acadia*, or *New-Scotland*, the Savages surpriz'd and murder'd, and some say, eat him up. The *English* always took *Acadia* to be part of *North Virginia*; and indeed the first *Virginia-Company* thought all was their own, which shou'd be discover'd Northward, and was not planted by any other European Nation. *Sebastian Cabot's* having been there before the *Bretons*, or *Verazzan*, by the usual way of adjudging Right to the *West-Indies*, seem'd to give them the best Title to it. The Princes of *Europe* thought they might dispose of the Dominions of the *Barbarians*; and made no scruple of turning them out of their Dwellings,

lings, if their Subjects wou'd go so far to take their places. All those Countries that had no Inhabitants, were free to the first Comers: and the first that settled here were the English.

The Bounds of this Province are the *Atlantick O-* *Bounds.*
 cean to the *North*, *Breton-Island* and the Bay of *St. Lawrence* to the *East*; *Canada* to the *West*, and *New-England* to the *South*: It runs from 43 to 51 Degrees N. L. and from the River of *St. Croix* in *Norembegua*, to the great River of *Canada*; has almost 200 Leagues of Coast; but was never much inhabited by the Indians themselves.

When Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* was President of the *New-England* Company, considering the Extent of the Limits of their Charter, he propos'd to Sir *William* *Proprietor.*
Alexander, one of the *Secretaries* of State for *Scotland*, and afterwards Earl of *Sterling*, to procure a particular *Patent* for the Land to the *Northward* of *New-England*, which Sir *William*, who was in favour with King *James*, easily obtain'd; and a *Pattent* for this Country was granted him, bearing date *September* the 10th, 1621. The next year, Sir *William* and some others, whom he got to be concern'd with him, sent a Ship, with a Company aboard, to settle there, and plant: These Adventurers setting out too late, were forc'd to winter at *Newfoundland*. In 1623. They set sail, and made *Cape Breton*, a 1623.
 Promontory, on the *Northern* Shore of *Breton-Island*: They coasted it along, till they came to *Port-Mouton*, near *Cape Sable* in *Acadia*: Here they found three pleasant Harbours; and went ashore in one of them, *The first*
 which they call'd *Luke's Bay*: They sail'd up a great *Voyage*
 way in a large River, that had 8 Fathom Water at *thither.*
 Ebb: On each side of it they beheld flowry Meadows, and a charming Prospect of green Hills, and shady Groves; or rather high Mountains, and thick Forests: The Fields were deckt with Roses red and white, and Lillies of a fragrant smell: They saw no body here; and their Curiosity being satisfy'd, they coasted along to the next Harbour, two Leagues off; Here they met with a broader and deeper River, and a more lovely Prospect than before: They perceiv'd the Situation was commodious for a Settlement, the Soil rich, stor'd with Fruit and Grain, and so natural- *The Soil.*

ly dispos'd for strength, that it might easily be fortify'd. *Product.* Gooseberries, Strawberries, Hurtleberries, grew there in abundance; as also Rye, Barley, and Wheat: But our Authors do not tell us who sow'd or planted them. From thence they sail'd to the next Harbour 12 Leagues off, and found the Country still the same, fruitful and beautiful: The Rivers were stor'd with Cod, and other Fish, great and small: There was also plenty of Fowl at land, as Wild-Geese, Black-Ducks, Woodcocks, Herons, Pigeons, and many sorts of Birds, the like to which they had never seen before. *Trees.* The Timber Trees were Oak, Firr, Spruce, Birch, and other Wood, for which they knew no Name: yet all these Temptations did not prevail with them to stay; They return'd to *England* the same year, and visited the Place no more.

Thus the Plantation never came to any thing: and tho several Ships went thither to fish, and load Lumber from *England*, and several Parts of *America*, yet neither the English nor the Scots ever perfected a Settlement; which gave the French an opportunity to seize the Country, and fortify themselves there at *Port Royal*, on the North side of *Funda Bay*, in 45 Deg. N. L. 1662.

The English had so little an opinion of this Territory, that they abandon'd it to the French by the Treaty of *Breda*, 1667. and made no attempt to dispossess those Intruders, till the late War; at which we the more wonder, because their Settlement was so near *New-England*, that in all cases of a Rupture, it lay convenient to incommode them: And besides, if the Description we have given of the Province from our own Authors, and what the French say of it be true, 'twas very well worth our while to put in our claim to it, and not give up our Right out of Complacency to the French: But 'twas done in a Reign that was more favourable to *France*, than we or our Posterity, I hope, shall ever find another. *Seiz'd by the French.*

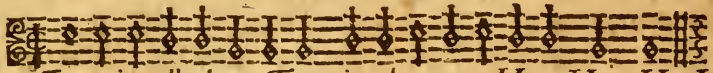
The People of *New-England* had such sentiments of the Neighbourhood of the French in *New-Scotland*, that they resolv'd to drive 'em out at their own charge: They had built a strong Fort at *Port-Royal*; where Monsieur *Meneval* presided as Governour: They had also several Plantations along the Coast; and drove a considerable Trade in Lumber, Fishing, and 1690.

Monfieur Deny's description Geographique & Historique des Costes de l' Amerique Septentrionale.

and Furrs; being encreas'd to 6 or 7000 Souls; who, in conjunction with their *Indian-Allies*, were troublesome to the English about *Casco Bay*, and *Wells*, in *New-England*: To rid themselves of this Enemy, the Government of *New-England* sent Sir *William Phips* Sir W. with 700 Men, and a convenient number of Ships, to Phips dislodge them: Sir *William* sail'd from *Nantascot* on drives a- the 28th of *April*, 1690. and on the 11th of *May* ar- way the rri'd before *Port Royal*: Monsieur *Meneval* the French. Governour, surrender'd the Place after two or three days resistance; and Sir *William Phips* took possession of it in the Name of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, demolish'd the Fort, sent away the French Garrison, and took an Oath of Allegiance to the King and Queen of *England*, of the French that stay'd there; over whom he plac'd a Governour. Sir *William* in his return destroy'd another French Settlement at *St. John's River*, on the South side of *Funda Bay*. The English for some time carry'd on a beneficial Traffick with the Natives for Furrs; and Baron *La Hontan* complains La Hon- they under-fold the French, and took such measures, tan. as he fear'd wou'd in time drive the latter quite out of the Trade: But the French have since recover'd *Port They re- Royal*, and their other places in *Nova Scotia*, which turn. they call *Acady*; and the English now content themselves with their old Title to the Country, without any Endeavours to regain it.

'Twill be expected we should say something of the Natives of *New-Scotland*, as well as of other Provinces of *America*: Those that dwell about *Port Royal*, were call'd the *Souriquois*, and were of a midling Sta- Delaet. ture, well-limb'd, tawny, black-hair'd, beardless, all, Of the Na- except their Rulers and Principal Men, the rest being tives. oblig'd to pluck up their Beards by the roots; they were dress'd like other Indians, wearing only a Covering over their Nudities: In Summer they liv'd upon Fish, and upon Indian Corn in Winter, but did not know how to make it into Bread, till they were taught by the Europeans: They had no Form nor Notion of Religion; their Conjurors whom they call'd *Autmoins*, were their Priests, and Doctors: They consulted the Devil's Oracles, and receiv'd ambiguous Answers, like the Greeks at *Delphos*: They had certain *Tabagia*, or Festivals, at which they us'd

to sing and dance incessantly: We have met with some of their Musick and Poetry, which we believe the Curious will be pleas'd to see:

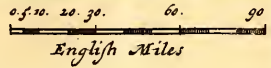


Tameja alle luya Tameja dowvem Hau Hau He He,

The two last Notes *He He*, were repeated by all the Company present, like a Grand *Chorus*: And the Author which Mr. *Delaet* took this from, affirms he often heard the word *Alle-Luya*, a part of the sacred Canticles, in their Songs, averring it to be genuine.

NEW ENGLAND, NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, and PENNSILVANIA &c.

By H. Moll Geographer.



PART OF AMERICA

FUNDI

BAY

C Torchu
Part of
Acadia
Toussquet
P. Mouton

I. Sturgeon

Seale Isle

C. Sable

I. Sable

St. Georges Bank

O C E A N

The Present
Sasquahana
Indian Fort

PEN

PART OF

MARY LAND.



W E S T E R N

- a. Malden
- b. Sudbury
- c. Charles Town
- d. Roxbury
- e. Dorchester
- f. Milton
- g. Braintree
- h. Weymouth
- i. New Bristol
- k. Portsmouth
- l. Newport
- m. Canonicut
- n. Elizabeth I.
- o. Woodbridge
- p. Bascatoway
- q. Perth City
- r. Staten Island
- s. Old Towne
- t. New Towne

44

43

42

41

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39

44

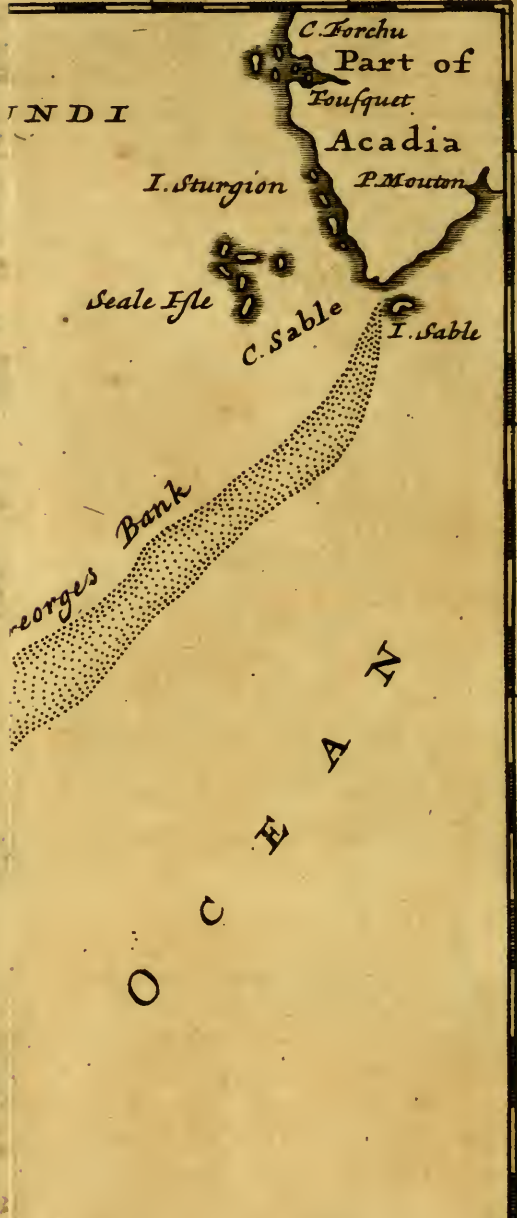
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- | | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| i. Malden | l. Newport |
| k. Sudberry | m. Canonicut |
| n. Charles Town | n. Elizabeth T. |
| o. Roxbury | o. Woodbridge |
| p. Dorchester | p. Pascatoway |
| q. Milton | q. Perth City |
| r. Braintre | r. Staten Island |
| s. Weymouth | s. Old Towne |
| t. New Bristol | t. New Towne |
| u. Portsmouth | |

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F

N E W - E N G L A N D .

C H A P. I.

Containing an Account of its Discovery, Settlement, Wars with the Indians and French, and all Events to the present Times.

THIS Province being part of the Continent which was discover'd by Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Servants, *Barlow* and *Amidas*; and by Queen *Elizabeth* call'd *Virginia*; we refer the Reader to the History of that Country for a further Account of its Discovery. The first Man who landed here of our Nation, was Sir *Francis Drake*, returning from the *West-Indies*, in the year 1586. He stay'd two or three days on the Coast, and traded with the People for what he wanted. One of the Indian Kings submitted to Queen *Elizabeth*; a Submission which signify'd no more than a Courtiers Compliment. Captain *Barlow*, and such as sail'd to *Virginia* after him, generally went to South *Carolina*, and those parts on the Continent to the Southward of the Bay of *Cheseapeak* which were all call'd *South Virginia*, as those to the Northward were *North Virginia*, for several Years.

1583.

Its Discovery.

1586.

Capt. Gof-
nold's
Voyage.

1602.

Captain *Bartholomew Gosnold*, of whom we have had occasion to speak in the same History that we have mention'd above, was the first Englishman who made any considerable stay in this Country: He was very well treated by the Savages; and traded in the Latitude of 43. where he made land near *Piscataway* River; but not liking the Weather he met with there, he stood more to the Southward: He sail'd all Night, and next Morning found himself imbay'd within a mighty Head of Land, which Promontory he call'd *Cape Cod*, from the vast quantity of Cod-fish he took there; 'tis the Northern Point of *Plymouth* County: He also gave the name of *Martha's Vineyard*, and *Elizabeth-Island*, to two Islands lying to the Southward of the Cape, where some of his Crew made an Experiment how English Corn would grow; and before they went, they saw what they had sown come up very kindly.

First Pro-
prietors.

1606.

Mr. Chal-
lons set
out by
them.

Captain
Hanham.

Capt. Pop-
ham and
Captain
Gilbert.

The Reputation of this place, by the Character Captain *Gosnold* had given it, put some Gentlemen upon begging a Grant of it, (and this is the Charter we have mentioned in the above-cited History to be granted to *Thomas Hanham*, *Rawleigh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, *George Popham*, Esquires; and others of the Town of *Plimouth*, &c. to plant where they shall think fit and convenient, between 38 and 45 Degrees of Northern Latitude.) The Lord Chief Justice *Popham*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* Governour of *Plimouth*, and several other West-Country Gentlemen and Merchants, were concern'd in this Company; who, in August, 1606. set out a Ship for a Voyage to North *Virginia*: There were about 30 Men aboard; and the direction of the Affair was given to Mr. *Henry Challons*: who sail'd as far as the Spanish Isles; and falling in with a Fleet of Spaniards, was taken, and sent Prisoner to *Spain*, together with all his Companions; where he and they were barbarously treated. Tho the Adventurers were very much discourag'd by this ill Success, yet the Lord Chief Justice *Popham* quickly after sent out another Ship, commanded by Captain *Hanham*, one of the Pattentees; who made such Discoveries, as those who fell off before, resolv'd now to adventure again; and accordingly Captain *Popham*, and Captain *Gilbert*, two others of the Pattentees, were dispatch'd away

away with Two Ships, 100 Men, Ordnance, Stores, and Provisions, for a Plantation. These Gentlemen arriv'd there in the year 1608. and seated themselves about the River of *Sagadahock* in *Norembegua*; At the Mouth of which River, they built *St. George's Fort*: But Captain *Popham* dying, and Captain *Gilbert* being oblig'd to return to *England*, to take possession of an Estate which was fall'n to him by the Death of his Elder Brother Sir *John Gilbert*, at that time President of the *North Virginia* Company, the new Plantation was broken up, and the Planters re-imbark'd for *England*. Things lay thus till the year 1611. and then some of the Adventurers, who had more Courage than the rest, and was loth to lose the Country, fitted out two Ships, commianded by Captain *Hobson*, and Captain *Herly*, and accommodated with Men, Arms, Ammunition, and Provisions, for a new Settlement: But one *Hind* an Interloper, set the Savages against them upon their Arrival; and the Indians assaulting them, wounded many, tho they kill'd none. Captain *Hobson* perceiving 'twas to no purpose for him to stay there, and coming thither to trade, and not to war, sail'd home again to *England*: However, notwithstanding all these Discouragements, the Trade was so beneficial by the Furs, and other Commodities, that were brought thence, that four Gentlemen, Captain *Rawden*, Captain *Langham*, Mr. *Bully*, and Mr. *Skelton*, set out two good Ships at their own charge, to make Peace with the Indians, and renew the Traffick: The Command of the Ships, and the Management of the Adventure, was given to Captain *John Smith*, who had been President of the Colony at *South Virginia*, and was famous for his Exploits there: The Captain being come to the Coasts, fish'd for Cod, traded with the Inhabitants; and having only 8 Men in his Company, landed, rang'd up and down, and survey'd the Country. He made a very good Voyage; and put 1500*l.* in his Pocket: The Gentlemen on whose account he went, were also fully re-imburs'd their Charges by the Produce of their Otter and Beaver Skins, Salt Fish, Train Oil, and other Commodities. He presented the Court of Managers of the *North Virginia* Company, with a Draught of the Country; and got it call'd by the Name of *New-England*.

1608.

1611.

Captain
Hobson
and Cap-
tain Her-
ly.

Captain
John
Smith's
Adven-
tures.

1613.

Call'd
New-En-
land.

land in the year 1614. The Society upon this Success, immediately dispatch'd away 4 Ships, manning them with the same Men that had been with Captain *Smith*, who did not go this Voyage, and filling up their Compliment with others: These Ships made their Voyage in six Months, as the last had done, and return'd with a profitable Lading. The same year, 1615. Captain *Smith* sail'd with two Ships for *New-England*; and ill Weather breaking his Masts, he was forc'd to return to *Plimouth*: Whence, so eager was he for the Voyage, he put to Sea only with a Bark, and proceeding towards *New-England*, was taken by the French, and sent Prisoner into *France*: One of the Ships that was to have gone with him, arriv'd there; and came back with a good Cargo.

Captain
Smith taken by the
French.

The next year, there went 8 Ships from *London* and *Plimouth*, which were loaden with Fish and Train Oil; and sold their Commodities at good Rates in *Spain*, and the *Canary* Islands. The year after, the Company sent no Ships thither; but in the following year two stout Ships sail'd from *Plimouth*; and made a prosperous and profitable Voyage in 5 Months. In 1618. the year ensuing, another Ship was sent to *New-England*; and the Adventurers succeeded so well, that every private Seaman had, clear of all Charges, 17*l.* to his share, in 6 Months time; as much as 30*l.* now; and as good as 5*l.* a Month, a Master's Pay. Thus the Trade to this Country went forward, but the Settlement was little thought of; till Mr. *John Robinson* and Mr. *William Brewster* (the former an Independant

The occasion of the
first Settlement by
Mr. John
Robinson.

Minister, who was driven out of *England* in the Reign of King *James I.* for his Principles, and liv'd at *Leyden*) reviv'd the Enterprize: Mr. *Brewster*, and several English Families follow'd Mr. *Robinson* to *Holland*; where, tho they had the Liberty of their Consciences, yet they found a great many Hardships and Inconveniences; and thought by removing to *America*, they might not only have the same Liberty of Conscience, but more Opportunities of providing for their Families. King *James*, by Sir *Robert Nanton*, the Secretary of State's Mediation, consented to their transporting themselves thither. Sir *Robert* ask'd the King, That such a People might enjoy their Liberty of Conscience, under his Gracious Protection, in *America*; where they
you'd

wou'd endeavour the Advancement of his Majesty's Dominions, and promote the Gospel. The King reply'd, 'Twas a good and honest Proposal. Mr. Brewster (for Mr. Robinson did not live to go in Person) made an Agreement with the Company for a large Tract of Land in the South-West parts of *New-England*. He and his Companions embark'd at *Delft*, and sail'd to *Southampton*; where they met another Ship, that went with them, having several Dissenters aboard, who, quite tir'd out with the Persecutions they met with, on account of their Non-conformity, were resolv'd to accompany them. They set sail the 5th of *August*, 1620. 1620. and after a dangerous Voyage, fell in with *Cape Cod* the 9th of *November*: They design'd to have sat down upon *Hudson River*; but their Dutch Pilot had been brib'd by the Hollanders to carry them more to the Northward; the Dutch intending themselves to take Possession of that part of the Continent, which they did afterwards; and were lately disposs'd by the English, who call the Country *New-York*. Being come upon the Coast they intended to possess, they resolv'd on a Form of Government before they landed, and sign'd an Instrument as the Foundation of it; *Declaring themselves Subjects of the Crown of England, joining in a Body Politick, and solemnly engaging Submission and Obedience to the Laws, &c. that shou'd from time to time be made for the Good of the Colony.* This was done on the 11th of *November*; after which they chose Mr. *John Carver* to be their Governour: Mr. John Carver Governour. who sent 16 Men ashore to make Discoveries, and look out a convenient Seat for their Settlement: They landed over against *Rhode Island*, in the Kingdom of *Patuxet*; which Indian Nation had lately been destroy'd by a Pestilence. The Savages, as they advanc'd higher up within Land, fled from them; However, they found some Indian Corn that was bury'd in the Snow. They sent another Party of 30 Men, and a third of 20, who had the same Success: The last were surrounded by some Indians, who let fly a shower of Arrows at them; but upon the English firing their Pieces, they fled into the Woods, as the others had done. They then took Boat, and sail'd, till they came to a place which seem'd to be for their purpose: The Land was high, and accomodated with pleasant Fields

Fields and Brooks; The Harbour was a Bay larger than Cape Cod; and two fine Islands, *Rhode* Island, and *Elizabeth* Island, in it. This Place was also so near Cape Cod, that it might be seen from an adjacent Hill.

Plymouth
Colony.

Here these Adventurers resolv'd to seat themselves; and accordingly began to build a Town on *Christmas*-day; which in 4 Months space they effected in some measure, and call'd it *Plymouth*. They had yet no Authority from *England* to confirm them in their Possessions; the Place being too far to the Northward of that which they had treated for: and till they were impower'd to proceed legally by Charter from the King, they agreed among themselves to chuse Rulers, who were, as near as possible, to govern them by the Laws of *England*. They saw no Indians all the Winter; but were severely afflicted by Sickness, which lessen'd their number from 150, to 50 Men. Early in the Spring, one of the Lords of the *Moratigon* Indians, who dwelt 5 days Journey from them, enter'd their Town alone, and bad them *Welcome* in English; for he had learnt a little of the Language by his conversing with those Traders that had been there before from *England*: Him they treated highly, and engag'd in their Interests; as they did *Massassoit*, the greatest King in all those parts, by the means of one *Squanto* an Indian, who had been in *England*: and tho he had no great cause to love them for the occasion of his being there, yet he was so well us'd, that he ever after had a friendship for the English: He had been spirited away by *Hunt* the Interloper, with Twenty Indians; whom that Traitor sold to the Spaniards for Slaves: *Squanto* afterwards made his escape into *England*; and was a Servant to one Mr. *Slany*; from whom, tho he had no reason but his love of Liberty to leave him, he got away to his own Country; and did very signal Services to our Nation: For he satisfy'd the Indians, who in revenge, had till then resolv'd to murder all the English who fell into their hands, that this *Hunt* was generally cry'd out against as a Villain, for what he had done. *Squanto* was more than ordinarily kind to the New Colony, serv'd them as an Interpreter, and as such accompany'd Mr. *Winslow* in his Ambassy to *Massassoit*, to confirm the Peace that King had come

An Ambassy
to the
Indian
King *Massassoit*.

come on purpose to conclude at *Plimouth* Town : Mr. *Winslow* had the honour to be lodg'd on the Royal Bed by *Massassoit* and his Queen ; the King doing the same honour to two or three of his *Grandees* ; which croud'd the *Ambassador* so, that he did not at all like his Lodging ; besides, *Massassoit's* Court was so ill provided with Food, that Mr. *Winslow* was almost starv'd : However, this Friendship was the more desir'd, because the *Narragantsets*, a powerful Nation, had declar'd War with the Colony, and sent them an *Ambassade* of Defiance ; which Mr. *Carver* return'd boldly, and somewhat check'd the Insolence of the Barbarians. The Governour dying in the first year of his Government, *William Bradford* Esq; was chosen to supply his place : He was a *Yorkshire* Gentleman, and one of those who came from *Holland* ; from whence more Families arriv'd, as also others from *England*, before the end of the Summer : And now the People began to plant in the Fields about the Town, to clear the Woods, to enlarge their Bounds, and built a sort of Fort at *Plimouth*, to prevent any surprize from the *Narragantsets*. They were in great distress for want of Corn, till their own was fit to be gather'd ; and that had like to have been spoil'd by a severe Drought, but there fell afterwards such refreshing Showers, as recover'd it ; and the Settlement flourish'd and encreas'd daily. In the mean while, they had no Pattent from *England* : To get which, they employ'd a Person, who took it out in his own Name, and wou'd have betray'd the Colony ; but at last, after several unsuccessful Attempts to go thither, he resign'd it : And Mr. *Winslow*, the *New-England* Agent in *England*, procur'd one ; which he took out in the name of the Governour, *William Bradford*, his Heirs, Associates, and Assigns : But when the Number of Freemen increas'd, the *General Court* desir'd him to surrender it into their hands ; which he generously did. And thus the Province became a kind of Republick, by Pattent from King *James I.* that Pattent (reserving the Sovereignty to the Crown of *England*) enabled the People to choose a Governour, Council, and *General Court*, in manner of a Parliament ; who should have full Power of Administration, Execution, &c. As will appear by the Laws, to which I refer the Reader. For want of a regular Chronology

William
Bradford
Esquire
Governor.

Wey-
mouth
built.

Cot. Mat.

nology in this History, we are forc'd to ante-date some Events, and postpone others; but we have been as exact as possible; and sometimes shall do thus, on purpose to avoid breaking the thread of the Discourse. The People at *Plimouth* extended their Trade on all sides: And Mr. *Bradford* put to Sea in Person, to find out a Passage to the *Massachusetts* within the Shoals of *Cape Cod*; but he did not succeed in it; However, he went thither by Land to trade with them. He found the Nation in a sickly Condition, and in an ill Humour with the English, on account of some Losses they had suffer'd from a Colony that had planted themselves among them, under the Direction of Mr. *Weston*; who deserted that at *Plimouth*, and seated another small one at *Weymouth*, in *Suffolk* County in *Massachusetts*'s Bay. This Mr. *Weston*, and his Followers, dissenting from the Church of *New-England*, set up a Form of Worship in imitation of the *Anglican Church*; and 'twere to be wish'd, that they had taken care by their Lives to adorn the Doctrine they profess. On the contrary, They abus'd the Friendship of the Colony at *Plimouth*, and robb'd the Savages; and what was worst of all, they had enter'd into a sort of Partnership in some points of Trade with the *Plimouth* Colony, which seem'd to make them concern'd in their Robberies; and that render'd them suspected to the Indians. Mr. *Weston*'s Men spoil'd the Indian Trade, by the great Prices they gave for Furs and Corn. The Governour from this Nation return'd to *Nanset*, at the Bottom of *Cape Cod*, thence to *Mattachiest*, *Namasket*, and *Manomet*; where he got good store of Corn. The King of the last Nation, acknowleg'd the Sovereignty of King *James*. Mr. *Bradford* by these tarding Voyages plentifully supply'd his Friends, who had not Corn enough of their own Growth, to answer the consumption of the Colony. The next Person who was sent aboard on the like account, was Captain *Miles Standish*, who commanded the Militia of the Settlement; which by this time amounted to 4 or 500 Men effective: He went to *Mattachiest*, but was not as well us'd as the Governour, for the Savages pilfer'd his Baggage as they saw opportunity to do it: While he was at *Manomet*, another Indian Town, one *Witwammet* a *Massachusetts* Indian, came to the King as an

Ambassador from that Nation, to desire him to enter into a League with them for the extirpating the English as well at *Plimouth* as at *Weymouth*. Capt. *Standish*, after this Man had had his Audience, perceiv'd his Usage was worse than before; so he got his Corn aboard his Sloop as fast as he could, and hasten'd back to *Plimouth*, having twice escap'd the Designs of a Traiterous Indian, imploy'd by the *Sachem*, or King of *Manomet*, to murder him. About this time *Massassoit*, the Colony's Ally, fell sick; and a Compliment of Condoleance being in such Cases expected by the Kings of the Savages, Mr. *Winslow* was again sent to him to pay it. This Gentleman not only perform'd the Office of an Ambassador, but of a Phylician; and as bad as the Monarch was, some English Cordials restor'd him to his former Health. In return of which Kindness, *Massassoit* told him, the Conspiracy that the *Massachusetts* had form'd against the English, and advis'd him to fall upon them before they could execute it. The English at *Weymouth* were so insulted by them, that their Lives were precarious, the Savages taking the Provisions out of their very Fort, and threatning to cut the Throat of any Man that durst call them to account for it. These things being represented by Mr. *Winslow* and *Weston's* Men to the *Plimouth* Colony, they took it into Consideration how to proceed in the Matter; and in the mean time the Governour order'd Capt. *Standish* to go to *Weymouth*, and defend the English there against the Savages, notwithstanding they had by their Disorders brought this Danger upon themselves, and all their Countrymen. When Mr. *Standish* came among them, he found the *Indians* as it were Masters of that small Colony, and they us'd him as ill as they did the Inhabitants of *Weymouth*. He had but 8 Men under him; with whom however he fell upon the *Indians*, kill'd some of the Chief of 'em, and drove the rest to the Woods.

The Insolence of the Indians.

Chastis'd.

Among these *Indians* was *Wituwamet* before-mention'd, a Bullying Barbarian, and an Enemy to the English; and one *Pecksnot*, a Fellow of Gygantick Stature. With these two, Capt. *Standish* and another Englishman fought, and kill'd them on the Spot in fair Combate. He Challeng'd the *Sachem* of the *Massachusetts* to decide the Controversy, the same way which

the Barbarian refus'd to do: And Mr. *Standish* having put new Life into *Weston's* Men, by his Example and Assistance, they fell upon the Indians, who fled from 'em with Terror and Precipitation at the noise of their Guns. These Indians were such as liv'd nearest *Weymouth* Settlement, and they giving the Allarm to the rest, the whole Nation was immediately up in Arms. At the approach of the English they dispers'd; so Capt. *Standish* return'd in Triumph to *Plimouth*, carrying with him the Head of *Wituwamet*, which an Indian in that Town seeing, was so dejected, That being question'd upon it, he confest the *Massachusetts*, and the other Indian Nations in Allyance with them, designs against the English. This Savage they releas'd, and sent to the *Sachem* to let him know, That they were provided to receive him; and if he attempted any thing against the Peace of the King of *England's* Subjects at *Weymouth*, they wou'd severely revenge it. Upon which the King submitted, and beg'd Pardon. The Indians were not long after most of them destroy'd by a Plague, which made room for the English, who now inhabit the Country they then Possess'd. Both the Settlements were quiet, and so continu'd for 10 years, prospering under the wise Government of Mr. *Bradford*, a Gentleman of equal Piety and Learning, and as zealous for the good of the Colony, as if he had been their Common Father. The *Weymouth* Settlement lessen'd by degrees, as the *Plimouth* increas'd; and at last the People were forc'd to leave it, and remove either to the other at *Plimouth*, or return to *Old England*.

'Tis time we shou'd take some notice of Mr. *Brewster*, who was the next Founder of this Settlement to Mr. *Robinson*, and may indeed be reckon'd the first; because he came over, and liv'd and dy'd here. Tho he was a *Lay-Man*, yet, according to the Terms of their Religion, as a Ruling Elder he might teach and perform all the other Offices of the Ministry, except dispensing the Sacraments, which he was not qualify'd by Ordination to do. So these *New-England* Men continu'd without a Pastor till the Year 1629; when Mr. *Ralph Smith* arriv'd from *England*, and took upon him the Government of the Church at *Plimouth*. With him came the first Black Cattle thither, which

They submit.

1629.
Plimouth
Church
Founded.

have

have so multiply'd, that for many years this Colony has supply'd the Sugar-Islands with Provisions as much as any, or all the rest, or *Old England* it self. Mr. *Smith* prov'd to be a Man of very ill Morals; and for that, and his writing Home against the People of *New-England*, which the Governour discover'd by intercepted Letters, He was expell'd the Plantation.

While the Colony at *Plimouth* by their Planting, Fishing, and Traffick, were growing rich and numerous, several Worthy Persons, encourag'd by the Prospect of Advantage, and others animated by Zeal for the Propagation of Religion, resolv'd to make Settlements in other Parts of the Country. The chief of these was Mr. *White* Minister of *Dorchester*, who having engag'd several Gentlemen in the Design, they sent Mr. *Roger Conant* with some Men and Necessaries, to settle about Cape *Ann*, the Northern Promontory of *Massachusetts Bay*. Mr. *Conant* was soon weary of his Post and about to return, when he receiv'd encouraging Letters from Mr. *White*, assuring him, That he wou'd procure a Patent for him and his Companions, and seasonable Supplies of all things: Upon which he stay'd and look'd out for a more commodious Place to build a Town upon. Mr. *White*, as he had promis'd, by solliciting the Matter strenuously did it so effectually, That several of his Friends purchas'd of the *North Virginia Company*, call'd, *The Council of Plimouth*, that Part of *New-England* which lies between the River *Merimack* and *Charles-River* in the bottom of *Massachusetts Bay*. The chief of these were, Sir *Henry Roswell*, Sir *John Young*, Sir *Richard Saltonstall*, *Isaac Johnson*, Esq; *Matthew Craddock*, Esq; *Theophilus Eaton*, Merchant, *Thomas Southcot*, Esq; and Mr. *John Ven*. They bought all the Company's Right and Interest, and obtain'd Grant of the King, bearing Date in the Year 1628. To hold their Lands in Common Soccage as of the Manner of East-Greenwich, and an Assurance of Protection in their Liberty of Conscience, and for all such s should remove thither. Several of them accordingly went over with their Families, and carry'd with them as many as they cou'd engage to accompany them. Of these *Matthew Craddock*, Esq; was appointed Governour.

1629.
John Endicott, Esq;
Deputy
Governor.

nour, who seated himself at a Place call'd *Nahemkeik* by the Indians, to which these Non-conformists gave the Name of *Salem*, about 8 Miles Northward of *Boston* in the County of *Essex*. To them came Mr. *Higginson*, a *Lestershire* Minister, and Mr. *Skelton* a Minister of *Lincolnshire*, silenc'd for their not Conforming to the indifferent things impos'd on them by their Ecclesiastical Governours. And these drew so many Puritans after them, that *Salem* Colony in a little while began to Rival her Elder Sister *Plymouth*. Mr. *Higginson* was Chosen Minister of the Church at *Salem*, and Mr. *Skelton* his Associate. The former dy'd in about a Year, and his Son Mr. *John Higginson* succeded him very young in the Ministry, and is Minister of *Salem* at this Day.

John Winthrop, Esq;
Governor.
Thomas Dudley, Esq;
Deputy Governor.

The Company of Adventurers in *England* finding their *Massachusetts* Colony thriv'd, and was likely to turn to a good Account, resolv'd to give it due Encouragement; and considering Mr. *Craddock* was grown old, and his Deputy *John Endicott*, Esq; not so fit for the Post as a Man of greater Quality and Interest wou'd be; By Virtue of their Charter, which impower'd them to elect their own Governour, Deputy-Governour and Magistrates, they made *John Winthrop*, Esq; of *Groton* in *Suffolk*, Governour, and *Thomas Dudley*, Esq; of *Northampton*, Deputy Governour of the New Colony. To whom they sent with these Gentlemen large Supplies of Necessaries, and about 1000 Persons transported themselves thither at this Time. Among whom were Sir *Richard Saltonstall*, *Theophilus Eaton*, *John Venn*, Esq; *Isaac Johnson*, Esq; and his Wife, the Lady *Arrabella Johnson*. They arriv'd in *New-England* in the following Year 1630. Mr. *Winthrop* entring upon the Exercise of his Office, gain'd the Affection and Esteem of every Body; and the easiness of his Government, the Success of his Councils, and the Piety of his Life, invited many more Families to retreat thither from the rage of their Persecutors, who are an eternal Shame to the Purity of our Holy Religion, and the Christian Temper of a true Church of *England-Spirit*. The Head of these Furious Zealots, was the Head of the Church at that time, Archbishop *Laud*. To whom *New-England* was as much oblig'd, as *Old England* was disoblig'd.

blig'd by him; for his obstinate Severity drove so many thousands out of *England* thither, for Liberty of Conscience, that he was himself forc'd to complain of it to the King, and desire some restraint might be put upon their absenting the Kingdom. Since his Spiritual Sword cou'd not reach 'em in *America*, he resolv'd to hold them within the length of his Arm, as will be seen hereafter.

To disturb the Peace of this Gentleman, Mr. *Winthrop*, and his Colony, He summon'd one Mr. *Cleaves* before the King, in hopes to get some Accusation from him against the Country. Mr. *Cleaves* gave such an Account of the Governour's laudable Carriage in all respects, that his Majesty exprest himself highly pleas'd with him. Cot. Math.

The *Massachuset* Settlement had now built several Towns, as *Charles-Town*, on *Charles River* in *Middlesex County*, where there was a Church erected, and Mr. *Wilson* an outed Minister of *Sudbury* in *Suffolk*, chosen Pastor of it, *Dorchester* in *Suffolk County*, and *Boston*, which rose out of the Ruins, if we may use the Expression, of *Charles-Town*. That Town being not thought so Commodious for Trade as *Boston*, many of the Inhabitants remov'd thither, as did the Minister Mr. *Wilson*. This Place flourish'd so much, that in a little Time it became the Capital of *Massachuset Colony*, and of all *New-England*. After *Boston*, *Roxbury* in *Suffolk County* was built, and then *Lyn* in *Essex County*, *Water-Town* in *Middlesex County*; all these were finish'd and settled in less than two years, and the Plantation went on so prosperously by the Multitudes of People who came over, that some of them were forc'd to remove to other Parts of the Country.

The first who broke up from *Massachuset Colony*, was Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, Minister of *Cambridge*, who seated himself at a Place on *Connecticut River*, where He built the Town of *Hartford* in the County, from thence call'd *Hartford-County*. From *Dorchester* several Families remov'd to the Place now call'd *Windsor*, in the same County of *Hartford*. From *Water-Town* several went and settled on the place where *Weathers-Field* now stands, as they did from *Roxbury* to *Spring-Field*. This New Settlement had a sort of Commissi- Connecticut-Colony settled.

1635.

on for what they did from that of *Massachuset*; but finding they had extended their Discoveries far beyond the Limits of that Colony, they set up an independant Government of their own, founding it on a League or Agreement among themselves, became a Body Politick, made necessary Laws and Orders, chose proper Officers to execute them, and *Edward Hopkins* Esquire to be their Governour. This Gentleman return'd afterwards to *England*, was made Warden of the Fleet, one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, and chosen a Member of Parliament during the Protectorate of *Cromwel*. But many years before he left *New-England*, he was every other year chosen Governour of *Connecticut* Colony. The Man who had always the Alternate with him, being *John Haynes* Esquire. This Settlement was scarce well fix'd, before *George Fenwick* Esquire, was sent to *New-England*, on account of several Persons of Quality, who had bought of the Lord *Say*, and the Lord *Brook*, some Lands on the River which ran thro' *Connecticut* Colony. Mr. *Fenwick* seated himself at the Mouth of the River; and built the Town call'd *Saybrook*. The Lord *Say* and *Brook*'s Title to that Territory, was by a Grant from the Earl of *Warwick*, to whom the King had given it. *John Winthrop Jun.* Esquire, assisted him in this Undertaking; and had himself thoughts of planting there: To which end, he got a Grant of these Lords for some Lands; but being unwilling to hinder the new Colony, he made no use of his Grant. In consideration of which, he was chosen their Governour after the Restoration. The *Connecticut* Colony thinking, that by purchasing this Ground, their Right to the Land they had seiz'd without any Grant wou'd be the stronger, bought it of Mr. *Fenwick* by Consent of the Proprietors; that Gentleman having but begun his Plantation, and not finding sufficient Encouragement to finish it. With this shadow of a Constitution they continu'd till after the King's Restoration; and then they procur'd a Charter from the Crown; upon which they chose *John Winthrop* Esquire, Son of Mr. *Winthrop* Governour of *Massachuset*, to be their Governour.

Two years after the settling the Colony at *Connecticut*, Mr. *Theophilus Eaton*, and Mr. *Davenport* a Minister,

Edward
Hopkins
Esq; Go-
vernour.

J. Haynes
Esq; Go-
vernour.

fter, hearing of another Bay to the South-west of *Connecticut*, and expecting more Families to follow them from *England*, purchas'd of the Proprietors, all the Land that lay between them and *Hudson's River*, which divides the Southern parts of *New-England* from *New-York*; and remov'd thither in the year 1637. where they seated themselves in a pleasant Bay; and built *New-haven*, which gave name to the Colony, *Guildford*, *Milford*, *Stamford*, and *Brainford*. Tho they had a Right to the Lands by purchase, they had none to a particular Government; yet they form'd themselves, by mutual Agreement, into a Body Politick. These Men who settled here, were generally *Londoners* and Merchants; and apply'd themselves at first to Trade; choosing Mr. *Eaton*, who had been bred a Turkey Merchant, for their Governour: But they met with so many Losses, that they were discourag'd in their Traffick, and were going to transport themselves to *Maryland*, *Jamaica*, or *Ireland*; where the Parliament had offer'd 'em the City of *Galloway* for their Dwelling, with large Privileges: At last turning their Industry to Husbandry, they thriv'd wonderfully, and thought no more of removing. Mr. *Eaton* dying in the year 1657. was succeeded by *Francis Newman*, Esquire, and *William Leet*, Esquire, who was Governour of the Colony when Mr. *Winthrop* procur'd a Charter from K. *Charles II.* for settling the Liberties of this Plantation on a solid Foundation, and annexing it to *Connecticut*; which was done in the year 1664. Upon this Union the Colonies chose *John Winthrop Jun.* Esquire, to be their Governour, and Mr. *Leet* their Deputy Governour.

Thus we have given the Reader a short History of the Rise of the four Settlements that were made in *New-England*: We have divided them into their separate Governments; and taken notice of their most remarkable Occurrences: We shall now proceed in our History more generally; and treat of those Facts that related to all the Colonies, as they went under the general Denomination of *New-England*.

The *Plimouth* Colony was still govern'd by Mr. *Bradford*; and carry'd on their Trade and Planting with Success: The same did *Massachuset's* Settlement, under the Government of Mr. *Winthrop* the Elder.

1637.
New Haven Colony.

Theophilus Eaton Esq; Governour.

1657:
Francis Newman Esq; Governour.

William Leet Esq; Governour.

Connecticut and New-haven Colonies join'd.
John Winthrop Junior Esquire Governour.

William Leet Esq; Dep.

War with
the Indi-
ans.

The Indians were quiet, and nothing molested them in their Proceedings, till in the year 1634. the Savages fell upon Capt. Stone, who was sailing up *Connecticut* River, murder'd him, and 6 Men that were with him, and sunk the Bark they were in. They also murder'd a Ship's Crew who were thrown upon *Long Island*. These Insolencies occasion'd the Governour and Council of *Massachusetts* Colony, to send out 120 Men, commanded by Captain *Endicot*, Captain *Underhill*, and Captain *Turner*, to demand the Murderers; whom the Indians refusing to surrender, the English destroy'd their Country, and drove the Barbarians to the Woods. The *Pequots* (a Nation inhabiting the *Connecticut* Country) were very troublesome to the Settlement, kill'd nine Men, and took two young Women, near *Weathers* Field. Upon which Mr. *John Mason* with 90 Men, Captain *Underhill* with the Garrison of *Saybrook*, consisting of 20 Men, and Captain *Patrick* with 40 Men from *Boston*, were dispatch'd away to subdue them, and clear the Colony of them. Captain *Mason* and Captain *Underhill* entering the Territories of the *Narragansets*, their King retir'd to a Fort which he thought impregnable, with 5 or 600 Men, but the English attackt it with great Resolution, and took it by storm the 20th of *May* 1637. putting all the Savages to the Sword, except 8 Men who made their escape. *Weymash* an Indian Convert, did the English great service in this Expedition, following them where-ever they went in their Wars. *Sassacus*, the chief Prince of the Barbarians, threaten'd to be severely reveng'd on the English for this loss, and accordingly made mighty Preparations to invade them; but Captain *Patrick*, and soon after Captain *Stoughton*, with a Reinforcement from *Massachusetts* Colony, arriving, the Savage shut himself up in his Fort, and the English made several hundreds of the Indians Prisoners. They also put many hundreds to the Sword, and forc'd *Sassacus* to fly to the *Maquas*, a Nation the most dreaded of any of the Indians, being said to be Man-Eaters; but these Barbarians were unwilling to bring the War into their Country; So they cut the King and all the *Pequots* that accompany'd him in pieces. The *Narragansets* and the other Indian Nations, submitted on the Success

cess of the English, who in this Expedition kill'd near 1000 Men, took almost as many, and cut off no less than 13 of their Petty Kings. The Savages to gain the favour of the English, murder'd the *Pequots* wherever they met with them, and sent their Heads to the Christians; who having thus chastis'd the Barbarians, struck 'em into such a Consternation, that they were quiet for Forty years afterwards. Indeed the Power of the English began to grow formidable. The *Massachusetts* Colony had a strong Militia of near 2000 Men, commanded by their Deputy Governour Mr. *Dudley*, with the Character of Major General. Their Civil Government was well regulated, and all things going on happily among themselves, they were not afraid of any Irruptions from the Barbarians. In the year 1638. there was a terrible Earthquake felt all over *New-England*, and the Peace of the Colony had like to have been disturb'd by a Faction that grew to a great height among them. These Persons favour'd those whom the *Presbyterians* call'd Sectaries; by which, according to their modest way of expressing themselves, is to be understood Men of all Religions but their own. The *Presbyterians* were for rigid Conformity to their Worship. Mr. *Winthrop* the Governour, opposing this Faction, they oppos'd him; and when the time of electing a new Governour came, set up Mr. *Tho. Dudley*, the Deputy Governour, against him, got him chosen; And in the following year, when Mr. *Winthrop* was restor'd to his Government, wou'd have prevented it. The Court of Election, for fear of a Tumult, was remov'd from *Boston* to *Cambridge*: The Sectaries intended to confound the Choice, by desiring the *General Court* to take a Petition they had presented them into Consideration that day; which if it had been granted, the time for choosing a new Governour had elaps'd, and the Faction had kept their own Governour in a year longer. Mr. *Winthrop's* Friends did not presently see into the Deceit of their Opponents, and were going to consider the Merits of their Petition; but Mr. *Winthrop* strenuously opposing that Irregularity, procur'd the Election to be carry'd on according to the custom of the Court; and notwithstanding the violent Opposition of the Faction, he was chosen Governour by

Divisions in New-England.

by a great Majority of Voices ; yet so Powerful was the Party, and they so aw'd the Officers, whose Duty 'twas to wait upon the Governour, that they refus'd to attend him, and laid down their Halberts : Mr. *Winthrop*, instead of punishing the Serjeants for their Insolence, order'd his own Servants to take them up, and wou'd not suffer the Magistrates to punish the Offenders. The *Antinomian* and *Familistical* Factions were the most Rampant, and these he was very Instrumental in suppressing, by getting an Order past for banishing the Chief of them : Himself pronounc'd the Sentence of Banishment, and their Friends, who cou'd not call him to account as Governour, did it as he was a Member of the Church, and oblig'd him to vindicate himself before the Congregation, which he condescended to do, and was justify'd by them. These Heats had like to have spread as far as *Plimouth*, and have created a difference between the two Colonies ; but Mr. *Winthrop's* Moderation triumph'd over all Difficulties, and preserv'd the Peace of the Settlements.

People hinder'd from going to New-England.

1637.

The Troubles of the Dissenters continuing at home, Sir *Matthew Boynton*, Sir *William Constable*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, *John Hampden*, Esq; *Oliver Cromwell*, Esq; Names too well known in the Histories of *England*, and several other Gentlemen, were preparing to remove to *New-England* ; at which both the Church and State were allarm'd ; and on the 30th of *April*, a Proclamation was issu'd forth, to restrain the disorderly transporting his Majesty's Subjects to the Plantations, without a Licence from his Majesty's Commissioners : And an Order was made in Council, That the Lord Treasurer of *England*, should take speedy and effectual Course to stop eight Ships in the River of *Thames*, bound for *New-England*, and command that all the Passengers and Provisions should be landed. All Unconformable Ministers were also to be stopp'd ; which proceeding, says a Doctor of our Church, increas'd the Murmurs and Complaints of the People thus restrain'd, and rais'd the Cries of a double Persecution ; to be vex'd at home, and not suffer'd to seek Peace or Refuge abroad. 'Tis true, the vast Numbers of People that transported themselves to *America*, if it did not make the Government jealous that they might throw off their Dependance on the Crown, as well as on the Church, yet it cou'd not but give an

an ill Idea of that Clemency to which it pretended, and which is the distinguishing Character of Christian Rulers. Sir *Henry Vane, jun.* with near twenty *Sir Henry Vane, jun. Governor.* Sail of Ships in his Company, visited *New-England* about this time, and was Chosen Governour of *Massachusetts* Colony. He went over by the King's Consent, and his Majesty commanded Old *Sir Henry*, who was against the Voyage, to give his. The young Gentleman design'd to reside in *Connecticut* Colony; but the Compliment past upon him by that of *Massachusetts*, alter'd his Resolution. He became here a more rigid Non-conformist than he was before; and when he return'd to *England*, was so active against the Royal Family, that it cost him his Head, in the Year 1662. The Plantation of *New-England* encreas'd so in a few Years, That *Anno 1640.* There were 4000 Men there, besides Women and Children. They had out-stripp'd all the other English Settlements in *America*, and probably wou'd have grown still more numerous, had not the Civil War in *England* broke out, and put a stop to Peoples removing in such Multitudes till after the Restoration. The Colonies were often misrepresented by their Enemies, who had driven them out of *England*, as a Factious, Schismatical Company of Persons, who wou'd in time endanger the State. Tho' those were distant and Chimerical Views, yet they had like to have ruin'd the Plantations in *New-England* in King *Charles* the First's Opinion, had not Mr. *Winslow* of *Plimouth* Colony undertaken their Defence: And accordingly he went to *England*, vindicated them at the Council-Board, and wip'd off those ill Impressions, which the Government had receiv'd of them from their implacable Adversaries. For which Service, when he return'd, the Colony of *Plimouth* chose him their Governour; whose Presence being again necessary in *England*, Mr. *Bradford* was restor'd to his Government, and Mr. *Winslow* went again to Court, where he was employ'd by the Powers then in being, and never return'd to *New-England*; but he did them all the good Offices he cou'd by soliciting their Affairs. Tho' these Settlements were separate Jurisdictions, yet they were like the *United Provinces*, confederated into one League for the Common Good of them all: which Confederacy

The Colo-
nies united.

racy after several fruitless Effays to bring it about, was effected in the Year 1643. and they became in Fact as well as Name the *United Colonies*; they Form'd and Sign'd an Instrument, declaring, *That they all came into those Parts of America with the same End and Aim, to advance the Christian Religion, and enjoy the Liberty of their Consciences with Purity and Peace.* It was firmly agreed between the four Settlements, that there shou'd yearly be chosen two Commissioners out of each, who shou'd meet at fit Places appointed on purpose, with full Powers from the General Courts in each Colony, to concert and conclude Matters of General Concernment: As Peace or War, or any thing relating to the Welfare of the Confederacy. Thus they settled their Polity or Civil Government, and by Synods of their Clergy; they did the same by their Ecclesiastical declaring, *That the Church ought to be govern'd by Presbyters, Elders, &c.* as will elsewhere be shown more largely. They began very early to Found a Colledge at *Cambridge*, before call'd *New-Town*, where they establish'd a University: Which was begun about the Year 1630. when Mr. *John Harvard* Minister of *Charles-Town* near *Boston*, dying, left almost 800 *l.* to be laid out in carrying on the Design, and he is look'd upon as the *Founder* of the First College, which from him was call'd *Harvard-College*. The Foundation was incorporated by the *General Court*, An. 1640, and the University has since flourish'd so much, that there is now another College built, and 2 or 300 Students. We shall treat further of the *New-England* Accademy in the following Chapters.

Mr. John
Harvard
Founds
Harvard-
College.

The People of this Province applying themselves most by Husbandry, Tillage and Pasture; their Trade consisted chiefly in Corn and Bæf, which they exported to the *Sugar-Islands*; In Fish, which they sent thither and to the *Streights*; In Oil and Lumber, which they Shipp'd to all the Places where they had any Commerce. Their Lumber is Timber, Boards, Masts, Pipe-staves, Hoops, all good Commodities in the *West-Indies*. They also fell to building of Ships, which Trade has so encreas'd, that it has been a Common Thing for the Merchants of *London* to have Ships built at *Boston*, and other Parts of *New-England*, for the *West-India-Trade*; and there have been more Ships built

in *New-England*, than in all the other Provinces of *America*, subject to the Crown of *England*. The Colony of *Massachuset* thriv'd more than the other three, and therefore we shall be the more particular in its History.

In the Year 1645. Mr. *Dudley* was again chosen Governour, and Mr. *Winthrop* was his Deputy. At which time there happen'd a sort of Tumult in the Town of *Hingham* in *Suffolk* County, whither Mr. *Winthrop* went to appease the Mutiny, by interposing his Authority: Upon which the Seditious petition'd the *General Court* against him, as invading their Liberties, and he was forc'd to leave the Bench, and stand forth as an accus'd Person, to defend himself; which, waving his Prerogative, he did, and was acquitted by the Court; but his Prosecutors were severely fin'd. *John Endicot*, Esq; was now Major General of the Forces, and *William Burgis*, Esq; Secretary. Mr. *Winthrop* in the following Year re-assum'd the Place of Chief Governour, and so continu'd till his Death. Mr. *Bradford* govern'd the *Plimouth* Colony also thirty seven Years except three Years, in which Mr. *Winslow*, and two Years in which *Thomas Prince*, Esq; at the Choice of the People, took a Turn with him.

The *Connecticut* Colony lost their Governour Mr. *Hopkins*, whose Brother was Warden of the *Fleet* in *England*, and dying, left his Estate to him, which oblig'd him to go thither; where, besides his Brother's Post, which was given him, he was made a Commissioner of the Admiralty and Navy-Office, and serv'd as a Burgess in *Cromwel's* Conventions. His Place in *New-England* was supply'd by *John Haines*, Esq; *George Willis*, Esq; *Thomas Wells*, Esq; *John Webster*, Esq; who were all Governours of *Connecticut* Settlement, alternatively; and contributed, by their prudent Administration, to the flourishing State of that Colony.

Mr. *Eaton* held the Government of *New-Haven* till he dy'd, and there hapning nothing remarkable in either of these Colonies, seperate from the Concerns of the Confederacy, we shall not detain the Reader longer about their History. The Province of *Massachuset* sent out several Families, who inclin'd to the Fishing, and Beaver-Trade, to settle to the North of *Pascatoway* River, where these New Inhabitants

The Deputy Governour try'd as a Criminal.

Connecticut-Colony.

J. Haines, Esq; Governor.
G. Willis, T. Wells, J. Webster, Esq; Governor.

East-
Hamp-
shire Coun-
ty settled.

T. May-
hew, Esq;
settles on
the Isles.

Capt.
Atherton
Insults an
Indian
King.

Several
Persons re-
move to
England.

bitants built several Towns, and those Parts are now the Counties of *East-Hampshire* and *Pescatoway*, which were added to the *Massachuset* Colony, and taken into the Protection of their *General Court*. *Martha's Vineyard*, *Nantuket* and *Elizabeth Isles* were granted to *Thomas Mayhew*, Esq; who settled there with his own Family, and a few others. The Savages were all this time quiet, and the English fear'd them so little, that one Capt. *Atherton* with a small Company, being provok'd at the Prevarications of the King of the *Narragantsets*, went boldly to his very Town, enter'd his Wigvam or Pallace, took him by the Hair, held a Pistol at his Breast; and told him, *unless he deliver'd his Hostages, and paid his Debts to the Colony*, he wou'd kill him; which the Barbarian promis'd to do, and did accordingly, not one of his Attendants daring to assist him. There were several Rumours of Conspiracies and intended Massacres: But they all vanish'd, and while *Old England* was rent and torn to pieces by intestine Wars, *New-England* enjoy'd a profound Peace. Most of the *American* Colonies on the Revolutions, after the Death of the King, Proclaim'd King *Charles II.* and stood out against the Commonwealth, but *New-England*; whose Principles were nearer the Constitution of the Republick than the other Settlements, willingly submitted to that Government; and several considerable Gentlemen remov'd to *Old England*, to come in for a share, with their Puritan Brethren, of the Spoils of their Enemies, and the Benefit of Posts and Offices, which now were wholly dispos'd of by them. Many of the *New-England* Divines left those *Sanctify'd* Regions, as they are pleas'd to term them, and came to *England*: Among the Gentlemen, were Mr. *Winslow* Governour of *Plimouth* Colony, who left his Government in *America*, for a Commissioner of the Navy's Place at home; *Edward Hopkins*, Esq; Governour of *Connecticut*, of whom mention has been made already: Mr. *Geo. Downing*, afterwards Sir *George*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and others. Of their Ministers were Mr. *William Hook*, who thought fit to leave his Flock at *New-Haven* in *New-England*, for the Mastership of the *Savoy* in *Old England*. Mr. *Robert Peck*, Mr. *Hugh Peters*, who left his Church at *Salem*, for a
Chaplain.

Chaplain-ship to *Cromwell*, Mr. *Samuel Mather*, Mr. *Blinman* of *Bristol*, Mr. *Eaton* of *Cheshire*, Mr. *Knowles* of *London*, Mr. *Firmin* of *London*, and many more, who were silenc'd after the King's Restoration, but had either such good Congregations in private, or had heap'd up such fair Provision in the Days of their Domination, that they did not care to cross the *Atlantick* again, to lay their Bones among the *Brethren*. We must not omit a Passage in the History of *New-England* about this time, which relates to *Venner* the Fifth Monarchist, who was one of *Hugh Peter's* Congregation at *Salem*. This Fellow was by Trade a Cooper, but very mutinous in Publick Matters: He would fain have perswaded a Company of People to have abandon'd the Settlement at *Massachusetts* Colony, and have remov'd to *Providence*, one of the *Bahama* Islands.

Venner
the Fifth
Monarchist
in New-
England.

They petition'd the chief Magistrates for leave to do it; and an Assembly was held to consider the Business. The Magistrates assisted by the Ministers, declar'd, that for several Reasons by them alledg'd, they could not admit of their Proposal: Upon which *Venner* stood up and said, according to the Cant of the Place and Times, *Notwithstanding what had been offer'd, they were clear in their Call to remove*. But his Companions not being so mad as himself, there were no Attempts made to get off tumultuously, which *Venner* was ready to have done, if any one wou'd have accompany'd him.

The Colony of *Massachusetts*, on the Death of *John Winthrop* Esquire, who died *March 26, 1649*.

chose *Thomas Dudley* Esquire their Governour; and Mr. *Dudley* surviving Mr. *Winthrop* but three or

Massachusetts.
Tho. Dudley Esq;
Governour.

four years, the Inhabitants would have elected *John Haynes* Esquire to supply his place, but that Gentleman removing to *Connecticut*, *John Endicot* Esq; was

1653.
Joh. Endicot Esq;
Governour.
Plimouth Colony.

chosen Governour; and *Edward Gibbons* Esq; succeeded him as Major General of the Militia. *Plimouth*,

the Mother-colony of the three others, had the misfortune; or 4 years afterwards, to be depriv'd of her

old Governour Mr. *Bradford*, who died *May the 9th, 1657*.

In his room the Court of Electors chose *Thomas Prince* Esquire, who had been twice their Governour before,

1657.
Thomas Prince Esquire
Governour.

to succeed him; and this Gentleman continu'd many years in the Government. In

Esquire
Governour.

Newhaven Colony.
Fr. Newman Esq; Governor.
Wil. Leet Esq; Governour.
Cot. Mat. Hist.

the same year 1657. *Theophilus Eaton* Esquire, Governour of *Newhaven* Colony, dying, *Mr. Francis Newman* their Secretary, was chosen Governour. But this Gentleman enjoy'd his honourable Office scarce 4 years; and dying at the end of that Term was succeeded by *William Leet* Esquire; who, before he came to *New-England*, had been Register of a Bishop's Court in *Old-England*. But, says a famous Writer of that Country, *finding 'twas made a Crime to hear Sermons abroad when there were none at home; and that the Court he serv'd, made themselves merry with such Peccadillo's as Fornication and Adultery*, he took a disgust against them, refus'd Conformity, and went to *New-England*; where the good People err'd as much on the other hand, by hanging Men and Women for those Peccadillo's, and severely punishing them for not attending their frequent Sermons, let 'em be never so tedious and dull.

On the Restoration of King *Charles II.* the Colonies of *New-England* fell in cheerfully with their Presbyterian Brethren in *Old-England*, and congratulated his Majesty on his Accession to the Throne of his Ancestors, sending *Simon Bradstreet* Esquire, Secretary of *Massachuset* Colony, and *Mr. John Norton* Minister of *Ipswich*, in *Essex* County, a Man whom *Dr. Fuller* commends in his *Church History*, for his Learning and Modesty, to carry their Address to his Majesty; which contain'd chiefly a Petition for Liberty of Conscience. They sail'd in *Febrnary* 1661. and return'd in about a year, with Letters from the King, signifying, *That the Expressions of their Loyalty and Affection to him were very acceptable; that he would confirm their Privileges, encourage and protect them.*

The Colony of *Connecticut* having been all this time without a firm Charter, with the consent of that of *Newhaven*, prevail'd with *John Winthrop Jun.* Esquire, Son of the late Governour of *Massachuset*, to go to *England*, to get them a Charter of Settlement and Union, which he did. This Gentleman had been generously educated, and was a Philosopher, as well as a Christian, and a Gentleman; Infomuch, that when the Royal Society was Establish'd, he was admitted a Member of it, and he communicated several curious things to them, as appears in the Collection of their

1661.

The Colonies address K.
Cha. II.

their Transactions. 'Tis said that he procur'd the King's Favour, by presenting him with a Ring which King *Charles I.* had on some occasion or other given Mr. *Winthrop's* Grandfather. On his Arrival in *New-England*, the two United Colonies made him their Governour; and Mr. *John Webster* Governour of *Connecticut* Colony, and Mr. *William Leet* Governour of that of *Newhaven*, resign'd their Charges into his hands; the New Colony choosing Mr. *Leet* to be their Deputy Governour. There were some Members of these two Colonies who oppos'd this Union, but the major Part were for it, and they prevail'd: And by the Moderation and Prudence of their Governour Mr. *Winthrop*, they were soon all reconcil'd to the Union.

Connecticut and Newhaven Colonies United.
John Winthrop Esq; Governour.
1664.

While these things were transacting, *Alexander*, Son of *Massasoit*, sollicitated the *Narragansets* to revolt; Which Mr. *Prince*, Governour of *Plimouth* hearing, sent *Josias Winslow*, Esq; who at that time Commanded the Militia of the Settlement, to seize him; which he did at a Hunting-House of his, and brought him Prisoner to *Plimouth*; where he dy'd of Grief and Rage. His Brother *Philip* succeeded him, and was a Plague to the English, notwithstanding he had renew'd the League with them, and sworn to the strict Observance of it. But he gave them no disturbance till about nine Years after his Brother *Alexander's* Death.

'Twas now that the Province of *New-England* was become a powerful Nation. The City of *Boston*, the Metropolis, being as big as most of our Episcopal Sees in *England*, and containing no less than 12 or 14000 Souls. For after the severe Act, call'd the *Bartholomew-Act*, which some pretended Church of *England* Men procur'd, to turn above three Thousand as good Protestant Ministers as any in the World out of their Livings, many of them remov'd to *New-England*; and were follow'd by some hundreds of Families, who fear'd the same cruel Treatment from Arch-Bishop *Sheldon*, who had been a Creature of Doctor *Laud's*, as they had met with from that Prelate. The whole Number of Inhabitants in this Colony were computed to be near one hundred Thousand; and some of those who came over, bringing

1665.
Massachu-
set Colony.
Richard
Billings-
ham Esq;
Governor.

1672.
John Le-
verett
Esq; Go-
vernor.
Plymouth
Colony.
Josias
Winslow
Esq; Go-
vernor.

good Estates with them, the English fill'd their Towns, and extended their Limits. Such was the General State of the Colonies in the year 1665. when that of *Massachuset* mourn'd the Death of their Governour Mr. *Endicot*: In whose Chair they plac'd *Richard Billingham* Esq; a very old Man, who had been a Magistrate or Councillour thirty Years before. He enjoy'd that honourable Office about Seven Years; and then dying, *John Leverett* Esq; was advanc'd from the Post of Major General of the Militia, to that of Governour of the Colony. The next year 1673. Mr. *Prince*, Governour of *Plymouth* Colony, dy'd, and was succeeded by *Josias Winslow* Esq; the first Governour that was born in *New-England*; A Man endow'd with so many Christian and Heroick Vertues, that he seems to have wanted a larger Sphere to act in, that he might have shewn himself more, and have serv'd the Commonwealth better, than in those rude Corners of the World.

The rise of
the War
with King
Philip.

A year or two before he was chosen Governour, the War with the Indian King, *Philip* Son of *Massasoit*, broke out. He had a long time been contriving a Conspiracy to invade and destroy the English; which he discover'd the sooner, to revenge an Affront he pretended to have receiv'd from the *Plymouth* Colony, the Government having hang'd one *Tobias* a Councillor of his, and two other Indians, for murdering *John Sausaman*, an Indian Preaching Convert. They had a fair Trial, and were condemn'd by a Jury of half English and half Indians. However *Philip*, who hated the English, was resolv'd to take this occasion of shewing his ill Disposition towards them. He courted several other Indian Nations to joyn with him; and Multitudes of them flock'd to him to fight against the Common Enemy, as they reckon'd the Christians. The Governour of *Plymouth* sent Messengers to demand the reason of *Philip's* arming, but his Envoys were insulted; and soon after a Party of Savages made an In-road into the Territories of that Colony. They fir'd a Volley of small Shot on a Congregation of Christians when they were at their Devotions, kill'd three Men, and wounded another. They pillag'd the Plantations about *Mount Hope*, and began the War between *Swansey* and *Taunton* in the County of *Pli-*

Plimouth. This Settlement immediately sent to the other two for Succours; and that of *Massachuset*, with all possible diligence, dispatch'd away Captain *Thomas Prentice* with a Troop of Horse, and Captain *Daniel Henchman* with a Company of Foot, to assist their Brethren of *Plimouth*. These were follow'd by a Company of Volunteers, commanded by Captain *Samuel Mosely*, and weré join'd by the *Plimouth* Forces under Captain *Cudworth* at *Swansey*. They sent out 12 Men to discover the Enemy, of whom the Savages from their Ambushes kill'd one, but the rest drove them from behind the Bushes, tho they were five times their number. The next day the little English Army march'd against the Indians, who durst not give them Battle, but abandon'd their Country to their just Revenge. The English in their March found the mangl'd Carcasses of some of their Countrymen, their Heads stuck upon Poles, Bibles torn in pieces, empty Wigwams or Cottages, and no body to oppose them. *Philip* himself fled with the rest, and left his Kingdom to the Mercy of the Invader. The Name of *Philip's* Nation was *Wompanoags*; and these had drawn in the *Narragantsets* into the League against the English. 'Tis true, the latter had not appear'd in Arms; however the English knowing how far they encourag'd the Rupture, march'd thro' the Country of the *Wompanoags* into that of the *Narragantsets*, and forc'd them to renounce their Alliance with *Philip*. Captain *Cudworth* proceeded into the Dominions of the *Sachem* of *Pocasset*, where Captain *Fuller* and Captain *Church*, with two small Detachments of English, were over-power'd by an Army of Barbarians, twenty times as many in number as they were. Captain *Fuller* was driven by them into *Rhode* Island, and 200 of them surrounded Captain *Church* and 15 Men in a Pease-field: Notwithstanding the Inequality of the Number, Captain *Church* fought them with invincible Resolution till all his Ammunition was spent, he then retir'd to the Shore, driving all that oppos'd him before him; and some Sloops coming off from *Rhode* Island, he retreated thither; from whence, without loss of time, he pass'd over to the Continent, got two or three Files of Musqueteers from the *Massachuset* Forces, and engag'd them again

Wars with
the Indians.

in *Pocasset*. He slew in this Action 15, and in the former 30 of the Savages, and struck such a Terror into the rest, that they fled to the Woods from the small Company he had with him, of which he lost not a Man. Captain *Cudworth* being join'd by the *Massachusetts* Captains, march'd from *Taunton* to a Swamp 18 Miles off, where the Savages from several Ambuscades kill'd some of his Men, but the English pursuing them to their Wigwams, they found no less than 100 of them empty; out of which the Indians were fled to a neighbouring Thicket. The Officers thought the best way to reduce them wou'd be by starving; so they posted two Hundred Men at all the Avenues of the Thicket, and sent the rest to the Relief of *Mendham*, where the *Nipmuck* Indians, King *Philip's* Confederates, committed terrible Spoil and Cruelty. *Philip* himself was in the Thicket, and being driven to Despair, he with his best fighting Men taking the advantage of a low Tide, in a River that ran through the Swamp, waded over it on small Rafts, and escap'd into the *Nipmuck* Country; 100 of his Men were left behind in the Thicket, who surrender'd themselves at discretion. The English pursu'd *Philip* as soon as they heard of his Flight: And tho they could not come up with him, overtook some of his Men; of whom they slew 30. The *Monhegin* Indians join'd with the English; and most of the Western Nations were set against them by *Philip*.

Thus the whole Province of *Massachusetts* became engag'd in the War, the Flame of which rag'd more than it had done in that of *Plimouth*. Captain *Hutchinson* being sent to know the Reason of the Savages invading that Colony, was himself mortally wounded, and eight of his Party kill'd; the rest fled to *Quaboag*, a little Village where the Christian Inhabitants were retir'd into one House, and the Barbarians having destroy'd the rest, beset this also. They try'd all the Devices they could think of to beat them out of it, but the English defended themselves so bravely, that all their Attempts prov'd in vain; at last they resolv'd to set it on fire; and just as they were preparing to do it, Major *Wilward*, who had heard of his Friends Distress at *Quaboag*, arriv'd with 48 Men, attack'd the Savages, and forc'd them to raise the Siege of this Hovel, for it deserv'd no better Name. The Major de-

It spreads.

detatch'd Captain *Lathrop* and Captain *Beers* with more Forces to observe them, for fear they should march to *Connecticut* River, and seduce the Indians there. This Colony sent Major *Treat* to the Assistance of their Mother *Massachuset*; and the Governour, who heard that the Savages upon that River within his Government were in motion, sent a Party of Soldiers, with an Officer, to demand of them Hostages for their peaceable Behaviour: But these Barbarians were so far from answering the demand, that they kill'd their King, because he wou'd not go with them, and then fled to a Swamp; from whence they fir'd on the English, and slew 9 Men belonging to 9 several Towns.

Thus this bloody War spread over all *New-England*. They destroy'd the Plantations about *Deerfield*, a very pleasant Country, and forc'd the Garrison there to shut themselves up within the Fortification of a poor Work which they had rais'd for their Defence, it being a Frontier Place in *Hampshire*. They slew 8 Men in the Woods near *Squak-beag*. Upon which Captain *Beers* was sent with 40 Men, to fetch off that and some other small Garrisons. These were intercepted by an Army of the Savages; and Captain *Beers* with 20 of his Men having fought to the last with the utmost Resolution, was over-power'd by Numbers and slain, ^{Captain} the rest escap'd to *Hidley*; and a few days after Ma- ^{Beers} jor *Treat* with more Soldiers perform'd what he had ^{slain,} undertaken. Captain *Lathrop* marching with 80 Men to bring off the Corn from *Deerfield*, was also intercepted by 800 Indians. The Captain thinking he shou'd succeed better by fighting as the Savages did, skulking behind Trees, and aiming at single Persons, expos'd his Soldiers to the Ruin that follow'd, 60 of them being kill'd on the spot. Captain *Mosely* hearing the Noise of the Fire, hasten'd to relieve *Lathrop*, but he came too late: He broke his way through the Barbarians five or six times; and with a handful of Men kill'd almost 100 of the Enemy, losing no more than 2 of his own. In this Action fell Captain ^{And Capt,} *Lathrop*, and above 70 of his Men, the greatest Slaugh- ^{Lathrop.} ter that ever happen'd till that Day of the *New-England* Christians.

The Indians encourag'd by this Success, fell upon *Spring-field*, (the Hostages they had given for their

preserving the Peace, flying before they came) they burnt 32 Houses, and among the rest, the Minister Mr. *Bremer's*, together with his Library; and had cut the Throats of all the Inhabitants, had not an honest Indian reveal'd their Design to them time enough, before 'twas executed, for them to retire to the fortify'd parts of the Town.

The *General Court* sitting at *Boston*, order'd all their Forces to rendezvous about *Northampton*, *Hadley*, and *Hatfield*, for the Security of those Places. Of which Orders the Indians having no notice, and growing bolder by Success, 800 of them broke in upon *Hatfield*; but the English being prepar'd to receive them, the Enemy were soon beaten out of the Town, and the Western Counties were for a long time free from their Incurfions, except now and then some Straglers committed a few Robberies. These Indians fled to the *Narragansets*, and were entertain'd by them: Upon which the Commissioners of the United Colonies, who were assembl'd on this Emergency, resolv'd 'twas a Breach of the Peace; and understanding that Nation intended to begin a War in the Spring, were before-hand with them; and in the Winter sent Mr. *Winslow*, Governour of *Plimouth* Colony, with 1000 Men, to invade their Territories. General *Winslow* being joyn'd by the *Connecticut* Forces, march'd up 18 Miles in the Enemies Country, attack'd the Savages in a Fort they had rais'd in an Island, of about 5 or 6 Acres, and taking it by Storm, put 700 Indians to the Sword, besides 300 which dy'd of their Wounds, and a vast number of Old Men, Women and Children, who had crowded into the Fort, which was thought impregnable. The General lost in this gallant Action 85 Men and 6 Captains, Capt. *Davenport*, Capt. *Gardner*, Capt. *Johnson*, Capt. *Gallop*, Capt. *Sealy*, and Capt. *Marshall*, and about 150 English were wounded. This was the best Fortification the Barbarians ever had, being so strengthen'd by Nature, that they wanted not the Arts of Europeans to fortify it. The Savages had never such a terrible Blow given them, and they cou'd never recover the Loss they suffer'd. After this the English had some slight Advantages more in the Winter, and then return'd to their Quarters. *Mendham* not being tenable, they deserted

Indians
worsted.

serted it, and the Indians laid it in Ashes. The French at *Canada*, tho there was no War between *England* and *France*, sent them Assistance, and they fell upon *Lancaster*, burnt several Houses, kill'd and carry'd away into Captivity above 40 Persons, among whom was the Minister *Mr. Richardson's* Wife and Children. He was then at *Boston* solliciting Succours, and found his House and Library in Ashes when he return'd, and heard the dreadful Tidings of his Family being led away into Slavery by the Barbarians, who had been forc'd to leave the place by Captain *Wadsworth*. They did further Mischief at *Marlborough*, *Sudbury*, *Chelmsford*; and 200 of 'em surpris'd *Medfield*, burnt half the Town, and kill'd 20 of the Inhabitants. The like Damage they did to *Weymouth*; and enter'd the Lines that were drawn up for the Defence of *Northampton*; but they were repuls'd by Major *Savage*, after they had burnt 5 Houses, and kill'd 5 Persons. The Enemy finding they had not Strength sufficient to carry on a General War, return'd to the Province that at first was the Seat of it; surpris'd part of *Plimouth*, and having murder'd two Families, retir'd: Then they fell upon *Warwick*, and burnt it to the ground. Captain *Pierce* with 50 English, and 20 Christian Indians, pursu'd these Incendiaries; who laying an Ambuscade for him, in which they were very dextrous, and over-powering him with Multitudes, kill'd him and all his Men, except 1 Englishman, and 12 Indian Allies. Captain *Pierce* and his Men sold their Lives dearly, there being 140 Indians Enemies slain in the Engagement. Assisted by the French.

The same Day, another Party of Savages laid *Marlborough* in Ashes; slew several Christians at *Springfield*; burnt 40 Houses at *Rohoboth*, 30 at *Providence*; committed terrible Cruelties at *Chelmsford* and *Andover* on the poor innocent Children; and tho 40 Inhabitants of the Town of *Sudbury* sally'd out upon them, and kill'd 30 out of 300 in one Night; yet that Place was assaulted by them, several Houses burnt, and 12 Men coming from *Concord* to their Assistance, cut in pieces. Captain *Wadsworth* hearing of these Murders and Burnings, march'd against the Savages with 70 Men; of which they having notice, surrounded him in the Woods with 500 Men,

Capt. Pierce kill'd.

Capt.
Woodf-
worth and
Capt. Brat-
tlebank
slain.

cut off the most part of his Soldiers, took several Prisoners; and what was a greater Loss than all, slew himself and Captain *Brattlebank*, with the loss of 120 of the Enemy. The Prisoners they took, they put to Death with exquisite Tortures.

Thus they continu'd prosperous for four or five Months; and the first blow that was given them since General *Winslow's* Victory, was by Captain *Dennison* of *Connecticut* Colony, at the head of 60 Volunteers, and 100 Indian Confederates. These set upon a Body of the Savages, slew 70 of them, amongst whom were some of their chief Princes: And the *Maquas* breaking in upon those *Indians* that were in War with the English, and Dissention arising among the Barbarians, gave the Christians the more Opportunities of defeating them. Another Party of *Connecticut* English routed another of *Indians*, and slew 44, without any loss. They took some Prisoners, among whom was *Quanenchet*, the mighty *Sachem* of *Narraganset*, whom the English wisely gave to their Indian Auxiliaries to cut off his Head, knowing that wou'd make the Breach between those *Indians* and the Enemy irreparable. However, the Savages did further Mischiefs at *Plimouth*, *Taunton*, *Chelmsford*, *Concord*, *Haverhill*, *Bradford* and *Woburn*. They attempted to fire the Town of *Bridgewater*, but the Inhabitants sallying out upon them, and a great Shower falling at the same time, sav'd that Place. The English kill'd several of the *Indians* near *Medfield* and *Plimouth*; and having notice by two Boys who, being Captives, made their escape from them, that several Savages were in great Security some Miles further up the River, Captain *Turner* with 180 Men hasten'd thither, surpriz'd them, kill'd 100 of them; and in his Retreat was himself surpriz'd and kill'd, with 30 of his Men, by an Ambuscade of *Indians*, who purchas'd this Victory with the loss of 300 of their Fellows. At *Hatfield* 25 of the Savages were kill'd, and but 5 English; and at *Rohoboth* 12 *Indians*, with the loss of one Englishman only. A Detachment of the *Massachusetts* Forces took and kill'd 40 *Indians*; and another of *Connecticut* 100 Savages, without loosing a Man. Seven hundred Savages were repuls'd from before *Hadley*; and at the same time,

Capt. Tur-
ner sur-
pris'd and
kill'd.

Indians
worsted.

the

the *Maquas* invaded their Country, and carry'd away their Wives and Children into Captivity. They fell upon King *Philip's* Subjects, and kill'd 50 of them. The Barbarian had try'd several ways to engage them in the War with the English; one of which was this: He kill'd some *Macquese*, and gave out they were murder'd by the Inhabitants of *Plimouth* County. It happen'd one of the *Maquese*, whom he had mortally wounded, as he thought, recover'd, escap'd into his own Country, and informing his King of the Truth of the Matter, that Nation conceiv'd an irreconcilable Hatred to *Philip*, for his Treachery and Cruelty.

Philip thinking he might return securely into his own Territories, now the English had been so harass'd by the Enemy, came to *Mount Hope*, and Major *Bradford* of *Plimouth* had like to have fall'n into an Ambush; but he was deliver'd by a strange Accident, slew many of the *Indians*, and reduc'd the Queen of *Saconet*, who had revolted. Of the *Narragansets*, the *Connecticut-Forces* kill'd 240. Two hundred submitted in *Plimouth* County, and as many of them who attack'd *Taunton* were beaten off. Capt. *Church* with no more than 18 English, and 22 Indian Confederates, slew 80 Savages without losing one of his Company. At *Dedham*, 36 English and 90 Confederate *Indians*, took *Pombam*, a Prince of the *Narragansets*, and 50 Prisoners. This Prince receiv'd a mortal Wound, and lay as one dead; yet when an Englishman came to look upon him, the Barbarian took him fast by the Hair, and had kill'd him, if help had not come in. These Successes so terrify'd the Indian Savages, That *John*, a *Segamore*, or Lord of the *Nipmuck Indians*, with 180 of his Men submitted to Mercy. To ingratiate himself with the English, he brought in with him one of the Chief of his Nation, that had instigated the rest to the War in the *Massachuset* Colony, and the Officers order'd the *Segamore* to shoot him, which he did. The Garrison of *Bridgewater* hearing *Philip* with a Party of Men was in their Neighbourhood, sally'd out upon them, kill'd ten of his Followers, took 15, and the rest fled; among whom was *Philip*, who for haste left his Spoils and Treasure behind him. Capt. *Church* with 30 English, and

King Philip's Wife
and Son
taken.

Queen of
Pocasset
drown'd.

King Philip
kill'd.

20 Indian Allies, took 23 of the Enemy, fell upon *Philip* in his Head Quarters, slew 130 of his Men, and lost but one of his own; The King hardly escap'd: His Wife, and Son were taken. A Deserter coming to the Town of *Taunton*, inform'd the Garison where a Body of Indians lay, upon which they sall'y'd out and brought 36 of them Prisoners. The Queen of *Pocasset*, who was with *Philip* in the late Action, fled to the River, and not finding a Canoo to carry her over, she threw her self into the Water on a Raft, which breaking under her, she was drown'd: Some Englishman meeting with her Body by Chance, cut off her Head, not knowing who she was, and stuck it upon a Pole in *Taunton*, which the Indians seeing, they made a hideous howling, and were in a terrible Consternation. Capt. *Church* having recruited his Forces at *Rhode-Island*, and receiv'd intimation by an Indian Deserter, whither *Philip* was fled, pursu'd him; and coming upon him, the King thought to have escap'd from a Swamp, to which he had retir'd; but an Englishman and an Indian firing at him, the latter shot him to the Heart. He was quarter'd, and his Quarters set upon Poles for a Terror to such Rebellious Princes as dar'd make War upon their *New-English* Sovereigns. His Head was carry'd in Triumph to *Plimouth*, and his Death put an End to the War in the Western Parts of *New-England*.

Wars in the
North
Part of
New-En-
gland.

In the North, the Indians bordering on the Counties of *Main* and *Cornwall*, lying beyond *Pescataway* River, had driv'n a very profitable Trade with the English, who had settled there. These Europeans minded their Traffick more than Religion, and were so taken up with Lumber, Fishing, and their Beaver-Trade, that they had not time to build Churches or Towns, but liv'd in Plantations, and in Houses scatter'd up and down: The Savages having some old Grudges against them, and understanding the Christians in the other Parts of *New-England* were involv'd in a dangerous War, fell upon these Settlements, destroy'd many of them, and kill'd 50 Men, not without losing twice as many of their Countrymen. Mr. *Wakely* of *Casco*, his Wife and Children were butcher'd by them, as was Capt. *Thomas Lake* at *Arrowsilk*

Arrowsilk Island. The Government of *Massachusetts* Colony hearing of these Murders, sent Capt. *Hawthorn*, with Forces to subdue them; this Gentleman surpriz'd 400 of them, as they were coming to Destroy Major *Walden's* House at *Quebecho*, of whom half were sold as Slaves for their *Rebellion*; and the rest on Promise of future Obedience, dismiss'd; which gave Peace to the Colony for several years. Most of these Events happen'd between the Year, 1673, and 1676. and tho they are not so important, as the Great Actions in *Flanders* and *Spain*, which have lately rais'd the Wonder of the whole World, yet the Valour of these English Captains in *America* deserves to be remember'd, and the Reader will, we doubt not, be diverted with their History.

A few Months before the War was at an end, dy'd Mr. *Winthrop* Governour of *Connecticut* Colony, and was succeeded by Mr. *Leet*, who had formerly been Governour; and two Years after dy'd Mr. *Leveret*, Governour of *Massachusetts* Colony, whose Place was supply'd by *Simon Bradstreet*, Esq; who had serv'd the Settlement in several Capacities. Mr. *Winslow* Governour of *Plimouth* Colony dying about *Christmas*, 1680. was succeeded by Mr. *Treat*, in whose Time the Charter granted to this and the other Settlements in *New-England*, suffer'd the same Fate with those of the Chief Corporations in *England*; *Quo Warranto's* were brought against them, and a Judgment enter'd up in Chancery: Upon which King *Charles II.* sent over *Henry Cranfield*, Esq; to be Governour of *New-England*; and King *James* arbitrarily assum'd the Power of making Governours, Deputy-Governours, Magistrates, Judges, Officers of the Militia, and depriv'd the Colony of *New-England* of all her Privileges. He impos'd a Governour on that Republick, with a Commission, by which he and three or four more of their naming, had Power to make what Laws they pleas'd, and levy Taxes upon the People according to their own Humour. In the Year 1685, *Joseph Dudley*, Esq; Son of Mr. *Thomas Dualey*, was appointed President by the King's Commission. The Elected Governours were all turn'd out of their several Governments, and the Form of the Administration quite chang'd. This Gentleman was

1676.
Connecticut and Newhaven Colonies,
W. Leet, Esq; Governour.

Massachusetts Colony,
Sim. Bradstreet, Esq; Governour.
Plimouth Colony,
Mr. Treat
Governour.

1683.
H. Cranfield, Esq; Governor of New-England, by Commission from the King.
The Colonies lose their Privileges.

1685.
Joseph Dudley, Esq; President of New-England by the King's Commission.

the more acceptable to the People of *New England* because of his Father's Services and Merit, and for that he was a Native of that Province; but his favouring the Church and Government of *England* at the Time made him many Enemies. He did not keep his Post long; for in the Year 1686, Sir *Edmund Andros* arriv'd there from *England*, with a Commission to be Governour of the Country. How welcome he was to the People we may imagine, when we consider by whom, and over whom he was put in Power. 'Twas not likely that a Person who came on those Terms, shou'd be very well belov'd; or that one who, says a *New-England* Historian and Preacher, acted by an *Illegal, Arbitrary, Treasonable Commission*, shou'd gain the good Opinion of the People: And indeed his Government is represented by that Author, to resemble his Master King *James's*, in the Course of it, as it did in the Consequence. 'Twas in his time that Capt. *William Phips*, a Native of *New England*, went from thence to *London*, to sollicite some Noblemen and Gentlemen, to undertake an Adventure for the Wreck near *Port de la Plata*. Which he prevail'd with the Duke of *Albermarle*, and others to employ him about, and he was so fortunate as to hit upon the Ship where the Silver he sought after was lodg'd, and brought 300000 *l.* in Pieces of Eight to *England*: Whereof about 20000 *l.* came to his share. The King Knighted him for this Service, and made him High-Sheriff of *New-England*. Sir *William* petition'd that the Charter might be restor'd, but that was a Grant which the King wou'd not at any Terms part with. Sir *William's* Design by obtaining a Pattent for High Sheriff of *New-England* was, that he might have it in his Power to supply the Country with honest Juries: But the Government then in being found a way to evade his Pattent, and when he arriv'd at *Boston*, which was in the Year 1688: he had like to have been Assassinated at his own door, in *Green-Lane*, in that City, where he built a fine Brick House after the Modern way of Building.

The People of *New-England*, by their Agents at *London*, Sir *Henry Ashurst*, and Dr. *Mather* Rector of *Harvard* College, petition'd the King to have their Charter restor'd; and had many good Words in answer

Ed-
mond
Andros
Governour.

Cet. Mat.

Captain
Phips's
Expedition
to the
Wreck.

swer from him, but nothing was done in it, till after that Prince, for his Male Administration in *Old-England*, was reduc'd to the necessity of abdicating his Crown.

In the mean time, the Government of *New-England* grew so rampant it became intollerable. The Properties of the People were every where invaded, *Cot.* and the *Lives of the best Men in the Country* began to be *Math:* Practis'd upon. The Ministers and their Ministry, a most insufferable Outrage, considering the Nature of that *o* Set of Men, were discountenanc'd, and the College and Schools discourag'd. The Governour pretended to rule by a Faction, and that all Foreigners. Laws were made without the Majority of the Legislators consenting to them. Complaints of Grievances were *Grievan-* frown'd upon, Money levy'd without a *ces.* *General Court*; Persons imprison'd illegally, and Juries were pack'd. These Men gave out, *That the Charters being lost, the People lost all their Titles to their Lands with them.* Those who would take out *New Pattents* for Estates, that had been fifty Years in their Families, were forc'd to pay one fourth part of their Value for them. And to add to all these Afflictions another more terrible than all of them, The Indians by the Hardships they suffer'd from the Government, and at the Instigation of the French and their *Abettors*, broke out into a War in the East, which lasted almost as long as that of *Troy*.

Sir *William Phips* went in Person to *England*, to mediate for his Country with the King, but he found the Court in such Confusion, on apprehensions of a Revolution, that he cou'd do no good; so he return'd after the Prince of *Orange's* being declar'd King, with Instruction from the Ministry then at Court, how to proceed for the Service of the Colony. King *William* was not willing to displace the Governour, till he heard how he behav'd himself; and the People of *New-England* sav'd him that trouble.

About 100 Indians invaded the Eastern Counties in *July 1688.* and says our Historian, "Tho the Gover- *Cot. Mat.*
"nour then in the Western Parts of it, had immedi-
"ate notice of it, yet he not only delay'd and negle-
"cted all that was necessary for the Publick Defence,
"but also, when he at last return'd, shew'd a most
"furious Displeasure against those of the Council,
"and

“ and all others that had forwarded any one thing for
 “ the Security of the Inhabitants, while at the same
 “ time he dispatch'd some of his Creatures on secret
 “ Errands to *Canada*, and set at liberty some of the
 “ most murderous Indians whom the English had
 “ seiz'd upon.

He imprison'd a Man who brought over a Copy of the Prince's Declaration; and put out a Proclamation, requiring all Persons to use their Endeavours to hinder the landing of any whom his Highness might send thither. Reports were spread in *Boston*, that Mischief was to be expected from the *Rose-Frigot*, a Man of War then in the Harbour. Upon all which, many Soldiers of the Governour's Forces deserted the Army; and a general Revolt seem'd to be preparing. Several Gentlemen met on this occasion, and resolv'd to appear at the head of the People, in case of an Insurrection, and drew up a Declaration to be

1689.

dispers'd about the Country. On the 18th of *April*, some of the disaffected seiz'd the Captain of the *Rose Frigot*, and immediately the Town of *Boston* was in Arms: The Townsmen seiz'd the Governour; and those wretched Men, who by their innumerable Extortions and Exactions, had made themselves the Objects of universal Hatred.

The Governour depos'd by the People.

This Revolution was effected without the least Plunder or Bloodshed. The Gentlemen who brought it about, appointed a Committee for the Conservation of the Peace. The Criminals were sent to *England*; and the Governour and Magistrates who were in Power before the loss of the Charters, were restor'd to the Exercise of their former Authority. King *William*

K. William approves of it, and grants a new Charter.

and Queen *Mary* approv'd of their Proceedings, and granted them a new Charter; which tho it reserv'd the Power of nominating the Governour in the King or Queen of *England*, yet it granted them great Privileges, and in some respects greater than what they formerly enjoy'd, to use the words of one of their own Countrymen. While the Agents were soliciting the Affair

1690.

of the Charter, Sir *William Phips* reduc'd *New-Scotland* to the Obedience of the Crown of *England*, at the charge of these Settlements, as we shall shew in another Chapter. Upon the Petition of Sir *Henry Ashurst* and Mr. *Mather*, in the Name of the Colony,
 King

King William made Sir William Phips Captain General, and Governour in Chief of the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New-England. Under which Title that Colony only seems to be meant, but the other two were included in the Commission.

Sir William Phips Governor.

Canada was always a Thorn in the side of New-England, and from thence all her Troubles came. The French having such a Natural Envy and Hatred to the English, that they never miss'd any opportunity of doing them a Mischief, in whatever part of the World they met with them. By their own Confession, they and their Confederates the Hurons, fell upon an English Company in the year 1687, and took away from them to the Value of 50000 Crowns: Also Monsieur Dulhut defeated another Company, commanded by Major Gregory, who was Convoy to some Iroquois, a Nation in league with the English, and at War with the Hurons. These, and other late Provocations from their Allies the Indians, were just grounds for Sir William's Expedition to endeavour to dislodge them at Quebec. Their Indian Confederates rish'd several Plantations about North Yarmouth; and Captain Blackman, a Justice of Peace, seiz'd about 20 of 'em, who had been Ring-leaders in the last War. These Indians were sent Prisoners to Falmouth, in Casco Bay; and the Savages took Reprizals. William Stoughton Esq; Deputy Governour, and other Gentlemen, went to treat with them, whom the Savages promis'd to meet at Macquoit, and to bring their English Captives, in order to their being releas'd; but never came, being, as they declar'd, dissuaded by the French: The English stay'd for them some days; after which, finding they had betray'd them, they return'd to Falmouth; and they were scarce arriv'd there, before the Barbarians fell again on North Yarmouth. Yet Sir Edmund Andros took no care to put an end to this War before the Flame spread farther, and the French had supply'd them with Arms and Ammunition.

The French fall upon the English before the Revolution.

We shall now take a short view of the State of the Indian War; in which we shall find the French openly engag'd. After the seizing of those Indians by Mr. Blackman's Order, the Savages surpriz'd Captain Rawden and Captain Gendall: The former of them dy'd in Sla-

War with the Indians.

Slavery, the other made his Escape; and being about fortifying North Yarmouth, was attackt by the Indians, whom he repuls'd. This was the first Blood that was spilt in this long War. Captain *Gendall* passing over the River with his Servant in a Canoo, fell into an Ambush of the Savages, by whom they were both murder'd: They assaulted and slew several English, at a Village call'd *Merry Meeting*; the same they did at *Sheepscoat*, a Town that was reckon'd the Garden of the East: This Place they burnt to the Ground, and oblig'd the Inhabitants to retire into their Fort. They murder'd Mr. *Burrow's* and Mr. *Buffy's* Families at *Kenebunk*; and committed so many Outrages, that at last Sir *Edmund Andros* with 1000 Men, march'd into the East, built a Fort at *Pemmaquid*, another at *Pechypsot*, and repair'd and enlarg'd that at *Sheepscoat*. Upon the deposing of this Person from his Government, the old Governour and Magistrates sent Captain *Greenleaf* to treat with the *Penacook* Indians, who, notwithstanding their fair Pretences, join'd with the *Saconian* Savages, surpriz'd Major *Walden* in his Garrison of *Quobecho*, kill'd him, and 22 of his Soldiers, and carry'd away 29 into Bondage. This worthy Gentleman was betray'd by one *Mesandouit*, a Prince of the *Saconians*, whom he had honourably entertain'd and trusted as a Friend, and who on the approach of the Indians, open'd the Gate of the Fort, and admitted them. Mr. *John Broughton* they murder'd in their Retreat; and Forces being sent after them, the *Penacooks* fled to the Woods, and left their Corn and Country to the mercy of Captain *Noyes* and his Men, who enter'd it, and destroy'd their Wigwams and Plantations

Major
Walden
kill'd.

The Indians kill'd many Men, Women and Children, in other places; as a whole Family on the North-side of *Merrimack* River, four young Men of *Saco* whom they surpriz'd in the Woods, five more near *Saco* falls, out of 25 who came forth to bury the others; one *Starkey* falling into their hands, to save his own Life, discover'd to them, that one Mr. *Giles*, and 14 other Englishmen, were not far off, these the Savages murder'd.

The Indians having intimation, that there was but a small Garrison in *Pemmaquid* Fort, got up upon a
Rock

Rock which over-look'd it, from whence they miserably gaul'd the Besieg'd, who surrender'd, with their Governour Captain *Weems*, on Conditions of Life and Liberty. The Indians broke the Capitulation, and butcher'd the greatest part of them, as also Captain *Skinner* and Captain *Farnham*, who were coming to the Relief of the Fort; and Mr. *Patishall*, as he lay in his Sloop in the *Barbican*. These Losses caus'd the Inhabitants of *Sheepscoat* and *Kennebunk* to abandon those Places, and retire to *Falmouth*, as did several other Planters in other Parts of the East.

Several
English
Captains
slain.

It was time for the Government of *New-England* to think of vigorously opposing these Murders and Depredations of the Savages: Accordingly Major *Swayne* with 500 Men from *Massachuset*, and Major *Church*, one of their best Officers from *Plimouth*, with as many more English, and Christian Indians, march'd against the Enemy; who hearing, that one Lieutenant *Huckin* was gone out of a Fort he commanded on the Frontiers, with all his Garrison about their daily Work, intercepted them in their return, and cut them all off, 17 in number. Then the Indians attack'd the Fort in it, which were only two Boys, and some Women and Children. These Boys defended it against the Savages, wounded several of them, and when they saw the Barbarians had found out a way to set fire to the House in the Fort, and so burn 'em out, wou'd not yield, but on Terms of Life, which these inhumane Wretches granted, and yet afterwards kill'd three or four of the Children, with one of the Boys, the other made his escape. Captain *Garner* pursu'd the Enemy, but they were too nimble for him. Another Party of 'em assaulted *Casco*, kill'd Captain *Bracket*, and had put the whole Town to the Sword, had not Captain *Hall* come opportunely with Relief, and engaging the Barbarians, put 'em to flight.

The Brave-
ry of two
English
Boys.

The Designs of Major *Swayne*, and Major *Church*, were frustrated, by the Treachery of some Indian Confederates, who being sent out as Scouts, discover'd all that they knew to the Enemy; and these understanding the Number of the English, fled to their inaccessible Woods and Swamps, where there was no coming at them; so Major *Swayne* having reliev'd the Garrison of *Blew Point*, retir'd to Winter Quarters.

In the following year, Monsieur Artell, a Frenchman from *Canada*, and one *Hoop-Hood* an *Huron* Leader, assaulted *Salmons Falls*, and destroy'd the best part of the Town with Fire and Sword, killing 30 Persons, and leading away above 50 into Captivity, using their Captives with the utmost Barbarity that French and Indian Cruelty could invent.

This Descent of the French, and their confederating with the Indians, alarm'd all the English Settlements on that Coast; and after the Reduction of *Nova Scotia*, Sir *William Phips* was dispatch'd away with 32 Sail of Ships and Tenders to attack *Quebeck*. The principal Men of War were,

Sir W.
Phips's
Expedition
against
Canada.

The *Six-Friends*; Capt. *Gregory Sugars* Admiral, 44 Guns.
The *John* and *Thomas*, Capt. *Carter* Vice-Admiral.
The *Swan*, Capt. *Tho. Gilbert* Rear-Admiral.

They had aboard in all 2000 Men; and setting sail from *Hull*, near *Boston*, the 9th of *August*, 1690. arriv'd before *September*, at *Quebeck*; but were detain'd so long by contrary Winds, that they were 3 Weeks going up the River of *Canada*, which otherwise they might have done in 3 Days. This gave the Count *de Frontenac* an opportunity to prepare for his Defence, and draw all the Strength of the Colony to *Quebeck*; which Sir *William Phips* expected would have been divided by an Army marching over Land, and attacking *Mount Royal* Fort at the same time that he fell upon the City.

This Army was to consist of 1000 Men from *New-York*, *Connecticut*, and *Plimouth* Colonies, and 1500 Indians, to whom the French give the general Name of *Iroquois*, but our English distinguish them by the Names of their several Nations. The English march'd as far as the great Lake of *Canada*, but not finding Canoos ready for them to pass it, and the Indians not joyning them according to their Agreement, they return'd; by which means, Count *de Frontenac* had no need of making any Detachments for the Security of *Mount Royal*. Sir *William* summon'd the Count to surrender the City, but receiv'd a very insolent abusive Answer: So on the 8th of *October*, the English landed, under Lieutenant General *Whalley*, to the number of

1400, for to those few they were already reduc'd by the Small Pox, and other Diseases.

In the mean while, Sir *William* brought his Ships to bear on the West-end of the City, waiting when General *Whalley* wou'd begin the Assault; but this Gentleman hearing Count *Frontenac* had 4000 Men with him, and was provided to make a vigorous Defence, notwithstanding the Prayers of the English Soldiers to the contrary, resolv'd to re-imbark; and Sir *William* expecting the Signal of their attacking the Town on the East-side, sent a Messenger ashore, to know the reason of their not giving the Assault; which when he understood, and that many of the Men were almost frozen to Death, and that the Colonel and others were ill of the Small Pox, he order'd them on board to refresh themselves; and calling a Council of War, it was resolv'd to return.

Unfortunate.

The Baron *La Hontan*, who was then at *Quebeck*, says, there was not 200 French in the Town when Sir *William* came thither; that when he fir'd upon it, he was two Leagues off it; that the English landed about 3000 Men against the Isle of *Orleans*, about a League and half below *Quebeck*; but meeting with an Ambuscade, they retir'd.

The English Account varies from this, and assures us, that Ambuscade ran away from *Whalley's* Men. The Baron adds, That if *Phips* had been engag'd by the French, to stand still with his Hands in his Pockets, he could not have done less against them. That the English kill'd Monsieur *S Helene*, and 100 French; and took the Sienr *Folet*, his Lady, and other Prisoners. This was a sad Misfortune; by the *New-England* Accounts, above 1000 Men perish'd in it one way or other. The Fleet was separated in its return, and some Ships driven as far as the *Leward* Islands; one was wreck'd, another never heard of; a third founder'd and all the Crew lost; a fourth was driven ashore on the desolate Island of *Antecosta*, where Captain *Rainsford* and his Company, forty at first, were reduc'd by Want and Weather, to half the Number, in a Month's time, and then sav'd almost miraculously. This Expedition cost the Colony of *New-England* 40000 *l.* for which they ran in Debt, and paid it off by Bills which they made currant, like the Exchequer Bills in *England*.

Sir William, soon after his return to *Boston*, sail'd from thence to *Bristol*; and hastning to *London*, shew'd the King the necessity of reducing *Canada*, for the Safety of his Dominions in the *West-Indies*; but the French War in *Europe* lay so heavy on King *William*, that he could not find a way to begin it in *America*, where he had enough to do to defend his own Territories. 'Twas now that this Knight, on the representation of the Agents, of his Merit and Zeal for the King and Country's Service, receiv'd his Commission of Governour, and the new Charter we have already spoken of in this Chapter. With these he hasten'd back to *New-England*, accompany'd by the Agent Mr. *Mather*; and a Day of Thanksgiving was appointed for the safe Arrival of two such important Persons. If the Author of *Sir William Phips's* Life, in *Catton Mather's* loose Collections, be to be credited; He was a Man of great Honour, and a true Lover of his Country; as will appear by this Speech of his to the General Assembly.

Gentlemen;
 His Speech to the Assembly. You may make your selves as easy as you will for ever: Consider what may have any Tendency to Your Welfare, and You may be sure, That whatever Bills You offer to me, consistent with the Honour and Interest of the Crown, I'll pass them readily: I do but seek Opportunities to serve you. Had it not been for the sake of this Thing, I had never accepted the Government of this Province: And whenever You have settl'd such a Body of good Laws, that no Person coming after me may make You uneasy, I shall desire not one day longer to continue in the Government.

Witches punish'd.
 Cot. Mat. p. 61. We are told, he was very careful to make good Judges, Justices, and Sheriffs, and tender in burning Witches. The People of *New-England* were at this time got into such a Humour of Witch-hunting, that there was a Society of them at *Boston*, as there is of Reformation in *London*; and that Society engag'd themselves to find out and prosecute all Witches, as the Society in *London* seeks after and punishes all Whores, &c. The *New-England* Society had thrown no less than 100 old Men and Women into Goal for

for Sorcery; and some had been put to Death; some Scores lay ready for the Faggot; but the Ministers of *Boston*, and the French and Dutch Ministers at *New-York*, informing Sir *William Phips*, that perhaps some of the pretended Mischiefs said to be done by the Witches, might be the Devil's doing in the Shape of such Persons; the new Governour was not so ready to burn them, as those who went before him were; and many of the Sorcerers, who lay only for the Warrant on a new hearing, were found rather to deserve Pity and Alms, than a Gibbet or Fire.

Sir *William* by discountenancing the Novelty of Witch-burning, clear'd the Country more of Witches, than all the Executions that had been done before his time. For to use the Historian's own Expression; *They ran as vehemently upon acquitting all the Accus'd, as by mistake they ran at first upon condemning them.* For which prudent Proceeding, the late Queen *Mary*, our Sovereign of Sacred and Glorious Memory, wrote him a Letter of Thanks.

We must now take a further View of the Indian The Indian War. War; the Seat of which was in that part of the Province where the Governour was born. The Indians knew him Personally, and when they heard that he had taken a *Ship full of Money*, they wonder'd mightily at the Fortune of a Man, of whom they had no manner of expectation that ever he would make such a figure in the world; but when he was made Governour, their wonder was increas'd, and Fear added to their Astonishment. They knew he was acquainted with them and their Country, and understood how to carry on an Indian War much better than his Predecessors.

The French and Indians attack'd *Casco*, kill'd Lieutenant *Clark*, and 13 Men out of 30 near the Town, Casco taken. drove those within it into the Fort, undermin'd it, and oblig'd the English Governour Major *Davis*, after he had lost most of his Men, to surrender, on promise of Major Davis, the Major and some of the Men Prisoners to *Quebeck*, and the rest were murder'd by the Savages; Captain *Laurence* was mortally wounded in this Siege, and many brave Soldiers kill'd.

The History of New-England.

Upon the loss of *Casco*, the Garrisons of *Papoodack*, *Spurwink*, *Blew-point* and *Black-point*, retir'd to *Saco*, and thence to *Wells*; from whence half of them retreated as far as Lieutenant *Storers*. *Hopehood* follow'd them, burnt some Houses, kill'd 12 or 13 Men and Women, and carry'd away 6 or 7 from *Berwick* and *Fox-point*; But Captain *Floyd* and Captain *Greenleaf* meeting him, many of his Men were slain, and himself wounded. He was afterwards kill'd by some French Indians, who mistook him and his Party for Confederates with the English. At *Spruce-Creek* an old Man was murder'd, and a Woman made a Captive. At *Lamperwell* 9 Men were slain, and others led into Captivity. Capt. *Wiswell*, and Capt. *Floyd*, being detach'd by the Council of War at *Portsmouth*, to scour the Country as far as *Casco*, overtook the Enemy near *Wheelwrights-Pond*, and coming to an Engagement, the former, his Lieutenant *Flag*, and most of his Men were kill'd, which oblig'd Capt. *Floyd* to retire. They had 100 Men with them, but the Indians 3 or 4 times that number; and besides, there were some French Soldiers mix'd among them to discipline them, and teach them a regular way of Fighting, which was the reason that the English wanted more Men in this Indian War, than they did in the former: Nor durst they venture an Action where the Advantage was so much on the Enemies side, as they us'd to do. After this Victory, the Savages made an Incurfion as far as *Amesbury*, took Capt. *Foot*, and tortur'd him to Death. The Townsmen taking the Allarm fled to their Fort. However, the Enemy kill'd 3 Persons, burnt as many Houses, drove off their Cattle, and retreated.

The English
worsted by
the Indians
and French.

A greater Force under the Command of Major *Church* was sent against these Invaders. Himself, with 300 Men, went by Sea, and landed in the Night at *Macquoit* in *Casco Bay*. They march'd immediately to *Pechepscot* an Indian Fort, which they found deserted: From thence they advanc'd 40 Miles up the River to *Amonoscoggin* Fort, where they met 5 Indians haling away 2 English Prisoners. They releas'd the Captives, but cou'd not come at the Indians. There were no more than 21 Indians in *Amonoscoggin*; of them Major *Church* took and slew 20, and set 5 English

English Prisoners at Liberty; the Major hunted the Savages up and down, forc'd them to drop some of their Captives, particularly Mr. *Anthony Bracket*, kill'd some of their Straglers, but not being able to get them out of their Fortresses, he return'd, leaving Capt. *Convers*, and Lieutenant *Plaisted* in that Country to observe the Enemy.

Soon after the Indians came to *Wells* with a Flag *A Truce* of Truce, and Major *Hutchinson* and Capt. *Townsend* *concluded.* were sent from *Boston* to treat with them. A Truce was concluded: The Captives on both sides were to be restor'd, and *Edgeremet* and 5 more of their Segamores sign'd the Treaty (as well as they cou'd) in their Canoes at *Sagadahoc*; for they wou'd not come ashore. Among the Prisoners that were releas'd, were Mrs. *Hull*, whom they wou'd feign have kept, because she cou'd write, to be their Secretary, and *Nathaniel White*, whom they had fasten'd to a Stake to roast him to Death. Captain *Convers* staid with a good Garrison at *Wells*, for the Security of those Parts. And thus the War ceas'd for a little while, *Anno 1691.*

1691.

The Indians instead of bringing in all the Captives, *The Indians* came down two or three Months after upon Capt. *Convers* at *Wells*; but he receiv'd them so well, that *break it.* they withdrew. The Hostilities being renew'd, they kill'd 2 Men at *Berwick*, 2 at *Exeter*, and 5 or 5 at *Cape Nidduck*. To prevent further Mischief, Capt. *March*, Capt. *King*, Capt. *Sherbarn*, and Capt. *Waters*, with 400 Men, landing at *Macquoit*, march'd to *Pechypscot*. These Forces not meeting the Enemy, grew secure, and straggled out in Parties; which the Savages observing, gather'd in a Body, attack'd them with Advantage, and drove them to their Ships, with the Loss of Capt. *Sherbarn* and several Men. They then kill'd 7 Persons at *Berwick*, 21 at *Sandy Beach*, a Family at *Rowley*, another at *Haverhill*, and forc'd the Garrison to desert the strong Fort of *Cape Nidduck*, for want of Men to defend it. A Body of Popish Indians assaulted the Town of *York*, kill'd 50 Men, and led away 100 into Slavery; the rest fortify'd themselves in their Houses; and tho they were but a handful, yet the Savages, who were several hundreds, durst not attack them. Here Mr. *Dum-*

mer the Minister was shot, to the great Joy of these *Romish Barbarians*. A Ship was immediately dispatch'd away, with a Grant to purchase the Redemption of the *York-Captives*; and those Men who remain'd in that Town talking of abandoning it, Major *Hutchinson* was sent thither with a strong Party commanded under him by Capt. *Convers*, Capt. *Floyd*, and Capt. *Thaxter*, to defend those Parts of the Country from the Incurfions of the Enemy. Capt. *Convers* was Posted at *Wells*, with only 15 Men in the Fort, and 15 more in Sloops, to assist the Garrison upon occasion from the River. Against him *Madenkawando*, *Moxus*, *Edgeremet*, *Warumbo*, Indian Princes, Monsieur *Burniff*, and Monsieur *Labrocree*, and 500 *Hurons*, or French Indians, came down; yet such was the incredible Valour of the Men in the Sloops, and the Captain with his in the Fort, that after several fruitless Attempts to master them by Land and Water, the French Generals, and their 4 Indian Confederate Princes, were oblig'd to retire; and Monsieur *Labrocree* never liv'd to bear the Reproach of so scandalous a Retreat, being kill'd in the first of it. The Enemy happen'd to take one *John Diamond* Prisoner, whom they us'd so barbarously, that 'twou'd move too much Horror in the Reader to hear it. For none but Indians or Frenchmen cou'd be guilty of it.

Sir *William Phips* having settled the Affairs of his Government at *Boston*, and understanding the Enemy had made a terrible Slaughter of some Husbandmen on the Northside of *Merrimack* River, rais'd 450 Men, and march'd to *Pemmaquid*; where Capt. *Bancroft*, and Capt. *Wing*, by his Order and Directions, built the best Fort that is on the Continent of *America* in English hands: In which he put a Garrison of 60 Men; but the Charge of building and maintaining it, caus'd Murmurings and Complaints in the Country, which began to make Sir *William's* Administration uneasy to him. Major *Church* took 5 Indians at *Penobscot*, demolish'd their Fort at *Taconet*, and destroy'd the Corn about it. The next year Sir *William* sent 350 Men to *Wells*, and order'd Captain *Convers*, whom he also made Major and Commander in Chief, to drain the Eastern Garri-
sons

Pemma-
quid Fort
built by
Sir Will-
iam Phips.

sons, and march into the Enemies Country, which he did; scowr'd the Woods about *Taconet*, proceeded to *Saco*, and laid the Foundation of a Fort there, which was carry'd on by Major *Hook*, and Capt. *Hill*, and was a great defence to the Eastern Counties. He took several Indians, and cut 'em in pieces, to revenge some late Murders they had committed at *Oyster-River*. At *Connecticut* also the English hearing the Savages appear'd about *Quaboag*, sent out a Party of Horse, who pursu'd them to a Swamp, and leaving their Horses at the Entrance of it, follow'd them by their Track, kill'd most of them, and recover'd some Captives which they had taken, with all their Plunder. Upon the late Successes of the English, the vigorous Proceedings of Sir *William Phips*, and the building the Forts in the East, the Indians began to incline to a real Peace, especially hearing the *Macquas* threaten'd to fall on them for killing some of their *Squas* or Princesses, on a *Whartel-berry* Plain. These *Macquas* had the Use of Guns, before any other Indian Nation, and by this Advantage are said to have kill'd two Millions of Indians. They inhabited the Regions to the West, and were generally in League with the English. The Indian *Segamores* had a French Envoy in their Courts, who was a Friar, to stir them up against the English, and keep them in heart. This Priest did his utmost to perswade them to continue the War; but the French not assisting them with Men, Arms and Ammunition, as they promis'd, the Friar cou'd not hinder them from begging a Peace.

And,
1693.
Saco-Fort.

The Indians
beg a Peace.

Accordingly a Peace was concluded the 11th of August, 1693. by Capt. *Wing*, Mr. *Manning*, and Mr. *Johnson*, in the Name of Sir *William Phips*, and by *Edgeremet* for the Indians. The Indians lay quiet about a year, and all that while the French Priests instigated them to break the Truce. They at last prevail'd upon them to make an Inroad into the Territories of the English, who were not provided to receive them, reckoning themselves secure in the Treaty.

They break
the Peace.
Instigated
to it by
French
Priests.

An Army of these Savages falling on a sudden on *Oyster-River-Town*, made near 100 Persons Captives. One *Bickford* couragiously defended his House against them, and despairing to reduce him before Succours came, they

1694.

they left him: Such was the end of the Peace of *Pemmaquid*, the Place where the last Treaty was concluded. They murder'd Mrs. *Cutt* and her Family on *Piscataway*. They made an Assault on *Groton*; but were repuls'd by Lieutenant *Lakin*: However they kill'd 20 Persons in that Plantation. At *Spruce Creek* they slew three, and at *Killery* eight more. Here they barbarously us'd a Daughter of Mr. *Downing*, who notwithstanding she was knock'd down, had her Skull scalp'd, and was left for dead, recover'd and is still Living. Mr. *Pike*, Under-Sheriff of *Essex*, was murder'd by them, between *Amesbury* and *Haverhill*. To recompense these Losses, the English seiz'd *Bommaseen*, one of the Segamores, who, with *Edgeremet*, had sign'd the late Treaty. He pretended to be just come from *Canada*, and came into the English Territories, on purpose to endeavour to put an end to the Hostilities; but it being prov'd that he was a Principal Actor in the late Murders, he was sent Prisoner to *Boston*. The loss of so great a Man as *Bommaseen* quieted the Indians for 6 or 7 Months, and then they renew'd their Barbarities: They took two Souldiers belonging to the Garrison of *Saco*, kill'd the one, and sent the other into Bondage.

Sometime after *Sheepscoat John*, so call'd from a Place of that Name, near which he was born, who was one of the famous Mr. *Elliot's* Converts, but now an Apostate and Enemy, propos'd a Treaty, and the Indians came to *Pemmaquid*, pretending to be sorry that they had violated the Truce. To shew their Sincerity, they deliver'd up 8 Captives, and promis'd to release the rest. Col. *Philips* Commander in Chief of the Forces, Lieutenant Col. *Hawthorn*, and Major *Convers* were Commission'd to treat with the Savages, who design'd only to get *Bommaseen* again if they cou'd; and when they found the English were resolv'd to keep him fast at *Boston*, they broke off the Conference, and departed.

An Ambuscade of Indians took Major *Hammond* of *Kettery*, and sent him to *Canada*, where Count *Frontenac* treated him very honourably, having bought him of his Savage-Master. Another Party came to *Bellerica*, on Horseback, which render'd them unsuspect-

The English take the Sachem *Bommaseen*.

The Indians first use Horses.

ed; they never using a Horse, unless to eat him. Here they kill'd and took 15 Men and Women. They slew Serjeant *March*, and 3 Men, near *Pemmaquid*, and 6 more as they were rowing a *Gondola* round a Point above the *Barbican*. They took 9 People out of *Newbury*, and being pursu'd by Capt. *Greenleaf*, wounded them so, when they found they cou'd not keep them, that they all dy'd, except a Lad. Capt. *Church*, Governour of *Pemmaquid* Fort, desiring to lay down his Commission, was succeeded by Capt. *Chub*, who we are told was guilty of a Piece of Treachery unworthy the English Name; for, meeting *Edgeremet* and another Prince on a sort of Treaty, he put 'em both to Death. Captain Chub's Treason.

The next Year one *John Church*, and 3 more of *1695.* *Quobecho*, *Thomas Cole* and his Wife of *Wells*, 14 Persons near *Portsmouth*, were massacred, and 7 taken Prisoners. In *August*, the French landed some Men out of a Man of War, the *Newport*, which they had taken from the English, to assist the Indians. This News so frighted the Traitor *Chub*, that he surrender'd the new and strong Fort of *Pemmaquid*. The People of *New-England* miss'd their Governour *Sir William Phips*, whom by their Clamours and Complaints they had caus'd to be sent for to *England*, a little after the *Pemmaquid*-Peace, as we shall shew in the following Pages, being now willing to finish the Indian War; which, tho it made a mighty Noise in *New-England*, will not have a like effect on an *Old English* Reader.

The taking of *Pemmaquid* Fort threw the English in those Parts into a dreadful Consternation; and the Deputy Governour, Col. *Stoughton*, sent out Col. *Gedney*, Col. *Hawthorn*, and Major *Church*, with several Parties, to put a stop to the Enemy, who, pleas'd with so formidable a Conquest, were retir'd, doing no more mischief at that time, except in murdering 5 Souldiers of *Saco* Fort, who fell into their hands. Pemmaquid betrayed by him.

From *Haverhill* in the ensuing Year, they took 39 Captives, of whom one was *Hannah Dunstan*, a Woman of a masculine Spirit: She had lain in not above a Week, yet she and her Nurse walk'd 150 Miles on foot to the Town where the Indian, she was to serve, liv'd. This Woman being afterwards to travel with her

her Master and his Family, to a Rendezvous of Indians, she watch'd her Opportunity in the Night, and having animated her Nurse to assist her, they kill'd ten of the Indians with their own Weapons, and made their escape; for which Action they receiv'd a Reward of 50 Pounds, from the General Assembly of the Province, and Presents from private Persons to a good Value. The Savages continuing their Inroads, kill'd a Man at *York*, another at *Hatfield*, a third at *Groton*, and a fourth at *Exeter*, from whence they carried away 2 Children Captives. They kill'd another Man at *Exeter*; after this wounded a second, and carry'd off a third: They also surpriz'd and slew Major *Frost* and his Two Sons, and 3 Women near *New-Chawannic*; and dreadful Desolation threaten'd the whole Province, from an Invasion of the French: But before we speak of that, we shou'd let the Reader know what became of the Governour, Sir *William Phips*, and in whose Hands the Government of *New-England* was in these difficult times.

Sir *William* having settled Peace, as he thought, in the Province, and the Trade being open'd with the Savages, went for *England* to justify himself against the Complaints of his Enemies, who prosecuted him at the Council-Board, for several Acts of Male-Administration. The *General Assembly* of the Province, sent Letters to Court by him, to pray that he might be continu'd Governour, which seem'd to be a sufficient Justification of his Innocence; and the King was so well satisfy'd of his Conduct, that had he liv'd, 'tis thought he would have been sent back in the same Post; but he dy'd at *London*, and the Government of *New-England* was after his Death manag'd by his Deputy, *William Stoughton*, Esq; till the Year 1697. when the Earl of *Bellamont* came over Governour. Sir *William* carry'd home with him a Project to supply the Kingdom of *England* with Naval Stores from the Eastern Parts of *Massachusetts* Colony, which might easily be done; he also intended to solicit Assistance for the Conquest of *Canada*; and the Court was so well convinc'd of the Necessity of that Conquest, as to order Sir *Francis Wheeler* to stop at *New-England*, to take in what Forces the Province had rais'd, and thence proceed to *Canada*. Accordingly Sir *Francis*

1697.
William
Stough-
ton, Esq;
Deputy
Governor.

was arriv'd there during the Peace of *Pemmaquid*, but he had lost three quarters of his Seamen and Landmen at the Sugar-Islands, and so that Design came to nothing; which, had it been executed as 'twas projected, wou'd have prevented the Fears of a French Invasion in *New-England*.

The Deputy Governour prepar'd for a vigorous Defence, and the Forts, particularly those at *Boston*, were put into very good Order. Major *March* with 500 Men was posted on the Eastern Frontiers, to observe the Enemy on that side; and he did so much good, that few English fell into their Hands. They kill'd a Souldier near *Wells*, took another and Roasted him. Three more they surpriz'd as they were cutting Wood for the Garrison at *Saco* Fort, and murder'd them. They took Lieutenant *Fletcher* and his two Sons, one of whom escap'd; the other with his Father was massacred. Major *March* proceeded to *Casco* Bay, and came on the Enemy unaware, who after one Fire, fled to their Fleet of Canoo's and got off; the Major having kill'd a good number of them before they cou'd get away, with the loss of Capt. *Weymouth* of *Barnstable*, and 12 Men. This Action, tho' it does not appear to be of any great Consequence, yet was so in effect: For it hinder'd the promis'd Irruption of the Savages, as that did the Descent of the French, who being weakned by a Storm, and hearing of the Defeat of their Confederates the Indians, and the good posture of Defence the English were in, gave them no Disturbance.

While the Savages continu'd their Incurfions, the Lord *Bellamont* in *England* was preparing for his Departure, and set sail in the *Deptford* Man of War, in *November* 1697. He was driv'n as far as *Barbadoes*, but kept clear of the Island, and arriv'd in safety at *Boston*, in *December*. After his Arrival, the Enemy began to grow weary of the War. They kill'd 20 Men at *Lancaster-Town*, with Mr. *Whiting* the Minister, burnt some Houses, and two or three old People in them, and carry'd away 5 into Slavery. They also murder'd one Man at *Oyster-Bay*. Nor must we forget *Chub*, the false Wretch, who surrender'd *Pemmaquid* Fort. The Governour kept him under Examination some time at *Boston*, and then dismiss him.

The Traitor
Chub
murder'd
by the In-
dians.

As he was going to his House at *Andover*, the Indian surpris'd him and his Wife, and massacred them: a just Reward of his Treason. They slew three or four Persons more; and had got Colonel *Dudley Bradstreet* into their hands, but being closely pursu'd they dismiss him and other Prisoners. They kill'd two, and took two sometime after at *Haverhill* murder'd an Old Man at *York*, and attack'd *Deerfield* on *Connecticut* side, but were beaten off by Mr *Williams* the Minister, and the Townsmen. A Man and a Boy were slain at *Hatfield*, and that was the last Blood spilt by them. For Count *Frontenac* gave

They make
Peace.

notice to the *French* Indians, that there was a Peace concluded in *Europe*, and they must restore all the English Captives; many of whom were dead, and the rest return'd. Major *Convers*, and Captain *Allen* were sent by the Earl of *Bellamont* to receive them, and the Submission of the *Sachems* and *Segamores*; who came and excus'd themselves for breaking the Peace, saying, *The Jesuits would not let them alone till they had done it; and if the Earl of Bellamont, and the Count de Frontenac, would not banish those Devils, they could not promise the Peace would last long.*

Complain
of the Je-
suits.

Colonel *Phillips*, and Major *Convers* were sent again to settle Commerce with them, and to take a more formal Submission; which *Moxus*, a principal *Segamore*, and others, Sign'd near *Mares Point*, at *Casco Bay*, the 7th of *January*, 1698.

1698.

On the Conclusion of the Peace, the Earl of *Bellamont* summon'd an Assembly, wherein, besides his just Praises of our Late Sovereign, King *William* of Glorious Memory, he recommended to them, *To engage their Neighbour Indians in a Trade, by a good Regulation, and underselling the French. To provide Warlike Stores, and take care of the Fortifications. To let their Laws agree with those of England as near as possible.* To which the Assembly made a handsome Reply, in an Address of Thanks; and the Lieutenant Governour Mr. *Stoughton* did the same in the Name of the Council. So that all was Peace and Harmony now in *New-England*. The Earl of *Bellamont* was also Governour of *New-York*, and chose to reside mostly at the City. In his Absence, the Lieutenant Governour supply'd his Place.

The Earl of
Bella-
mont's
Speech to
the As-
sembly.

In

In the Year 1699. the famous Pirate Captain Kid was taken at *Boston*, by Order of the Governour the Lord *Bellamont*, and sent Prisoner to *England*, where he was often examin'd concerning his Piracies by Committees of Parliament, and afterwards try'd, condemn'd and hang'd.

1699.
Capt. Kid
the Pirate
taken here.

In 1700. The Assembly gave a Tax towards building a Room for a Library, and a Theatre at *Cambridge*, where there was an Indian College erected, or Appartments built for them in that of *Harvard*.

1700:

On the 10th of *March*, 1702. a dreadful Fire broke out at *Boston*, in the House of Mr. *John George*, which burnt so violently, that 9 Ware-houses, with a vast Quantity of Goods, were reduc'd to Ashes, and several Streets consum'd and damag'd by it. As to other Events, there have been none remarkable lately :

1702.

The Indians have not dar'd to break the Peace in the present War; and the Privateers which the Government and Merchants of *New-England* have set out since the last Rupture with *France*, have been so successful, that they took 14 Merchant-men, and 3 Capers, in a few Weeks time. The Earl of *Bellamont* dying in this year, Her Majesty Queen *Anne* was graciously pleas'd to appoint Colonel *Joseph Dudley* to be Governour of *New-England*; but the Government of the Province of *New-York* was given to the Lord *Cornbury* by King *William*.

Col. Jos.
Dudley
Governor.
1706.

C H A P. II.

Of the Country, Towns and Forts; Of the Climate, Soil, and Product; Of the Animals and Trade at New-England.

MR. *Delaet*, who is look'd upon to be the most exact Author that ever wrote of the *West-Indies*, is in an Error in his Account of *New-England*, when he says it has but 70 Miles in Length. The Dutch at that time shut it in so much on the South-side, from which they took all *Newhaven* Colony; and the French

The Extent
of New-
England.

French on the North, where they reckon'd all beyond *Piscataway* River, as part of *Norembergua*, that there was little left for *New-England*. But we shall prove it runs near 300 Miles along the Coast, without reckoning the Angles, which wou'd make it much more. It is not any where in a direct Line above 50 Miles broad. It lies between 41 and 45 Degrees N. Latitude: Is bounded by the *Terra Canadensis* on the N. *Pensilvania* W. *New-York* S. and the *Atlantick* Ocean E. By the Situation, 'tis in the Middle of the Temperate Zone; yet the Climate is not so mild nor so regular; as to Heat and Cold, as those Countries are, that are Parallel with it in *Europe*, as some Parts of *Italy* and *France*. For what reason, † we may see in

† Nam Mr. *Delaet*, who in his Description of it says, “ * The
qua Mare “ Summer is not so hot, and that the Winter is
contingit “ more cold than 'tis commonly in the same Climate;
Aer mul- “ and for Goodness of Air, and Fertility of Soil, the
to frigid- “ Country may be compar'd with the best in *Eu-
or est, “ rope.*”

idque par- “
tim ab O-
ceani (uti videtur) vicinitatem, cujus jugis & inconstans motus, radiorum Solarum reflexum frangit, partim ab Vaporum ascendentium copiam qui Æstum mitigant, &c.—— And again, Easdem regiones longe frigidiores esse qua ascendentem Solum spectant, quam qua descendentem.

* Æstas minus ferveat, & Hiems magis algeat, quam vulgo in Europa sub eodem Climate; Cœli Solique bonitate cum laudatissimis Europæ merito posse comparari.

The Climate of *New-England*, in comparison with that of *Virginia*; is as the Climate of *Scotland*, compar'd with that of *England*. The Air however is healthy, and agrees with English Constitutions: On which account, this Colony is the most flourishing and numerous of any that belongs to the Crown of *England* in *America*. The Soil is generally fruitful, but in some Places more so than in others.

The Soil.

We shall shew the difference in treating of the particular Counties. In doing which, we shall run along the Coast from North to South; and take in every thing remarkable that has come to our knowledge: Dividing the whole Country into the four first Colonies

nies or Provinces, and those into Counties, according to the present Division of it in the latest Surveys.

The largest and most populous Settlement is that of *Massachuset*; which was the Name of the Indian Nation inhabiting that part of the Country, where now stands the City of *Boston*. This Province extends from East to West in length along the Coast from *Scituate* in *Plimouth* County, to *Saco* River in that of *Main*, near 110 Miles, and in breadth from the same *Scituate* to *Enseild* in *Hampshire* in the Province of *Connecticut* about 60, but 'tis narrower up in the Country. It contains the Counties of,

	Towns Names.	Ministers Names.	
Main, in which are,	} <i>Falmouth,</i> } <i>Scarborough,</i> } <i>Wells,</i> } <i>York,</i> } <i>Kittery,</i>	Mr. ———	Main County.
		Mr. ———	
		Mr. <i>Hancock.</i>	
		Mr.	

The Isle of Shoals.

York gives the Name of a Shire to a small part of this Province, but 'tis generally included in that of *Main*.

Cornwall, in which are,	} <i>Dover,</i> } <i>Exeter,</i> } <i>Hampton,</i> } <i>Hedeck or</i> } <i>Newcastel,</i> } <i>Portsmouth,</i>	Mr. <i>Joh. Pike.</i>	Cornwall.
		Mr. <i>Joh. Clark.</i>	
		Mr. <i>Joh. Cotton.</i>	
		Mr. <i>Sam. Moody.</i>	
		Mr. <i>Josh. Moody.</i>	

The furthestmost Bay Northward is *Casco*, in which is *Saco* River. On this River *Saco-Town* or *Scarborough* stands. Here is a very good Fort, built in the last Indian War, and is a great awe upon the *Hurons*, or French Indians to the Eastward. 'Twas mounted with 10 or 12 Guns. In the same County is the *William* and *Henry* Fort, on *Pemmaquid* River, about 20 Rods from *High-Water-Mark*; which in time of War, was mounted with 18 Guns, and garrison'd by 60 or 80 Men. The River *Pemmaquid* runs between 40 and 50 Miles up in the Country: There are besides three less Rivers, *Spurnwinck*, *Kennebunk*, and *Piscataway*, and several Islands off the Coast, some of which are 10 Miles long. There are

high Mountains, and horrible Forrests in the Eastern Parts of these Counties, which are the most barren of any in *New-England*: However, towards the Sea-coasts, and upon the Rivers, the Soil is fruitful for Corn and Pasture; but the chief Trade is for Beaver, Lumber and Fish. These two Counties, when they were first planted, were a Province of themselves, and were call'd *New-Hampshire*, but they desir'd to be added to the Government of *Massachuset*. The most considerable Towns in them, are *York*, *Dover*, and *Wells*, where there are Fortifications; and so there are in all the Frontiers, and indeed in most of the other Towns, for the Indians in a Day's march can be in the middle of the Country. There were above 100 Families in *Wells*, before the breaking out of the Indian War in the East. The County-Courts are held at *Dover* and *Portsmouth* the last Tuesday in *June*, and at *York* the first Tuesday in *July*. The next Counties are,

	Towns Names.	Ministers Names.
Essex, in which are,	{ <i>Amesbury</i> ,	Mr. ———
	{ <i>Andover</i> ,	§ Mr. <i>Francis Dean</i> .
	{ <i>Beverly</i> ,	∪ Mr. <i>Thomas Barnard</i> .
	{ <i>Boxford</i> ,	Mr. <i>John Hale</i> .
	{ <i>Gloucester</i> ,	Mr. <i>Symmes</i> .
	{ <i>Haverhill</i> ,	Mr. <i>Emerson</i> .
	{ <i>Ipswich</i> ,	Mr. <i>Benjamin Rolfe</i> .
	{ <i>Lyn</i> ,	§ Mr. <i>William Hubbard</i> .
	{ <i>Manchester</i> ,	∪ Mr. <i>John Rogers</i> .
	{ <i>Marblehead</i> ,	Mr. <i>Jeremiah Shephard</i> .
	{ <i>Newbury-East</i> ,	Mr. <i>John Emerson</i> .
	{ <i>West</i> ,	Mr. <i>Samuel Cheever</i> .
	{ <i>Rowley</i> ,	Mr. <i>Tappin</i> .
	{ <i>Salem</i> ,	Mr. <i>Samuel Belcher</i> .
	{ <i>Salisbury</i> ,	Mr. <i>Edward Payson</i> .
{ <i>Topsfeild</i> ,	§ Mr. <i>John Higginson</i> .	
{ <i>Wenham</i> ,	∪ Mr. <i>Nicholas Noyse</i> .	
	Mr. <i>Cushing</i> .	
	Mr. <i>Joseph Capen</i> .	
	Mr. <i>Joseph Gorish</i> .	

Salem is the chief Town of this County. The County Court is kept there the last Tuesday in *June*, and

and November. It has a Market every Wednesday, and two Fairs in the Year; the last Wednesday in *May*, and the last Wednesday in *September*. 'Tis pleasantly seated between two Rivers, and was the first Town that was built in *Massachusetts* Colony. *Lyn* is a Market Town: The County Court is kept at *Ipswich*, the last Tuesday in *March* and *September*. This Shire is water'd on the East by the great River *Merrimack*, navigable 40 Miles up and more; the Soil is not very fertile, except it be near the Coast. The Hills here are not very high; but in the Western Parts are inhabited by the Indians. There's an Island lies off of it, about three Miles long, which is very fruitful; and most of the Towns being built near the Sea-side, afford great Conveniences for the Fishery. In this County is the Promontory *Trabigzanda*, now *Cape Anne*, which is very high. The next to it is that of,

	Towns Names.	Ministers Names.	
Middlesex, in which are,	Billerica,	Mr. Sam. Whiting.	
	Cambridge,	Mr. W. Brattle.	
	Charles-Town,	Mr. Char. Merston.	
	Chelmsford,	Mr. Tho. Clark.	
	Concord,	Mr. Joseph Eastbrook.	
	Dunstable,	Mr. Tho. Weld.	
	Groton,	Mr. Gersham Hobart,	
	Lancaster,	Mr. John Whiting.	
	Marlborough,	Mr. Wil. Brinsmead.	
	Malden,	Mr. Michael Wiggleworth.	Middle-
	Medford,	Mr. Simon Bradstreet.	sex.
	Newton,	Mr. Nehemiah Hobart.	
	Oxford,		
	Reading,	Mr. Jonathan Peirpoint.	
	Sherburn,	Mr. Daniel Gookin.	
Stow,			
Sudbury,	Mr. James Sherman.		
East-Waterton,	Mr. Henry Gibs.		
West,	Mr. Sam. Angier.		
Woburn,	Mr. Fox.		
Worcester,			

The chief Town of this County is *Cambridge*, situated on the Northern Branch of *Charles River*. 'Tis a University, which has two Colleges, *Harvard* Col-

College, and *Stoughton* Hall. 'Twas at first call'd *Newton*, but it got the Name of *Cambridge* by the College's being built there. There are several fine Streets and fair Houses in it. The County Court is held there the first Tuesday in *April* and *October*. The next Town is *Charles Town*, the Mother of *Boston*; from which it lies about a Mile cross the Harbour, over which there is a Ferry. 'Tis situated between two Rivers, *Charles River* and *Mistic River*, and takes up the space that is from the one to the other. 'Tis beautify'd with a handsome large Church, a Market-place by the River's side, and two long Streets leading down to it. The County Court is kept there the third Tuesday in *June* and *December*.

Reading is a populous Town, commodiously situated on the Banks of a great Lake. There are two Mills in it, one for Grift, and another to saw Boards; such a one as is on the River of *Thames* on *Southwark*-side.

Watertown is noted for the Fairs held there the first Fryday in *June*, and the 1st in *September*. The Rivers are small in this County, but there are a great many of 'em, which watering the Pastures, render this one of the pleasantest and fruitfullest Spots of Ground in *New-England*. The Fields are full of Cattle of all sorts, and the Market at *Boston* is plentifully supply'd by it for Exportation, with Beef, Pork, &c. besides for a home Consumption. The Hills are cover'd with Sheep; and both together resemble *Devonshire* in *England*, and as do the following County.

Sm. Del.

		Towns Names.	Ministers Names.
Suffolk, in which are,	{	<i>Boston,</i>	Mr. <i>James Allen.</i>
			Mr. <i>Benjamin Wadsworth.</i>
			Mr. <i>Mather, sen.</i>
			Mr. <i>Mather, jun.</i>
			Mr. <i>Sam. Wilward.</i>
			Mr. <i>Emblin.</i>
			<i>Monsieur Daille.</i>
			Mr. <i>Moses Fisk,</i>
			Mr. <i>Jos. Belcher.</i>
			Mr. <i>John Danforth.</i>
		<i>Hingham,</i>	

Suffolk.

Suffolk, in which are,	Hingham,	Mr. John Norton,
	Hull,	Mr. Whitman.
	Medfeild,	Mr. Jos. Baxter.
	Mendon,	Mr. Grindall Rawson.
	Milton,	Mr. Peter Thatcher.
	Roxbury,	Mr. Nath. Walter.
	Weymouth,	Mr. Sam. Torrey.
	Woodstock,	Mr. Josiah Dwight.
	Wrentham,	Mr. Samuel Man.

The Capital of this County is *Boston*, the Capital of *City of New-England*, and the biggest City in *America*, except two or three on the Spanish Continent. 'Tis built on the Sea Coast, which renders it very commodious for Commerce. 'Tis fortify'd on the side of the Sea by a strong Castle, in an Island at the Mouth of the Harbour, thence call'd *Castle-Island*, and on the side of the Shore by Forts on two or three Neighbouring Hills, which command the Avenues to it. There are abundance of fine Buildings in it publick and private; as the Court House, Market Place, Sir *William Phips's* House and others. There are several handsome Streets: 'Tis bigger than *Exeter*; and contains 10 or 12000 Souls; the Militia consisting of four Companies of Foot. There are three Parish-Churches, and a French Church, and two Meeting Houses, in this City; the old Church, North Church, and South Church belong to the Presbyterians, who are the *Church of England as by Law Establish'd*: The French Church to the French Protestants; and the Meeting Houses to a Congregation of Church of *England* Men and Annabaptists. This is the chief Port of the Colony; and from hence 3 or 400 Sail of Ships have been loaden in a Year, with Lumber, Fish, Beef, Pork, &c. for several parts of *Europe* and *America*. Here the Governour commonly resides, the General Court and Assembly meet, the Courts of Judicature sit, and the Affairs of the Province are transacted. In short, 'tis a very flourishing City, and for the Beauty of its Buildings, and the Greatness of its Trade, gives place to few Towns in *England*.

The Market at *Boston* is kept every Thursday.

The Fairs on the first Tuesday in *May*, and on the first Tuesday in *October* every year, &c.

The History of New-England.

Every year to hold three Days each. And, The County Court the last Tuesday in *April, July, October, and January*, in every year.

Dorchester is the next Town to *Boston* for bigness. 'Tis built at the mouth of two little Rivers near the Sea-side: It has two Fairs; one on the fourth Tuesday in *March*, and another on the last Wednesday in *October* every year: *Roxbury* is noted for its Free-school. The Town of *Weymouth* is the most ancient in the Province; but is not of so much consideration as 'twas in the Infancy of the Colony. Here are no great Rivers in this Shire, but many little ones, which render it so pleasant and fruitful, that a famous Author says it may not unworthily be term'd *Paradise*. To the Westward of this and *Middlesex* Counties, bordering on the Colony of *Connecticut*, from whence 'tis only separated by the River of the same Name, lies,

Quam hu-
jus Tra-
ctus Para-
disum
haud im-
merito
dixeris,
Del.

Hamp-
shire.

Hampshire, in which
are,

Towns Names.	Ministers Names.
<i>Deerfeild,</i>	Mr. <i>John Williams.</i>
<i>Enfeild,</i>	
<i>Hatfeild,</i>	Mr. <i>W. Williams.</i>
<i>Hadley,</i>	
<i>Northampton,</i>	Mr. <i>Solomon Stoddard.</i>
<i>Springfeild,</i>	Mr. <i>Daniel Brewer.</i>
<i>Southfeild,</i>	Mr. <i>Benjamin Ruggles.</i>
<i>Westfeild,</i>	Mr. <i>Edward Taylor.</i>

This County being within Land, and hilly, is not so fruitful as those that lie on the Rivers nearer the Coasts. Its chief Towns are *Northampton*, where the County Court is kept the last Tuesday in *March*; and *Springfeild*, where 'tis held the last Tuesday in *September*.

We must now proceed to the next, but eldest Colony in *New-England*.

Plimouth
Colony,
Extent.

Plimouth Colony, which runs along the Coast about 100 Miles, from *Cape Cod* in *Barnstable* County, to *Manchester* in *Bristol* County; and in Breadth, from *Monument Bay* in *Barnstable* County, to *Scituate* in *Plimouth* County, near 50 Miles. It contains the following Shires; that of

<i>Plimouth, in which are,</i>	Towns Names.	Ministers Names.	
	{ <i>Bridgewater,</i>		Mr. <i>James Keith.</i>
	{ <i>Duxbury,</i>		Mr. <i>Wisivul.</i>
	{ <i>Marshfeild,</i>		Mr. <i>Edward Thompson.</i>
	{ <i>Middlebury,</i>		Mr.
	{ <i>Plimouth,</i>		Mr. <i>John Cotton.</i>
{ <i>Scituate,</i>		Mr. <i>Jeremiah Cushing.</i>	
		Mr. <i>Deodate Lawson.</i>	

Plimouth County.

The chief Town of this County is *New-Plimouth*, the Capital of the Colony, and the oldest in *New-England*. 'Tis situated on the great Gulph of *Patuxet*, and contains 3 or 400 Families.

The next Town to this in Bigness was formerly *Scituate*; but tho *Plimouth* has the Honour of being the Metropolis of the Province, *Scituate* has grown upon her so much lately, that she has two Churches, whereas *Plimouth* has but one. There are two or three small Rivers in this Shire; which, as to its Soil, is much of the same nature with that of *Suffolk*. And passing by Sea, from this County to the next, we must weather *Cape Cod*, the highest Promontory on the Coast, and the most Northerly Point of Land in the Province. The Country about it is barren; but the Convenience of Fishing renders it as populous as most in *New-England*. The Shire takes its Name from the Town of *Barnstable*, lying in a Bay which is also call'd *Barnstable*.

<i>Barnstable County, in which are,</i>	Towns Names.	Ministers Names.	
	{ <i>Barnstable,</i>		Mr. <i>John Russel,</i>
	{ <i>Eastham,</i>		Mr. <i>Sam. Treat.</i>
	{ <i>Manimoy,</i>		Mr. <i>Nath. Stone.</i>
	{ <i>Rocheester,</i>		Mr. <i>Arnold.</i>
	{ <i>Sandwich,</i>		Mr. <i>Rowland Cotton.</i>
{ <i>Yarmouth,</i>		Mr. <i>John Cotton.</i>	

Barnstable County.

Opposite to the South Bay of this Shire, call'd *Monument Bay*, lies two Islands; one of 'em is nam'd *Martha's Vineyard*, where Capt. *Gosnold* first landed, and in which is now the Parish-Church, with two Ministers, Mr. *Ralph Thatcher*, and Mr. *Denham*, besides several Indian Preachers, the Island being inhabited

habited mostly by Indian Converts, as is the other Island *Nantucket*, where there are no English Preachers, but Indian Pastors. The Streights between *Martha's Vineyard*, and the Continent, call'd *Malabar*, are a very dangerous Passage.

The next Shire to this is *Bristol County*, in which are,

Bristol
County.

Towns Names.	Ministers Names.
<i>Bristol,</i>	Mr. <i>John Sparhawk.</i>
<i>Swanssey,</i>	
<i>Taunton,</i>	Mr. <i>Sam. Danforth,</i>
<i>Little-Compton,</i>	Mr. <i>Adams.</i>

Swanssey, situated at the Mouth of *Providence River*, is a Town of some note in the Country; but *Bristol* is the place of most Trade, and the chief of the County, of which *Rhode Island* is reckon'd a part. In this Isle there are two Churches, at

Newport and *Portsmouth,* } Mr. *Nathaniel Clap* Minister.

Elizabeth Island, at the Mouth of *Monument Bay*, was one of those that Capt. *Gosnold* landed on.

Providence and *Patuxet Rivers*, are the principal of this Shire, but are neither of them very big. The *Narragansets*, the most formidable Nation of all the Indians, inhabited the South West Parts of it. There is nothing in this County so extraordinary or different from the rest, as to deserve to be mention'd.

Connecticut and
Newhaven Provinces.
Extent.

The other Two Provinces, which are now the Joint Colony of *Connecticut* and *Newhaven*, are in length from *Stoniton* in *New-London County*, to *Rye* in *Fairfeild County*, on the Borders of *New-York*, 70 Miles, and in breadth from *Saybrook* in *New-London County*, to *Windsor* in *Hartford* about 50. The first County we meet with in them on the Coast, is

New-London County, in which are,

Towns Names.	Ministers Names.
<i>Stoniton,</i>	Mr. <i>James Noyes.</i>
<i>Saybrook,</i>	Mr. <i>Thomas Buckingham.</i>
	<i>Preston,</i>

<i>Preston,</i>	Mr. <i>Sam. Tread.</i>
<i>Dansick,</i>	Mr. <i>Joseph Mors.</i>
<i>Norwich,</i>	Mr. <i>Ja. Fitch.</i>
<i>New-London,</i>	Mr. <i>Gordon Saltonstall.</i>
<i>Lyme,</i>	Mr. <i>Moses Noyes.</i>
<i>Lebanon,</i>	
<i>Killingworth,</i>	Mr. <i>Abraham Perison.</i>

New-
London
County.

The Eastern Parts of this Shire are pleasant and fruitful, the Western Swampy and Mountainous, which occasion'd a great Trade for Furrs and Lumber. *Saybrook* is the oldest Town in the County, and is seated on the South side of *Connecticut* River, as *Lime* is on the North, at the Mouth of it. This River is very large, divided into several small Branches, and navigable as high as *Hartford*, 60 Miles within Land.

New-London is seated on a River call'd the *Thames* ; the first Branch of which River goes by the Name of *Glass* River, the next Branch by that of *Russel's Delight*, the third by that of *Indian River*, and the rest are so small, that they are not thought worthy of a Name. There's another small River, which falls into the Sea at *Manchester* ; and these are all that are in this County ; next to which within Land, is

Hartford County, in which are,

Towns Names.	Ministers Names.
<i>Farmington,</i>	Mr. <i>Sam. Hooker,</i>
<i>Glastonbury,</i>	Mr. <i>Timothy Stephens.</i>
<i>Hadham,</i>	Mr. <i>Jeremiah Hobart.</i>
	Mr. <i>Timothy Woodbridge,</i>
<i>Hartford,</i>	Mr. <i>Tho. Buckingham.</i>
<i>Middle Town,</i>	Mr. <i>No. Russell.</i>
<i>Simsbury,</i>	Mr. <i>Dudly Woodbridge.</i>
<i>Waterbury,</i>	Mr. <i>Fer. Peck.</i>
<i>Weathersfeild,</i>	Mr. <i>Stephen Mix.</i>
<i>Windsor,</i>	Mr. <i>Sam. Mather.</i>
<i>Farm,</i>	Mr. <i>Tim. Edwards.</i>
<i>Windham.</i>	Mr. <i>Sam. Whiting.</i>

Hartford
County.

The History of New-England.

Hartford is the most considerable Town in this Shire: It has two Parish Churches in it, Old Church and New Church; the People of *New-England* not distinguishing their Churches by Saints Names. Near *Hadham* is an Island in *Connecticut* River which waters the Northern Bounds of the County: This Island is call'd *Thirty Mile Island*, being that distance from the River's Mouth. In the Western Parts are several Ridges of Hills, and thick Forrests, which afford plenty of Game and Traffick.

The Two next Counties make the Colony of *Newhaven*, and both of them are Maritime Provinces.

In *Newhaven* County are,

	Towns Names.	Ministers Names.
Newhaven County.	<i>Brainford,</i>	Mr. <i>Sam. Russell.</i>
	<i>Derby,</i>	Mr. <i>John James.</i>
	<i>Guilford,</i>	Mr. <i>Tho. Ruggles.</i>
	<i>Milford,</i>	Mr. <i>Sam. Andrews.</i>
	<i>Newhaven,</i>	Mr. <i>Ja. Pierpoint.</i>
	<i>Wallingford,</i>	Mr. <i>Sam. Street.</i>

Near *Brainford* there is a small Iron-work on a Branch of a little River that runs into the Sea there; the Place is from thence call'd *Iron-Mill*. There's another little River which runs into the Sea at *Milford*, and another at *Guilford*.

The Capital Town of this Province was *Newhaven*, which was first built; then *Guilford*, then *Milford*, then *Stamford*, and then *Brainford*. The next County to it is

Fairfeild County, in which are,

	Towns Names.	Ministers Names.
Fairfeild County.	<i>Danbury,</i>	Mr. <i>Seth Shore.</i>
	<i>Fairfeild,</i>	Mr. <i>Joseph Web.</i>
	<i>Fairfeild Village,</i>	Mr. <i>Charter Chauncy.</i>
	<i>Greenwich,</i>	Mr. <i>Jos. Morgan.</i>
	<i>Norwalk,</i>	Mr. <i>Stephen Buckingham.</i>
	<i>Rye,</i>	Mr. <i>Bowers.</i>
	<i>Stamford,</i>	Mr. <i>John Davenport.</i>
	<i>Stratford,</i>	Mr. <i>Israel Chauncy.</i>
	<i>Woodbury,</i>	Mr. <i>Zachariah Walker.</i>

There's

There's no navigable River in this County; that which falls into *Hudsons* River below *Newark*, not deserving the Name, tho' 'tis broad at the Mouth; but it does not hold so above 5 or 6 Miles, nor run above 15 or 20 into the Country. Most of the Towns are built upon Creeks in *Hudson's* River, and are of no great note for Trade or Bigness; the Northern parts of *New-England* being the richest and most populous, not but that there is good Corn, Beef, Pork, and other Provisions, in the Southern, tho' not in so great plenty as in *Massachuset* Colony. The Inland Country Eight or Ten Miles from the Shore is all Hills and Swamps, and un-inhabited. Some of the Rivers and Harbours we have mention'd, as those of *Merrimack* and *Boston*, are capable of containing 500 or 1000 Sail of Ships, and are shelter'd by about 200 Islands, that break the Winds and the Seas. The Woods are every where stor'd with all sorts of Necessaries for building.

Having gone over the four Provinces in their Geographical Order, and given an Account of the several Soils in each County, as also of the Climate in general, We come now to the Product and Animals of *New-England*.

We shall begin with the latter, and speak first of the Fish, which is here excellent, and in abundance, both for Food and Traffick, as well in the Rivers, as in the Sea. As Cod, Thornback, Sturgeon, Porpus, Haddocks, *The Fish.* Salmon, Herrings, Mackerell, Oysters, Muscles, Smelts, Eels, Lampreys, Sharks, Seals, Crampus, Whales, and others small and great.

Some years since, there stranded on the Coast of *New-England* a dead Whale, of the sort which they call *Trumpo*, having Teeth like those of a Mill, its Mouth at a good distance from and under the Nose or Trunk, and several Partitions in the Nose, out of which ran a thin Oily Substance, which candy'd; the remainder being a thick fat Substance, was scrap'd out, which is said to be the *Sperma Ceti*. These Whales were to be met with between *New-England* and *New-York*, where they might be caught 8 or 9 Months in the Year.

The Whale Fishery was more common formerly than 'tis now; and the *Newfoundland* Trade engrosses that

Low-
thorp's
Philosoph.
Transact.
Abridg.
Vol. 2.
p. 844.

that of Cod in a great measure; but there is still vast Quantities of that and other Fish taken, salted and sent to the Sugar Islands, for the subsistence of the White Servants and Negroes.

Afello-
rum ma-
jorum he-
lecum.

Ibid. p.
833.

The Sea is always full of Fish on the Coasts of *New-England*, whether in fair Weather or foul, but the best time for fishing is in *March, April, May*, and part of *June*. Captain *Smith* relates, that in his time there were Alkermes taken worth 30 or 40 *l.* which is now very rarely known, and few of 'em to be met. As is the *Stellar Fish*, of which 6 or 7 were taken near the Shoals of *Nantucket*; and Mr. *Winthrop* Governour of *Connecticut* Colony, gave the Royal Society an account of this elaborate Piece of Nature, that divides it self into no less than 81920 small parts by Branchings, and is one of the most wonderful Works of the Creation.

Beasts.

Captain *Smith* speaks of several sorts of Beasts, as well as Fish, which are seldom or never found in *New-England*, such as Lyons, Musk-Cats, &c. but there are Bears, Foxes, Rackoons, Otters, Beavers, Deer, Hares, Rabbits, as also that admirable Creature the Mose; of which we cannot give a better Description, than what Mr. *Josselyn* has transmitted to us among his *New-England* Rarities; 'Tis about 12 Foot high, with fair Horns, and broad Palms; some of 12 Foot from the Tip of one Horn to that of the other.

Ib. p.437.

Another Author speaking of the manner of Hunting this Creature, says, They commonly hunt it in the Winter, and sometimes run it down in half a day, sometimes they are a whole one about it; the Ground being then generally cover'd with Snow, the Beast sinks very heavy every Step he runs, breaking down Trees as big as a Man's Thigh. When the Sportsmen get up with him, they dart their Launces at him, and he walks slowly after he's wounded, till spent with loss of Blood, he falls like a ruin'd Building, making the Earth shake under him. His Body is about the bigness of a Bull's; his Neck resembles a Stag's, his Legs are short, his Tail longer than a Buck's, and his Flesh very grateful; he shoots his Horns every four years.

The Beasts in *New-England* us'd to produce a profitable Traffick with the Indians for Peltry, which is since mightily decreas'd, as is that Trade in general, occasion'd by the dis-use of Beaver and other Skins,

necessary in the Fell-mongers Manufacture. There's abundance of all sorts of European Cattle, as Cows, Sheep, Goats, Hogs and Horses; the latter are a little kind, not much larger than that of *Wales*, but are very hardy and serviceable; many of them are exported to the *Leward* Islands for Saddle-Horses, and some for Draught. The *New-England* Merchants also send Leather thither, and vast Quantities of Pork and Beef, as has been before mention'd.

Of Creeping things, besides those in common with other Places on the Continent of *America*, the Rattlesnake is the most noted and dangerous.

There are also several kinds of Flies, which are very troublesome to the Inhabitants. There was such a swarm of a certain sort of Insects in *New-England* some years ago, that they poison'd and destroy'd all the Trees for 200 Miles together. They broke forth out of Holes in the Ground like Maggots, and turn'd to Flies, with a Tail or Sting, which they stuck into the Tree, and so kill'd it with the Venom in the Sting.

There is no Country almost where there is greater Variety of Fowl, wild and tame, than in *New-England*; as Pheasants, Partridges, Turkeys, Ducks, *Fowl*, Geese, Herons, Storks, Cormorants, Swans, Widgeons, Doppers, Black-birds, and Barndoor Poultry; which leads me to the Grain of the Country, as Indian Corn; and in a word, all Grains that grow either in *Europe* or *America*. They send their Indian and English Wheat, Oats, Peese and Beans, Flower and Bisket, to *Bardadoes* and the *Caribbee* Islands. Flax and Hemp grow there, as well as in the *Baltick* or *Germany*; and there is hardly any advantagious Grain that they cannot and do not cultivate.

The Indian Corn being that which is most planted in this Country, and which was only us'd before the English came there, it will not be improper to describe the Culture of it, as we find it communicated to the Royal Society by Mr. *Winthrop*.

Ib. 630.
The Culture of
Indian
Corn.

The Natives call'd it *Weachin*, and in some Southern parts of *America*, 'tis known by the Name of *Mais* or *Maize*. The Ear is a Span long, compos'd of 8 Rows of Grain or more, according to the Goodness of the Ground, about 30 Grains in a Row. 'Tis of various

Co-

Colours, as red, white, yellow, blew, olive, greenish, black, speckl'd, strip'd, &c. sometimes in the same Field, and the same Ear; but the white and yellow are the most common. The Ear is defended from the Cold and Storms by strong thick Husks; the Stalk grows 6, or 8 Foot high; that of *New-England* is not quite so tall as that of *Virginia*; and at *Canada* 'tis shorter than at *New-England*; 'tis jointed like a Cane, is full of sweet Juice like the Sugar Cane, and a Syrup as sweet as Sugar may be made out of it, as has been often try'd. At every Joint there are long Leaves or Flaggs, and at the Top a Branch of Flowers like Rye-blossoms. 'Tis generally planted from the middle of *April* to the middle of *May*. In the Northern parts the *Mohawk* Corn is not planted till *June*. and yet is ripe in season; the Stalks of this sort are short, the Ears near the Bottom, and are of several Colours. The manner of planting Maize, is in Rows at equal Distance every way, about 5 or 6 Feet; the Earth is open'd with a How 4 Inches deep, and 4 or 5 Grains are thrown in it, at a little distance from one another, in the breadth of a How; then they are cover'd with Earth: If 2 grow, the Crop will answer: the Corn is weeded at a hands length, and the Earth is loosen'd about it with a How; this Labour must be repeated as the Weeds come up; when the Stalk begins to grow high, a little Earth should be drawn about it, and on putting forth the Ear, so much as to make a little Hill, like a *Hopbill*. 'Tis ripe about the middle of *September*; it must be stripp'd as soon as gather'd, unless 'tis laid thin, to prevent its growing mouldy or sprouting; the common way is to move the Ear together in long *Traces*, by some parts of the Husk left thereon, which is call'd *Traceing*: These *Traces* are hung upon Bearers within doors; and will keep so all Winter good and sweet. The Indians thrash it as they gather it, dry it well on Matts in the Sun, and bury it in Holes in the Ground, lin'd with Moss or Matts, which are their Barns: The English lately plant it with the help of the Plow; they turn up single Furrows 6 Feet distant, then plow a-cross at the same distance, throw in the Corn where these meet, and cover it with a How, or run another Furrow over it with the Plough.

The Indians boil it till it becomes tender, and eat it with Fish or Vennison instead of Bread; sometimes they bruise it in Mortars, and so boil it: The most usual way is to parch it in Ashes, stirring it so artificially as to be very tender, without burning; this they sift and beat in Mortars into fine Meal, which they eat dry, or mix'd with Water. The English mix it into a stiff Paste, make Bread of it, which they bake all Day or all Night. The best sort of Food which is made of it is call'd *Samp*; to make it, the Corn is water'd half an hour, beaten in a Mortar to the bigness of Rice, sifted, boil'd and eaten with Milk, or Butter and Sugar, which is a very pleasant wholesome Diet. The English have also made good Beer of it, by malting it, or making it of Bread: When they malt it, it must chil both ways, Root and Blade; to do which, they heap it up at a convenient time, then take away the top of the Earth in a Garden-Field 2 or 3 Inches deep, after which they cover the Ground with the Corn, and the Corn with the Earth; when the Plot is green all over with the Corn-prouts, which will be in about 10 days, it must be taken up, the Earth shaken from it, and dry'd, then wash'd and dry'd again in a Kiln: This makes the Malt and that Beer, which will be pleasant, wholesom, and of a brown Colour. The Beer made of Bread is more durable, and altogether as pleasant: To do it, they cut the Bread into great Lumps as big as a Man's Fist, wash and manage it as they do Malt, adding or omitting Hops, as is desir'd.

Besides Garden and Orchard Fruit-trees, and Shrubs, of which there's scarce any sort wanting, the Woods and Swamps here abound with Oak, Elm, Ash, Cypress, Pine, Chesnut, Cedar, Aspin, Beech, Firr, Safafras, and Sumach.

Among the Rarities of *New-England*, is the *Sabina vulgaris*, or common Savin, found very often in the Hills, a spontaneous Plant; Here, as well as at *Bermudas*, is that Berry to be met with, which breeds Low-Worms that turn to Flies, bigger than *Cochineel* thorp's Flies, feeding on the same Berry; in which has been found a Colour not at all inferiour to that of the *Cochineel* Flie, and as to Medicinal Vertue much exceeding it.

A certain Tree grows in the Eastern Parts of *New-England*, on the Bark of which are little Knobs wherein is a liquid Matter like Turpentine, of a very fanative Nature. The Dwarf Oak grows wild here and was sent hence into *England* to be cultivated.

But the Treasure and the Glory of their Woods is the Monarch Oak, the Spruce and Firr Trees, by which the Navy of *England* might be supply'd from hence with all manner of Naval Stores, at a cheaper rate than they are now imported from the *Baltick* Pitch and Tar are made here, and as good in its kind as any from the *North*; and more Ships, as has been hinted, built in this Province, than in all the other parts of the *West Indies* belonging to the English, or perhaps to all the European Nations.

Trade.

'Tis easy to imagine, that the Advantage of so many English Hands thus employ'd, is of much more Service to the Crown, than they would be in *England*, where there are already too many thousands that are useles. Industry is necessary for Life in *America*, where 'twas impossible for a lazie Person to live at the first Settlement of the Colonies; but there being no such necessity in *England*, we have so many idle insignificant People, that 'twou'd be well if they were all in those Parts of the English Empire, where their Hands must provide for their Mouths, and I have no Notion of any more Difference between *Old-England* and *New*, than between *Lincolnshire* and *Somersetshire*: neither can I see, why the English in *America* shou'd not be suffer'd to cultivate their Ground, and improve it as they think fit, any more than that feeding and grazing shou'd be prohibited in *Somersetshire* for the Advantage of *Lincolnshire*.

The Advantage of it.

The People of *New-England* deal as much with *Old-England* as either of those Counties in proportion to their Numbers; and by their assisting the *Leward* Islands with Provisions, are rather a Service to the Publick Interest than a Prejudice; for without help from them, the *Sugar* Plantations cou'd not maintain three hundred thousands Mouths, Whites and Blacks, as they do at least, Provisions cou'd not be sent them from *England* with that Ease, Speed and Certainty, as from this Colony.

From the Islands, the *New-England* Men receive in exchange for their Lumber, by which is meant Boards, Masts, Pipe-staves and Hoops; and their Provisions, Sugar, Melasses, Rum, Ginger, Indigo and Cotton, more than enough to supply their home Consumption; the rest they ship for *England*.

They have several Still-houses in *Boston*, and make very good Spirits there; but the main of their Trade for all sorts of Necessaries is with *Old-England*, from whence they have their Stuffs, Silks, Linnen, *Birmingham-Ware*, Tools for Mechanicks; and tho they have many Conveniencies of furnishing themselves with most sorts of wearing Apparel at home; yet they import such Quantities of that and other Merchandise from *England*, as renders their Commerce very beneficial, and worthy Encouragement.

The Mines of Iron and Copper which are found there, do not produce so much as was expected, 'tis hop'd they will in time turn to a better account: Till then most of their Iron and Copper-Wares will come from hence; and we ought not to envy them the Improvements they make of their Pasture and Tillage, since we get so much by them otherwise: Which Observation will, we believe, remove any ill Impressions that some late Arguments may have made on the Minds of many, to the Disadvantage of this industrious People; *Because*, says a known Trader, by *Tillage, Fishing, Manufactures, and Trade, they to all intents and purposes imitate Old-England; and did formerly much, and in some degree do now supply the other Colonies with Provisions, in Exchange for their Commodities, as Tobacco, Sugar, &c. which they carry to Foreign Markets. How conveniently for the Nation's Interest I shall not determine, being no Enemy to any kind of honest Industry: But this cannot chuse but be allow'd, that if any Hands in the Indies be wrong employ'd, for Domestick Interest, it must be this and those other Colonies, which settle with no other Prospect than the like way of living; therefore if any, such only should be neglected and discourag'd, who pursue a Method that rivals our Native Kingdom, and threatens in time a total Independency thereon.*

*Sir Dalby
Thomas
Hist. Ac.
of the W.
India Co-
lonies.*

We cannot omit doing so much Justice to the Colony of *New-England* as to repeat what we mention'd above, That they ship for *England* the Commodities they import from the *Sugar Islands*, and do not carry them to Foreign Markets; which, with what was said before, is, we hope, a sufficient Answer to this invidious Paragraph. Tho' for want of Current Coin, sufficient for the Trade of the Country, the *New-England* Men are forc'd to barter Goods, and exchange one Commodity for another, yet they have Money coin'd in *New-England* at *Boston*, where there is a Mint; and the Master or Warden of it is oblig'd to coin the Money of good Silver, of the Allay of New Sterling English Money. And there is enough of this and other Silver, to answer all Persons Occasions in a Retail Trade.

C H A P. III.

Of the Inhabitants, English and Indian; Their Religion, Laws, Customs, Manners, Language, Strength and Numbers: With a short History of the University in New-England.

OF the many Nations of Indians mention'd by Capt. *Smith* and Mr. *Delaet*, there are now few left, and of these scarce any go by the Names they gave them. In those Authors we find the Indian Kingdoms of *Segetago*, *Pahtiantanuck*, *Pocossum*, *Taughtanaknet*.
The Indian Nations: *Wabiggan*, *Nassaque*, *Maschecosqueek*, *Wawrigweck*, *Moshoquen*, *Wackcogo*, *Passaranack*, and their Confederates *Aucocisco*, *Acoominticus*, *Passataquac*, *Aggowan*, *Massachuset*, *Naemkek*. Of all whom only the two latter are mention'd by the Modern Historians. The former Nations lay to the Eastward; and the English settl'd in the Southern Parts of *New-England* where Captain *Smith* did not trade.

Naemkek is that Country which now makes the County of *Essex*; and the next to it was the *Massachusetts*

chusetts, which gave name to the chiefst Colony in *New-England*: The People who inhabited those Parts that are now the Counties of *Suffolk* and *Middlesex*, were the most Populous of any of the other Indian Nations; they seem'd to be more civiliz'd than the rest, which might be occasion'd by their Commerce with European Nations; for all that came to trade there generally dealt with them, and fish'd off their Coasts.

As they differ'd very much in their Language, Manners and Customs from the other Indians, so they also differ'd in some measure from one another; and the same did the Nations more to the South, of which we find many mention'd, as the *Massasoits*, who dwelt about *Mount Hope* in *New-Bristol* County, the *Pocassetts* in *Plimouth* County, the *Manimoys* in *Barnstable* County, the *Nansetts*, *Mattachiests*, *Namaskets*, who inhabited the Inland-Country between *Providence* and *Merrimack* Rivers; the *Narragansetts*, who dwelt about *New-London* County; the *Pequots* and *Wapenokes*, with whom they were almost always at Wars; the *Marchicans*, the *Sequems* in *Hampshire*, about 20 Miles from the Coast, the *Navassii* and *Horakasi* further within Land; all these were Inhabitants of the Country about *Connecticut* River; the *Morattigons* to the Westward of the *Massasoits*; the *Patuxets* between the Counties of *New-Bristol* and *New-London*; the *Maquas* towards the Lake of the *Iroquoise*, Westward of *Connecticut* River; the *Meneqlus*, and others Eastward. These particular Nations had one more general Name, that of the *Armonchiquois*; and those of *Norembegua* were call'd *Etechemins*. But every *Sachem* or *Segamore* who was Lord of a Territory 8 or 10 Miles in length, erected his Lands into a Kingdom, and gave a Name to his Nation. These *Segamores* were their Captains, elected out of the Seniors of their Noble Families. The Extent of the Government of each was commonly bounded by some River or Bay. The Vote of the *Segamore* was definitive in their Publick Assemblies; sometimes their Priests and Wizzards, who were also their Physicians, were consulted; the Power of their *Segamores* was despotick: Valour made a Man noble, and they had no other Distinction among them, but the Men

The Massa-
so its.

Other Indi-
ans.

Their Go-
vernment.

Cloathing, of Courage and *Poltrons*. They were cloath'd with
 &c. Bear-skins, Wolf-skins, and the Skins of their wild
 Beasts; which they threw off in Summer, and put on
 again in Winter. Their Food was Maize, Fish and
 Fowl; their Weapons were Bows and Arrows,
 sharpen'd with Fish-bones instead of Knives; their
 Boats were Canoo's wrought out of the Trunks of
 Trees, made hollow by Fire: Some of 'em had no
 settl'd Dwelling, but liv'd eight or ten Families toge-
 ther in a moveable Tent, for the Convenience of
 Fishing *alamode des Tartares*, from whom 'tis said
 they are descended: But this is only a Guess, made
 from a small Agreement in the Manners between
 these barbarous People and those, which is harder to
 be prov'd, than how *America* came first to be inha-
 bited. Some of them had settl'd Habitations or Wig-
 wams in Towns, built with Posts and Matts, and
 cover'd with the Bark of Trees, large enough for se-
 veral Families to cohabit, they being great Lovers of
 Society, and not quarrellsom.

Religion. They had no Notion of Religion or God, they
 worship'd a certain Devil, but not with Solemnity or
 regular Rites as the Negroes do; they were then
 and still are crafty, timerous, fickle, quick of Appre-
 hension, revengeful, thevish, have as many Wive
 as they can maintain, their Women supporting the
 Pains of Child-bearing without the least Groan.

Their Flesh is smooth, and their Complexion
 good; but they spoil the latter, by painting them-
 selves with certain Juices and Oils that render them
 tawny.

Since their Commerce with the English they are
 not quite so barbarous as before: Instead of Bear
 skins, &c. they wear Mantles of Cloth. Some of
 their *Segamores* and principal Men have Houses built
 after the English Fashion; and many hundreds of
 them have been converted to the Christian Religion
 Mr. *Mayhew*, Minister of *Martha's Vineyard*, and the
 famous new English Missionary Mr. *John Elliot*, were
 very instrumental in propagating the Christian Faith
 among them.

But before I enter upon that Subject, it may not be
 improper to let the Reader know the present State of
 these Barbarians, as to the several Manners, Customs
 Form

Forms of Government, Dress, Diet, and Language, abstracted from an Author who dwells among them.

Tho these People are divided into so many several Nations, that there are above 20 of them within the Limits of this Settlement, yet they seem by their Language to be originally of one Extraction, for notwithstanding they can't understand each other, 'tis occasion'd more from the variety of the Pronounciation of their Languages, than the difference of the Words. *Nuppaw, Duppaw, Ruppaw*, signifying the Sun in three several Dialects. *Winmit, Wirrit*, Good; *Pum, Pumme, Pim*, Oil. Their Language, if possible, is more barbarous than their Manners; and one wou'd think has not been refin'd since the Confusion of Tongues at *Babel*. For instance,

Nummatchekodtantamoonganunnonash; is in English, *Our Lusts*. Language.

Noowomantammoonkanunnonash Our Loves. Cot. Mat.

Kummogkodonattoottuminooctiteaongannunnonash . . . Our Question. lib. 3. p. 193.

There certainly will be occasion of no more Examples, to convince any reasonable Person of the Barbarity of the Indian Language. Cot Mat. l. 4. p. 51. Govern- ment,

Their Government is a little more polite; their Kings are absolute Monarchs, yet they consult their Nobles sometimes, and whenever they do so, they behave themselves with a becoming Majesty: Their own Opinion desides all Matters of Council. The Emperors or greater Kings have their Lieutenants, who govern as arbitrarily as their Masters; the Crown always descends to the Eldest Son; their Nobles are such as are descended from their Princes, or enjoy Lands by virtue of Grants from them. They have *Yeomen* who claim a natural Right of living in their Prince's Dominions, and a common use of their Land; and *Villains*, who are known to be descended from Strangers and Foreigners, and are in some measure subject to the Yeomanry. The Prince's Revenues are Presents, Wrecks, Furr, First Fruits; in time of War the People are at their disposal: They have a Contempt of the limited Authority of the English Governours; and one of these Kings visiting Mr. *Mayhem*, Priest and Governour

nour of *Martha's Vineyard*, desir'd something of him, which *Mayhew* promis'd to do, adding afterwards, *if the Inhabitants consented*; the Barbarian reply'd, *What I promise or speak is always true, but you English Governours cannot be true, for you can't make your Words and Intentions true, but mine are always true, for I make 'em true.*

Money.

Their Money they call *Wampam*, and is Beads made of the Shells of Fish. Their Houses are a few Matts ty'd about Poles fasten'd in the Earth. They lie a-nights round a fire without any Covering, but the Turf or Bark on their Houses. Their Cloathing is a Beast's Skin upon their Backs, with an Apron hanging before those Parts that Decency among Savages requires to be conceal'd. Their chief Diet is *Nokehick*, parch'd Meal and Water boil'd up to a Consistency, and the Flesh of Deer, Bears, Mose and Rackoons; Fish and Fowl, when they can catch it. Their Physick is some few odd Specificks, a Hothouse, or Charms us'd by their Priests. The Men are lazy; their Wives do all the Drudgery, plant, dress, house, and thrash their Corn, and build their Wigwams. The Men hunt in Companies of Scores, and sometimes Hundreds together. They divide the Time by *Sleeps*, *Moons* and *Winters*. They believe there are many Gods, that every remarkable Creature has a God in it, or about it; they sacrifice to the Devil; and Dancing is one of their Religious Ceremonies: They are great Dancers, and will spend whole Days, like so many monstrous Scaramouches. Those of 'em that are converted, conform themselves as near as may be to the English in every thing.

And now 'tis time to speak of these Indian Christians, of whom the first that embrac'd Christianity, was one *Jacoomes*, a Mean Man of *Martha's Island*, whom Mr. *Mayhew* perswaded to renounce Idolatry, which he did, and profess'd the Christian Religion before the Sachems of his Country, telling them, *The God they worship'd had great Power, but limited and subservient to the God he had now Chosen.*

Indians
converted.

In 10 or 12 years time this Minister converted several hundreds, and reduc'd them into the Form of Churches, over whom Indian Pastors were in time set; after him, " Mr. *Elliot*, Minister of *Roxburgh*,
" about

“ about a Mile from *Boston*, undertook the mission-
 “ ry Work, learn’d the Indian Tongue, translated
 “ the Bible, and several Treatises of Practical Divi-
 “ nity, and Catechisms, in and about the year 1670.
 “ he form’d an Indian Church in a Town call’d *Na-*
 “ *tuk*, baptiz’d them, and first administer’d the Lord’s
 “ Supper to them. The Minister of that Church
 “ 12 years ago, was one *Daniel* an Indian. Mr. *Elliot*
 “ afterwards form’d four Churches of Indians in
 “ *Massachusetts* Colony.

Abstract of
 a Letter
 from Inc.
 Mather to
 Dr. Leuf-
 den, Heb.
 Prof. at
 Utrecht.

“ At *Mashipang*, 50 Miles from *Boston*, another
 “ Church of converted Indians was establish’d, and
 “ *Jacoomes*, whom we have mention’d before, being
 “ now become a Man of Piety and Knowledge, was
 “ admitted to be Pastor of it.

“ There are 5 Assemblies more of Indian Christi-
 “ ans not far from *Mashipang*, the Preachers being all
 “ Indians. At *Saconet* in *Plimouth* County, is a great
 “ Congregation; and near *Cape Cod* six Assemblies
 “ more, among whom there are six Indian Preachers.
 “ Mr. *Treat*, Minister of *Eastham*, preaching to
 “ them often in their own Language. At *Nantucket*
 “ Island is another Indian Church, the Minister of
 “ which is an Indian Convert.

C. M. 1. 3.
 p. 195.

“ At *Martha’s Vineyard* is the two most famous
 “ Churches of Indian Christians; the Ministers be-
 “ ing *John Hiacoomes*, the Son of the former *Hiaco-*
 “ *omes*, and *John Tockinosh*, a converted Indian. They
 “ meet twice every Sunday; the Pastor prays *extem-*
 “ *pore* with them, then they sing Psalms, then the
 “ Minister expounds a Chapter in the Bible, gathers
 “ Doctrines from it, proves them by Scriptures and
 “ Reasons, and infers Uses as the English Presbyterian
 “ Ministers do, by whom they were taught. They have
 “ no Holidays, but Fast-days. The Barbarians being
 “ ignorant of the true God, had no word to express
 “ him; wherefore in their Prayers and Sermons they
 “ use English Words and Terms, as *Jehovah*, or
 “ God, or Lord. They teach their Children *Perkins’s*
 “ and the Assembly’s Catechism.

There are four and twenty Churches and Assemblies
 of Indian Christians in *New-England*, as many Indian
 Pastors, and four English, who preach in the Indian
 Tongue; They have Apartments at *Harvard* Col-
 lege.

Indian Stu-
 dents.

lege for the Indian Students, of which there are, or were lately between 20 and 30.

lib. 6. p.
60.

At *Nantucket* Island there were 500 Indian Christians about 10 years ago, who were wholly under the English Government, having 3 distinct Courts, with Power to hear and determine all Causes below 400 *l.* in value. They choose their own Magistrates, and appeal from them to the English. They are ambitious of knowing and following the English Laws, and keep Records as the English do. They put their Children to learn to write and read.

Within the Liberties of *Eastham* there were 505 Christian Indians 12 years ago, who had four Indian Pastors, as many School-masters, and six Justices of the Peace. Their Deportment, Converse and Garb, are more Manly and decent than any other Indians. 214 Converts were about *Sandwich*: At the same time a new Church of 'em was erected at *Albany*, in the Province of *New-York*.

Christiani-
ty oppos'd
by their
Kings.

Their Kings and Powaws oppos'd the Progress of Christianity to the utmost of their power, but they durst not make many Martyrs for fear of the English, to whom the Christian Indians in all times of Difficulty prov'd very faithful.

The French
misrepre-
sent
the English
Religion.
C. M.
l. 3. p. 201.

Of theie Indians there are about 15 or 1600 in *Martha's Vineyard*, the whole Island being Christian; and in all, 'tis computed, that the Number of Indian Converts and their Children may amount to about 4000; of whom *Japhet*, the Indian Pastor at *Martha's Vineyard*, is a very famous Person for making Converts, tho not as the French do at *Canada*, by preaching up Heaven as a sort of Mahometan or Earthly Paradise, and Hell as an horrible kind of a Dwelling, accommodating both to the Pleasure and Terror of their Senses. They tell the *Hurons* that the English murder'd our Saviour, and endeavour to make Converts for their own Interest, more than the Good of the Indians. Thus the Catholick Indians to the Eastward of *New-England* have not got much by changing their Religion.

As to the English Inhabitants of this Colony, who they were that went first thither, we shall best be inform'd of by Persons who liv'd in those days. The Lord *Digby*, a famous Confessor for the Cause of King *Charles*

ib. p. 135.

Charles I. said in Parliament, *That Men of the best Conscience were ready to fly into the Wilderness for Religion*; and Sir Benjamin Rudyard, *That a great multitude of the King's Subjects striving to hold Communion with us, but seeing how far we were gone, and fearing how much farther we wou'd go, were forc'd to fly the Land, very many into savage Wildernesses, because the Land wou'd not bear them. Do not they that cause these things cast a Reproach on the Government.*

But tho 'tis certain, many of those Gentleman and Ministers who first went thither, were driven out of *England* by persecuting Rulers of *high-flown Principles*, yet they were not all of them of such nice Consciences; for when a Minister, soon after their Settlement there, preaching to his Congregation, *Urg'd them to approve themselves a Religious People, by endeavouring to propagate the Gospel, or otherwise they wou'd contradict the main end of Planting.* One of the Assembly cry'd out, *Sir you are mistaken, Our main end was to catch Fish.* However, it appears by their History they were very busie in settling Churches, summoning Synods, and establishing a Church there, which had the Form of Godliness; and it does not become us to judge whether it was without the Power.

The first Churches were *Independents* or *Congregational*; several *Presbyterian* Ministers coming over afterwards, there happen'd frequent Jars and Disputes among them, till at last they sign'd Articles of Agreement as to Matters of Discipline. They have had several Schisms, as they term them, among them, as the *Hierarchal Church* at *Weymouth*, the *Anabaptists* at *Swansey* and *Boston*, Mr. *Roger Williams's*, who preach'd up the Invalidity of King *Charles's* Patent, and against the Sin of taking the *Indians* Lands from them, a most pernicious Doctrine, for which he was banish'd.

The *Antinomian* and *Familistical* Tenets were broach'd, and a dreadful Confusion in Church-Affairs threaten'd to ruin the Infant Colony, but they got over all Difficulties, and settl'd their Church in some sort of Order, drawing up Articles of Worship and Discipline; which being more tedious than edifying, we shall not set down here, but refer the Reader, if he has any Curiosity to know them, to *Cotton Mather's History of New-England.*

The *Independents* and *Presbyterians* having agreed on a *Comprehension*, are the *Establish'd Church*, and the *Church of England*, *Anabaptists* and *Quakers* the *Tollerated Dissenters*. Their *Synods* have reserv'd to themselves so much Power, that the Government has little left it in *Ecclesiastical Cases*, and the Ministers of every Town are like so many Governours within their Precincts.

Civil Government.

The Civil Government was at first by Governours, Deputy Governours, and Major Generals, chosen by the *General Court*, who were the Deputies of the Towns, like our Burgesses in Parliament; but now those Officers are commission'd by the King. As to their Power, and that of the General and Inferiour Courts, their ways of raising Taxes, and making Laws, we refer the Reader to the *Laws of New-England*, in the *Abridgment* so often cited in this Treatise.

Their Strength.

The Strength of these three confederate Colonies consists in the number of their Militia and Inhabitants; it being computed, that in all *New-England* there are above 160000 Souls, and of them 50000 fighting Men; whereas the Indians, were they collected into one Body, cou'd not make an Army of 10000 Men; but as they are divided into above 20 several Kingdoms, differing in Language, Manners and Interests, 'tis impossible for them to enter into such a Confederacy, as to be able to do the English any considerable Damage; and the latter, when they please, can dispossess them of the small Territories they enjoy in their Neighbourhood; but either thinking it their Interest that they shou'd live as they do, to furnish them with *Peltry*, and help to till the Ground, or that 'tis an Injustice to turn the right Owners out of their Possessions, or being afraid that the French, jealous of the Growth of the English Empire in *America*, wou'd join with them, they let them alone, and are in no great danger of receiving much Disturbance by them.

That of the Indians.

The way of Living of the Inhabitants.

The People of *New-England*, in their way of Living, Manners and Appearance, resemble their Brethren in *Old-England*, excepting that they are more formal, precise, morose, and not so sincere as the English Dissenters. They are very severe in their

Laws

Laws against all sorts of Immorality, and so much, as if they thought Pleasure cou'd not be innocent; but in the Execution of those Laws, there is suitable Tenderness had to the Infirmities of Humane Nature.

The most commendable thing among them, is their Academy, and their Schools, every Township of 50 Families being oblig'd to have a School, to teach to write and read; and every Town of 100 Families, to have a Grammar-School; the Master of which, must be qualify'd to fit his Scholars for the *University*, which they began to establish as soon as they were well settl'd in the Country.

In the year 1630. the *General Court* advanc'd 400 l. towards building a College at *Newton* in *Middlesex*, about 7 or 8 Miles from *Boston*; and the Town on the founding the College there had its Name chang'd to *Cambridge*; but the small Sum of 400 l. would not have gone far in such a Design, had not Mr. *John Harvard*, Minister of *Charles Town* near *Boston*, dy'd soon after, and left almost 800 l. to carry on the Work, as we have already mention'd. Then the other Colonies gave some small Contributions towards it; and private Persons finding there was a Probability of succeeding in it, contributed much more than whole Colonies.

Cambridge University founded.

The College being built and endow'd, was in honour of their great Benefactor Mr. *Harvard*, call'd *Harvard College*; and Mr. *Nathaniel Eaton* was chosen President: He was a Man of Learning, but so cruel in his Nature, and lewd in his Morals, that he was expell'd the University, and excommunicated. Upon which he went to *Virginia*, and from thence to *England*; where he conform'd to the Church of *England*, was made Minister of *Biddisford* in *Devonshire*, after the Restoration became a violent Persecutor of Non-conformists, continu'd his wicked Courses, and dy'd in Jail for Debt.

Harvard College. Mr. Nath. Eaton President.

In the year 1640. The Magistrates and Ministers chose Mr. *Henry Dunstar* to be President of the College, to which the *General Court* granted a *Charter*, and made it a Corporation, consisting of a President, 2 Fellows and a Treasurer. The Governour, Deputy Governour, and the Magistrates of the Colony being

1640. Mr. Henry Dunstar Pres.

The College being appointed to be the Visitors. The Income of *Revenue*. *Charlton* Ferry was settl'd upon it, and its Revenues in a little time were sufficient to maintain the Expence, with a very small Assistance from the Treasury of the Colony.

'Tis observable that *Sir George Downing*, who was so often employ'd by the *Rump*, and afterwards by King *Charles II.* as their Envoy Extraordinary in *Holland*, was the second Person that was enter'd a Student in this College: *Sir Henry Mildmay* sent his Son *William Mildmay*, Esq; the Elder Brother of *Henry Mildmay* Esq; of *Sharnford* in *Hampshire*, to study here, as did *William Stoughton* Esq; late Lieutenant Governour of the Colony, and Founder of *Stoughton-Hall* in this University, *Joseph Dudley* Esq; the present Governour, and many other Gentlemen of the Province, who are of principal Note in this History.

Mr. Dunstar was a Person very well skill'd in the *Oriental* Tongues, and a Man of as much good Learning as ever visited the *American* Shore, but inclining to the *Baptist* Opinion: The rigid *Presbyterian* and *Independent* Party got him turn'd out, after he had been serviceable to them in helping their Ministers to translate *David's* Psalms.

'Tis true 'tis a very mean Performance, and unworthy the Spirit and Harmony of that Divine Poet, but Musick and Eloquence are not to be expected in *New-England*; and till they throw off that wretched Affectation which we commonly call *Cant*, and which is of no manner of use, unless to deceive Fools, and amuse Hypocrites, we cannot see what great use their Academy will ever be to them, for 'tis the main end of Learning to please and instruct; and how formal Nonsense and miserable Jargon, tho' 'tis larded with hundreds of learn'd Quotations, can have any Effect on a reasonable Mind, is beyond Reason to comprehend.

The *History of New-England* written by *Cotton Mather*, a Man of Fame in his Country, as appears by the barbarous Rhimes before it in Praise of the Author, is a sufficient Proof, that a Man may have read hundreds of Latine Authors, and be qualify'd to construe them, may have spent his Youth in a College, and be bred up in Letters, yet have neither Judg-

ment

ment to know how to make a Discourse perspicuous, nor Eloquence to express his Sentiments so that they may please and persuade, the easiest way to Conviction; for of all the Books that ever came from the Press with the venerable Title of a History, 'tis impossible to shew one that is so confus'd in the Form, so trivial in the Matter, and so faulty in the Expression, so cramm'd with Punns, Anagrams, Acrosticks, Miracles and Prodigies, that it rather resembles School Boys Exercises Forty Years ago, and *Romish* Legends, than the Collections of an Historian bred up in a Protestant Academy.

The Reader will excuse this Digression, which hardly can be call'd so properly, it serving to give an Idea of the use the *New-England* Men make of their University, and to shew how far an Humour or Affectation may prevail to the Prejudice of the most useful and reasonable things.

That History of *Cotton Mather's* is enough to give one a Surfeit of Letters, if all the Schools in the World were like *Harvard-College*; for that the Eloquence and Elegance of all that School is the same with the Historians, will appear from his Father *Inc. Mather's* Letter to the Church of *Cambridge*, and C. M. p. a thousand Quotations of other *New-England* Authors 159. scatter'd up and down in the History.

This is not said to reflect on the Design of their University, but if possible to make them see their Error in the Execution of it, that they may leave off mean Cant, which was in Fashion a hundred years ago, add the Purity of Language to that of Doctrine, and let the Scoffers see that Religion needs no little Shifts and Arts to support its self, and that the Force and Harmony of the Divine Truths are never so convincing and moving on reasonable Souls, as when they are express'd in elegant and apt Phrases, free from the Poverty and Tautology of the present *New-England* Diction; let their own Dr. *Bates* instruct them better in his best Pieces, if they think themselves too pious to learn of our *Tillotson* and *Calamy*.

There was a Press set up at *Cambridge*, and the Psalms first Printed there, about the time of Mr. *Dunstar's* being elected President.

David's
Psalms
translated
and printed
in New-

This England.

This Version, tho' tis abominable as to the Meter, has the Commendation of keeping closer to the Text than any. The Excuse the Translators gave for their bad Verses, *That God's Altars need not our Praises*, is of the same strain with their other Arguments, as if they had affected to be flat and rough, and cou'd have done better, or that we ought not to sing the Creator's Praise in our best Language and sweetest Melody, according to the Example of the Holy Psalmist whom they pretended to translate. If they wanted a faithful Translation, why did they not do it in Prose; for among all their Gifts, they might with a little Modesty have seen that they were not endow'd with that of Poesy.

In Mr. *Dunstar's* time the Library was set up at *Harvard College*, and several Gentlemen of *Old and New-England* contributed to it, as *Sir Kenelm Digby*, *Sir John Maynard*, *Mr. Baxter*, *Mr. Hill*, and *Mr. Gale*: And many others became Benefactors to the College Revenues, as *Alderman Ashhurst*, *Sir Richard Saltonstall*, *Edward Hopkins*, Esq; and the Most Reverend Arch-Bp. *Usher*.

The Students began to take Degrees of Batchelour and Master of Arts; but tho' the College have a Right to bestow that of Doctor, they never exercis'd it, except in the Case of the President *Mr. Increase Mather*, as will be shewn in its due place. *Mr. Dunstar* having been 14 Years their President, notwithstanding all his Learning and Merit, was expell'd by his Brother Non-conformists, for not conforming with them in all things; and *Mr. Charles Chauncy* (born in *Hartfordshire*) Minister of *Sciote*, was elected President in his place.

He had been *Greek Professor* at *Cambridge* in *England*, was skill'd in the *Oriental Languages*; and, says my Author, the Historian so often quoted, wrote a *Witty Latin Poem* on the Death of *Queen Anne*, Wife to *King James I.* Printed in the *Lachryme Cantabrigiensis*. He was intimately acquainted with *Dr. Usher*, and a Man of good Sense and Learning according to the Times, but was forc'd to retire to *New-England* for not coming up to *Bp. Laud's* Heights in Matters of Ceremony.

He govern'd *Harvard* College with Piety, Care and Judgment seventeen Years, and then dying, was succeeded by Dr. *Leonard Hoar*, the first President who had his Education in the same College. After which he travel'd to *England*, and commenc'd Doctor of Physick in *Cambridge*. He marry'd the *Ld. Listes's* Daughter, and returning with her to *New-England*, was elected President of the College; but some great Men in the Country taking a disgust to him, the Scholars, countenanc'd by those Gentlemen, were very disobedient, and made him live such an uneasy Life, that after he had been President four Years he resign'd his Office.

1671.
Dr. Leo.
Hoar Pres.

While he govern'd the College there was a new Subscription taken to enlarge it, and near 200 *l.* subscrib'd and paid, of which *Sir Thomas Temple* gave 100 *l.* With this Money there were so many Edifices built, that it look'd like a new College, which still went by the Name of the Old. Several Indians were admitted in the time of his Predecessor, and in his own Presidency. The first who took his Batchelours Degree was *Mr. Caleb Cheeschaumuk*: Since that, others have proceeded as far; and many Indians educated here, are Preachers to Indian Churches.

Mr. Urian Oakes, Minister of the Town of *Cambridge*, was chosen to succeed *Dr. Hoar*. He was born in *Old-England*, but brought over young to *New-England*, and educated in *Harvard* College, where he took his Batchelour and Master's Degree. This Man, excepting that he was very religious after the way of the Country, does not seem to have had any extraordinary Qualities worthy the Station to which he was advanc'd, and in which he liv'd six years.

1675.
Mr. Urian
Oaks Pres.

On his Death *Mr. Increase Mather*, one of the Ministers of *Boston*, was elected President, but his Congregation refusing to part with him he declin'd it; and *Mr. John Rogers* was chosen into that Place: His Father came to *New-England* when he was about 6 Years old; he ow'd what Learning he had to *Harvard* College, and is commended for abundance of good Nature.

1682.
Mr. John
Rogers
Pres.

In his time the College was like to have been burnt to the Ground, but was prevented by his accidental shortening

tening

tening his Prayer; it being the Custom of the President of the College to pray in the Publick Hall with the Scholars. Mr. Rogers, like the rest of his Brethren, us'd to be somewhat long; but on the Day that the College took Fire he was shorter than ordinary, and the Scholar in whose Chamber it was, return'd time enough to have it put out.

1684.
Mr. Inc.
Mather
Presf.

He dy'd after he had enjoy'd his Office two Years, and the present Rector Mr. Increase Mather, was chosen in his Place, to which he was now promoted with the Consent of his Congregation. This Man was the first President who was born in *New-England*, whither his Father Mr. Richard Mather was driven by Persecution in 1635. His Son is the Author of the *New-England* History; and the Father, when he was in *England* to sollicite the Affairs of the Country as their Agent, preach'd often in the Dissenters Meetings; his Stile being more affected and quaint than those of the *Non-conformist* Teachers who are most famous in that way, and wou'd confirm all that has been of the *Harvard* Eloquence, if any of his Sermons had been Printed.

On the taking of the Charter from this Colony, Col. Dudley, whom the King had made President of *New-England*, chang'd Mr. Mather's Title of President into that of Rector.

Mr. Leve-
ret and
Mr. Brat-
tle.

1692.

While Mr. Mather was in *England*, Mr. Leveret and Mr. Brattle, two of the Fellows, govern'd the College; and when he return'd with the New Charter granted by King William and Queen Mary, the University had a New Charter granted them also by the Government of *New-England*.

Stough-
ton Hall.

After this the Academy began to thrive, *Harvard* College or Colleges being too little for the Students, Mr. Stoughton built a New one, with more Expence than the Benefactor of *Harvard* was at; it is from him call'd *Stoughton* Hall, and in both of them there are near 400 Students English and Indians.

This University has produc'd several Writers, who have publish'd Sermons and other Discourses in *New-England* and *Old-England*, but they have had no great Currency or Reputation, tho it must be confess'd that some of the Authors seem to be what is generally understood by the Phrase *Good Schollars*; and we know no rea-
son

son why they shou'd not be so, having the same Advantages of Books and Brains, as other Men in other Universities; but 'tis in Siile, as in Painting, ev'ry Nation has a Manner, by which 'tis known, and which will be more or less Polite, according to the Genius of the People.

In return for the Services Mr. Inc. Mather had done the Country and College by his Agency in England, the latter presented him with a Diploma, for a Doctor's Degree, Sign'd by the Fellows, with the University-Seal annex'd to it. The Power they had to do it appears by the Words of the Diploma,

Mr. Inc.
Mather
made a
Doctor of
Divinity.

Quum gradus Academicas, tam in Theologia quam in Philosophia, pro more Academicarum in Anglia, conferendi Potestas, ab amplissimo Governatore, & a summa Massachusettensis Provincia Curia, secundum Sereniss. Regis ac Reginae Gulielmi & Mariae, illis concessum Diploma sit ad nobis commiss. & quoniam vir clarissimus, &c.

Notwithstanding that the Charter granted by King William and Queen Mary had impower'd the Governour and General Court of Massachuset-Colony to grant a Charter to the College, with Power of conferring Doctor's Degrees, as is exprest in the Diploma; yet Mr. Mather himself never made use of the Title, nor the University before nor since thought fit to bestow it on any other Man. We shall conclude this Account of New England, and its University, with a List of all the Presidents and Fellows from the Foundation of Harvard College to the year, 1698.

A List of the Presidents and Fellows of Harvard College.

Mr. Nath. Eaton, President, expell'd.	1630.
Mr. Henry Dunstar, President, turn'd out.	1640.
Mr. Charles Chauncy, President.	1654.
Dr. Leonard Hoar, President, resign'd.	1671.
Mr. Urian Oaks, President.	1675.
Mr. John Rogers, President.	1681.
Dr. Inc. Mather, President and Rector.	1684.

Years in which they took their Batchelors Degree.

1643.	Mr. Samuel Mather,	} Fellows.
	Mr. Samuel Danforth,	
1647.	Mr. Jonathan Mitchel,	} Fellows.
	Mr. Con. Star,	
1649.	Mr. Samuel Eaton,	} Fellows.
	Mr. Urian Oaks,	
	Mr. John Collins,	
1651.	Mr. Michael Wigglesworth,	} Fellows.
	Mr. Thomas Dudley,	
	Mr. Thomas Shepherd,	} Fellows.
	Mr. Samuel Nowell,	
1653.	Mr. Samuel Hooker,	
	Mr. Samuel Bradstreet,	
	Mr. Joshua Moody,	
	Mr. Nehemiah Ambrose,	} Fellow.
1655.	Mr. Gershom Bulkley,	
	Mr. Increase Mather,	} Fellows.
1656.	Mr. Thomas Graves,	
	Mr. Zachariah Symms,	} Fellows.
1657.	Mr. Zachariah Bregden,	
1658.	Mr. Samuel Shepherd,	Fellow.
1659.	Mr. Samuel Willard,	Fellow.
	Mr. Samuel Elliot,	} Fellows.
1660.	Mr. Peter Bulkley,	
1661.	Mr. Nathaniel Chauncey,	} Fellows.
	Mr. Joseph Whiting,	
1662.	Mr. Solomon Stoddard,	Fellow.
	Mr. Alexander Nowell,	} Fellows.
1664.	Mr. Joseph Pincho,	
1666.	Mr. Joseph Brown,	} Fellows.
	Mr. John Richardson,	
1667.	Mr. Nehemiah Hobart,	Fellow.
1669.	Mr. Daniel Gookin,	Fellow.
1670.	Mr. Ammis Ru-Corbet,	Fellow.
	Mr. Isaac Foster,	} Fellows.
	Mr. Samuel Sevall,	
1671.	Mr. Samuel Danforth,	
	Mr. Peter Thacker,	
	Mr. Samuel Andrew,	} Fellows.
1675.	Mr. Nathaniel Gookin,	

Mr. John Danforth, Fellow.		1677.
Mr. John Cotton,	} Fellows.	1678.
Mr. Cotton Mather,		
Mr. John Leveret,	} Fellows, Vice Presi-	1680.
Mr. William Brattle,		
Mr. Samuel Mitchel, Fellow.		1681.
Mr. Neh. Walter, Fellow.		1684.
Mr. John White, Fellow.		1685.
Mr. Paul Dudley,	} Fellows.	1690.
Mr. Benj. Wadsworth,		
Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton, Fellow.		1691.
Mr. Jabez Fitch, Fellow.		1694.
Mr. James Allen,	} Fellows.	
Mr. Charles Morton,		

The two last were bred in *England*, and Mr. *Morton* taught Academical Learning at *Newington*, before he was forc'd to fly to *New-England*, by the Persecution in the late Reigns.

'Twas impossible to publish a Work of this Nature with that Expedition as was expected, the Author being oblig'd to stop longer for Informations from *America* than he at first imagin'd; by which means this Treatise has remain'd unpublish'd till the present Year, 1708.

We left Colonel *Dudley* in Possession of the Government; and he began the Exercise of his Power with vigorously entering into the War with *France* on that side: He fitted out 4 Sloops, put 200 Men aboard, and order'd them to cruise on the *French Coast*; from whom they took 9 Vessels; and at the same time, the *New-England Privateers*, who have been very successful, took 3 Ships bound for *Canada*. Sometime before this *Constantine Phips*, Esq; and *Wil. Vaughan*, Esq; presented a very loyal Address, to congratulate Her Majesty's Accession to the Throne, in the Name of the Province of *New-Hampshire*.

There has happen'd no material Events since relating to this Colony; the same Governour continues in his Post, and we should have added a List of the Council of *Massachusetts*; but the People, by Virtue of their Charter, choosing the Members themselves, we could not procure their Names, which are not regularly transmitted to *England*. It seems the Province of *East*

or *New Hampshire*, which we have spoken of, deliver'd up their Rights entirely into the Hands of the King; who by the new Charter that was granted to it, reserv'd to the Crown the Power of naming the Council. Tho' *New Hampshire* is incorporated with the Government of *New-England*, yet the Counsellors are not elected by the Inhabitants, as those of *Massachusetts*, but nam'd by the Government in *England*. Being at present,

Colonel *Joseph Dudley*, Governour.

John Usher, Esq; Lieut. Governour.

Wil. Partridge, Esq;

Peter Coffin, Esq;

Robert Elliot, Esq;

John Gearish, Esq;

Wil. Vaughan, Esq;

Sam. Penhallow, Esq;

John Plaisted, Esq;

Richard Waldron, Esq;

Winthrop Hilton, Esq;

Joseph Smith, Esq;

} Counsellors.

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F

N E W - Y O R K :

C O N T A I N I N G

An Account of its Discovery, Settlement,
 Revolution, and all other Events, to this
 Time ; Of the Climate, Soil, Trade,
 Inhabitants, *English* and *Indians*.

THIS Country was at first call'd *Nova Belgia*; and the *Dutch*, who pretended to the Propriety of it, included *Martha's Vineyard*, and *Elizabeth-Island*: The former of which they call'd *Henry Christian's Island*; and the latter, *Adrian Block's*, from the Name of two Masters of Ships, who, they say, discover'd them: But it does not appear they had any Right to those Isles, or indeed to the *Continent* on *Hudson's River*, till they bought it of *Captain Hudson*, who discover'd it, and sold it to them about the Year 1608. which Sale being without the King's Licence, was excepted against by the *English*; but there were no Attempts made by them to settle here themselves, or hinder the *Hollanders*.

The *English*, who sail'd from *Holland* to the *West-Indies*, and settled *Plimouth-Colony*, intended to take Possession of the Territories lying on the Coast of the Bay form'd by *Newhaven Colony*, and *Long-Island*; but the Master of the Ship being a *Dutchman*, was brib'd by some of his Countrymen to betray them, and land them further *Eastward*; which he did accordingly, and prevented their settling in *Nova Belgia*; where the *Hollanders* had begun to plant, but had been driven thence by Sir *Samuel Argall*, Governour of *Virginia*. They then apply'd themselves to King *James I.* who gave them leave to build some Cottages, for the Convenience of their Ships touching there for fresh Water and Provisions, in their Voyage to *Brazil*. Under this Pretence, they incroach'd by little and little, so much, that they built Towns, fortify'd them, planted, and became a flourishing Settlement.

The Dutch
Settlement

They built the City of *New Amsterdam*, in an Isle call'd *Manhattan*, at the Mouth of *Hudson's River*; to which they gave the Name of the *Great River*; and the Bay to the East of it, they call'd by that of *Nassau*. They built a Fort about 80 Miles up the River, which they nam'd *Orange Fort*; and from thence us'd to drive a profitable Trade with the *Indians*, who came over Land as far as from *Quebec*, to deal with them. *Henry Christian*, and after him, *Jacob Elkin*, were the first *Dutch* Governours here, for the *West-India Company* in *Holland*; to whom the States General had granted this Country.

Its Bounds.

The first Bounds of *New-York*, were *Maryland* on the *South*; the Main Land, as far as could be discover'd, *Westward*; the *Great River* of *Canada*, *Northward*; and *New-England*, *Eastward*. It now is reduc'd into a much narrower Compass; for King *Charles II.* having given this Tract of Land to the Duke of *York*, by a Charter, dated the 12th of *March*, 1664. the Duke made a Grant of part of it to Under-Proprietors, who call'd it *East* and *West-Jersey*; which are now its Limits in the *West* and *South*: On the *North*, 'tis bounded by *Long-Island*; and on the *East* by *New-England*: *Hudson's River* divides it from the *Jerseys*; and a Line drawn between *Rye* and *Greenwich*, separates it from *New-England*;

So

So that the whole Province on the *Continent* is not above 20 Miles over, but 'tis 120 in Length; and what was properly call'd *Nova Belgia*: It lies between 40 and a half, to 42 Degrees, 50 Minutes, Northern Latitude. The Climate is more temperate than that of *New-England*, and the Soil so fruitful, that one Bushel of *English* Wheat has produc'd a Hundred, which was a fair Temptation for the *English* to desire it. The Climate and Soil.

Accordingly in the Beginning of the first *Dutch* Wars after the *Restoration*, King *Charles* the II^d, who had bestow'd it on his Brother, sent a Squadron of Men of War, and some Land-Forces, under the Command of Sir *Robert Car*, to recover it. Sir *Robert* arriv'd there in the latter End of the Year 1664. landed 3000 Men upon *Manhattan* Island, and march'd directly to *New-Amsterdam*. The Governour of the Town was an old Soldier, and had lost a Leg in the Service of the *States*; but being surpriz'd at the unexpected Attack of a formidable Enemy, and not knowing the certain Numbers of the *English*, he was prevail'd upon by the Inhabitants to surrender. Sir *Robert Car*, by Order from the King, had proclaim'd, that all who submitted to the Crown of *England*, should be receiv'd into his Protection; and the Citizens of *New-Amsterdam* fearing to be plunder'd, and outed of their Possessions, if they resisted, perswaded the Governour to deliver up the Town; which they could not have defended against the Besiegers, if they had brought their Artillery to bear: And thus this Place fell into the Hands of the *English*! 'Twas handsomely built by the *Dutch*, of Brick and Stone, cover'd with red and black Tile; and the Land being high, it affords an agreeable Prospect to the Spectators at a Distance. Above half the *Dutch* Inhabitants remain'd, and took an Oath of Fidelity to the King of *England*. Those that remov'd, had Liberty to carry off their Effects, and their Places were soon supply'd by *English*. There are now above 800 Houses, the meanest worth 100 *l.* in this City, which for the Strength and Pleasantness of its Situation, may compare with any in the World. 'Tis govern'd by a Mayor, Recorder, Alderman, and Sheriff, Common Council, Constables, and other inferior Officers, in

The Climate and Soil.

The English reduce it.

1664.

The Town of New-York.

Imitation of the Government of the Corporations in England. It has but one Parish Church, but that is large and beautiful; and the Minister has 100*l.* a Year settled on him. The Council-House is a fair Edifice. *James-Fort* is a strong, regular Fortification, and commands the River. Besides this, it has a Wall to the Land, mounted with Ordnance, and seems to defy the Power of *French* or *Indians*. There is a Printing-Press in this Town. The Island it stands in, is 14 Miles long, but is not of a proportionable Breadth. It was inhabited by a Nation call'd the *Manhattes*, who were more fierce and barbarous than the other *Indians*.

These the *Hollanders* dispossessing, had an Appearance of Right to succeed them; but Arms decided the Dispute much more to the Advantage of the *English*; who 13 Days after the Surrender of *New-Amsterdam*, to which City was now given the Name of *New-York*, march'd under Colonel *Nicholls*, up the Country to *Orange Fort*, which stood on *Hudson's* River, 5 Miles below where the Eastern Branch parts from the Southern, and runs up almost to the Lake of the *Iroquois*, 200 Miles within Land. This Fort Colonel *Nicholls* easily reduc'd, and call'd it *New Albany*, the Duke of *York's* *Scotch* Title. Here is always a Garrison of two Companies of Soldiers.

About 50 Miles above *New-York* is *Kingston*, a very pretty Town, containing 200 Families, *English* and *Dutch*. 'Tis well-built, and popular for its Bigness.

Twenty Miles above *Albany*, is *Schenectada*, a Town seated in one of the finest Vales in the World, not unlike the pleasant Valley, which the *Trent* waters, in *Nottinghamshire*, to which it has been often compar'd. Here are near 100 Houses. The Inhabitants are part *English*, and part *Dutch*. This Place was destroy'd in the beginning of the late War with *France*, by the *French Indians*, who massacred the People, sparing neither Age nor Sex; since which there's a Fort built to prevent a Surprize.

Indian
Nations.

Between this Fort and *New-York* several *Indian* Nations dwelt; as the *Mackentowomi*, the *Pachami*, the *Wooran*, the *Mankikam*, and next them, the *Maquas*, Westward of *Fort Orange*. The Country all along is very fruitful. The *Indians*, who are not

very

very industrious, possess it all, except *Sopors-Kill*, on the Western Shoar of *Hudson's River*. And the *Dutch* had no Plantations there, as the *English* have since, tho the Inland Country is still thin of Settlements.

On the Coasts is the County of *West-Chester*, in which are the Towns and Parishes of *West* and *East-Chester*, *Yonkers*, *De Cham*, the Parish of *Rye*, *Stonebrook*, *Munerenock* and *Bedford*. The County Town and Parish of *Richmond*. Sir *Robert Car* having ^{Towns.} reduc'd all on the *East Side* of *Hudson's River*, took in the Town and Fort of *Arasapha* and *Delaware-Castle*, on the *West Side*, without losing a Man. *Staten Island*, at the Mouth of *Raritan River*, and *Long Island*, follow'd the Fate of the other Towns. Thus the *English* oblig'd the *Dutch* to submit every where to them. Col. *Nicholls* was appointed Gover- ^{Colonel} ^{Nicholls} ^{Governor.} nour of the Province of *New-York*, and he concluded a League between the Inhabitants and the *In-* ^{dians.}

Before we enter further into the History of this Colony, 'twill be requisite to say something of *Long Island*, which is part of the Settlement. 'Tis 100 ^{Long} Miles long, but 12 broad, and was inhabited by the ^{Island.} *English*, before Sir *Robert Car* came thither; for King ^{C. Mat.} *James* having made a Grant of it to *William Alexander*, Earl of *Sterling*, Proprietor of *New-Scotland*, the Inhabitants of *Lyn* in *New-England*, finding themselves streighten'd in Ground, resolv'd to remove thither by Consent of the Lord *Sterling*; with whose Agents they made an Agreement, for a Part of the Island to plant and settle in. They then went thither, about 100 Families in all, with Mr. *Pierston* their Minister, and began to plant at the *West End* of the Island; but the *Dutch* of *New Amsterdam* gave them such Disturbance, that they deserted their first Plantation, and settled at the *East End*, entering into an Ecclesiastical and Civil Combination, for the Government of their little Colony. They built a Town, and call'd it *Southampton*; where it remains still, and is part of the Province of *New-York*, being annex'd to it when the *English* recover'd the Dominion of this Island, and the adjacent Continent. Out of *Southampton* the Parish of *Bridge-Hampton* was lately taken. The *West End* of the Island is now *Queens County* in this Province.

The

The Town and Parish of *Jamaica*, the Town and Parish of *Hempsted*, *Constable Town*, *Utrecht*, and others of less Note, belong to *Queens County*.

The whole Island is furnish'd with convenient Harbours; and off the Coast, particularly the *Eastern*, lie several Islands, but none of them inhabited. *Staten Island*, at the West End, is 10 Miles long, and 5 or 6 over. The chief Plantations upon it are *Billops*, at the *South End*; and *Palmers* at the *North*: On the *Eastern Point* is *Dover*, another small Settlement.

In *Long Island* there were also some *French* Inhabitants; but now they are either remov'd, or subject to the *English* Government. The *Dutch* made as good Earthen Ware here as they do at *Delft*; and some write; that it did not fall short of *China*; but the *English* do not come up to them in that Manufacture.

The Trade. The Trade driven by them, is Furs, Skins, Tobacco, as good as that of *Maryland*; Horses, Beef, Pork, Oil, Pease, Wheat, and all sorts of *English* Grain, which they sow, and have very good Increase of it. All other Fruits and Herbs thrive there, together with Flax, Hemp, Pumkins, Melons, &c. The Soil being most of it very good. Towards the Middle of the Island lies a Plain 16 Miles long, and four broad; where there grows very fine Grass, which makes extraordinary good Hay, and is excellent Pasture for Sheep or other Cattel. There is no manner of Rubbish, Stick or Stone to be found upon it; and the Place is so fit for Races, that twice a Year the best Horses in the Island are brought thither to try their Speed, and the Prize is a Silver Cup to the swiftest.

There are two or three other small Plains of about a Mile square, which are very beneficial to the neighbouring Towns..

On the South Side of *Long Island*, in the Winter lie Store of *Whales* and *Grampusses*, which the Inhabitants catch in their small Boats, and drive a considerable Trade with the Oil. An infinite Number of *Seals* lie all the Winter on some broken Marshes, Beaches and Bars of Sands. They make an excellent Oil, and wou'd be very advantagious to the People of the Country, if they fell into an easier way of coming at them.

The *English*, and others, on the Continent of *New-York*, deal with the *Indians* for the Skins of Elks, Deer, Bears, Beavers, Otters, Raccoons, and other rich Furs; and in Summer are supply'd by them, with Venison, Fish and Fowl very cheap. Their other Trade is to *Barbadoes* and the *Sugar* Islands, with Horses, Beef and Pork, for which they receive, in Return, Sugar, Melasses, Rum, &c. They also have a very profitable Commerce from *New-York* to *Madera* and the *Azores*, with Pipe Staves and Fish, for which they load their Ships back with Wine and Brandy; and there is scarce a more advantageous Trade in all the *English* Commerce. I have known a small Ship employ'd in this Voyage, backward and forward from *New-York* to *Madera*, clear the Owners above 3000 *l.* in less than two Years; when the first Adventure was not a sixth Part of the Neat Proceed of the Voyage.

The Productions of the Soil of this Country are the same with that of *New England*. It has nothing peculiar to it self, and we shall therefore refer the Reader to that *History* concerning this Article. The Soil is richer, and the Climate milder; lying 2 or 3 Degrees more to the South; but 'tis here also colder in Winter, and hotter in Summer, than in the European Countries of the same Latitude.

The Animals, Beasts, Birds, Fish and Fowl, the creeping Virmin and Insects, are the same as those in *New England*, and the Savages so little different, that 'tis needless to repeat the Description of them, but because every Nation of the *Indians* vary in some thing or other; we shall give a short Account of those of *New-York*.

That their Language is as barbarous as that of the *New England* Indians will appear by the following Examples, as,

The Neck, *Nequoykangen*,

A Lyon, *Synquoumackergh*, &c. And of this dreadful Speech, there are several Dialects, according to the Difference of the Kingdoms. As for the Persons of these *Indians*, they are generally handsome and well limb'd. By dying or painting their Skin, they spoil their Complexions, which are all Tawny. Their Hair is black. They are bold and dextrous in handling

ling their Bows and Arrows, which are their chief Arms. They keep a friendly Correspondence with the *English*, whom *Pere Hennepin*, owns they love much better than the *French*; and never gave them any such Disturbance, as our Countrymen have met with in *New England* and *Virginia*. They are apt to learn all things, and willing to be instructed in the *Christian* Religion, but their *Pawaws*, or Priests, who live by Idolatry, hinder them from embracing it, as much as possible; and by Perswasions and Threats, keep 'em in their Diabolical Worship. As to their Wives, no People in the World make themselves so easie in Wedlock, if a Man dislikes his Wife, he turns her off for the least Offence that is, and takes another. The Woman, in Revenge, carries away her Children with her, and the House is rid at once. The Wife, while she lives with the Husband, may Cuckold him without Crime or Scandal; but then she must acquaint her Husband, or her Parents, that she has a Gallant. They have a very indifferent sort of Maids among them, it being lawful and reputable enough for their Virgins to be as generous to Mankind as they please, before Marriage, provided they keep constantly to one Man after it. When a Woman is with Child, she never admits of the Conjugal Embraces till she is deliver'd, and never while she gives suck. *Belle Coustume*, says a *French* Author, *On auroit bonne grace de Vouloir prescher cette doctrine aux femmes de L'Europe. Comme on en seroit Escoute?* Which because it reflects on our European Ladies in this Matter, I shall leave in the Language I found it.

The *Indians* pay a great Respect and Obedience to their Kings: They believe the Transmigration of Souls, and know as much, and talk as learnedly of the Creation of the World, as their Neighbours. They are everlasting Dancers, given to all manner of *American* Sports and Gaming, and will play away all they have at Cards. They have certain Festivals, or Times set apart for their Pastimes. They don't take much Care in their Dress, in which they differ little from the *New-England* Indians: Their Lodgings and Way of Living, are very homely. They are almost always at War. They seldom give any Quarter but to Women and Children, whom they keep for Slaves.

'Tis a bloody Battle with 'em, if 8 or 10 Men are kill'd; and a mighty Prince who has a hundred Subjects fit to bear Arms, of which there are, in all, scarce 1000 *Indian* Men in the Territory of *New-York*, whereas there are 7 or 8 times as many *English*. We must now give an Account how the Colony advanc'd from its Infancy to its present Maturity.

Colonel *Nicholls* continu'd Governour, till about the Year 1683, when Sir *Edmund Andros*, of whom we shall have often Occasion to speak, was appointed his Successor. The Reputation of this Settlement en-

Sir Ed-
mund An-
dros Go-
vernour.

creasing with its Trade, it became a populous and thriving Plantation, in which Condition it remains to this Day. Col. *Dungan* succeeded Sir *Edmund*

Col. Dun-
gan Go-
vernour.

Andros, in the Government of *New-York*. This Gentleman was a *Roman* Catholick, and King *James* the I^{ld} put him into this Place: He was an old Soldier, having been long in the King of *Spain's* Service, and that gave him such an Aversion to the *French*, as hinder'd his betraying the Province to them, either in King *James's* Reign, or after the *Revolution*. Before the late King abdicated the Government, he consented that *French* Priests should come from *Quibec* in *Canada*, and have free Leave to make what Converts they could in the Province of *New-York*: Accordingly they came; but Col. *Dungan* immediately order'd them to be gone, saying, *Their Design was to gain over the English and their Allies to the French Interest, and not to the French Religion*; wherefore, like a Man of Honour, he drove them out of his Province. The *French* King complain'd of him to King *James*, who was highly displeas'd; and 'tis thought, Col. *Dungan* would have lost his Government, if his Highness the Prince of *Orange* had not been declar'd King. This Governour was afterwards Earl of *Limerick*, and is still living in *Ireland*. There happen'd nothing extraordinary in his Time: For the *Indians* giving the Inhabitants no Disturbance, there were no Wars to create Action, and disturb the peaceable Commerce of the People.

After the *Revolution*, Col. *Dungan* was recall'd; it being inconsistent with a Protestant Government to employ *Popish* Officers. The War broke out in those Parts almost as soon as in *Europe*, between the *English* and *French*, and their Confederates. We find mention

made

made of an Expedition, undertaken by the *English* against the *French*, by *La Hontan*; but that Author has not done us Justice; neither must we expect that ever the *French* will own they were beaten: He says, the *English* came within a Day or two's March of *Quibec*, and then return'd without doing any thing. The Truth of the Fact is: In the Year 1690. Col. *Peter Schuyler*, with 300 *English*, and 300 *Indians*, march'd from Fort *Albany* up to *Quibec*, 400 Miles from *New-York*, and the *French* Governour oppos'd him with no less than 13 Companies of regular Troops, and as many *Indians*: Notwithstanding the Inequality of their Numbers, Col. *Schuyler* charg'd the Enemy with equal Bravery and Success, routed them, kill'd 30 Officers, and 300 Soldiers with little or no Loss; but being not strong enough to attempt the Forts, he contented himself with his Victory, and retreated. A full Relation of this Action was printed at *New-York*. The *French* also made an Expedition against the *English*, surpriz'd *Schenectada*, burnt the Town, and murder'd the Inhabitants.

Colonel
Fletcher
Governour. King *William* appointed Col. *Fletcher* to succeed the Earl of *Limerick* in this Government, and he held it several Years. He had a Garrison of regular Troops, in the City of *New-York*, to prevent any Surprize from the *French* and their Confederates the *Hurons*.

In his Time, *A. D.* 1696, the Count *de Frontenac*, Governour of *Canada*, having a Design against *Schenectada* and *Albany*, in this Province, and intending to draw off the five Nations of *Indians*, inhabiting the neighbouring Parts, from the Friendship they liv'd in with the *English*, left *Quibec* about the 15th of *June*, and coming to *Mount-Real*, met there 3000 *French* and *Canada Indians*, and being provided with Canoos, Stores of all sorts, and other Necessaries for this Expedition, he advanc'd by the River of the *Iroquoise* towards *New-York*. After a long March of above 100 Leagues, he came into the Country of the *Orandaguese*, one of those five Nations, and surprizing them with so great a Power, destroy'd one of their Castles, burning their Corn and Provisions. Colonel *Fletcher* having Notice of this Invasion; march'd with the *English* Soldiers, then in Garrison at *New-York*, a Body of the Militia, and some of the *Indian* Allies, to
put

put a Stop to the Progress of the *French*. The Count *de Frontenac* hearing of his Approach, made a hasty Retreat. Upon which, a Party of the Upper Nations of the *Indians*, Friends to the *English*, who were coming to their Relief, attack'd his Rear, and kill'd several of the *French*, who were not only disappointed in their Project, but suffered a great Loss. The *Iroquoise* were all exasperated against them, by this Invasion, and desir'd Col. *Fletcher* to meet the Chief of their Nations at *Albany*, to concert Measures with them, for carrying on the War against the Common Enemy, and revenge themselves on the Count *de Frontenac* for invading their Country. Col. *Fletcher's* Successor was Col. *Slaughter*.

'Twas in the *Interregnum*, if we may be allow'd *Colonel* to use that Word, between this and Col. *Fletcher's* *Slaughter* Governments, that Col. *Lestey* took on him that *Governour* Office, without any Commission from *England*. He was of the Faction that always pretend to be more Zealous for the publick Good than others. And such Pretences never want Partizans. The Number of the Magistrates of this Province, who sided with him, were equal, at least, to the other; and cou'd he have maintain'd the Power he had usurp'd, till he had procur'd Remonstrances and Addresses, to be sent from them to *England*, he doubted not he should be able to get his Authority confirm'd. His Hopes, indeed, seem'd vain and chimerical. For no Prince will ever think that Person worthy of Power, who assumes it without his Consent, let his Cause, or his Merit, be what they will. Mr. *Jacob Milburn* was his great Friend in this Affair, and very instrumental in securing the Fort. But when Col. *Slaughter* arriv'd with the King's Commission, he got into the Fort by a Stratagem, seiz'd *Lestey* the Governour, and *Milburn*, and order'd them to be try'd for High Treason, for holding the Fort out against him, and killing one of his Men; he being the King's Lieutenant. The Judges and Jury made no great Difficulty of condemning them, and they were accordingly condemn'd, and executed as Traytors. The Governour, *Slaughter*, proceeded a little too hastily in this Affair, and no doubt would have been sent for to *England*, and perhaps serv'd as *Lestey* was, had he not dy'd in *New-York*,

Joseph
Dudley
Governour.

York, where his Faction was but too much encourag'd, especially after the Lord C---'s Arrival. *Slaughter* dying, *Joseph Dudley*, Esq; of *New-England*, held this Government till the Arrival of the Earl of *Bellomont*, whom his Majesty, King *William*, had made Governour of *New-England* and *New-York*. The Lord *Bellomont* intended to reside at *New-York*, it being the pleasanter City in the *English America*; but when he arriv'd at *New-England*, the Affairs of that Province requir'd his Presence, and he appointed Col. *Dudley* to be his Deputy at *New-York*, and after him Mr. *Nanfan*.

Mr. Nan-
fan, De-
puty Go-
vernour.

In the Year 1700, the Deputy-Governour set up a Post-Office in *Long Island*, which runs twice a Week, from *Northfleet* to *Nettlebed*, *Egerton*, *Ashford*, *Huntington*, *Oyster Bay*, *Flushing*, *Newton* and *Bedford*, where the Mail is carry'd over in the Passage-Boat to *New-York*. He also appointed a Packet-Boat, to go from *Northfleet* to *Stoniton*, in *New-England*, very convenient for the Trade and Correspondence between the two Colonies. About the same Time, 1000 of the *Scots*, who had settled at *Darien*, put into *New-York*, and took their Passage Homewards, after they had abandon'd that Settlement, but the Deputy-Governour refus'd to assist them, pretending he cou'd not do it in the Absence of the Earl of *Bellomont*, who was then at *Boston*. A Library was erected, this Year, in the City of *New-York*: And the *Dutch* Inhabitants built Mills to saw Timber; one of which wou'd do more in an Hour, than 50 Men in 2 Days. The Earl of *Bellomont* sent over a very Loyal Address, from this Province, which was presented to the King, by Col. *Byard*, their Agent, in *London*, who had the Honour to kiss the King's Hand. His Majesty, in *June*, 1700, appointed *William Atwood*, Esq; to be Chief Justice of the Province of *New-York*; and he held that Office till the Arival of the Lord *Cornbury*, Son of the E. of *Clarendon*, who was made Governour of this Province, on the Death of the Earl of *Bellomont*.

In the Year 1701, His Lordship remov'd thither, with his Lady and Family, and has resided there ever since. He remov'd Mr. *Atwood* from being Chief Justice, and made other Alterations in the Government. The Party that espous'd Col. *Lesley*'s Cause continu'd still, and Mr. *Atwood* fell in with them, as

indeed did many good *Englishmen*. They were charg'd with favouring the *Dutch*, and they charg'd their Enemies with the same Partiality for the *French*; but we will not enter into this Dispute, which caus'd a great deal of Trouble both in *New-York* and *England*. The Lord *Cornbury* treated all *Lesley's* Friends roughly enough, and carry'd it with a high Hand. This Lord was afterwards Governour of *New-Jersey*, for he had not been long at *New-York* before he receiv'd Advice of King *William's* Death, and Letters from the Lord Commissioners of Trade, with one inclos'd from the Privy Council, containing Directions to proclaim her present Majesty, which was done with great Solemnity, the 18th of *June*, 1702. His Lordship was, on this Occasion, attended by the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council; the Clergy, Gentlemen and Merchants of *New-York*; and the next Day having also receiv'd a Commission from Queen *Anne*, to be Governour of the *Ferseys*, he went over the Water to see the like Proclamation made there. My Lord continues in the Government of these Provinces to this Day.

It was impossible at this distance from the several Places we write of, to keep exactly to the Method we propos'd to our selves; and having, since the Writing the above Account of *New-York*, receiv'd further Information from a Gentleman of good Credit, we now communicate it to the Reader.

The City of *New-York* is thought to contain near 1000 Houses, most of them very well built. The Great Church was built in the Year 1695. Col. *Fletcher* being Governour, by the charitable Contributions of himself, Col. *Nicholson*, Governour of *Virginia*, and other well-dispos'd Christians. This Church is dedicated to the Holy Trinity. There are also a *Dutch* Church, a *French* Church, and a *Lutheran* Church; and a Free-school procur'd to be erected by the present Governour. The Minister of the *English* Church is the Reverend Mr. *William Vesey*. The City has a County belonging to it. For the whole Province of *New-York* is divided into 10 Counties; five of them, *viz.* *Albany*, *Ulster*, *Dutchess*, *Orange*, and *King's* County, are inhabited by the *Dutch*, and Persons

of *Dutch* Extraction. The five other Counties are, *Queen's County*, *Suffolk County*, *Chester County*, *Richmond County*, and *New-York*.

The Walls before-mention'd in the Description of this City were standing when 'twas call'd *New-Amsterdam*, but its chief Defence now is *Anne Fort*, and two new Batteries, one on each Side of the *Narrows*, to secure the Place by Sea. The Fort is in good Order; and there are now two Companies of Foot in Garrison in it, the Governour's and Captain *Peter Matthems's*.

We have before made mention of the Town of *Albany*. There is a strong Stone Fort begun by the Lord *Cornbury*, in the room of the Old Fort, which was only stockado'd. The Town of *Albany* is mostly inhabited by the *Dutch*; it is near 150 Miles from *New-York*. The Province being above 170 Miles in Length, our former Computation was too short. Her Majesty has been graciously pleas'd to send a Minister here; and the Representatives for this County in the Assembly, desir'd they might have a Church of *England* Pastor there, tho' the Inhabitants are generally *Dutch*. Here the Governour often has Conferences with the *Indian Kings*; and a famous one was holden in the Year 1702. my Lord *Cornbury* being present, as also Col. *Peter Schuyler*, Major *Dirk Wessels*, Commissioners for treating with the *Indians*. *John Bleecker*, Esq; Mayor of *New-York*, *J. Abeel*, Esq; Recorder, *John Roofsboom*, Esq; Alderman. *David Schuyler*, Esq; Alderman, *John Schuyler*, Esq; Alderman, and Mr *Richard Levingston*, Secretary for *Indian Affairs*. *Hilletie van Olinda*, an old *Dutch* Woman, was Interpreter. The first that had Audience were 2 *Sachems* of the *Canada Indians*, five *Sachems* of the *Twightwights* and *Tionondade Indians*, then the *Sachems* of the five Nations, in Confederacy with the *English*, the *Oneydes*, the *Onontages*, the *Cayouges*, the *Sinckes*, and the *Maquaus*; where mutual Presents were made, and Affairs of Trade settled. Here are two Companies in Garrison, Lieutenant Governour *Richard Ingoldsby's*, and Captain *Weems's*; and the Garrison is often reforc'd by Detachments from *New-York*.

At *Schenectada*, of which we have already spoken, is an old Fort, out of Repair, and the Pallisadoes very rotten. The Garrison here is Part of that at *Albany*. This Place is much more populous than before the *French* destroy'd it. Other Forts are on the Frontiers, as the *Half-moon*, *Nestigaun*, and *Saractoge*.

Indeed the *English* cannot be too careful of the Defence of their Frontiers here, considering what a powerful Enemy they have at *Canada*; and 'tis said the Expedition lately undertaken by Monsieur *Herberville* against *Nevis*, &c. was intended against *New-York*: For when Mr. *Nausan* was Deputy Governour, a *French* Man of War, as we are inform'd, was suffer'd to enter the Harbour, which the Captain order'd to be founded, and gave Information of it to the Court of *France*. The Stores at *New-York* were in such a Condition, that the Inhabitants were very glad they had no want of any; for had they been put to the Trial, they doubted whether they should have been able to have made so good a Defence as they would otherwise have done.

We must desire the Gentlemen of *New-York* not to expect that we should espouse their Factions: If we have been betray'd by some Persons to speak too favourably of *Lesley's* from their Misrepresentations, we shall not rake into the Ashes of the dead, and affront my Lord *Bellomont's* Memory, out of Complaisance to others.

We have been inform'd, since the first Part of this Account of *New-York* was written, that Col. *Lesley's* Usurpation happen'd before Col. *Fletcher's* Government, and consequently that my Lord *Bellomont* succeeded Col. *Slaughter*; but the Fact is true, and as to Chronology, if we sometimes err, 'tis the Fault of such as undertook to furnish us with Memoirs: We spar'd no Pains to have the best; and the World will see, by the Names of the Gentlemen, from whom we had our Informations, that we could not have better Authorities.

Kingston lies between *Albany* and *New-York*, on the West-side of the River. The Houses are stragling, except about 100, which compose the main Town. In the County of *West-Chester*, we must note one

Parish at least, that of *Decham*, is not yet laid out, and perhaps the Name is mistaken. There's but one Church in this County, at *West-Chester* Town, but there's a settled Maintenance for two Ministers, at 50 *l.* yearly each; one for *West-Chester*, of which Mr. *Barton* is Rector, and one for *Rye*.

We have nothing more to say of *Richmond* County and Town, but that it has an Allowance for a Minister at 40 *l.* a Year.

If we take another View of *Long-Island*, we must correct an Error in its Situation, which is a Print-Fault, for 'tis South-East from *New-York*, as *New-England* is North-East. The Island is 150 Miles long, and contains *Queen's* County, *Suffolk* County, and *Richmond* County. 'Tis sometimes call'd *Nassau-Island*. In *Queen's* County are two Churches, supply'd with Incumbants. *Jamaica*, of which the Reverend Mr. *William Urquhart* is Minister, he has 50 *l.* a Year, by Subscription, from the *Yorkshire* Clergy, and 15 *l.* for Books. The Town consists of about 40 Houses. The other Church is at *Hempstead*, of which the Reverend Mr. *John Thomas* is Rector, who has the same Income from *England*, rais'd by the Society for propagating the Gospel, as Mr. *Urquhart* has, and both of them are allow'd 60 *l.* a Year a piece in *New-York*.

'Tis in the Plain near this Town, call'd thence *Hempstead* Plain, that the Races are generally run; and the Breed of Horses being famous here, the Militia Regiment in this County is Horse.

Suffolk County has two Towns in it. *Oyster* Bay, where are 50 Houses; and in *Huntington* as many, but no Church built. There are abundance of Dissenters, *Independants* and *Quakers*.

Having nothing more to say of the History of *New-York*, we shall proceed to that of the *Ferseys*, having first given a List of the Chief Officers, Civil and Military.

The Right Honourable *Edward* Lord Viscount
Cornbury, Governour,

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F

N E W - J E R S E Y .

THIS Country, before the Surrender made by the late Proprietors of the Government, into Her present Majesty's Hands, was divided into two distinct Provinces, but as 'tis now under one Governour, and one Council; so we give it but one Name.

The first Discoverers of this Country were the English, and the first of them Captain *Hudson*. 'Tis included in *Nova-Belgia*, by Mr. *Delaet*. The *Indigena*, or first Inhabitants of this Territory, were the *Naraticongi*, on the North Side of *Raritan River*. The *Minquaas*, the *Capitanasses*, the *Gacheos*, and the *Senneaas* on the South. The latter inhabited the Country up almost as high as the Falls of the River. The first Europeans that settled here were the *Swedes*, who had three Towns, *Christina*, call'd by *Indians*, *Andostoka*, *Elfsimburgh* and *Gottemburg*. Their Settlements were chiefly on the South side of the River, and on the Frontiers of *Pensylvania*, opposite to which Province there's a Place, to this Day, call'd *Fort Elfsimburgh*. But the *Swedes* made very little of their Plantation. And the *Dutch*, always industrious in their Trade, work'd them so far out of it; that *Berghen*, the Northern Part of *New-Jersey*, was almost entirely planted by the *Hollanders*. King *Charles II.* who, like his Predecessors, look'd upon the Continent of

Del:

Robbi.

of America, from Canada to Florida, to be his Right, incerted this Tract in the Grant he made to the Duke of York, the 12th of March, 1664. But the English never settled to the South of Hudson's River, on that side Maryland, till several Years after the Duke had invested this Province in John Lord Berkly, and Sir George Cartarett, by the Name of Nova Casarea; their Charter bears Date the 24th of June, 1664: The Lord Berkly's Assignee, Sir George Cartarett agreed to divide the whole Country into two Parts. East New-Jersey, or that Part which borders on New-York, fell to Sir George Cartarett; and West-Jersey, or that Part which borders on Pensylvania, to the Lord Berkly. But before we enter farther into the History of these two Provinces, it will be convenient to give a Geographical Description of them, that the Reader may have a better Idea of the Places we speak of.

New-Jersey contains all that Country, to use the Words of the Patent, lying to the Westward of Long-Island and Manhattas-Island, or New-York, and bounded on the East, Part by the main Sea, and part by Hudson's River, and extended Southward to the main Ocean, as far as Cape May, at the Mouth of Delaware River; and to the Northward, as far as the Northermost Branch of the said Bay or River of Delaware, which is 41 Degrees and 40 Minutes of Latitude, and crossing over thence in a streight Line to Hudson's River, in 41 Degrees of Latitude; which said Tract of Land was then call'd Nova Cæsaria, or New-Jersey, by all; and thus we see it has the main Sea on the South East, the River Delaware to the West, Hudson's River to the East, the main Land to the North, and lies between 39 and 40 Degrees of North Latitude: It extends it self in Length on the Sea Coasts, and along Hudson's River about 120 Miles; and is almost as broad as long where 'tis broadest. We must now take some Notice of the two Provinces distinctly.

Bounds.

The biggest and best inhabited of these was East-Jersey, which extended Eastward and Northward, all along the Sea Coast and Hudson's River, from Little Egg Harbour to that Part of Hudson's River, which is in 41 Degrees of Northern Latitude; and Southward and Westward is divided from West-Jersey by a Line of Partition, passing from Egg Harbour to Cross-

East-Jersey.

wick River, *Stony Brook*, and the South Branch of *Raritan River*. It extends in Length along *Hudson's River*, and on the Sea Coasts 100 Miles. In Breadth 'tis very unequal, being in some Places crowded by *West-Jersey*; but 'tis however the most valuable Part of this Country. It was divided into Counties; as *Bergen County*, on *Hudson's River*; *Essex County*, *Middlesex County*, on the North Side of *Raritan River*; and *Monmouth County* on the South. We shall begin with

*Berghen
County.*

Berghen County. It lies on *Hudson's River* over against *New-York*, and was the first planted of any part of this Tract. This, as well as the other Parts of the *Jerseys*, is extremely well water'd with Rivers; besides that of *Hudson*, there are *Hackinsack River*, *Passaick River*, and several less Streams. The chief Town is *Berghen*, and indeed the only Town in the County, for the rest of it is *Out-Plantations*. Within the Precincts of this Township, are 10000 Acres of Land cast out; that is, assign'd over by the Proprietors to Tenants in Fee; and in the County are 10000 Acres cast out. The Town is not very large, however it has 350 Inhabitants, most of them *Dutch*, who have been settled there above 40 Years. In the County are reckon'd a like Number of Inhabitants, by which we understand Men, Women, and Children. *Berghen Town* stands on the Western Point of the Neck of Land, which, with *Staten Island*, forms a *Sound*.

*Essex
County.*

Essex County is of Note for *Elizabeth Town*, which lies three Miles within a Creek, opposite to the West End of *Staten Island*. Here the *English* settled first, and this Place has thriv'd most, notwithstanding the Endeavours that have been us'd to make a Capital of *Perth*. It has 250 Families in it, and 40000 Acres of Ground cast out. Here the Proprietors have a Plantation, which goes by the Name of their *Farm*, the Government of the Provinces manag'd, Courts kept, Assemblies held, and the greatest Part of the Trade of the Colony carry'd on.

Newark is the most compact Town in the *Jerseys*; it lies 6 or 7 Miles Northward from *Elizabeth Town*, consists of about 100 Families, and has 50000 Acres of Land laid out to be cultivated. The Western Part of this County is water'd by *Ramsey River*; upon which

which is a Saw-Mill; and Northward is a Ridge of Mountains, call'd the *Blew Hills*. The next County, is

Middlesex, the most populous and flourishing for its *Out Plantations*, tho the Capital of the Country, *Perth City*, which stands in it, does hardly yet deserve the Name of a Village. In this Division of the Province are two Towns:

Piscattaway, which lies about 6 Miles up *Raritan* River. It has 80 Families, and 40000 Acres of Land cast out. Seven or eight Miles from hence is

Woodbridge, a good Town on a Creek within the *Sound*, form'd by *Staten* Island and this County. It has 120 Families, and 30000 Acres of Land laid out for Plantations. The Western Part of *Middlesex* County is water'd by *Milstone* River, which runs thro' a very pleasant and fruitful Country, belonging to Mr. *Will. Dockwra* of *London*, to whom that City owes the useful Invention of the Penny-Post. The Proprietors considering the happy Situation of *Perth* City, order'd their Agents to use their utmost Endeavours to procure Inhabitants to remove thither; but *Elizabeth* Town kept them, as we shall hereafter again observe.

Perth Amboy takes its Name from *James Drummond*, Earl of *Perth*, and *Amboy* Point, on which it stands. 'Tis a sweet, wholesome, and commodious Place, at the Mouth of the River *Raritan*, which runs into *Sandyhook* Bay, able to contain 500 Ships, and is never frozen. According to the Proprietors Project, they were to set out such a Spot of Ground there, and divide it into 150 equal Shares, for Purchasers to build upon. They reserv'd 4 Acres for a Market-Place, and three Acres for publick Wharfage. A Town was accordingly set out, and the *Scots* Proprietors were very industrious to have it built. The Governour's House was one of the first, and there are now about 40 Houses more scatter'd up and down; to which is given the pompous Name of *Perth* City. Two or three of these are Stone Houses. The whole Plan of the Town consists of 1070 Acres; and there are two good Roads from it to *Piscattaway* and *Woodbridge*. But notwithstanding 'tis so commodious for Trade, that Ships in one Tide can come up to the Port, and

lie at the Merchants Doors, tho of 300 Tun Burthen; yet we do not find that *Perth City* deserves that Name better than *St. James City* in *Virginia*, which is not so big as *Kentish Town* in *Middlesex*, in *England*. 'Twas intended there should have been a Market here, but there is now no Occasion for one. All along the River *Raritan*, the Country is thick of Plantations; the chief of which were set out to two of the Proprietors, *Mr. Robert Barclay*, and *Mr. Will. Dockwra*. From hence we cross the River, and come to *Monmouth County*: Where we first meet with *Middleton*, a pretty good Town, consisting of 100 Families, and 30000 Acres of Ground, in what they call here *Out-Plantations*. 'Tis about 10 or 12 Miles over Land, to the Northward of *Shrewsbury*, and 26 Miles to the Southward of *Piscattaway*. Not far off, the Shoar winds it self about like a Hook; and, being sandy, gives Name to all the Bay.

Mon-
mouth
County.

Shrewsbury is the most Southern Town of the Province, and reckon'd the chief Town of the Shire. It contains about 160 Families, and 30000 Acres of *Out-Plantations* belong to its Division. 'Tis situated on the Side of a fresh Water Stream, thence call'd *Shrewsbury River*, not far from its Mouth. Between this Town and *Middleton* is an Iron Work; but we do not understand it has been any great Benefit to the Proprietors. *Col. Morris* is building a Church at the Falls. There's a new Town in this County, call'd, *Freehold*, which has not been laid out, and inhabited long. It does not contain as yet above 40 Families; and as to its *Out-Plantations*, we suppose they are much the same in Number with the rest, and may consist of about 30000 Acres.

We have not divided the Counties into Parishes, and that for a very good Reason, there being none, nor indeed a Church in the whole Province, worthy that Name. But there are several Congregations of Church of *England Men*, as at *Shrewsbury*, *Amboy*, *Elizabeth Town*, and *Freehold*, whose Minister is *Mr. John Beak*, his Income is 65 l. a Year; and a Church is building at *Salem*. As for,

West-
Jersey.

West-Jersey, We can only give a general Account of it; for it is not divided into Shires, as *East-New-Jersey* is; tho *Dr. Cox*, when he was Proprietary, order'd

der'd seven Counties to be laid out; as *Cape-May* County, *Salham* County, *Gloucester* County, &c. but his Successors did not go on with his Project. Tho' *West-Jersey* has not so many Towns, nor is so well planted and inhabited, the Number of its navigable Creeks renders this Province as commodious for Trade as the other. They lie at a convenient Distance, and some of them run up a good way into the Country.

The most Easterly Point of Land in *West-Jersey*, is *Cape-May*, at the Mouth of *Delaware* Bay, and over against *Suffex* County, in *Pensylvania*. The Tract of Land between this and *Little Egg* Harbour, which divides East and West *New-Jersey*, goes by the Name of *Cape-May* County; but we do not understand, that there is now any other Division of this Province honour'd with the Name of a County.

Here are several stragling Houses on this Neck of Land, the chief of which is *Cox's* Hall; but there's yet no Town. Most of the Inhabitants are Fishermen, there being a Whalery at the Mouth of the Bay, on this as well as the opposite Shoar. Next to *Cape-May* is *Maurice* River, between that and *Cohenzy*: 'Tis the biggest in all the Country. Next to it is *Cohenzy*, a small River, but deep and navigable for small Craft. Ten or twelve Miles up this River, is *Cohenzy* Town; where are about 80 Families. From *Maurice* River, the next Stream to *Cape-May*, the Bay and River of *Delaware* waters all the South-East, South, and South-West Part of *West-Jersey*. The Plantations, some of which are so close, that they have assum'd the Name of a Town, lie all along on that Bay and River, and most of them on Creeks.

Antioch is a sort of a Town, and has a little Creek belonging to it. Next to it, nearer the Mouth of *Delaware* River, is *Gibbon's* Creek; next, *Alloway's* Creek; and then Fort *Elsimburgh*, at the River's Mouth, and over against *New-Castle* County, in *Pensylvania*: It formerly belong'd to the *Swedes*. Near it the River *Salham* falls into the *Delaware*. There's a Town about half way up this River towards its Head, from whence it takes its Name. 'Tis 20 Miles from *Cohenzy*, and contains about 120 Families. One of the Counties, laid out by the former Proprietary, was from this Place call'd *Salem*.

Fins's Point and *Town*, if it may be so call'd, lies over against *New-Castle Town*. Next to it is *Namen Creek*, then *Racoon Creek*, then *Almon Creek*, *Low Island*, and *Wass Creek*; the latter opposite to *Chester*, in *Pensylvania*; then *Great Manto Creek*, then *Woodberry River*, *Green Bank*, and then *Gloucester Creek*, and *Cooper's Point*, over against *Philadelphia* on the *Delaware*. *Gloucester* is a good *Town*, and gave Name to a County in the above-mention'd Proprietary's Division of the Province. It contains near 100 Houses; the Country about it is very pleasant. Above this is *Panthakin Creek*, then *Northampton* or *Rancocos River*; and then *Burlington Town*, the Capital of this Province; above thirty Miles from which there are few or no Plantations. In this *Town* the *Courts* and *Assemblies* of *West-Jersey* us'd to be kept. It contains about 200 Families, and has an answerable Number of Acres laid out by the Proprietary to the Under-Servants. The Houses here are well built, and almost all of Brick. The Market affords Plenty of all sorts of Provisions. It gave Name to one of the seven before-mention'd Counties. Above this *Town* is another, call'd *Maidenhead*, below the Falls also, containing 40 or 50 Families; 'tis built on *Dr. Cox's Lands*: And there's another small *Town* above the Falls. About 40 Miles higher is the Country of the *Minisinks*, an *Indian Nation*. The Soil being very fertile thereabouts, 'tis expected this Tract will be next inhabited, it bordering upon *New-York*, and has Communication with it, by Means of the River *Asopus*; which having water'd it, flows into *Hudson's River*, near *Kingston*. This Province has also an easy Communication with *Maryland*, there being a River within its Limits which runs not above eight Miles from the Bottom of *Chesapeake Bay*; and there was once a Project on Foot to cut thro' that eight Miles, but *Virginia* and *Maryland* oppos'd it so vehemently, that it did not succeed.

The Trade of *West New-Jersey*, and *East-Jersey*, as also the Soil and Conveniences of Rivers and Creeks, are much the same; except that *West-Jersey*, by its Situation on *Delaware River*, abounds more in the latter.

Both these Provinces, as to the Soil and Air, ^{The Soil,} have a near Relation with that of *Pensylvania*; ^{Trade, &c.} as also to its Trade and Products. The Country yields Plenty of all sorts of Grain; and the Inhabitants are said to have been so scrupulous, that they would not enter upon it, before they had given the *Indians* some Satisfaction: But there needed not so much Nicety; for 'tis certainly very lawful for any Man to possess himself of any Land that is desert and uninhabited, as this was towards the Sea-Coast especially. The few *Indians* that are to be met with in the *Jerseys*, are rather a Help than an Injury to the Inhabitants, who wish their Number was much greater. The *English* are so numerous in comparison of the *Indians*, that if it was in the Nature of the latter, they durst not offer the least Injustice to the New-Comers, for they might soon be extirpated by them, it being computed, that there are 10 or 12000 Souls of the *English* in this Province, and of these about 2000 Men fit to bear Arms, and not 200 *Indians* in all.

'Twill be needless to enter into the Particulars of the Products of these Provinces, since, as we have said, it has so much Relation to *Pensylvania*. Provisions are the chief Trade here, which are thence exported to the *Sugar Islands*. They have also some Furs, Skins, and Tobacco, for an *English* Market; and Oil, Fish, and other Provisions for *Portugal*, *Spain*, and the *Canaries*. Ships may be built here cheap and conveniently at *Perth Amboy*: But *New-England* carries away that beneficial Trade from all the rest of the *English* Colonies, on the Northern Continent of *America*. This Place was at first as likely to be soon inhabited as any, but its Progress has not been as promising as its Beginning.

New-York and *Pensylvania* have much the Advantage of it for Populoufness and Trade; and indeed *New-York* is its best Market, for buying or selling any considerable Quantities of Goods of any sort.

We have already hinted concerning the Smithing Forge that is set up near *Middleton*. 'Tis certain

tain, Iron has been made there; but that Project has lately fail'd; and notwithstanding all that is said of the Iron and Copper of *New-England*, and the Minerals all over that Continent, we do not find that any of the Mines of *America* have been worth working, except those of *Mexico* and *Peru*. We shall now return to the Historical Events relating to the Beginning, Progress, and present State of *New-Jersey*.

History.

The Lord *Berkley*, about twelve Years after the Duke granted this Province to him and Sir *George Cartarett*, assign'd his Right to

The first Proprietary in *Jersey*, under the Lord *Berkley*, who were,

Will. Pen, Esq;

Mr. Gawen Laurie, of *London*, Merchant;

Mr. Nicholas Lucas, and

Mr. Edward Byllyng,

These not long after agreed upon the Partition of the Province with Sir *George Cartarett*: And this Proprietary dying, the Earl of *Bath*, and others his Executors, with the Consent of his Widow, the Lady *Cartarett*, assign'd over his Share, which was the Northern Division, *Feb. 2. 1681.* to

First Proprietaries in East-Jersey.

The First Proprietaries of *East-New-Jersey*:

* *Will. Pen*, Esq;

Rob. West, Esq;

* *Mr. Tho. Rudyard*.

Mr. Samuel Groom.

* *Mr. Tho. Hart*.

* *Mr. Rich. Mem*.

Mr. Thomas Wilcox.

Mr. Ambrose Rigg,

Mr. Hugh Hartshorn.

* *Mr. Clement Plumsted*.

* *Mr. Tho. Cooper*.

Mr. John Hayward.

And from this Time the two Provinces have had their distinct Governours. The Proprietaries soon after sold Shares of *East-New-Jersey* to the Persons following, *viz.*

James

James, Earl of Perth.

John Drummond, Esq;

Sir George Mackenzy.

Rob. Barclay, } of Ury,

David Barclay, } Esqrs.

Robert Gourdon, Esq;

Mr. Robert Burnet.

Mr. Peter Sonnans, of Lon-
don, Merchant.

Mr. James Braine.

Mr. Gawen Lawrie.

Mr. Edward Bylljng.

Mr. Will. Gibson.

Mr. Tho. Barker, } Mer-

Mr. Walter Benthall, } chs.

Mr. Rob. Turner, } of Dub-

Mr. Tho. Narne, } lin, Mer'

Mr. Thomas Cox,

Mr. Will. Dockwra.

Who, with the six Proprietaries distinguish'd in the second List by the *Astracisms*, procur'd a Confirmation of their Patent by another from the Duke of York, dated the 14th of *March*, 1682. by which they were invest'd with all the Powers and Privileges, which the Duke had granted to Sir *George Cartaret*; or indeed, which the King had granted to his Royal Brother himself. And we by these Lists perceive, that all the *Pattentees* of the Lord *Berkley's* Division, or *West-New-Jersey*, were Proprietaries of *East-New-Jersey*, except Mr. *Nicholas Lucas*; yet they did not procure any Conjunction of the two Provinces; on the contrary, separate Governours were appointed over each of them; and the first Governour of *East-New-Jersey* was *Robert Barclay*, Esq; by Commission, dated the 17th of *July*. His Deputy was *Gawen Laurie*, Esq;

The *Scots* were at that time as much persecuted for their Religion as the *English*; and Mr. *Barclay*, the Head of the *Quakers* in that Kingdom, and also in *England*, thought fit to remove hither with his Family.

We must note, that most of the first *English* Inhabitants in this Country were *Dissenters*, and most of them *Quakers* and *Anabaptists*. These People are generally industrious: Be their Hypocrisy to themselves if they are Hypocrites; but we must do them the Justice to own, that they are the fittest to inhabit a new-discover'd Country, as professing Industry, and shunning those publick Vices which beget Idleness and Want. Their Enemies drove great Numbers of them out of *England*; and the *Jerseys* had their Share of them:

First Eng-
lish Inha-
bitants.

them: The People here are for this Reason *Dissenters* to this Day, there being but two Church of *England* Ministers in both the Provinces; and this may be one Reason why there are no *Parish Churches*, which the Inhabitants may be afraid to build, least it might be a Temptation for more *Orthodox Divines* to come among them.

A Gentleman asking one of the Proprietaries, *If there were no Lawyers in this Country?* Was answer'd, *No*: And then, *If there were no Physicians?* The Proprietary reply'd, *No*: Nor *Parsons*, adds the Gentleman? *No*, says the Proprietary: Upon which the other cry'd, *What a happy Place must this be, and how worthy the Name of Paradise!* We do not perhaps differ more from this Gentleman than we agree with him.

The Proprietors, in the same Year, made Mr. *Geo. Lockhart* Marshal, and Mr. *William Dockwra* Register and Secretary, in which Office he continues to this Day; and 'tis to him the Writer of this *History* owes, in a great measure, the *Memoirs* relating to this *Colony*.

The Proprietaries made a Deed amongst themselves to prevent Survivorship, and agreed upon *Constitutions*, or general *Concessions*, for the Management of the Province, as to laying out Land for *Counties*, *Tribes*, *Towns*, and *Parishes*. They reserv'd one part in seven for themselves, and resolv'd to dispose of the rest on the following Terms: *Every Master of a Family was to have 50 Acres of Land set out, and 25 for his Wife, and each of his Children and Servants, paying 12 d. a Head to the Register, or his Deputy, for registering them as soon as landed. Servants, when their Times expir'd, were to have 30 Acres. All Persons to pay 2 d. an Acre Quit-Rent; or purchase their Freeholds at 50 s. for every Lot of 25 Acres so taken up, and so in proportion for a greater or less Number of Acres. All Persons were oblig'd to settle in some Township, and to have Land assign'd there for House and Garden, every one being oblig'd by the Concessions to build a House in seven Years time. The Rate of any Parcel of Land was ten Pounds for 100 Acres; and none were to purchase above 1000 Acres: But this Part of the Constitution has not, we suppose, been punctually kept; neither*

neither has *Land* always continu'd at 10 *l.* the 100 Acres; for 'tis certain, *Land* has been sold here for 20 *s.* an Acre, and very often for 60, 70, and 80 *l.* the 100 Acres, as it lay convenient for Townships and Trade, and as it was in Goodness.

Mr. *Barclay*, the first Governour of *East-New-Jersey*, had made his Name famous among his Brethren the *Quakers* by his Writings: he did not go over immediately, so the Government was exercis'd by his Deputy, *Gawen Lawrie*, Esq; who had a *Council* nominated by the *Proprietaries* to assist him: But it seems he did not please his Principals; whether or not it was, that being a *Proprietary* of *West-New-Jersey*, he was not willing the Province he govern'd should thrive too fast, or whether he did not think the Orders he receiv'd from the *Proprietaries* were for the Advantage of the *Colony*, is not determinable by us; but sure we are he disobey'd them in an Article, which was of the last Consequence for the Good of the Province. *September 14. 1683.* the *Proprietaries* wrote to Mr. *Lawrie* and the *Council*, to remove the Seat of Government, and the Courts from *Elizabeth Town* to *Amboy Point*, and there to settle, that by their Presence People might be encourag'd to build *Perth City*, which was then laid out, and great Advantages propos'd to all such as would inhabit it. It lay so commodious for Shipping, that the Concern'd did not doubt, if their Orders were obey'd, they should in a few Years see a City there, which would at least have been a Rival to *New-York* and *Philadelphia*. Mr. *Lawrie*, by disobeying the *Proprietaries*, gave those two Cities an Opportunity to get the start of *Perth-Amboy* so far, that the Inhabitants of *East-New-Jersey* despairing ever to come near them, have discontinu'd their Building; and this Town, which was intended to be the *Capital* of this *Colony*, lies now among the Number of its *Villages*.

Gawen
Lawrie
DeputyGo-
vernor.

We find Mr. *Barclay* continu'd Governour till the Year 1685. when the Right Honourable the Lord *Neal* The Lord *Campbel*, Uncle to his Grace the present Duke of *Ar-* Neal *gyle*, was appointed Governour: In whose tinie *George* Campbel *Keith* came over to *East-New-Jersey*, and taught a Governor. School there. He was also appointed *Surveyor General*, on Account of his Skill in the *Mathematicks*.

He staid there two or three Years, and then went to some other *American* Colony: This is the Man, who, when he return'd to *England*, renounc'd his *Enthusiastick* Errors, and embrac'd the Orthodox Religion of the *Anglicane* Church: After which he became a regular Minister, was presented to a Benefice; and has made himself talkt off by his Disputes with the *Quakers*, and theirs with him; for they have not stuck to charge him with deserting them for a worldly Interest. When he left *Jersey*, Mr. *John Reed* was made Surveyor General. Since this he was sent over by the Society for propagating the Gospel, as a Missionary to convert the *Indians*, and make Profelytes to the Church of *England*: 'Tis said in the Society's Paper, That he has brought great Comfort to the Church. There is now a Minister of *St. Mary's Burlington*, who is Mr. *John Talbot*, Assistant to Mr. *Keith* in his Mission: He has 60 l. a Year from the Society.

Col. Hamilton
Governor.
Jeremy
Basse, Esq;
Governor.
Col. Hamilton
again.
Mr. Basse
again.
Col. Andrew
Browne
Governor.

In the Year 1696. Col. *Andrew Hamilton* was appointed Governour of this Province: In which Post he did not continue long; for in 1697. we find *Jeremy Basse*, Esq; was sent from *England* with that Character, which he also kept but a little while; for Col. *Hamilton* procur'd Mr. *Basse* to be recall'd, and himself re-instated in his Government; which was of as short Duration as Mr. *Basse's*, for the latter in a Year's Time or less was restor'd.

His Successor, and the last Governour of *East-New-Jersey*, was Col. *Andrew Bowne*, who continu'd in that Post as long as the Proprietaries Power lasted. This Office, considering the Cheapness of the Country, was as good as the same in some other Colonies, where the Sallery and Advantages are greater, for the Governour cannot here make fairly above 500 l. a Year of his Government.

This Colony continu'd to thrive under all these Governours; and notwithstanding the Majority of the Proprietaries and Proprietors were *Quakers*, a People who affect a peculiar Tameness of Spirit, and declare against Fighting, yet a Militia has been form'd, and at a late Muster 1400 stout Men appear'd in Arms, Col. *Thomas Cox*, Son of Dr. *Cox*, commanding them. The Number of Souls in this Province is computed to be 12000, and *West-New-Jersey* 8000.

We must now take some Notice of those Events that relate to the latter: 'Tis true, we do not meet with many, and those not very important; but such as they are, we shall communicate them to the Reader.

Governours were settled in this Province much about the same time that the *Proprietaries* of the other appointed Persons to govern *East-New-Jersey*. The first Governour of *West-New-Jersey* was *Edward Byllyng*, Edward Esq; one of the *Proprietaries*, who was put into that Office, A. D. 1683. and continu'd in it several Years. *Byllyng*, Esq; Governour. After which the greatest part of the Province was sold to Dr. *Daniel Cox*, one of the Members of the College of Physitians, who took the Government into his own Hands; but being then in very great Business in his Profession, he did not think fit to leave it for the Profits of his Province, and govern'd the Colony always by a Deputy. In the Year 1690. his Practice diminishing in *England*, he resolv'd on a Voyage to his *American Territories*, and was actually gone as far as *Salisbury*, in his way to *Plimouth*, to embark there for this Country, but he was dissuaded by a Friend from his intended Voyage; and returning to *London*, sold the best part of his Propriety to Sir *Thomas Lane*, and others, for above 9000 *l.* a Sum of Money which has not often been known to be given in *London* for an Estate in either of the *English Colonies* on the Continent of *America*. What these Purchasers did with their Province, we have not heard; but we find they thought it convenient, for the Good of the Colony, to make a Surrender of their Patent to the Queen, reserving all their Rights to themselves, except the Sovereignty, which was restor'd to the Crown. The *Proprietaries* of *East-New-Jersey* did the same; for on the 22d of *April*, 1702. Mr. *Will. Dockwra*, in their Name, and Sir *Thomas Lane* in the Name of the *Proprietaries* of *West-New-Jersey*, waited on her Majesty, and made a formal Surrender of the Sovereignty to her. The Queen immediately appointed my Lord *Cornbury* to be Governour, and this Lord made the late Governour, Mr. *Jeremy Basse*, his Secretary. The Patent surrendred. The Lord Cornbury Governour.

The Two Provinces, which had been divided 26 Years, became united, and now goes by the Name of

The History of New-Jersey.

New-Jersey; the Government being by a *Governour*, *Council*, and *Assembly*: The Governour chooses his Council out of each, and appoints a Lieutenant-Governour. In the Year 1703. Mr. Sergeant *Hook* made a Purchase of 3750 Acres of Land, in *West-Jersey*, upon *Delaware* River, and gave the 10th part of it as a Glebe to the Church. The Names of the present Officers are,

The Right Honourable the Lord Viscount *Cornbury*,
Governour.

Richard Ingoldsby, Esq; Lieutenant-Governour.

<i>Lewis Morris</i> , Esq;	} Counsellors.
Col. <i>Andrew Bowne</i> ;	
<i>Thomas Revel</i> , Esq;	
<i>Francis Davenport</i> , Esq;	
<i>William Pinhorn</i> , Esq;	
<i>George Deacon</i> , Esq;	
<i>Daniel Leeds</i> , Esq;	
<i>William Sandford</i> , Esq;	
Col. <i>Robert Quarry</i> , and	
<i>Peter Sonmans</i> , Merchant,	}

'Tis remarkable, that Col. *Robert Quarry*, is not only a Counsellor here, but also at *New-York*, *Pensylvania*, *Maryland*, and *Virginia*.

Secretary and Register, Mr. *William Dockwra*.

Secretary to the Governour, Mr. *Jeremy Basse*.

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F

P E N S Y L V A N I A .

THIS is not the least considerable of our *American* Colonies; and for the few Years that the Tract of Land, which goes by this Name, has been inhabited, we believe none has thriv'd more, nor is more rich and populous.

The *Proprietary, William Pen, Esq;* is the Son of *The Proprietary, Sir William Pen,* who commanded the *English Fleet,* in Conjunction with other Admirals, in the time of the *Rump;* whom *Oliver* sent with *Col. Venables* to *Hispaniola;* and tho' that Expedition fail'd through the ill Conduct of *Venables,* Mr. *Pen,* for he was not then Knighted, was generally said to have behav'd himself with equal Wildom and Courage. He afterwards fell in with the *Royalists* upon the King's *Restoration,* and commanded the Fleet under the Duke of *York,* in the first *Dutch War,* having sometime before receiv'd the Honour of Knighthood; and dying not long after, was bury'd in *Redcliff-Church* in *Bristol.* For the Services he had done the King and Nation, his Son, the ingenious *William Pen, Esq;* sollicit'd a *Grant* of this Province; but having declar'd himself the *Head* of the People in *England,* call'd *Quakers,* he met with

great Difficulties in obtaining this *Pattent*; which he at last procur'd, bearing Date the 4th of *March*, 1687. and gave his Name to the whole Country, which is from him call'd *Pensylvania* in the Original *Grant*, by the King's Authority. But before we proceed further in its History, we must give the Reader some Idea of the *Province*.

Pensylvania consists of all that *Tract of Land* in *America*, with all *Islands* thereunto belonging; that is to say, from the Beginning of the fortieth Degree of North Latitude, unto the forty third Degree of North Latitude; whose Eastern Bounds, from 12 English Miles above Newcastle (*alias Delaware-Town*) runs all along upon the Side of *Delaware-River*. So that 'tis bounded on the East by the River and Bay of *Delaware*, and the Eastern Sea; on the North, by *West New-Jersey*, or rather *New York*, for it goes a great way above the *Jerseys*; on the West, by the *Indian Nations* about the Heads of *Susquahanaugh* and *Delaware Rivers*; and on the South by *Maryland*; and reaches from *Pensberry*, near the Falls of *Delaware River*, to *Cape Hinlope*, at the Mouth of *Delaware Bay*, near 150 Miles: But it runs along like a Strip of Land, being very much crowded in Breadth by *Maryland*.

Bounds.

We should have made mention of the first Inhabitants of this Country, and the first Discoverers; but what we have particularly to say of either the one or the other, we shall relate in the further Prosecution of this History, and continue our Geographical Description of it.

The River *Delaware* is navigable 300 Miles at least, in small Vessels; so high Mr. *Pen* has gone up it himself, as he was pleas'd to acquaint the Writer of this Treatise. It rises in the Mountains, in the Western Parts of this Continent, near the *Iroquoise*, and runs parallel with *Susquahanaugh River* in *Maryland*; the latter falling into the Bay of *Cheseapeak*, not far from where *Delaware River* discharges it self into the Bay that bears its Name. Some Ships bound for *Pensylvania* sail through *Cheseapeak Bay*, the Head falling within this Latitude. They both divide themselves, near the Falls, into two great Branches; and between them flows the *Schoolkill*, which runs into the *Delaware* at *Philadelphia*. These are the only Rivers of Note in this

Rivers.

this

this Province; the rest are rather *Creeks* than *Rivers*; the Southside of the *Delaware* abounding with them, as well as the North; of which we have spoken in the last *Article*.

We do not find any Counties in the *Western* Part of this Country; the first Town we come to below the Falls, is *Newton*; and next to it is *Pensberry*, over against *Burlington*, in *West New-Jersey*. Here's a small Creek, but never a one at *Newton*. This part of the *Delaware* is call'd the *Freshes*. The next Creek is *Neshimenck*, then *Portqueessin*, then *Pemmipeku*; between which and *Towcauny-Creek*, is *Franctford*; which seems to be a *Dutch* Village, or a *Swedish*; for both *Swedes* and *Dutch* inhabit several Places in *Pensylvania*. The *Swedes* seated themselves mostly in the *Creeks* I have been speaking of, about the *Freshes*. The *Dutch* planted near the Bay. This Place is also call'd *Oxford*, and here is a Church of *England* Congregation, supply'd by the Ministers of *Philadelphia*, there being none yet sent to the Town, which consists of about 150 Houses. From *Towcauny*, having pass'd *Mill-Creek*, we come to

Philadelphia, the Capital of this Colony, dignify'd Philadelphia with the Name of a *City*. 'Tis indeed most commodiously situated between two navigable Rivers, the *Delaware* and *Schoolkill*. It has two Fronts on the Water; one on the East-side, facing the *Schoolkill*; and the other on the *West*, facing the *Delaware*. The Eastern Part is most populous on account of the *Schoolkill*, which is boatable 100 Miles above the *Falls*. Each Front of the City, as it was laid out, was a Mile long, and two from River to River. The Street that runs along the River *Schoolkill* is three Quarters of a Mile in length. The Houses are very stately; the Wharfs and Warehouses numerous and convenient, And as *Philadelphia* flourish'd so much at first, that there were near 100 Houses and Cottages within less than a Years time, so since the Foundation of this City, *A. D. 1682*. it has made answerable Progress; the Number of Houses being computed to be 1200 now: They are generally well built, and have large Orchards and Gardens. The Land on which it stands is high and firm, and the Conveniency of Coves, Docks, and Springs, has very much contributed to the Com-

merce of this Place, where many rich Merchants now live; and we have been inform'd, some of them are so wealthy, that they keep their *Coaches*. The Town was laid out, and a Draught taken of it by Mr. *Tho. Holme*, Surveyor General of the Province, which lies now before me; it seems to be a very fair Plan, and, if it was all built, would make a great and beautiful City; the *Streets* being broad, and so long all of them, that they reach from River to River; a Compass of Ground which is large enough to make a City for all the Inhabitants of the Northern Colonies, perhaps not excluding *New-England*. Ships may ride here in 6 or 7 Fathom Water, with very good Anchorage. The Land about it is a dry, wholesom Level. All Owners of 1000 Acres of Ground and upwards, have their Houses in the two Fronts, facing the Rivers, and in the *High-street*, running from the Middle of one Front to the Middle of the other. Every Owner of 5000 Acres has about an Acre in Front; and the smaller Purchasers, about half an Acre in the backward *Streets*. By which means the least has Room enough for a House, Garden and small Orchard. The *High-street* is 100 Foot broad; so is the *Broad-street*, which is in the middle of the City, running from North to South. In the Center is a Square of 10 Acres, for the State-house, Market-house, School-house, and chief Meeting-house for the Quakers: The Lord Proprietary being of that Profession, 'tis not strange, that most of the first *English* Inhabitants were of the same Opinion. The Persecution rais'd by the *Popish* Faction and their Adherents in *England*, against *Protestant Dissenters*, was very hot when Mr. *Pen* obtain'd a Grant of this Territory, and the *Quakers* flock'd to it, as an *Azylum*, from the Rage of their Enemies. But since the glorious *Revolution*, People have transported themselves to the *Plantations*, to enrich, and not to save themselves from Injustice and Violence at home.

Men of all Principles have settled in this Place, as well as others; and there are so many Orthodox Professors, that there's a great Church in *Philadelphia*, for the Exercise of Religion, according to the Discipline of the Church of *England*; and some of them have clamour'd lately very much for an *Organ*, to the great

great Offence of the *Brethren*. We do not use this Word out of Contempt, but to avoid that of *Distinction*, which is too scandalous for a serious History. The Church here is call'd *Christ-Church*, and the Congregation is very numerous. His late Majesty was pleas'd to allow the Minister 50 *l. per Annum*, besides the voluntary Subscriptions of the Inhabitants. The Schoolmaster has also an Allowance of 30 *l. per Annum*. The Patten for them was taken out at the Charge of the Society before-mention'd. Here are besides this several Meeting-houses, as a Quaker's, Presbyterian, Anabaptist, and a *Swedish Church*. The Reverend Mr. *Evans* is now Minister of *Philadelphia*. His Assistant is Mr. *Thomas*; Schoolmaster, Mr. *Club*. There are at least 700 Persons of the Orthodox Church.

In each Quarter of this City is a Square of 8 Acres, to be for the like Uses as *Moorfields* in *London*: And in the Plan there are Eight Streets, that run from Front to Front, parallel with *High-street*, and Twenty Streets, that run cross the City from side to side; both of which are 30 Foot broad. But we cannot suppose that near a tenth Part of this Ground is taken up, considering all the eight Streets are 2 Miles, and the Twenty, one Mile long, besides the Fronts, and *High-street* and *Broad-street*. The Dock is form'd by an Inlet of the River *Delaware*, at the South Corner of the Front, and has a Bridge over it at its Entrance. Several Creeks run into the City out of the two Rivers.

Here the Assemblies and Courts of Judicature are kept, and the Trade and Business of the Province is chiefly manag'd, as in all Capitals. Here is a beautiful Key, above 200 Foot square; to which a Ship of 500 Tun may lay her Broad-side. Here are most sorts of Trades and Mechanics, as well as Merchants and Planters; and considering 'tis the youngest Capital in our *English America*, 'tis far from being the least considerable. It gives Name to the Country about it; for the remaining part of *Philadelphia* is divided into Shires, there being 5 more besides *Philadelphia County*, as *Buckingham*, *Chester*, *Newcastle*, *Kent*, and *Sussex*.

At a little Distance from *Philadelphia*, is a pleasant Hill, very well Wooded, on the Banks of the *School-kill*,

kill, call'd *Fair Mount*. *Wioco*, half a Mile from the Town, is a *Swedish* Settlement; where the People of that Nation have a *Meeting-house* for religious Worship: They have another at *Tenecum*. But whether these Places are in *Buckingham* or *Philadelphia* County, we have not learn'd. Indeed where there are so few Inhabitants, there's more Vanity and Ostentation in dividing the Country into Shires, than real Use and Necessity; and if we do it, 'tis purely out of Complaisance to the Humour of the People.

Within Land lies *Radnor* or *Welsh* Town, finely situated, and well built, containing near 50 Families. In this Place is a Congregation of Church of *England-Men*, but no settled Minister. In these two Counties are several other Creeks; as *Darby* Creek, &c. *Amorland* lies between that and another nameless Creek. From whence, passing by *Ridloyer*, we come to *Chester* Town, which also gives Name to a County. The Number of Families in this Division, as well as in the others, I have not heard; but by the Computation of the Number of Souls in all the Province, they cannot exceed 200. This Place is also call'd *Uplands*, and has a Church, dedicated to *St. Paul*, with a numerous Congregation of Orthodox Professors, whose Minister is *Mr. Hen. Nicholls*; his Income paid by the before-mention'd Society, 50 *l.* a Year. They are about erecting a School here, dependent on the Minister. There's another little Town at the Mouth of a Creek, call'd *Chichester*. Below that is a great Creek, which we may be sure belong'd to the *Dutch*, by the Name that is given it, *Brandywine*. Here's Room enough to lay up the whole Navy Royal of *England*, there being from four to eight Fathom Water in this Creek. Between *Brandywine* and *Christina*, is an *Iron Mill*: What Advantage it has been to the *Proprietors* we know not, and suppose we should have heard of it, had it been considerable.

Next to *Brandywine* is *Christina* Creek; where, when the *Swedes* inhabited this and the other Side of the *Delaware*, they had a Town which serv'd them instead of a *Capital*, and the Governour resided, if we may give Credit to *Monsieur Robbe*, in his Account of, *La Nouvelle Swede*, which included part of

this Country, and part of the *Ferseys*. This is a very large Creek ; but the Village is inconsiderable. The *Swedes* had however a Church here not long ago. Between this and the next Creek is *Newcastle Town* ; from whence the adjoining County takes its Name. 'Tis inhabited by *English* and *Dutch*, and is the next Town for Bigness and Trade to *Philadelphia*, containing 300 Families. Here's a Church built, and a Congregation, most of which are *Welsh*. Mr. *Ross* was lately Minister. The *Dutch* have a Church in this Town.

Next to it is *St. George's*, then *Black-bird Creek* ; and over against it lies a little Island, call'd *Road Island*, in the *Delaware*, where there is in that Place 10 Fathom Water. *Apaquamany Creek* is honour'd with the Name of a River. There's another Creek, so call'd, and they are distinguish'd from one another by the Name of *North* and *South*. The Inhabitants have built a Church, but 'tis not endow'd or supply'd with a Minister. Passing by *Bombays Point*, and *Duck Creek*, we come to *Kent County* ; in which are *Cranebrook*, *Dover*, *Murden*, and *Mispellivin* Creeks. At *Dover* is a Church of *England* Congregation ; the Minister, Mr. *Thomas Crawford*, who has 50 *l.* a Year, paid by the Society. In the Bay of *Delaware*, which is here about 7 Leagues over, *Cedar Creek* is by some dignify'd with the Name of a River. 'Tis the first in *Suffex County*, where we find *Plum Point* and *Lewis Creek*.

The Villages hereabouts are very thin, the *English* inhabiting that part of the Province that lies on the upper Rivers ; and since their Settlements in *Pensylvania*, the *Dutch* and *Swedes* have made very little or no Progress in their Plantations, whereas the *English* have encreas'd so much, that there are now above 25000 Souls of that Nation in this Colony ; and their Numbers are yearly augmented. About three Miles below *Lewis's Creek* is the Line of *Partition*, which divides *Pensylvania* from *Maryland*. The Society of Adventurers we shall have Occasion to speak of hereafter, had a *Whalery* near *Lewis's Town*, but this will more properly be mention'd, when we come to treat of the Trade of the Place.

We shall avoid needless Repetitions ; and when we have given the Reader an Idea of the *Indians* in any one Part of *America*, of the Soil, Climate, and Trade, if that Idea will serve for any other; we shall be glad to save him the Trouble of reading it under another Article. But tho 'tis probable, the *New-York* and *Virginian Indians* have a great deal of Agreement, as to their Language, Manners, and Customs, with those of *Pensylvania*, as the Climate and Soil of the latter agree with those of *Virginia* and *New-York* ; yet we having a very particular Account of these things written by Mr. *Pen* himself, in a Letter, dated the 16th of *August*, 1683. at *Philadelphia*, 'twill not be unwelcome to the Curious, to see what he has said of this Country. To which we shall add, what others have also written, or told us, as far as we could depend on their Authority.

Climate
and Soil.

We shall begin with the Climate and Soil, and treat first of the Climate. We see by its Latitude that 'tis at a like Distance from the Sun with *Naples* in *Italy*, and *Montpellier* in *France*. The Air is sweet and clear, the Heavens serene, and Mr. *Pen*, who had seen the Southern Parts of *France*, compares the Face of them in *Pensylvania* to that in those Provinces. The *Fall* begins about the 24th of *October*, and lasts till the Beginning of *December*, being like a mild *Spring* in *England*. Frosty Weather and extrem cold Seasons have been known there, as in the Year 1681. but the Sky was always clear, and the Air dry, cold, piercing, and hungry. The River *Delaware* was then frozen over, tho it is near two Miles broad at *Philadelphia*. From *March* to *June* the *Spring* lasts, without *Gusts* of Wind, refresh'd with gentle Showers, and a fine Sky ; but the Weather there, as well as in *England*, is more inconstant than in the other Seasons. The Heats are extraordinary in the *Summer* Months, *July*, *August*, and *September*, but mitigated by cool *Breezes*. The Wind is South-West during the Summer, but generally North-Westerly, Spring, Fall, and Winter. If Easterly or Southerly Winds raises Mists, Foggs, or Vapours, in two Hours time they are blown away.

The Soil of this Tract of Land is various : In some Places 'tis a yellow and black Sand, poor and rich ;

in others, a loomy Gravel; in others, a fast fat Earth, like the *Vales* in *England*, especially by Inland Brooks and Rivers, where the Lands are generally three to one richer than those that lye by Navigable Rivers. There's also another Soil in many parts of the Province, as a black Hazel Mould on a Stony bottom. The Earth is not only fruitful and fat, but easy to be clear'd, because the Roots of the Trees lye almost on the Surface of the Ground.

We have already observ'd how *Pensylvania* abounds *Rivers* in Rivers, the Waters of which are good, both the Rivers and Brooks having gravelly and stony Bottoms. There are also *Mineral Waters*, that operate in the same manner with those of *Barnet* and *North-hall*. These Springs are about two Miles from *Philadelphia*.

The Natural Product of the Country, of Vegetables, *Product* are Trees, Fruits, Plants, Flowers. The Trees of *Trees* most Note are the Black Walnut, Cedar, Cypress, Chestnut, Poplar, Gumwood, Hickory, Sassafras, Ash, Beech, and Oak of several sorts, as Red, White and Black, *Spanish* Chestnut, and Swamp, the most durable of all. Here are some excellent Shrubs, as Shumack, Snakeroot, Sassaforella, *Calamus Arramaticus*, Jallop and Spruce Cranberries.

The Fruits that grow naturally in the Woods, are *Fruits* the White and Black Mulberry, Chestnuts, Wallnuts, Plums, Strawberries, Hurtleberries, and Grapes of several kinds. The great Red Grape, call'd the *Fox-Grape*, is commended by Mr. *Pen*; and he thinks it would make excellent Wine, if not so sweet, yet little inferior to *Frontiniac*; it tastes like that Grape, but differs in Colour. There's a *White* kind of Muscadell, and a little *Black* Grape, like the Cluster-Grape in *England*. Peaches are prodigiously plentiful in this Province, and as good as any in *England*, except the *Newington* Peach.

The artificial Produce of the Country is Wheat, *Corn* Barley, Oats, Rye, Pease, Beans, Squashes, Pumpkins, Water-Melons, Mus-Melons, Apples, Pears, Plums, Cherries, Apricocks, Carrots, Turnips, Parsnips, Cabbiges, Colworts, Potatoes, Radishes as bigg as Parsnips, Onions, Cucumbers; as also Quinces, Currants, *Indian* Corn, Hemp, Flax, and Tobacco, of which more hereafter. As

As to the Fertility of the Soil, this Instance of it is sufficient to prove it: One Mr. *Edward Jones*, whose Plantation was on the *Schoolkill* in the Infancy of the Colony, had, with ordinary Cultivation, for one Grain of *English* Barley, seventy Stalks and Ears of that Corn. 'Tis common from one Bushel sown here to reap 40, often 50, and sometimes 60. Three Pecks of Wheat sows an Acre.

Animals.

Of Living Creatures, Fish, Fowl, and Beasts of the Wood, there are divers sorts, some for Food and Profit, and some for Profit only. For Food as well as Profit, are the Elk, as big as a small Ox, Deer bigger than ours in *England*, Beaver, Raccoon, Rabbits, Squirrels; and some eat young Bear, and commend it, but 'tis likely their *Tastes* are as barbarous as their *Food*. Here's Plenty of Oxen, Cows, and Sheep, in-somuch that some Farmers have 3 and 400 in a Flock. The Creatures for Profit only, by Skin or Fur, or for Carriage and Sale, are the Wild-Cat, Panther, Otter, Wolf, Fox, Fisher, Minx, Musk-Rat; and, to name the noblest last, Horses, some very good and shapely enough, which are exported to *Barbadoes*, and is one of the best Merchandise ship'd off from hence for that, or the other Sugar Islands.

Fowl.

Of Fowl. Here is the Land-Turtle, (40 or 50 Pound Weight) Pheasants, Heath-Birds, Pidgeons, Patridges, and Black-Birds in such Flocks, that they even darken the Air. A certain Inhabitant of the Province writes, That Pidgeons settle in such prodigious Multitudes, *they make the large Arms of Trees bend ready to break, and more have been kill'd at a Shot, than there were Corns of Shot in the Peice.* Of Water-Fowl, here are Swans, Geese, White and Grey, Brands, Ducks, and Teal, Snipe, and Curleus in great Numbers; but the Duck and Teal excel any of their kind in other Countries.

See Will. Bradford's Letter, printed in 1685.

Fish.

This, as well as other *American* Provinces, abounds with Fish, which the Bay and River of *Delaware* most plentifully supply them with. Sturgeon, Herrings, Roch, Shat, Catshead, Sheepshead, Eles, Smelts, and Pearch are caught in Abundance in the Bay, and in the River below the *Freshes*; and Trout in the Inland Rivers. Oysters, Crabbs, Cockles, Conks,

Conks, and Muscles are plenty here. Some Oysters are 6 Inches long, and Cockles as big as Stewing-Oysters, with which a rich Broth is made; but we hope the Labour, Temperance, Contenance, Health and Virtue of this People render the use of such *Broths* very rare. *Whale-Fishing* has been attempted here by the Society, of which I shall say more in its due Place: A Company of *Whalers* were employ'd, Whales caught, and Oyl made; but that Trade was of no long Continuance, it being found to be expensive and uncertain.

There are divers Medicinal Plants to cure Swel-*Plants.* lings, Burnings, Cuts, &c. and several that smell very pleasantly, as the Wild Mirtle and others.

The Woods are adorn'd with Flowers, excel-*Flowers.* lent both for Colour, Greatness, Figure, and Variety.

The ancient Inhabitants of this Territory come *Indians.* next to be treated of. The *Indians* are generally tall, straight, well-built, and of singular Proportion. Of Complexion black, but by Design, as the Gypsies in *England.* They anoint themselves with Bears Fat clarify'd; and using no Defence against the Sun or Weather, their Skins are swarthy. Their Eye is little and black. As to their Faces, Mr. Pen says, *The thick Lip and flat Nose, so frequent with the East-Indians and Blacks, are not common to them; for I have seen as comely European-like Faces among them of both Sexes, as on our Side the Sea; and truly an Italian Complexion has not much more of the White, and the Noses of several of them have as much of the Roman.*

Their Language is lofty, yet narrow; the Accent and Emphasis of some of their Words are Great and Sweet, as *Octorockon, Rancocas, Orieton, Shakameron, Poquessin,* all Names of Places, and very sounding. Then for Sweetness, there are their *Anna* Mother, *Issimus* Brother, *Netap* Friend, *Usque Oret* very good, *Pone* Bread, *Metse* Eat, *matta no, hatta* to have, *paya* to come. *Tamane, Secane, Menanse, Secatereus,* the Names of *Persons.* Their Phrase for *I have not,* is *Metta ne hatta, not I have.*

As to their Manners and Customs, they wash their Children in Water as soon as born, and plunge them often in the Rivers while they are young, to harden them.

them. They wrap them up in a Clout, and lay them on a streight thin Board, a little more than the Length or Breadth of the Child, which they swaddle fast on the Board to make it streight: This is the Reason that all *Indians* have flat Heads. Thus they carry them at their Backs. At nine Months End the Children commonly go. They wear only a smal Clout round their Waist, till they are big. The Boys fish till they are fifteen, then they hunt; and having given some Proofs of their Manhood by a good Return of Skins, may marry, else 'tis a Shame to think of a Wife. The Girls live with their Mothers help hough the Ground, plant Corn, and carry Burthens; and, says my Author, *They do well to use them to that young, which they must do when they are old: for the Wives are the true Servants of the Husbands, otherwise the Men are very affectionate to them.* Women marry at 13 or 14, Men at 17 or 18. Their Houses are Matts, or Barks of Trees set on Poles, like an *English* Barn, out of the Power of the Winds, for they are hardly higher than a Man. They lye on Reeds or Grass. When they travel, they lodge in the Woods, about a great Fire, with the Mantle or Duffils they wear by Day wrapt about them. Their Food is *Indian* Corn, which they dress several ways Beans and Pease, Flesh and Fish out of the Woods and Rivers. They treat the *Europeans*, who come among them, very civilly, and give them the best Place and first Cut. They sit mostly on the Ground, close to their Heels, their Legs upright; and after having saluted their European Visiters or Visiter with an *Itah*, or *Good be to you*, perhaps say not a Word more, but observe all Passages. They are pleas'd if you give them any thing, but never beg; and if they are not ask'd to eat, go away sullenly.

They conceal their Resentments as much as they can, and are suppos'd to do it on Account of the Revenge that has been practis'd among them; for in both their Resentments and their Revenge they are not exceeded by the *Italians*; an Instance of which happen'd while Mr. *Pen* was in the Country: A King's Daughter thinking her self slighted by her Husband, in suffering another Woman to lie down between them, rose up, went out, pluck'd a Root out of the

Ground.

Ground, and eat it, upon which she immediately dy'd. Her Husband made an Offering to her Kindred according to Custom, for an Atonement, and Liberty of Marriage. At the same time two other Husbands did it to the Kindred of their Wives that dy'd a natural Death: For till Widowers have thus aton'd, they must not marry again. Some of the young Women sell their last Favours before Marriage, to raise Money for a Portion; but after they are marry'd, they remain chaste, and never admit their Husband's Embraces when they are with Child. In the Month they touch no Meat, and eat with a Stick, lest they should defile it, nor admit their Husbands till that Time is expir'd.

May not some *European* Wives learn of these *Barbarians*; and is it not Vanity in any one People to call another barbarous, because their Customs differ? They are very liberal, insomuch that if an *European* gives any of them a fine Gown or Coat, it may pass twenty Hands before it sticks. They are the merriest Creatures living, feasting and dancing perpetually. Wealth circulates like Blood among them; all Parts partake; yet they are exact Observers of Property. They covet little, because they want but little. If they are ignorant of our Pleasures, they also know nothing of our Pains. Their Hunting, Fishing, and Fowling feed them, and their Sports are their Subsistence. They eat twice a Day, Morning and Evening. Their Seats and Tables are on the Ground. They have learnt Drunkenness of the *Europeans*, and are wretched Objects when drunk. When they are sick they drink a Teran, or Decoction of some Roots in Spring-Water; and if they eat Flesh, it must be of the Female of any Creature. They have a great Opinion of *Cold Baths* and *Sweatings*: An Instance of which we shall report, it being very extraordinary, and the Truth of it is not to be question'd; for the Gentleman who told it to us, was the very Person that saw it. Mr. *Pen*, in the Year 1683. travelling into the *Back* Countries, to make Discoveries, came to a Wigwam, where the Captain General of that Nation liv'd; for they have such an Officer, besides their Sachem or King, who commands the Army, and leads them to Battle:

The Captain General happen'd to be at that time ill of a Fever, and was about to try their usual Remedy to cure himself. His Wife to that end had prepar'd a little Bagnio upon the Ground, without Doors, into which he crept. This Bagnio was like an Oven; and his Wife, to heat it, put several great hot Stones on each side of it, which gave the Man an extream Sweat, while he sat or lay along in this Oven or Bagnio. She made a Hole through the Ice of the River, it being frosty Weather, and the Bagnio on the River's Bank. This Hole or Passage she dug with an Axe, the Ice being very thick. When the Passage was prepar'd, the Man came out of his Oven, the Drops of Sweat running down his Face and Body, leapt into the River, and duckt himself twice. He then crept through his Oven, and so went to his Wigwam, where laying himself down by a Fire, he gradually cool'd himself, and was afterwards as well as ever.

Thus far we have told this Story, to shew what Opinion the *Indians* have of *Sweating* and *Cold Baths*: The remaining part of it is to give the Reader an Idea of their Manners and Understanding; and being assur'd by Mr. *Pen* himself, that the following Relation is true, we recommend it as such to the World; for we cannot have better Authority.

While the Captain General was in the Bagnio, he first sang all the Acts of the Nation he was of, to divert him from the Troublesomeness of the Heat; then those of his Ancestors, who were Nobles and Generals in the Country; and last of all, his own. After which he fell into this Rhapsody: *What is the Matter with us Indians, that we are thus sick in our own Air, and these Strangers well? 'Tis as if they were sent hither to inherit our Land in our steads; but the Reason is plain, they love the great God, and we do not.* A Reflection very surprizing in a Barbarian; but Mr. *Pen* heard it, and attested it to be Matter of Fact to the Historian.

If they die, they are bury'd, Men or Women, with their Apparel; and the nearest of Kin throw some valuable Thing into their Graves, as Tokens of their Love. Their Mourning is blacking of their Faces, which they continue a whole Year. They

are nice in the Choice of the Graves of their Dead ; for, lest they should be lost by Time, they pick off the Grass that grows upon them. They believe a God and Immortality, saying, *There is a great King, who made them, who dwells in a glorious Country, to the Southward of them ; and the Souls of the Good shall go thither, where they shall live again.*

Their Worship consists of *Sacrifices* and *Songs*. They feast one another in Harvest-Time, and invite the *Europeans* sometimes. Mr. *Pen* was at one of their Entertainments, on a green Bank by a Spring, under shady Trees. There were 20 Bucks kill'd, with hot Cakes of new Corn, Wheat and Beans, which they make up in a square Form ; then they dance. Those that go to these Feasts must carry a small Present in their Money ; it may be six Pence, which is made of the Bone of a Fish: The Black is with them as *Gold*, the White as *Silver* ; and they call it all *Wampum*.

Their Government is by Kings or Sachems, and chose by Succession, but always of the Mother's side, yet no Woman inherits. The Reason they render for this way of Descent, is, that their Issue may not be spurious. Every King has his Council, consisting of all the old and wise Men of his Nation, which perhaps is two Hundred. Nothing of Moment is undertaken, be it War, Peace, selling of Land, or Traffick, without advising with them ; and which is more, with the young Men too. 'Tis admirable, says my Author, *to consider how powerful the Kings are, and how they move by the Breath of their People.* And in those Monarchies where the true Ends of Government are maintain'd, no Power will be thought too much for the Prince, nor no Privileges too great for the People. The Simplicity of these Indian Monarchies give us a better Idea of the Origin of Power, than all that the *Filmers*, the *Lesleys*, and the infamous Supporters of Tyranny have shewn us in their *Sophistical Arguments*.

Their Justice is pecuniary ; in case of any wrong or evil Fact, be it Murder it self, they atone by *Feasts* and Presents of their *Wampum* ; which is proportion'd to the Quality of the Offence, or Person injur'd, or of the Sex they are of: For in case they kill a Woman,

Handwritten notes:
 1. *See also*
 2. *See also*
 3. *See also*

man, they pay double ; and the Reason they render, is, *That she breeds Children, which Men cannot do.* This Argument is as false as simple ; for she could not breed them if a Man did not get them, and his Life is therefore as valuable as the Woman's. They seldom fall out if sober ; and if drunk, they forgive it, saying, *It was the Drink, and not the Man that abus'd them.*

Mr. Pen believes them to be of *Jewish* Race, but that Supposition is too chimerical, and we should not much mend the Matter, if we repeated the Arguments that some make use of to vindicate this Conjecture.

Their Way of living is simple, but nasty ; and we should wonder if they had learnt any Delicacy of the *New Comers*. They have been very civil and friendly to the *English*, who never lost Man, Woman, or Child by them ; which neither the Colony of *Maryland* nor that of *Virginia* can say, no more than the great Colony of *New-England*. This Friendship and Civility of the *Pensylvanian* Indians are imputed to Mr. Pen, the Proprietary's extream Humanity and Bounty to them, he having laid out some Thousands of Pounds to instruct, support and oblige them. There are 10 Indian Nations within the Limits of his Province ; and the Number of Souls of these Barbarians are computed to be about 6000.

We have met with very few Events relating to this Colony : They have had no Wars either with the *Indians* or *French*, and consequently little Action has happen'd here. Mr. Pen having obtain'd the before-mention'd Patent, invited several Persons to purchase Lands of them, as he, it seems, purchas'd of the *Indians*. The *Swedes*, who had encroach'd upon the *Dutch*, the first Planters here, as well as at *New-York*, settl'd upon or near the *Freshes* of the River *Delaware*. The *Finns*, or Inhabitants of *Finland*, were part of the *Swedish* Colony, and they apply'd themselves chiefly to Husbandry: The King of *Sweden*, to protect his Subjects in these Parts, appointed a Governour here, who had often Disputes with the Governour that presid'd over the *Dutch*. The latter apply'd themselves mostly to Traffick, living upon or near the Bay ; and by the Neighbourhood of *New-York*,
were

were too powerful for the *Swedes*, who finding they cou'd not maintain their Ground, submitted to their stronger Neighbours. Accordingly *John Rizeing* the *Swedish* Governour made a formal Surrender of the Country, *A. D.* 1655. to *Peter Styresant*, Governour for the States of *Holland*. After which this Province continu'd subject to that Republick till the English drove the Dutch out of *New Amsterdam*, or *New York*, and made the Possession of these Territories easy to Mr. *Pen*, when he had obtain'd a Grant of them: For both *Swedes* and *Dutch* are under his Government.

There were a few English here before this Gentleman sent over the first Adventurers under his Patent; their Governour was Col. *William Markham* his Nephew, to whom both *Dutch* and *Swedes* submitted; and when the Lord Proprietary came thither himself, he sent this Character of them to *England*; ' They are a plain, strong, industrious People, yet have made no great Progress in Culture or Propagation of Fruit-Trees, as if they desir'd rather to have enough, than Plenty or Traffick. The Indians made them the more careless by furnishing them with the means of Profit, as Skins and Furs, for Rum, and such strong Liquors. As they are a People proper and strong of Body, so they have fine Children, and almost every House full; 'tis rare to find one of them without three or four Boys, and as many Girls; some have six, seven, and eight Sons, and few young Men are more sober and laborious. The Number of these Inhabitants of *Swedish* or *Dutch* Extraction, may be about 3000 Souls. Mr. *Pen*, before he went over to *Pennsylvania*, sold 20000 Acres to a certain Society, Mr. *Nicholas Moor*, Mr. *James Claypool*, Mr. *Phillip Ford*, and others; who had a whole Street, and one side of a Street, laid out for them in *Philadelphia*; and 400 Acres of Land in the City-Liberties. This Society erected a Tannery, a Saw-Mill, a Glass-House, and a Whalery. They had a President in *London*: Their Officers were a President, Deputy, Treasurer, Agent, Secretary, Surveyor, 12 Committee-Men, Chirur-gions, Factors, Clerks, Overseers, Messengers, Porters, Butchers, Water-men, Car-men, and other inferior

Col. Wil.
Markham
Deputy Gov-
vernour.

ferior Mechanicks and Labourers. And having mention'd this Sale of 20000 Acres, 'twill not be improper to report what were the Proprietary's Conditions of Sale: *Buyers* purchas'd after the Rate of 20 *l.* for a thousand Acres, and 1 *s.* or the Value of it yearly, for 100 Acres. *Renters* were to pay 1 *s.* an Acre yearly, not exceeding 200 Acres; and Servants were to have 50 Acres when their Times were expir'd, whether Men or Women. The Owner was also allow'd 50 Acres a Head for such Servants.

We have hinted before, there were few English when Mr. *Pen* went over to take on him the Government of his Province, which was in the Year 1681. He carry'd along with him, and there came to him in the first Year near 2000 Souls, and before the New-Comers built Houses, they ran up Huts for their Reception. These Huts were generally 30 Foot long, and 18 Foot broad, with a Partition near the Middle, and another to divide one end of the House into two small Rooms. For this use they took eight Trees of about 16 Inches square, cut off ten Posts of about 15 Foot long, upon which the House stood, and 4 Pieces, 2 of 20 and 2 of 18 Foot long, for Plates to lay a-top of those Posts. They had 10 *Giests* of 20 Foot long, to bear the *Lofts*, and 2 false Plates of 30 Foot long to lie on the Ends of the *Giests*, for the *Rafters* to be fix'd upon. There were 12 Pair of *Rafters* of about 20 Foot, to bear the Roof of the House, with Windbeams, Braces, Studs, &c. They us'd *Clapboard* for the Covering of the House-Ends and Sides, and for the Loft; this *Clapboard* is riv'd Feather edg'd 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ Foot long, and if well drawn, lies close and smooth. They lin'd the Lodging-Room with it, and fill'd it up between, which made it very warm. The Lower *Flowr* was Earth, the Upper *Clapboard*. But these mean Dwellings serv'd only till the *Pensylvanians* were settled a little: And then having fell'd their Trees, clear'd and cultivated their Ground, rais'd Stocks, and planted a great part of their Purchases, they began to leave their Cottages for stately as well as convenient Houses, and to imitate the Inhabitants of the other Colonies in the Grandeur of their Buildings. As soon as Mr. *Pen* arriv'd, he enter'd upon Treaties with the Indian Kings

Kings to buy Land. The Natives being few, and not able to cultivate or defend a great Country, which the English cou'd easily have taken from them, were willing enough to part with their Lands for a small Consideration: Twenty Miles of Ground might have been purchas'd for a Trifle. But when the English flock'd thither, these Indians were not so ignorant, but they knew their Interest, that the Land would be wanted, and consequently worth more; accordingly they rais'd the Price ten times as much as it was at first. The Proprietary, in the Letter before-mentioned, gives us an Account of the Audience he had of the King, which 'tis probable the Reader will be desirous to be acquainted with, there being something in it worthy his Curiosity: ' I have had Occasion, says Mr. Pen, to be in Council with them, upon Treaties for Land; and to adjust the Terms of Trade, their Order is thus; The King sits in the middle of an Half-Moon, and has his Council, the Old and Wise, on each hand; behind them, or at a little distance sits the younger Fry in the same Figure. Having consulted and resolv'd their Business, the King commanded one of them to speak to me; He stood up, came to me, and in his King's Name saluted me, taking me by the Hand, and telling me, *He was order'd 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 comply'd with me in a former Meeting. *He fear'd there might be some Fault in the Interpreter, being neither Indian nor English; besides it was the Indian Custom to deliberate before they resolve; and that if the young People and Owners of the Land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much Delay.* Having thus introduc'd 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 observ'd to whisper or smile. The Old were Grave, the Young Reverend in their Deportment. When they spoke, which was but seldom, 'twas warmly and elegantly. I have never seen more natural Sagacity, considering them without the Help of Tradition; and he will de-

‘ serve 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 past be-*
 ‘ *tween us of Kindness and good Neighbourhood, and*
 ‘ *that the Indians and English must live in Love as long*
 ‘ *as the Sun gave Light.* After which another made a
 ‘ Speech to the Indians, in the Name of all the Sa-
 ‘ chems 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 ma-*
 ‘ *ny Governours had been in the River, but that no Go-*
 ‘ *vernour had come himself to live and stay here 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 Governour living himself
 among them, they meant Proprietary: For they had
 had several Dutch and Swedish Governours in Dela-
 ware River. The Land thus bought was enter’d up-
 on by the Under-Purchasers, who purchas’d by the
 100 or the 1000 Acres what the Proprietary bought by
 Miles. When the Country began to be a little plan-
 ted, almost as far as the Bay’s Mouth, ’twas laid
 out into the six Counties we have spoken of, which
 with the chief Towns or Villages chose Representa-
 tives in the Assembly. For we must observe that by
 the Constitutions in the Patent, the Proprietary was
 impower’d, with the Consent of the People, to make
 any Laws for the Publick Good. These Constituti-
 ons were, *That the Governour and People have a Le-*
gislative Power, so that no Law can be made, nor Mo-
ney rais’d, but by the Consent of the Inhabitants;
That the Rights and Freedom of England be in Force
there; That making no Law against Allegiance, the Go-
vernour and People might enact what Laws they pleas’d
for the Good, Prosperity and Security of the Province,
 &c. All the Inhabitants, as well Swedes and Dutch,
 as English, were very well pleas’d with Mr. Pen’s co-
 ming thither in Person, and the Foreigners receiv’d
 him with as much Joy and Respect as his own Coun-
 try-men. He held two General Assemblies, and with
 such Unanimity and Dispatch, that tho they sat but
 three Weeks, they past 70 Laws without one Dis-
 sent

sent in any material thing. They presented the *Proprietary* with an Impost on certain Goods imported and exported, which Mr. *Pen* very generously remitted to the Province, and the Traders to it: People now went from all Parts of *England* to *Pensylvania*; as from *London*, *Leverpool*, and *Bristol* especially. For the West of *England* abounding with Dissenters, and with a lewd Herd of Persecutors, more than other Counties, they shipt themselves in that Port in great Numbers for *Philadelphia*. In the Year 1682. Mr. *Thomas Goldney* and Mr. *John Duddleston*, two Traders in that City, fitted out the *Unicorn*, a Ship of 300 Tuns for this Voyage, to carry Passengers and Goods to the new Colony. The Enemies of which reported, Mr. *Pen* was not only dead, but that he dy'd a *Jesuit*, in his Government. Upon which Mr. *Ford* his Agent in *England*, gave publick Notice in the *Gazette*, of his being alive and in good Health. The Answer Mr. *Pen* wrote to his Friends when he heard what was reported of him, is very ingenious. *I find some Persons, says he, have had so little Wit, and so much Malice, as to report my Death; and to mend the Matter, dead a Jesuit too! One might have reasonably hop'd that this Distance, like Death, wou'd have been a Protection against Spite and Envy; and indeed Absence being a kind of Death, ought alike to secure the Name of the Absent as the Dead, because they are equally unable as such to defend themselves. But they that intend Mischief, do not use to follow good Rules to effect it. However to the great Sorrow and Shame of the Inventors, I am still alive, and no Jesuit: I perceive many frivolous and idle Stories have been invented since my Departure from England, which perhaps by this time are no more alive than I am dead.* He was visited by the Kings, Queens, and Great Men of the Country, and settled the Affairs of the Province with equal Wisdom and Dispatch. He establish'd Courts of Justice in every County with proper Officers, as Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, Clerks, Constables, &c. Which Courts were to be holden every two Months. But to prevent Law-Suits and Debates among this peaceable People, there were three *Peace-makers* chosen by every County-Court, in the nature of common *Arbitrators*, to hear and end Differences between

Man

Man and Man ; and every *Spring* and *Fall* there's an Orphans Court in each County, to inspect and regulate the Affairs of *Orphans* and *Widows*.

Things being thus settled, the Colony thriv'd apace, and Merchants came thither to drive on a Trade with the Sugar Islands, which is very advantagious ; for to those Islands the *Pensylvanians* send Corn, Beef, Pork, Fish, Pipe-Staves, take their Growth, and carry it for *England*, and return with *English* Goods. Horses and live Cattle they also export to the Southern Plantations, and send their Furs to *England*, where, or in other Parts of *Europe*, they find a quick Vent. Here are other Commodities, as Hides, Tallow, Sheep, and Wooll, all in Demand in the Sugar Islands. The Indians help them to their Furs, as Peltry, Minx, Racoons, and Martins ; with which profitable Trades this Colony flourish'd as much as any ; and Mr. *Pen*, before he came away, might muster 2500 Fighting Men, there being above 6000 Souls in all, *A. D.* 1684. so much was the Colony encreas'd in his Time. 'Tis true, he carry'd over with him 2000 Souls in 18 or 20 Ships, which was a noble Foundation for a Settlement, and some of them were Persons of Estates, who fled from the Persecution at home, to enjoy the Peace of their Consciences, and the Privileges of the Laws of this Province ; the Government of which was then a sort of Republick ; and an excellent Form was drawn up by that Great Lawyer, *Sir Will. Jones*, and other famous Men of the Long Robe. The Government was indeed, as that of other Colonies, by Governour, Council, and Assembly ; but the Council was not nam'd by the Proprietary ; the Inhabitants of every Shire chose two or more for each, as they did Knights of the Shire : Neither had the Assembly Power to debate Laws, but the Constitution gave them the negative Voice. The Governour and Council drew up what Laws they thought were for the Good of the Colony, and having drawn them up, affix'd them in a publick Place, where all the People might see them, and judge of them, as to their Necessity or Convenience ; and the Assembly, whom they chose, pass'd or reject'd them arbitrarily, as the Governour in other Provinces rejects or passes Laws there ; so that the Constitution of *Pensylvania* was at first

first *Democratical*. Mr. Pen had all the Laws so fram'd, that no Difference was made in Opinion, where Property made no Difference. All Elections were by Ballot, and the Form of this Government, which was founded on what was excellent in the best *German* and other foreign Constitutions of Common-Wealths, was such, that every Man's Property, Privileges, and Liberties, Spiritual and Temporal, were perfectly secur'd: But such is the Weakness of Human Nature, that being it self imperfect, it cannot relish Perfection; and the nearer any thing approaches to it in this World, the more likely it is to disgust People. This Form was too fine for the heavy Intellects of some of the gross *Vulgar*. They valu'd themselves, and with good Reason in the main, on being *Englishmen*, and scorn'd, as they said, to give their Opinions and Votes in the dark; they would do nothing which they durst not own, and their Fore-heads and Voices should always agree with one another. Thus they clamour'd against that Part of the Constitution which secur'd the rest, the Election by *Ballot*, and never gave over clamouring till it was abolish'd, and the first Order of Government broken in upon in the most essential Parts of it. Upon which Factions of course commenc'd, and Discontents and Tumults follow'd, to the great Disturbance and Detriment of the Colony: But this happening afterwards, should also have been reported in a later part of this History, if we had not been desirous to give one View of this Constitution, and of the Fate that attended it.

Mr. Pen stay'd in *Pennsylvania* two Years, and would not then have remov'd to *England*, had not the Persecution against the Dissenters rag'd so violently, that he could not think of enjoying Peace in *America*, while his Brethren in *England* were so cruelly dealt with in *Europe*. He knew he had an Interest in the Court of *England*, and was willing to employ it for the Safety, Ease, and Welfare of his Friends; so having made a League of Amity with 19 *Indian* Nations, between them and all the *English* in *America*, having establish'd good Laws, and seen his Capital so well inhabited, that there were then near 300 Houses, and 2500 Souls in it, besides 20 other Townships, he return'd to *England*, leaving *William Mark-*
ham,

Thomas
Lloyd,
Esq; Pre-
sident.

ham, Esq; Secretary; Mr. *Thomas Holmes*, Surveyor General; and the Administration in the Hands of the Council, whose President was *Thomas Lloyd*, Esq; who by Virtue of his Office held the Government several Years, tho he had no Commission then to be Deputy or Lieutenant Governour; Mr. *Pen* kept the chief Government always himself, as Lord Proprietary.

What Service this Gentleman did the *Quakers*, in King *James's* Reign, and how far that Prince gave him his Ear, is well known to all that are acquainted with the History of those times, still fresh in our Memories.

Colonel
Fletcher,
Govenour

Mr. *Pen's* Enemies were very free of their Scandal, and stuck at no Calumny to blacken him after the Revolution. There was great Appearance of his having been a Favourite in the preceding Reign, and 'twas not likely he should be one in the next; however, whether he was not too severely dealt with to be treated as an Enemy, let the impartial Reader judge. His Prerogative of appointing a Governour in *Pensylvania* was taken from him, and his Majesty King *William* the III^d gave a Commission to Col. *Fletcher*, to be Governour of this Province, about the Year 1690. which Post he enjoy'd two Years, and then Mr. *Pen*, whose Innocence of the things laid to his Charge began to be better known, recover'd his Right of nominating a Person to govern his Colony, and he accordingly appointed Capt. *Blackwell*, who had been formerly Pay-Master of the Army in *England*, to be Deputy Governour of *Pensylvania*. This Gentleman's Son, Sir *Lambert Blackwell*, was lately Envoy extraordinary from her Majesty to several Courts in *Italy*.

Captain
Blackwell,
Govenour

Capt. *Blackwell* govern'd the Province with equal Prudence and Success; it now thriv'd apace, its Commerce and Inhabitants increas'd, and about this time the *Pensylvanians* began to fall a little into the Tobacco Trade, which is so considerable at present, that 14 Ships have been loaden with that Commodity from *Pensylvania* to *London*, and other Parts of *England*.

To Capt. *Blackwell* succeeded *Thomas Lloyd, Esq;* as Deputy Governour, and his Administration prov'd as successful as his Predecessors. It had been doubtless for the Interest of the Colony, as well as for Mr. *Pen's* own Advantage, if he had resided upon the Place, and govern'd the Colony himself. Factions perhaps would not have got to such a Head so soon as they did. The Authority of a Proprietary might have restrain'd the Insolence of some Bigots, and others, whose Zeal is as blind as 'tis furious.

Mr. *Lloyd* dying, Mr. *Pen* appointed his Nephew Col. *Markham* to be again Deputy Governour of the Province, and he held the Government till the Lord Proprietary arriv'd himself the second time at *Pennsylvania*, which was in the Year 1698.

William
Markham
Deputy
Governour
Will. Pen,
Esq; Go-
vernour.

The Persecution ceasing in *England*, the *Quakers* here found the Country began to be settled by People, who came thither to mend their Fortunes, and not to enjoy the Liberty of their Consciences, for that they had at home. These Men being of the Orthodox Religion of the *Church of England*, *Presbyterians*, and *Anabaptists*, would have had a *Militia* settl'd, but the *Quakers* being the Majority, were against it, their Principles not allowing them the use of Arms: However, such as were of another Opinion, were allow'd to train themselves, and take such Military Care, for their Defence, as consisted with the Peace of the Colony.

Mr. *Pen* stay'd here two Years, and then return'd to *England*, leaving the Colony in an extraordinary flourishing Condition. We must not omit that he had a long Suit with the Lord *Baltimore*, for the South Eastern Parts of his Province, call'd, *The Three Lower Counties*, *New Castle*, *Kent*, and *Sussex*, but that Lord could make nothing of it. The Proprietary nominated Col. *Andrew Hamilton* to be Deputy Governour, and return'd to *England* in the Year 1700.

Col. And.
Hamilton,
Deputy
Governour

We have spoken of this Gentleman in the Article of the *Jerseys*: 'Tis certain his Government gave Discontent to several Leading Men in *Pennsylvania*, all Parties there were in a Ferment, and Matters ran so high, that we have been inform'd they came to Executions; but not having been able to learn the Particulars, we shall be silent.

silent. Whether this Man, by favouring the Orthodox, and those that sided with them, provok'd the others, who were the Majority, we cannot decide, but he seems to have discharg'd his Trust unhappily, and not to have been very much lamented when he dy'd, which happen'd in the Year 1704.

By these Distractions, all Mr. *Pen's* first and fine Constitution was destroy'd; and this Province, like others, became govern'd by a Governour, Council, and Assembly, each having much the same Powers and Privileges with the Governours, Councils, and Assemblies of the other Colonies.

On the Death of Col. *Hamilton*, Mr. *Pen* sent over Col. *John Evans* to be Deputy Governour, and he was approv'd by the Queen; for the Lords Proprietaries, all over *America*, are by a late Act of Parliament oblig'd to have the Royal Approbation for all the Governours they send to *America*.

Col. John
Evans, De-
puty Go-
vernour.

We shall not enter into any Enquiries into the Causes of the Trouble that has been given Mr. *Pen* lately about his Province of *Pensylvania*; it appears to us, by what we have heard of it from others, for from himself we had never any Information concerning it, that he has been involv'd in it by his Bounty to the *Indians*, his Generosity in minding the publick Affairs of the Colony more than his own private ones, his Humanity to those that have not made suitable Returns, his Confidence in those that have betray'd him, and the Rigor of the severest Equity; a Word that borders the nearest to Injustice of any. 'Tis certainly the Duty of this Colony to maintain the Proprietary, who has laid out his All for the Maintenance of them, in the Possession of his Territory; and the Publick in Gratitude ought to make good what they reap the Benefit of. This is all said out of Justice to the Merit of this Gentleman, without his Knowledge, otherwise 'twould have been without his Consent.

In the Geographical Description of this Province we have made some Omissions, which from better Information we shall now correct.

The Province properly call'd *Pensylvania* consists only of the three Upper Counties, *Buckingham*, *Philadelphia*, and *Chester*, for no more are within the
Gran

Grant made by King Charles to Mr. Pen; and the Length of that Country is about 150 or 200 Miles, as we have said already; but then there are the *Three Lower Counties*, *Newcastle*, *Kent*, and *Suffex*; which Mr. Pen enjoys by a Grant from the Duke of York, for they were within his Patten of *New-York*, the *Ferseys*, &c. But being granted to the Proprietary of the Upper Counties, he includes them within the same Government. Nevertheless he has a Right to make them a separate Government if he pleases, holding them by a separate Charter.

The three upper Counties, or *Pensylvania*, properly so call'd, end at *Marcus Hook*, 4 Miles below *Chester*. The Three Lower Counties run about 120 Miles along the Coast, and are about 30 Miles deep towards *Maryland*.

The Marshes on the Bay of *Delaware* are as commodious and fertile as any in the World, notwithstanding this Distinction of Upper and Lower, since all six Counties are under one Government, have the same Lord Proprietary, and the same Governour, they are commonly call'd by the same Name, and are known to the World by the general Appellation of *Pensylvania*. We shall treat of them in Order, in this Addition to our other Observations, as they stand from West to East, beginning with the *Falls Township*.

The whole Country within Mr. Pen's Grants, from the *Falls Township*, and higher, to 20 Miles below *Cape Hinlopen*, or *Cape William*, is in Length about 330 Miles, and in Breadth 200. The first County we come to, travelling from the Falls to the Mouth of the *Delaware*, is,

Buckingham-County, where the first Town is call'd, the *Falls Township*, and consists of 20 or 30 Houses. Next to it is,

Bristol, the Capital of the County, consisting of about 50 Houses, lying over against *Burlington*, in *West New-Jersey*. 'Tis famous for the Mills there of several sorts, built by Mr. *Samuel Carpenter*, an eminent Planter in the Country, formerly a *Barbadoes Merchant*. It lies about 20 Miles from *Philadelphia*.

Pennsberry is a Mannor belonging to *William Pen*, Esq; the Lord Proprietary, who has built a very fine Seat there, both in its own Nature and Situation, as well as in its Improvement. The *Ld. Cornbury*, when he was Governour of *New-York*, (he being remov'd from that Government since our writing the History of that Province, and the Right Honourable the Lord *Lovelace* put in his Place) visited this Mannor, and was extremely pleas'd with the House, Orchards and Gardens. 'Tis seated in a treble Island, the *Delaware* running three times about it. The House is built with Brick, and stands high and dry, having 16 Acres of very good Orchards; producing better *Pare-mains* and Golden-Pippins than any in *England*, by the Confession of good Judges here; for Mr. *Pen* brought some of them with him to *England*. There are 10 or 12 *Townships* more in this County, which sends 6 Members to the Assembly; one of whom, *Joseph Growden*, Esq; is at this time their Speaker. He has been very instrumental in planting and settling this County; for which, and many other things, it is very much indebted to his Care and Services. Next to it is,

Philadelphia County, where the first Town we come to, is *Frankford*, already mention'd. 'Tis as big as *Bristol*, and well built. As to the City of,

Philadelphia, we have in the former Part of this Chapter or Head, discours'd of it at large; to which we have only to add, that the Streets there are very broad, and their Names denote the several sorts of Timber that are common in *Pennsylvania*: As *Mulberry-street*, *Sassafras-street*, *Chesnut-street*, *Walnut-street*, *Beach-street*, *Ash-street*, *Vine-street*, *Cedar-street*. There are others; as, *King-street*, *Broad-street*, *High street*, &c.

The Court-House is built of Brick, and under it is a Prison. There are several Houses on the Keys worth each 4 or 5000 Pounds, and 15 Ships have been on the Stocks at a time. 'Tis suppos'd 100 Ship have been built in this City. The Cellars or Warehouses upon the Keys are made into the River with great Industry, and some of them are 3 Stories high. This City is now in a flourishing State. Here are two Fairs a Year, and two Markets a Week. The
Buildings

Buildings encrease Yearly, and it has the Honour to send Members to the Assembly, which meets here, as has been elsewhere observ'd.

Abington and *Dublin* are two pretty little Towns in this County; but the most considerable next to *Philadelphia*, is,

German Town, a Corporation of High and Low Dutch. There are above 200 Houses in it. Peach-Trees are planted all along before the Doors, which in the time of Bloom make a beautiful Road for a Mile together. The Town is very pleasant and airy, being wonderfully clear'd from Trees. In this County, and on the other side of the River *Schoolkill* is the

Welsh-Tract, consisting of about 40000 Acres of Land, planted by *Welshmen*, or at least laid out to them. This Tract is thick of Townships; as *Radnor* before-mention'd, *Haverford West*, *Merioneth*, and others. 'Tis very populous, and the People are very industrious; by which means this Country is better clear'd than any other part of the County. The Inhabitants have many fine Plantations of Corn, and breed Abundance of Cattle, insomuch that they are look'd upon to be as thriving and wealthy as any in the Province: And this must always be said of the *Welsh*, that where-ever they come, 'tis not their Fault if they do not live, and live well too; for they seldom spare for Labour, which seldom fails of Success.

Mountjoy, in this County, is a Mannor belonging to a Daughter of Mr. *Pen*, the Proprietary, and in this Mannor the first Lime-stone was dug that ever was found in *America*.

The County of *Philadelphia* is remarkable for its excellent Gravel, which is very rare to be met with on all the *American* Continent. It sends 6 Members to the Assembly. The next County to it is,

Chester-County, so call'd, because the People who first settl'd here, came for the most part from *Cheshire* in *England*. The first Town in it is *Newton*: 'Tis small, and consists not of above 20 or 30 Houses. There are others a great deal bigger, as,

Chester, the Capital of the County, consisting of above 100 Houses. Here's a very good Road for Shipping; the whole Navy Royal might ride here; the *Delaware*, on which it stands, being in this Place three Miles over. Here is a Court-House and a Prison, but neither of them commendable for the Fineness of the Structure. Here's also a Church, as has been already observ'd. Next to it is,

Chichester, built on a navigable Creek, so call'd. It consists of about 100 Houses. *Concord* is another Town in this County, where are several other Townships, and the Country is well planted. Four Miles below *Chester* is *Marcus Hook*, the Boundary of the Three Upper Counties, properly call'd *Pensylvania*, because so term'd in Mr. *Pen's* first Grant. But the Three Lower Counties go also by that Name. The County of *Chester* sends 6 Members to the Assembly. The next to it is,

Newcastle County, in which is a Hill, call'd *Iron Hill*, from the Iron Ore found there. The Mill before-mention'd is a Mistake, there being none erected for that Use, as we can understand upon later Enquiries. The Capital of this County,

Newcastle, is finely seated and built upon the *Delaware*; it stands high. The *Dutch* were the first Planters in this Neighbourhood, and the first Inhabitants of this Town, which they call'd *Amstel*; from *Amstel*, the River that gives Name to *Amsteldam*, or *Amsterdam*, the Capital City of the *United Provinces*. Here is a Court-House, and 2500 Souls are computed to inhabit here.

Philpot Creek is so large, that the Royal Fleet of *England* might ride there. *St. George's* is a pretty Village, 10 Miles below *Newcastle*. There's another Township, call'd *Apaquamany*. The Country within 12 Miles about the Capital of this County, North and West, is the proper Signiory of *Newcastle*. There are 6 Members chosen in this County for the Assembly. The next is,

Kent County, very fruitful, but not so well planted as the others. *Dover* is its Capital. 'Twas formerly call'd *St. Johns*. 'Tis thin of Houses, and does

does not consist even now of above 30 or 40 Families. This County is settl'd like *Virginia*, not in Townships, but in scatter'd Plantations. It contains many Tracts of excellent Land, and sends 6 Members to the Assembly. Next to it is,

Suffex County, which Mr. Pen so call'd, from his own Seat in that County in *England*. The Capital is,

Lewes, a handsome, large Town, standing on the lovely Bank of a River, between the Town and the Sea, which makes the Harbour.

Below this Place, at the Mouth of *Delaware Bay*, is *Cape Hinlopen*, or *Cape William*; and 20 Miles below that *Cape James*, the farthermost Bounds of the Province of *Pensylvania*. 'Tis said, this Cape takes its Name from King *James* the First; in whose time it was known, but the Country not well discover'd.

The Line of Partition between *Pensylvania* and *Maryland* is imaginary. The Whalery we spoke of was at *Cape William*.

Suffex is not full of *Townships*, but like *Kent*, is inhabited by Planters, scatter'd up and down, as they thought best for their Convenience. It sends six Members to the Assembly.

Thus we have given the Reader as full an Account, as we could get by the best Information of *Pensylvania*, which was, to use the Proprietary's own Words, *made at once a Country*: For 'tis certain, no Colony in *America* came to such Perfection in so little time, both in Trade, Settlements, and Numbers. Every one of the six Counties has a Quarterly and Monthly Sessions and Assizes twice a Year.

There's a Sheriff, or Sheriffs, for each Shire or County, and Justice is frequently and regularly ministr'd. The six Counties run along 20 or 30 Miles upon the Rivers and Bays, and backwards, as far as they are planted; in some Places above 20 Miles.

Mr. Pen reserves five Mannors in each County, as his particular Propriety. The Inhabitants consist of People of almost all Nations and Religions; but the Opinion of the Quakers prevails so far, that they

they are by much the Majority, as the *English* are of all the other Nations. And the *English, Dutch, Swedes, French, Indians,* and *Negroes* in the Province of *Pennsylvania*, may modestly be computed at 35000 Souls.

Tho we have already made some mention of the Climate and Soil, yet having something to add by further Enquiry, we shall do it in this Place.

The Summers here are not much hotter than in *England*, at least not for above one Week; when the Heat is sensibly more violent. The Earth abounds in Mines, *Samplers* of most sorts of Ore having been taken up in every County, and no Country in the World is better stor'd with Rivers and Creeks, most of them navigable for Ships of Burthen, and all of them for *small Craft*.

Tho not above a thirtieth Part of this Province is inhabited or planted, yet 'tis clear'd every where more than the other Parts of *America* in Possession of the *English*.

We shall conclude what we have to say on this Head, with a short, but clear Account of it, abstracted from a Letter the Proprietary, *William Penn*, Esq; did the Historian the Honour to write him.

‘ We consume about 18000*l.* yearly of *English*
 ‘ Growth, and return of our Productions directly,
 ‘ and by way of the Islands, what augments the Re-
 ‘ venue of the Crown 30000 Pound. The High
 ‘ lands of *Virginia* and *Maryland* are very profitable
 ‘ ones, having moderate Hills, and large Vales
 ‘ full of Springs and little Rivers, emptying them-
 ‘ selves into the two great Rivers, *Sasquehanagh* and
 ‘ *Delaware*; where Ships of the largest Burthen
 ‘ may ride. Its Length is about 300 Miles; its
 ‘ Breadth 200. All Provisions are reasonable, but
 ‘ Labour dear, which makes it a good poor Man’s
 ‘ Country; Husbandmen and Mechanicks getting
 ‘ 15 and 20*l.* Wages per *Annus* for their Work
 ‘ besides Diet; such as Carpenters, Smiths, Joiners,
 ‘ Taylors, Shoe-makers, Cart-wrights, and Husband-
 ‘ men, &c.

By which the Reader may see, that the Temptation for People to go thither, to mend their Fortunes, to live pleasantly and plentifully, is so great, that 'tis not to be doubted but this Province will get the start of all the other *English* Settlements on the Continent of *America*.

We shall conclude this History and Account of *Pensylvania*, with a List of the chief Officers of this Colony.

The Proprietary of *Pensylvania*, *William Pen*, Esquire.

The Lieutenant-Governour, Col. *John Evans*.

- Edward Shippen*, Esq;
 - Sam. Carpenter*, Esq;
 - William Trent*, Esq;
 - Thomas Story*, Esq;
 - Richard Hill*, Esq;
 - William Rodney*, Esq;
 - Kaleb Peusy*, Esq;
 - James Logan*, Esq;
- } Members of the Council.

Speaker of the Assembly, *Joseph Growden*, Esq;

Master of the Rolls, *Thomas Story*, Esq;

- William Clark*, Esq;
 - Edward Shippen*, Esq;
 - Joseph Growden*, Esq;
 - William Guest*, Esq;
- } Judges.

Judge of the Admiralty, Col. *Robert Quarry*.

Treasurer, *Samuel Carpenter*, Esq;

Secretary to the Government, *James Logan*, Esq;

Attorney General, *R. Lowther*, Esq;

Register, *Peter Evans*, Esq;

* Surveyor General lately, *Mr. Edward Pennington.*

Clerk of the Peace for the
Town and County of } *Robert Ashton, Esq;*
Philadelphia.

* *This Office is now manag'd by the Under-Surveyors, accountable to the Secretary.*

THE
HISTORY
OF
MARYLAND.

C H A P. I.

*Containing an Account of its Discovery,
Settlement, Progress, and present State.*

THIS Province was always reckon'd a Part of *Virginia*, till the Year 1631. when King *Charles* made a Grant of it to *George Calvert*, Lord *Baltimore*, of which we have made some mention in the History of *Virginia*; when and by whom 'twas discover'd, will there be seen. *George* Lord *Baltimore* not living to see his Grant made out, his Son *Cacilius Calvert*, Baron of *Baltimore* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, took it out in his own Name, and it bears Date the 20th of *June*, 1632. We cannot better ascertain the Bounds of this Country, than by making use of the Words of the Patent. *'Tis all that Part of a Peninsula, lying between the Ocean on the East, and the Bay of Chesapeake on the West,*

and divided from the other Part by a Right Line drawn from the Cape call'd Watkins Point, (situate in the aforesaid Bay near the River of Wighco) on the West, unto the main Ocean on the East, and between that Bound on the South, unto that part of Delaware Bay on the North, which lies under the 40th Degree of Northern Latitude, &c. And all that Tract of Land from the aforesaid Bay of Delaware, in a right Line by the Degree aforesaid, to the true Meridian of the first Fountain of the River Patowmeck, and from thence tending towards the South, to the farther Bank of the aforesaid River, and following the West and South Side of it to a certain Place call'd Cinquack, situate near the Mouth of the said River, where it falls into the Bay of Cheseapeak, and from thence by a streight Line to the aforesaid Cape call'd Watkins Point, &c.

The King himself, when he sign'd the Patten, was pleas'd to give this Province the Name of *Maryland*, in Honour of his belov'd Wife *Henrietta Maria*, Daughter of *Henry* the IVth of *France*. The Lord *Baltimore* held it of the Crown of *England*, in common Soccage, as of his Majesty's Honour of *Windsor*, holding and paying yearly for ever two *Indian Arrows* of those Parts at the Castle of *Windsor*. The Power of this Proprietary is as Sovereign as that of any in *America*.

Maryland lies between 37 and 40 Degrees North Latitude, is bounded on the North by *Pensylvania*, East by *Delaware Bay* and the *Atlantick Ocean*, South by *Virginia*, from whence 'tis divided by the River *Patowmeck*, and West by the *Indian Nations*.

The Lord *Baltimore* having obtain'd this Grant, resolv'd to go thither in Person; but afterwards changing his Mind, he appointed his Brother *Leonard Calvert*, Esq; to go Governour in his stead, with whom he join'd in Commission *Jeremy Hawley*, Esq; and *Thomas Cornwallis*, Esq; The first Colony that was sent to *Maryland*, was in the Year 1633, and consisted of about 200 People. The Chief of these Adventurers were Gentlemen of good Families; and *Roman Catholicks*; for Persons of that Religion being made uneasy in *England*, as well as Protestant Dissenters, they transported themselves to this Province, hoping

hoping to enjoy there the Liberty of their Consciences, under a Proprietary of their own Profession, as the Lord *Baltimore* was. These Adventurers sail'd from *Comes* in the *Ile of Wight* the 22d of *November*, and having stop'd at *Barbadoes* and *St. Christophers* sometime, arriv'd at *Point Comfort* in *Virginia*, the 24th of *February* following. The Names of the principal Persons among them were as follows :

Leonard Calvert, Esq; Governour.
Jeremy Hawley,
Thomas Cornwallis, } Esqs; Assistants.
Geo. Calvert, Esq; Brother to the Governour.
Richard Gerard, Esq;
Edward Winter, Esq;
Frederick Winter, Esq;
Henry Wiseman, Esq;
 Mr. *John Saunders*.
 Mr. *Edward Cranfield*.
 Mr. *Henry Green*.
 Mr. *Nicholas Fairfax*.
 Mr. *John Baxter*,
 Mr. *Thomas Dorrel*.
 Capt. *John Hill*.
 Mr. *John Medcalse*, and
 Mr. *William Saire*.

They carry'd Letters in their Favour from his Majesty to the Governour of *Virginia*, who treated them in his Province with great Humanity. On the 3d of *March* they left *Point Comfort*, and came to *Patowmeck* River, which is about 24 Leagues distant. The Governour call'd the South Point of the River *St Gregories*, and the North Point *St. Michaels*. Sailing up *Patowmeck* 14 Leagues, they came to *Heron* Island, and anchor'd under a neighbouring *Ile*, to which they gave the Name of *St. Clements*. Here Mr. *Calvert*, in his superstitious way, set up a Cross, and took Possession of the Country for our Saviour, and for our Sovereign Lord the King of England. He went 4 Leagues higher up the River, with two Pinnaces, to make Discoveries; and landing on the South Side, found the *Indians* were fled for Fear. Thence he sail'd 9 Leagues higher, and came to *Patowmeck* Town,

Town, where the Werowance being a Child, *Archibau* his Uncle govern'd his Territories in his Minority, and receiv'd the *English* in a friendly manner. From *Patowmeck* the Governour went to *Piscattaway*, about 20 Leagues higher, where he found many *Indians* assembled, and among them an *Englishman*, Captain *Henry Fleet*, who had liv'd there several Years in great Esteem with the Natives. Capt. *Fleet* brought the Werowance or Prince aboard the Governour's Pinnace, to treat with him. Mr. *Calvert* ask'd him, Whether he was willing he and his People should settle in his Country, in case they found a Place convenient for them. The Werowance reply'd, *I will not bid you go, neither will I bid you stay, but you may use your own Discretion.* The *Indians* finding the Werowance stay'd aboard longer than they expected, crowded down to the Water-side, to look after him, fearing the *English* had kill'd him, and they were not satisfy'd till he shew'd himself to them to appease them. The Natives who fled from *St. Clements* Isle, when they saw the *English* came as Friends, return'd to their Habitations; and the Governour not thinking it adviseable to settle so high up the River, in the Infancy of the Colony, sent his Pinnaces down the River, and went with Capt. *Fleet* to a River on the North Side of *Patowmeck*, within 4 or 5 Leagues of its Mouth, which he call'd *St. George's* River. He went up 4 Leagues in his Long-Boat, and came to the Town of *Yoamaco*; from whence the *Indians* of that Neighbourhood are call'd *Yoamacoes*. The Governour landed, and treated with the Werowance there, acquainting him with the Occasion of his Coming; to which the *Indian* said little, but inviting him to his House, entertain'd him very kindly, and gave him his own Bed to lie on. The next Day he shew'd him the Country; and the Governour determining to make the first Settlement there, order'd his Ship and Pinnaces to come thither to him. To make his Entry the more safe and peaceable, he presented the Werowance and Wifos, or principal Men of the Town, with some *English* Cloth, Axes, Houghs, and Knives, which they accepted very kindly, and freely consented that he and his Company should dwell in one Part of their Town, reserving the other for themselves. Those

Indians, who inhabited that Part which was assign'd the *English*, readily abandon'd their Houses to them, and Mr. *Calvert* immediately set Hands to work to plant Corn. The Natives agreed further to leave the whole Town to the *English* as soon as their Harvest was in, which they did accordingly, and both *Indians* and *English* promis'd to live friendly together. If any Injury was done on either part, the Nation offending was to make Satisfaction. Thus on the 27th of *March*, 1634. the Governour took Possession of the Town, and nam'd it *St. Maries*.

There happen'd an Event, which very much facilitated this Treaty with the *Indians*. The *Sasquehanocks*, a Warlike People, dwelling between *Cheseapeak Bay* and *Delaware Bay*, were wont to make Incursions on their Neighbours, partly for Dominion, and partly for Booty, of which the Women were most desir'd by them. The *Yoamacoes* fearing these *Sasquehanocks*, had a Year before the *English* arriv'd resolv'd to desert their Habitations, and remove higher into the Country; many of them were actually gone, and the rest preparing to follow them. The Ship and Pinnaces arriving at the Town, the *Indians* were amaz'd and terrify'd at the Sight of them, especially when they heard their Cannon thunder, when they came to an Anchor.

The first thing Mr. *Calvert* did was to fix a Court of Guard, and erect a Store-house; and he had not been there many Days, before Sir *John Harvey*, Governour of *Virginia*, came thither to visit him, as did several *Indian Werowances*, and many other *Indians* from several parts of the Continent: Among others came the King of *Patuxent*, and being carry'd aboard the Ship then at Anchor in the River, was plac'd between the Governour of *Virginia* and the Governour of *Maryland*, at an Entertainment made for him and others. A *Patuxent Indian* coming aboard, and seeing his King thus seated, started back, thinking he was surpriz'd; he would have leap'd over-board, and could not be perswaded to enter the Cabbin, till the *Werowance* himself came and satisfy'd him he was in no Danger. This King had formerly been taken Prisoner by the *English* of *Virginia*. After the Store-house was finish'd, and the Ship unladen, Mr. *Calvert*

or-

order'd the Colours to be brought ashore, which was done with great Solemnity, the Gentlemen and their Servants attending in Arms; several Volleys of Shot were fir'd a Ship-board and a-shore, as also the Cannon, at which the Natives were struck with Admiration, such at least as had not heard the firing of Pieces of Ordnance before, to whom it could not but be dreadful.

The Kings of *Patuxent* and *Yoamaco* were present at this Ceremony, with many other *Indians* of *Yoamaco*; and the Werowance of *Patuxent* took that Occasion to advise the *Indians* of *Yoamaco* to be careful to keep the League they had made with the *English*. He stay'd in the Town several Days, and was full of his *Indian* Compliments: When he went away he made this Speech to the Governour; *I love the English so well, that if they should go about to kill me, if I had so much Breath as to speak, I would command the People not to revenge my Death; for I know they would not do such a thing, except it were through my own Fault.*

This Infant Colony supply'd themselves with *Indian* Corn at *Barbadoes*, which at their first Arrival they began to use, (to save their *English* Store of Meal and Oat-meal.) The *Indian* Women perceiving their Servants did not know how to dress it, made their Bread for them, and taught 'em to do it themselves. There was *Indian* Corn enough in the Country, and these new Adventurers soon after ship'd off 10000 Bushels for *New England*, to purchase Salt Fish and other Provisions. While the *Indians* and *English* liv'd at *St. Maries* together, the Natives went every Day to hunt with the new Comers for Dear and Turkies, which when they had caught, they gave to the *English*, or sold for Knives, Beads, and such Trifles. They also brought them good Store of Fish, and behav'd themselves very kindly, suffering their Women and Children to come among them, which was a certain Sign of their Confidence in them. 'Twas a great Advantage to the first Colony in *Maryland*, that they took Possession of a Town, about which the Ground was ready clear'd to their Hands, which gave them an Opportunity to plant Corn, and make Gardens, where they sow'd *English* Seeds, and they thriv'd wonderfully. They were very industrious to build Houses,

Houses, for they found only Huts ; but before they could accomplish those things to their Satisfaction, Capt. *Cleybourne*, one of the Council of *Virginia*, (who had in view to engross all the Trade of those Parts to himself) threw out Words among the *Indians*, which gave them Cause to suspect that the Adventurers who came to *Maryland* were not what they pretended to be, *Englishmen*, but *Spaniards*, and Enemies to the *Virginians*. The Natives were so simple as not to see he impos'd on them, as they might have soon found out by the Likeness of the *English* in *Maryland* to those in *Virginia*, as well in their Garb and Customs, as their Language and Trade ; yet such was their Stupidity, that they took what *Cleybourne* insinuated for Truth, and grew shy to the *English* at *St. Maries*. The latter alarm'd at this Alteration in their Carriage, thought of being on their Guard, and gave over building Houses to set all Hands to work towards erecting a Fort, which was finish'd in 6 Weeks time, and mounted with Ordnance. After that they renew'd their Labour about their Houses, and in a Year or two's time there were 50 or 60 at *St. Mary's Town* : But the Humour of Plantations has so far hinder'd its Progress, that there are not many more even at this Day.

The new Comers furnish'd themselves with Hogs, Poultry, and some Cows, from *Virginia*, and the Country was settled with so much Ease, and so many Conveniences, that it soon became populous and flourishing ; for several future Companies went thither, and chiefly Persons of the *Romish* Church, as has been hinted. The Country of *Yoamaco* being clear'd entirely of the Natives, the *English* planted it, and the Governour gave the River the Name of *St. George's*. Those that settled here first were taken with a Distemper somewhat like an Ague, which they call'd a *Seasoning*, of which for some Years many dy'd, for want of good looking to, and through their own ill Conduct ; but since the Country has been more open'd, by the cutting down of the Woods, and that there is better Accommodation of Diet and Lodging, with the Improvement of the Inhabitants Knowledge in applying physical Remedies, very few die of these *Seasonings* ; and some that come over from *England*, or elsewhere, never have them at all. The

The Government of this Colony, when it began to grow more numerous, was fram'd much after the Model of that in *England*. The Governour had his Council in the Nature of the House of Lords, and Privy-Council in *England*; and when the Country was divided into Counties, each had Representatives in the Assembly of the Province, and these Representatives form'd the Lower House; the Upper House consisting of the Governour and Council, and such Lords of Mannors, and others, as the Lord Proprietary, or his Lieutenant, from time to time shall call thither by Writ. This Assembly the Proprietary, or his Deputy, conven'd, prorogu'd, or dissolv'd at Pleasure; and their Acts being ratify'd by the Proprietary, or his Deputy, were of the same Force there, as an Act of Parliament is in *England*, and cannot pass, or be repeal'd, without the concurring Assent of the Lord Proprietary, or his Deputy, with the other two Estates.

Next to this Legislative Court was erected the Provincial Court, which is holden every Quarter in the City of *St. Mary's*. This is the chief Court of Judicature, where the most important judicial Causes are try'd; of which, in the Absence of the Lord Proprietary, the Lieutenant, or Governour and Council, are Judges. This Court is for the whole Province; but for each particular County there are other inferior Courts, which are held six times in the Year, in each of these Counties, for Trial of Causes not relating to Life, nor exceeding the Value of 3000 Weight of Tobacco, with Appeals from them to the Provincial Court.

Having mention'd the Counties in this Province, we must observe, that as the Number of the Inhabitants encreas'd, *Mr. Calvert*, the Governour, thought fit to divide the Country into Shires; of which there were at first but 10, as 5 on the West-side of the Bay of *Chesapeake*, and 5 on the East-side. Those on the West side were *St. Mary's*, *Charles*, *Calvert*, *Ann Arundel*, and *Baltimore*; to which has lately been added *Prince George County*, which makes the whole 11 in all. Those on the East-side were, and still are, *Somerset*, *Dorchester*, *Talbot*, *Cecil*, and *Kent* Counties. There were Towns laid out in each

of them, but they never came to Perfection; and for the same Reason that there are no Towns in *Virginia*, which the Reader will find in the following Pages.

The Governour built a House in *St. Mary's* for himself and Successors, and govern'd the Country till the Distractions happen'd in *England*, when the Name of a Papist became so obnoxious, that 'twas not likely the Puritans, who were then uppermost, would leave any Power in the Hands of a Roman Catholick. The Parliament assum'd the Government of this Province into their own Hands, and appointed _____ Esq; to be their Governour here; but upon the King's Restoration the Lord *Baltimore* recover'd the Right of his absolute Propriety; and about the Year 1662. sent over his Son *Charles Calvert*, Esq; the present Lord *Baltimore*, to be his Governour; and Mr. *Calvert* liv'd there almost twenty Years, a long time after his Father dy'd, and his Title and Estate fell to him. By his Wisdom and Presence this Colony flourish'd apace, and there were computed to be 16000 Souls in *Maryland*, so long ago as the Year 1665.

All the Indian Nations about this Province submitted to the Lord Proprietary of *Maryland*, and put themselves under his Protection: So that in the Year 1653. one *Naocosso*, who was chosen Emperor of *Piscattaway* (that is, he was advanc'd to an Office of more Authority than the rest of the Indian Kings or Werowances) was not thought to be absolutely confirm'd, till Mr. *Charles Calvert*, now Lord *Baltimore*, approv'd of their Choice.

The Lord *Baltimore* was at a vast Expence to bring this Province to its present Perfection; and allowing for his Partiality to the Roman Catholicks, which in a great measure helpt to lose him the Government of it, he behav'd himself with so much Justice and Moderation, while he kept the Power in his own Hands, that the Inhabitants liv'd easily and happily under him. They flourish'd, and encreas'd in Number and Riches. He procur'd an Act of Assembly, for Liberty of Conscience to all Persons who profess Christianity, tho of different Perswasions. By which means Protestant Dissenters, as well as Papists, were tempted to settle there; and that Liberty having never been
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infring'd in any manner, is a severe Reflection on those pretended Protestants in other Colonies, where Dissenters have been oppress'd; while here, under a Popish Proprietary, they enjoy'd all the Rights, Liberties and Privileges of *Englishmen*, as far as the Laws permitted them.

But notwithstanding all his Lordship's Care to prevent any Rupture with the Indians, when they were at War with the *Virginians*, they committed some Hostilities in the Year 1677. on the East-side, and kill'd 4 Men and a Woman near *Nomani*, which put the Colony in Fears of further Mischief; however that Cloud blew over, those that did the Mischief were punish'd, and no more Blood was shed in the Quarrel. While the Lord *Baltimore* liv'd here, he marry'd one of his Daughters to Col. *Diggs*, a Gentleman of the Country, of great Interest in it, and a considerable Merchant or Factor also. But when the Lord Proprietary remov'd to *England*, he did not appoint him to be Deputy, but put in another Gentleman, whose Name we have not been able to learn, nor that of his Successor: In whose Time the Government of *England* took from the Lord *Baltimore* that of *Maryland*. And we must observe, King *James II.* intended to take it from him before the Revolution, instigated to it by Father *Peters*. What Reason that Jesuit had to do the Lord *Baltimore* such a Disservice, we know not, and would have thought the Agreement between Father *Peters* and this Lord in Religion, might have influenc'd the Priest more in his Favour. But 'tis very certain, that he was the first Instrument of the Lord Proprietary's losing the Government, and perhaps the Court might think, that as much as the Papists were favour'd in *Maryland*, they might hope for more Favour from a Proprietary of their own persecuting Principles. The Lord *Baltimore* might have expected more than Justice from a King of his own Religion; yet his Patent was then question'd, and 'tis suppos'd the Prerogative of naming a Governour would have been taken from him, if King *James* had not abdicated his own Government. After the Revolution, this Lord had no Reason to look for any thing but strict Justice; for 'twas known, he was not a little zealous in opposing it.

King *William* the III^d. of glorious Memory, being settl'd on the Throne, the Steps that were taken for annexing the Government of *Maryland* to the Crown in King *James's* Reign, were with much more Reason continu'd ; and after a long and expensive Dispute at the Council-Board, the Lord *Baltimore* was depriv'd of that part of his Power, and the King appointed Sir *Edmund Andros* to be Governour of *Maryland*, who call'd an Assembly, which in the Year 1692. pass an Act to recognize King *William* and Queen *Mary's* Title ; and there having been great Confusion in the Courts of Judicature, by Reason of the Alteration in the Constitution of the Government in *Maryland*, an Act pass, to make all the Proceedings at Law valid, except where there were any Errors in any Process and Pleas. It provided also, that the Year 1690, and 1691. should not be accounted, concluded and meant in the Statute of Limitations.

We find Sir *Edmund Andros* did not act so inoffensively as might be wish'd in a Governour : For when Col. *Francis Nicholson*, whom King *William* appointed to succeed him, came to the Government, in the Act which pass to establish and ratify all Actions, Suits, Causes, and Proceedings in all Courts, &c. and all Officers Civil and Military, for, in, or by reason of any legal Acting or Proceeding in their respective Offices and Stations, from the Access of Sir *Edmund Andros*, to the then Governour, *Francis Nicholson*, Esq; his Arrival, any Clause, Imperfection, or want of Authority in the said Sir *Edmund Andros*, or his Commission notwithstanding, there is this Proviso ; *Provided nothing in this Act shall justify Sir Edm. Andros's taking and disposing of the Publick Revenues, or debar the Assembly, or any other Person, of their Right or Claims to the same.*

The Government of this Province is now the same with that of the other Colonies, which are immediately under the Crown ; by a Governour made by the King or Queen, a Council nam'd by the same, and an Assembly chosen by the Eleven Counties. The Lord Proprietary still enjoys the Profits of the Province, arising by certain Revenues granted to him by several Assemblies ; as a Duty on each Hoghead of Tobacco exported, and other Incomes ; which

with the Sale of Lands uncultivated, and unpurchas'd, amount to a considerable Sum yearly ; and the Duty of Tobacco encreasing, as that Product encreases, 'tis probable that Revenue will one Day rise to a very great Sum. Besides this, the Lord *Baltimore* has a large Plantation at *Mettapany* ; and in the whole, his Estate and Interest in this Province are very well worth his Care to maintain them.

About the Year 1692. the Lord Bishop of *London* appointed Dr. *Thomas Bray* to be his Commissary in *Maryland*. That Doctor went over thither to settle the Churches, according to the Rites and Worship of the Church of *England*. For by an Act of Assembly in the same Year, the Eleven Counties were divided into thirty Parishes, sixteen of which are supply'd with Ministers, who have a competent Maintenance settl'd upon them, with Glebes, and other Advantages. Libraries are fix'd, and many thousand practical and devotional Books have been dispers'd among the People, by the assiduous Care of Dr. *Bray*, who staid there 2 or 3 Years.

Besides these Churches, are several Chappels, and the Number of Papists and Dissenters are not inconsiderable. Mr. *George Macqueen*, and Mr. *Robert Keith*, have been employ'd by the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign Parts, to advance that good Work here ; but 'tis said the *Quakers and Papists* equally obstruct it.

A very ingenious Man, who was in this Province in Col. *Nicholson's* Time, sends this Account of the State of it to the Royal Society : ' The Inhabitants of *Maryland* are govern'd by the same Laws as in *England*, except that they have some Acts of Assembly, relating to particular Cases, not provided for by the Laws of *England*. The Church of *England* is pretty well establish'd among them: Churches are built, and there's an Annual Stipend allow'd to every Minister, by a perpetual Law ; which is more or less according to the Number of Taxables in each Parish. Every Christian Male 16 Years old, and Negroes Male and Female above that Age, pay 40 Pound of Tobacco to the Minister ; which is levy'd by the Sheriff among other publick Revenues ; and this makes the Revenues of the Ministers, one with
' ano-

another, about 20000 Pound of Tobacco, or 100 l. Sterling a Year. It has been the Unhappiness of this Country, that they had no Protestant Ministers hardly among them till Governour *Nicholson's* time (who has been a great Promoter and Encourager of the Clergy) but now and then an itinerant Preacher come over, 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 turn'd out of Doors. But by Col. *Nicholson's* Protection, the Face of it mended, and the Orthodox Churches were crowded as full as they could hold. The People grew sensible of the *Romish* Superstition, and the Enthusiasm of the Quakers: Insomuch that their Parties, joining now both together, are very inconsiderable to that of the Church of *England*. Indeed the Quakers struggle hard to maintain their Footing; and their *Teachers* (especially of the Female Sex, who are the most zealous) are very free of their Reflections and Scandal against the Orthodox Divines and Professors. The People here have not yet found the way of associating themselves in Towns and Corporations, by reason of the Fewness of Handicrafts-Men. There are indeed several Places allotted for Towns, but hitherto they are only titular ones, except *Annapolis*; where the Governour resides Col. *Nicholson* has done his Endeavour to make a Town of that Place. There are about 40 Dwelling Houses in it, 7 or 8 of which can afford a good Lodging and Accomodations for Strangers. There are also a State-House, and a free School, built with Brick, which make a great Shew among a Parcel of Wooden Houses; and the Foundation of a Church is laid, the only Brick Church in *Maryland*. They have two Market Days in a Week; and had Governour *Nicholson* continu'd there a few Years longer, he had brought it to Perfection.

Col. *Nicholson* mightily promoted the Advancement of Religion in this Province, as did his Successor Col. *Nathaniel Blackiston*, with whom the Country, tho healthy in its self, did not agree, and he was ord'd to return to *England* for the Recovery of his health: In whose stead her Majesty was pleas'd to

make Col. *William Seymour* Governour of this Province; who in *Sept. 1703.* embark'd aboard the *Dreadnought* Man of War, which, with others, was appointed to convoy the *Virginia* and *Maryland* outward bound Fleet; but being separated from the rest by stress of Weather, the Governour put into *Barbadoes*, where he arriv'd the 2d of *February*. The Ship was forc'd off the Coasts of *Maryland* by contrary Winds, and did not arrive in the Bay till *April* or *May, 1704.* So that Col. *Seymour* was near 8 Months in his Voyage, which is commonly made in 6 Weeks. This Governour has given general Satisfaction to the Inhabitants, and is indeed a Man of Honour, worthy the Post her Majesty has been pleas'd to continue him in to this time.

It cannot be expected that we should be able to give as perfect an Account of every Colony, as we have done of *New-England, Virginia, Carolina, Barbadoes*, and some others. Our Helps have not been at all equal, tho our Application has. Those Gentlemen to whom we apply'd, who could have given us full Information, and neglected it, are to answer for what is imperfect in this History of *Maryland*; which is however the largest that has been publish'd; and had we been better supply'd with Memoirs, we should have given a better Account of this Colony, which we confess deserv'd it. The Gentlemen concern'd in it will excuse us, when we tell them we have done our best, and in another Impression shall enlarge in our History of *Maryland*, if they will transmit us Materials, to enable us to do it. We kept this Account backward, in hopes of such Assistance; and perhaps these Gentlemen will be as angry with themselves as with us, when they see how industrious we have been in the Histories of those Countries, that we were fully inform'd about, and what a Figure they make in the *British Empire in America*, where *Maryland* is far from being the least considerable Portion of it. 'Tis true it does not encrease much in Towns, and those that are honour'd with the Name, would not pass for any thing but little Villages in other Countries. This, as has been hinted in *Virginia*, is the Humour of the Inhabitants, and all Endeavours to bring them to build and settle at *Annapolis*, or

Williamstadt, have been ineffectual. Those two Towns are not bigger than they were, if they hold to be so big, and there are Villages in *Pensylvania* which may vie with them for Number of Houses and Inhabitants.

The Lord *Baltimore* disputed at Law with Mr. *Pen* for the Propriety of that Part of *Pensylvania*, known by the Name of the *Three Lower Counties*, as if it had been included within his Patent for *Maryland*; but Mr. *Pen* has maintain'd his Title, and 'tis probable will always maintain it against the Lord *Baltimore's* to those Countries. *Pensylvania* has lately endeavour'd at a Tobacco Trade, but *Maryland* and *Virginia* will hinder the Progress of any other Colony in this Commodity; they have been long settled in it, and can make enough to supply all the Markets in the World, and their minding this Traffick wholly, prevents their falling into that of Provisions so much as *New England*, *New York*, *Pensylvania*, and *Carolina*; which Provinces may flourish by that Trade and Manufacture, and leave to *Virginia* and *Maryland* their Natural Trade, for by their long Continuance and Perfection in it, it deserves that Name.

C H A P. II.

Containing a Geographical Description of the Province of Maryland; an Account of the Climate, Soil, Product, Animals, Trade, and Inhabitants, English and Indian.

THO' we have given a large Description of *Virginia*, and the Bay of *Cheseapeak*, and have also set out the Bounds of *Maryland*, as we find it bounded in the Lord Proprietaries Patent; yet having had some Years since a compleat and distinct Account of both Provinces from an ingenious Gentleman, an Inhabitant of the Place, with whom we have been long acquainted, the Reader will be better satisfy'd to see

what he says, than to take it from us : Such then is
 the Description communicated to us by Mr. *Philemon
 Lloyd of Maryland* ; ‘ The Colony of *Virginia* and
 ‘ Province of *Maryland* are situate upon the Bay of
 ‘ *Chesapeake*, whose Mouth or Inlet is between the Capes
 ‘ call’d *Cape Henry* and *Cape Charles*, and yet so as
 ‘ neither of the Provinces is plac’d on one particular
 ‘ Side, but are both of them on each Side water’d by
 ‘ that commodious Bay, which divides as it were in
 ‘ half both Governments ; so that part of the Colo-
 ‘ ny of *Virginia* is on the West Side of the said Bay.
 ‘ and the other part on the East Side, the Bay running
 ‘ through the Centre of them. The Colony of *Vir-
 ‘ ginia* on the West Side of the Bay, is divided from
 ‘ *Maryland* by the great River *Patowmeck*, and on the
 ‘ East by the River *Pokomoak*, whose Head lies near
 ‘ the Sea to the Eastward. The Boundary of the
 ‘ Province of *Maryland* begins at the River of *Patow-
 ‘ meck*, and runs along the Bay Side Northwards, til
 ‘ it intersects a Line drawn West from the Mouth of
 ‘ *Delaware Bay*, situate in 40 Degrees North Latitude.
 ‘ having for its Bounds on the West high Mountains
 ‘ and on the East the said Bay. The Eastern Side
 ‘ of the Province of *Maryland* is bounded on the
 ‘ West by the Bay of *Chesapeake*, on the East by the
 ‘ Main Ocean, on the North by *Delaware Bay*, and
 ‘ on the South by the River *Pokomoak*, which is the
 ‘ Line of Division between it and the Colony of *Vir-
 ‘ ginia*. The Province of *Maryland* is divided into
 ‘ 11 Counties, 6 on the Western, and 5 on the East-
 ‘ ern Side of the Bay. Those on the Western Side
 ‘ are *St. Maries*, *Charles*, *Prince George*, *Calvert*, *Ann
 ‘ Arundel*, and *Baltimore* Counties. Those on the
 ‘ Eastern Side of the Bay are *Somerset*, *Dorchester*
 ‘ *Talbot*, *Kent*, and *Cecil* Counties. This Province
 ‘ has but one City in it, call’d the City of *St. Mary’s*
 ‘ from whence one of the Counties took its Name.
 ‘ being commodiously situate between the Rivers of
 ‘ *Patowmeck* and *Patuxent*. This was formerly the
 ‘ Seat of Government, and the Place where the Re-
 ‘ presentatives of the several Counties assembled, to
 ‘ concert and determine things for the Good of the
 ‘ Colony. There are also two principal Towns
 ‘ call’d by the Names of Ports, as the Port of *Annapolis*

polis, and the Port of *Williamstadt*. There are several other Towns, but of no Consideration. The principal Rivers of this Province are *Patowmeck*, which divides it from the Colony of *Virginia*; *Patuxent* and *Severn* on the Western Shore; and on the other Side are *Chiptonk*, *Chester*, and *Sissafras*, of greatest Note. The Extent of the Province of *Maryland* runs further Northward than the Head of the Bay of *Cheseapeak*, being situate on both Sides of it.

In speaking of the Counties, we shall begin with those on the West Side of the Bay.

St. Mary's is the first of these, and is bounded thus: It begins at Point *Look-out*, and extends along *Patowmeck* River, to the lower Side of *Bud's* Creek, and so over to the Head of *Indian* Creek in *Patuxent* River. About the Year 1698. some Medicinal Waters were discover'd in this County, call'd the *Cool Springs*, which the Government order'd should be purchas'd, with the Land about it, and Houses built for the Entertainment of the Poor. In the City of *St. Mary's* the General Court is holden, for which there's a State-house, and the Council is kept the first *Tuesday* in *September*, *November*, *January*, *March*, and *June*, for Orphans. This City chooses two Citizens to represent the rest in the Assembly, and the Government is by a Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen; and Common-Council; tho' true it is, so much Magistracy might have been spar'd, considering there are not above 60 Houses in it, and since *Annapolis* has been made the Seat of Justice, and the publick Offices, there's no great Likelihood that the City of *St. Mary's* will encrease much in the Number of its Houses and Inhabitants.

Mettapany in this Country is noted only for having been the Lord *Baltimore's* Seat, when he dwelt in this Country. Here he built a handsome House, tho' more for Convenience than Magnificence; it stands near the Mouth of the River *Patuxent*. In *St. Mary's* County are the Parishes of *St. John's*, *St. Clement's*, and *Hervington*, the latter usurping the Name of a Town.

Charles County Bounds begin on the upper Side of *Indian* Creek and *Bud's* Creek, where *St. Mary's* County

County ends, and extends to *Mattawoman* Creek, including all the Land lying on the upper Part of *Bud's* Creek and *Indian* Creek Branches. In this County the chief Places or Parishes are *Bristol* and *Piscattaway*.

Prince *George's* County is the newest in the Province, being laid out, *A. D.* 1695. It includes the Land from the upper Side of *Mattawoman* and *Swanson's* Creek, extending upwards by *Patowmeck* in the West, and *Patuxent* River in the East. In this County is the Parish of *Masterkont*, and others.

Calvert County borders upon *Charles* County, from which 'tis divided by the River *Patuxent*, as also from Prince *George's* County. In this County are three Towns or Parishes, *Harrington*, *Warrington*, and *Calverton*.

Ann-Arundel and *Baltimore* Counties are divided by 3 mark'd Trees, standing about a Mile and a Quarter from *Bodkin* Creek, on the West Side of *Chesapeake* Bay, and this Division runs thence West, till it crosses the Road from the Mountains of the Mouth of *Maggaty* River to *Rich. Beard's* Mill, and so continues Westward to 2 mark'd Trees, one for *Ann-Arundel*, the other for *Baltimore* County, and still continues West from *Maggaty* and *Potopscoc* Rivers, till it comes to a Mountain of white Stone, from thence to the main Road to *Potopscoc* Ferry, and two mark'd Pines, written at large on the North Side of the said Trees *Baltimore*, and on the South Side *Ann-Arundel* County; from thence West North West to *Elk Ridge* Road to two mark'd Trees there, thence to *Patuxent* River, and so up the said River to the Extent of it, for the Bounds of *Baltimore* County. All the Tract of Land on the North Side of these Division-Lines is in *Baltimore* County, and all the Land on the South Side in *Ann-Arundel* County. The chief Town in the County of *Ann-Arundel* is

Annapolis, which was formerly call'd *Severn*, and by an Act of Assembly, 1694. was made a Port Town, and a Collector and Naval Officer were order'd to reside there; the Name of *Annapolis* was then given it. The County Court was remov'd to this Place, a Church was order'd to be built within the Port, which was made a Parish; and in the Year 1699. the Port of *Annapolis* was made the chief Seat of Justice within

within this Province, for holding Assemblies, and provincial Courts, and all Writs, Pleas, and Process returnable to the Provincial, or to the Court of *Chancery*, were made returnable to the Port of *Annapolis*. All Roads leading through any County to this Port were by another Act of Assembly order'd to be mark'd on both Sides with two Notches in a Tree, and where the Road to *Annapolis* broke off from any other Road, it was to be distinguish'd on the Face of the Tree with the Letters *A. A.* The Assembly about 10 Years ago pass'd an Act for founding a Free-School here, to be call'd King *William's* School. Other Schools were also to be erected under his Patronage, and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* was to be Chancellor of them. Trustees were appointed and incorporated by the Name of the *Rectors, Governours, Trustees, and Visitors of the Free-Schools of Maryland*; what has been the Effect of this good Bill we know not, but believe it is very inconsiderable. The first School that was to be built was to be at *Annapolis*. The County Court for Orphans is kept here the second *Tuesday* in *September, November, January, March,* and *June*. The Records of the County of *Ann-Arundel* were remov'd to this Town, where are now about 40 Houses, but it lately has not flourish'd according to Expectation; and while the Planters and Merchants in *Maryland* affect to live separately, as they do in *Virginia*, there's no great probability of this Towns making any considerable Figure.

In *Baltimore* County is a Parish or Town so call'd; but the Houses are so disjoin'd in this, and others, that the Townships are not worth the Name.

Thus we have given a short View of the Counties on the West Side of the Bay, and must observe, that the great River *Sasquehanagh* falls into that Bay a little above *Baltimore*.

On the East-side of the Bay are the 5 other Counties; the first of which, proceeding from West to East, is,

Cecil County, the Western Part of which is so near the *Delaware*, that the Cut would not be above 8 or 10 Miles to join that Bay and River to *Chesapeake*. This County runs along Parallel with *Newcastle* and *Kent* County in *Pensylvania*. We have not learnt how many

many Parishes are in it, and know nothing more of it, so we proceed to

Kent County, which runs out like an Isthmus into the Bay of *Cheseapeak*. We know not the Name of the Parishes in it. The next County is

Talbot County, divided from the County of *Kent* by a double Line of mark'd Trees. That part of this County that lies on the North Side of *Corseica* Creek, is the Southerly Bounds of the County of *Kent*, and on the North the County of *Cecil*. *Oxford* was formerly the Capital of this County, but by an Act of Assembly in the Year 1695. it was nam'd *Williamstadt*, and made a Port Town. 100 Acres of Land adjacent to it was order'd to be purchas'd, for a common Pasture for the Benefit of the Town. The second School that was to be built was appointed for this Place, and the Roads to it were to be mark'd out in the like manner with those of *Annapolis*. A Collector and Naval Officer were order'd to reside here. Besides *Oxford*, here are the Parishes of *St. Michael's* and *Bullingbrook*. The next County is

Dorchester County. The chief Parish is *Dorchester*, where the County Court is kept. 'Tis a small Place of about 10 Houses. The Land here lying on the North Side of *Nanticoke* River, beginning at the Mouth of *Chickacoan* River, and so up to the Head of it, and from thence to the Head of *Anderton's* Branch, and so down to the North West Fork, to the Mouth of the aforesaid *Chickacoan* River, was by an Act of Assembly in the Year 1698. declar'd to belong to *Panquash* and *Annatouquem*, two *Indian* Kings, and the People under their Government, their Heirs and Successors for ever, to be holden of the Lord Proprietary, under the yearly Rent of one Beaver Skin. There are more *Indian* Towns in this than in any other of the Counties.

Somerset County has a Parish of the same Name in it. The Names of the other Parishes in this and the other Counties are not come to our Knowledge; and we know nothing particularly remarkable in them, so we shall proceed to our Account of the Climate, &c.

The Climate of this Province, the Soil, Product, and all that's mention'd in the Contents of this Chapter, are the same, in a great measure, with those of *Virginia*: Both here and there the *English* live at large at their several Plantations, which hinders the Encrease of Towns; indeed every Plantation is a little Town of it self, and can subsist it self with Provisions and Necessaries, every considerable Planter's Ware-house being like a Shop, where he supplies not only himself with what he wants, but the inferior Planters, Servants, and Labourers, and has Commodities to barter for Tobacco, or other Goods, there being little Money in this Province, and little Occasion of any, as long as Tobacco answers all the uses of Silver and Gold in Trade. There are few Merchants or Shop-keepers, who may properly be so call'd, we mean who are not Planters also, but live wholly by their Trades. The Tobacco of this Province, call'd *Oroonoko*, is stronger than that of *Virginia*, and no *Englishman*, who has not a very coarse Relish in his Smoak, will bear it; yet 'tis as profitable to the Planter, and to the Trade of the Nation in general, being in demand in the Eastern and Northern Parts of *Europe*, where 'tis preferr'd before the sweet scented Tobacco of *James* and *York* Rivers in *Virginia*. The Planters in *Maryland* finding so good Vent for their Commodity in foreign Markets, have cultivated it so much, that this Province is thought to produce as much or more Tobacco than that of *Virginia*. The Soil is here at least as fruitful, the Country being a large Plain, and the Hills in it so easy of Ascent, and of such a moderate Height, that they seem rather an artificial Ornament to it, than one of the Accidents of Nature. The Abundance of Rivers and Brooks is no little Help to the Fertility of the Soil; and there's no Grain, Plant, or Tree, which grows in *Virginia*, but thrives as well here. The Product, the Animals, and every thing is the same here as there, only the black and yellow Bird, call'd the *Baltimore* Bird, goes by another Name in *Virginia*. It had that given it, because the Colours of the Field of the Lord *Baltimore's* Coat of Arms are *Or and Sable*.

If the Reader has the Curiosity to know more of this Country in any of the Particulars mention'd in the Title of this Chapter, let him see the History of *Virginia* on the same Heads, and there's nothing there which may not also be said of *Maryland*, except it is added here.

The Air of the two Provinces has the same Agreement; and if there's any Difference in the Health of the one Country and the other, *Virginia* perhaps has the Advantage. The Province of *Maryland* however thrives in a greater degree, tho'tis the younger Colony; and that is a plain Proof of the Profit of the course Tobacco, preferable to the sweet-scented, or rather that which is sold to a foreign Market turns to better Account every way, than what is made for a home Consumption with more Labour and Cost, and at last with less Gain.

The Number of Ships trading hither from *England*, and other Parts of the *English* Dominions, was computed to be 100, above 30 Years ago; and we may imagine how many more there come now, from the Increase of the Inhabitants, who were then calculated to be 16000, and are now judg'd to be 30000 Souls. The Lord Proprietary had a Mint here, to coin Money, but it never was much made use of.

As to the Indians, their Language, Manners, and Customs are the same with those of *Virginia*. At the first settling of *Maryland* there were several Nations of 'em, govern'd by Petty-Kings; but 'tis thought there are not now 500 fighting Men of them in all the Province, if the Account Mr. *Hugh Jones* transmitted to the Royal Society of it be true: For Mr. *Glover*, who some Years before sent the same Society an Account of *Virginia*, says, *The Indians in the Lord Baltimore's Territories, at the Head of the Bay, where the English were later seated, are more numerous, there being 3000 of them still in some Towns; but these being in continual Wars with each other, are like shortly to be reduc'd to a small Number; which justifies Mr. Jones's Relation of their Number in Maryland, since in Mr. Glover's time there was not above 3000 Indian Souls in all Virginia; out of which one cannot reckon there were many more than 500 fighting Men. The same Mr. Jones gives us a large Account of several things in this Province worth notice.*

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The Bay of *Cheseapeak*, which runs *N. by W.* about 200 Miles, or more, divides *Maryland* as well as *Virginia*, into two Parts, which the Inhabitants of the two Provinces call the Eastern and Western Shoars. The Land is generally low on both Sides; no Hill that is to be seen, or is known by them 50 Yards perpendicular; but above 100 Miles West of them, towards the Heads of the Rivers, the Ground rises, and appears in very high Mountains, and rocky Precipices, running North and South; from the Top of which a Man may have a clear Prospect of both *Maryland* and *Virginia*.

All the *Low-land* is very woody, like one continu'd Forrest, no part clear'd, but what is clear'd by the *English*; who, tho they are seated pretty close one to another, cannot see their next Neighbour's House for Trees. Indeed 'tis expected that 'twill be otherwise in a few Years, for the Tobacco Trade destroys abundance of Timber, both for making of Hogsheds and building Tobacco Houses, besides clearing of Ground yearly for Planting.

The Soil of *Maryland* is generally sandy, and free from Stone, which makes it very convenient for Travelling, and there's no occasion for shoeing their Horses, except in frosty Weather; and what with the Goodness of their little Horses, and the Smoothness of the Roads, People, upon Occasion, can travel 50 Miles in a Summers Afternoon; and sometimes 100 Miles in a Day; but then their Miles are not accounted so long as in *England*.

The rich and plentiful Gifts of Nature add much to the Happiness of the Place; the three Elements affording Plenty of Food for the Use of Man, as Deer, Fowl, both Water and Land; and for the Preservation of Health, many excellent Herbs and Roots, the Discovery of whose Virtue is chiefly owing to the Indians.

They have Timber of several Kinds, good for Building, and of them several sorts of Oak; as Red, White, Black, Chesnut, Water, Spanish, and Line Oaks (which last bears a Leaf like a Willow) Cedar white and red; the latter serves only for Posts and Groundfills; the White to rive or split into Boards, that being the freest from Knots, and goes under the
Name

Name of Cypress, tho'tis falsely so term'd. There's a Tree call'd Cypress, which is extraordinary large in Bulk, and bears a Leaf like the *Sensitive Plant*. 'Tis soft, spongy, will not rive, and is fit for no Use. Their Black Walnut is mightily esteem'd by the Joiners for its Grain and Colour. There's a sort of Poplar that makes good white Plank. 'Tis a large Tree, and bears a Flower like a Tulip. They have Plenty of Pine, and Dogwood, which is a fine Flower-bearing Plant, Sassafras, Locust, a Tree of quick Growth, and very durable in Building. Hickery, of which there are two sorts, Red and White; the latter serves chiefly for Fire-Wood, being the best for that Use. There's abundance of Chesnuts and Chinquapines, another Species of Chesnuts; a sort of Elm like a Dutch Elm; and the Sugar mention'd in the History of *Virginia*, as well as others nam'd here. In *Maryland* is a kind of Elder, whose Bark is closely guarded with Prickles, like a Briar. The Tulip-bearing-Lawrel and Myrtle of several sorts, one of which bears a Berry that is work'd up in the Eastern Shore to a kind of Green Wax, very proper to make Candles with, if mix'd with Tallow.

The Humming-Bird and Mocking-Bird are the most curious Birds in this Province, as well as in the next; and the Rattle-snake in both is the most noted of their Reptiles.

The Air is now more wholesome than formerly, which proceeds from the opening of the Country, the Air having by that means a freer Motion. The Summers now are not extream hot, as in the first seating; but their Winters are generally severe. The North-East Wind is then very sharp, and even cools the Air very much in the Heat of the Summer, when a sudden North-Western Blast too often strikes their Labourers with Fevers, if they are not careful to provide for it, by putting on their Cloaths while they are at work.

There's little or no Woollen Manufacture follow'd by any of the Inhabitants, except what is done in *Somerset* County. Tobacco is their Meat, Drink, Cloathing, and Money: Not but that they have both *Spanish* and *English* Money pretty plenty, which serves only for Pocket-Expences, and not for Trade, Tobacco

bacco being the Standard of that, as well with the Planters and others, as with the Merchants. Their common Drink is Cyder, which is very good; and where it is rightly ord^r'd, not inferiour to the best white Wine. They have Wine brought from *Madera* and *Fyall*, Rum from *Barbadoes*; Bear, Mault, *French* and other Wines from *England*. There's Plenty of good Grapes growing wild in the Woods, but no Improvement is made of them.

Most of the Indians live on the Eastern Shore, where they have two or three little Towns: Some of them come over to the other side in Winter-time, to hunt for Deer, being generally employ'd by the *English*. They take Delight in nothing else, and 'tis very rare that any of them will embrace the Christians way of Living or Worship. The Cause of their Diminishing proceeded not from any Wars with the *English*, for they have had none with them worth speaking of, but from their own perpetual Discords and Wars among themselves. The Female Sex also have swept away a great many, insomuch that their Number is now very inconsiderable.

One thing is observable in them, tho they are a People very timorous, and cowardly in Fight, yet when taken Prisoners, and condemn'd, they will die like Heroes, braving the most exquisite Tortures that can be invented, and singing all the time they are upon the Rack.

If we have at any time mention'd the same thing in two severall Provinces, we have taken all possible Care not to describe it but in one, that the Reader might not be tir'd with needless Repetitions. But it will be observ'd, that every Nation of these *Barbarians* has some particular Customs, which distinguish 'em from the rest; and to make the History of each Province as perfect as lay in our Power, we have, as far as we cou'd, describ'd the Manners and Customs of all of them. We have nothing more to say of this Colony, and shall conclude with the Names of the present Governour and Council.

Col. *William Seymour*, Governour.

Thomas Tench, Esq;
Samuel Young, Esq;
John Hammond, Esq;
Francis Jenkins, Esq;
Edward Lloyd, Esq;
William Holland, Esq;
Kennelau Chittleton, Esq;
William Courcy, Esq;
Thomas Ennals, Esq;
Robert Quarry, Esq;
Thomas Grinseild,
John Contee,

Members of the
Council.

Secretary to the Government, *Sir Thomas Lawrence*.
 Speaker of the Assembly, *Mr. Thomas Smithson*.
 Naval-Officer at *Annapolis*, *Mr. William Bladen*.

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

C H A P. I.

*Containing the History of Virginia, from its
 Discovery to the Present Times.*

BY the Name of *Virginia*, was formerly call'd all that Tract of Land which reach'd from *Norembergua* to *Florida*; and contain'd the Country, now known to the English by the Names of *New-England*, *New-York*, *New-Jersey*, *Pensilvania*, *Maryland*, *Virginia* and *Carolina*. The Natives call'd it *Apelehen*; and 'twas, as 'tis said, first discover'd to the Europeans by *Sebastion Cabot*, a Genoese Adventurer, who liv'd at *Bristol*; and who in the Year 1497. was sent by King *Henry VII.* to make Discoveries in the *West-Indies*. *Columbus's* Successes ^{1497.} *Its Disco-* 5 Years before, having set all the Trading Nations ^{ry.} in the World upon Expeditions into *America*, in hopes of sharing the Treasures of the *New discover'd World* with the Spaniards.

The French, who will never allow any Nation to be before them in any thing, pretend this Country was discover'd by *John Verazzan*; who took possessi-

Robbe
Geog.

on of it in the Name of *Francis I.* that he call'd it *Mocosa*; and with *Canada*, to which he gave the Name of *New-France*, added it to the French Dominions. But this is a Fiction of their own, exploded by all Authors who treat of the Discovery of *Virginia*: For which the Crown of *England* is certainly indebted to the Care and Expence of the famous *Sir Walter Rawleigh*; who having, as appears by his admirable History of the World, made strict Enquiries into the State of the Universe; and hearing of the prodigious Profit the Spaniards drew from their Settlements in the *West-Indies*, resolv'd upon an Adventure for further Discoveries.

Sir Walter Rawleigh undertakes it.

His Mistress Queen *Elizabeth* was then too much employ'd in *Europe*, to think of making Attempts for Acquisitions in *America*. She was apprehensive of a War with *Spain*; and was busy'd in protecting the States of the United Provinces, and the French Protestants, against the Tyranny of *France* and *Spain*. *Sir Walter* therefore found himself under a necessity of undertaking the Adventure, on the account of private Persons, who bearing the Charge of it, were to have the Advantage.

1583.

To this Purpose, in the Year 1583. he procures several Merchants and Gentlemen to advance large Sums of Money towards carrying on the Design: And in the Year following, obtain'd Letters Pattents from the Queen, bearing Date the 25th of *March*, 1584. To possess, plant, and enjoy for himself, and such Persons as he should nominate, themselves and their Successors, all such Lands, Territories, &c. as they should discover, not then in the Possession of any Christian Nation.

1584.

Amidas and Barlow's Voyage.

In *April*, the Gentlemen and Merchants, by *Sir Walter Rawleigh's* Direction, fitted out two small Vessels under the Command of Captain *Philip Amidas*, and Captain *Arthur Barlow*, two of *Sir Walter's* Servants; who knowing no better Course, sail'd away for the *Canaries*, from thence to the *Caribbee* Islands, and crossing the Gulph of *Mexico*, made the Coast of *Florida*.

They were so ignorant of Navigation, that by Computation of able Seamen, they went above a thousand Leagues out of their way. Their Voyage was

was however prosperous; and they anchor'd at the In-let by *Roenoke*, at present under the Government of *North Carolina*. They landed on certain Islands on the Coast, between *Cape Fear* and the great Bay of *Chesapeac*. They afterwards went ashore on the Continent, in a Country call'd *Wingandacoa*; over which there reign'd a King, whose Name was *Wingina*. They traded with the *Indians*, and made good Profit of their Truck, the Natives parting with their Furs for things of much inferiour Value. With this Commodity, *Sasafras* and *Cedar*, they loaded their two Vessels, and return'd home, carrying with them some Pearl, which was taken for an evident Sign of the great Riches of the Country. *Amidas* and *Barlow* had made a very advantagious Voyage; and to encourage their Owners, the *New West-India-Company* to continue the Trade, they represented the Place they had discover'd to be so plentiful, and so desirable, the Climate so pleasant and healthy, the Air so sweet, the Sky so serene, the Woods and Fields so fruitful and charming, and every thing so agreeable, that all that heard it were taken with the Description; and such as had not Conveniences to live pleasantly at home, were tempted to remove to this Paradise.

But the Discovery was in its Infancy, and the English then could only admire, without daring to attempt the enjoying the Sweets of so delicious a Country. Besides the Pleasantness of the Place, and the Profit of the Trade, *Barlow* and *Amidas* highly extoll'd the Innocence and good Nature of the *Indians*, and the Advantages that might be made by their Ignorance, and their Love of the English. To this they added an inviting Account of the Productions of the Soil, the Variety of Fruits, Plants and Flowers there, and their Beauty and Excellence.

They also brought over with them some Tobacco, *Tobacco* the first that was seen in *England*, and two *Indians*, *first* whose Names were *Wanchese* and *Manteo*. *brought in-*

Queen *Elizabeth* was her self so well pleas'd with the Account these Adventurers gave of the Country, that she honour'd it with the Name of *Virginia*, either because it was first discover'd in her Reign, a Virgin Queen; or, as the *Virginians* will have it, because it

to Eng-
land.

still seem'd to retain the *Virgin Purity and Plenty* of the first Creation, and the People their Primitive Innocence.

The English Merchants were the more fond of further Adventures to *America* at this time, for that her Majesty's Ships had lately intercepted a Spanish Vessel bound home from *Mexico*, which had Letters aboard, containing a Description of the vast Treasures that were dug out of the Mines there. And the Company erected under the Auspices of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, who some affirm gave the Name of *Virginia* to the Country himself, resolv'd on a second Voyage thither.

Sir *Walter* intended to have commanded in this Expedition himself, and to have carry'd with him a sufficient number of Forces, to have compleated his Design of making a Settlement there; but being at that time jealous that his Absence might be prejudicial to his Interest at Court, which the Earl of *Liecester* sought all Occasions to lessen, he committed the Conduct of this second Enterprize to his Lieutenant Sir *Richard Greenville*; who on the 5th of *April* set sail from *Plymouth* with seven Ships fitted out by the Company; of which himself and several other Gentlemen were Members: and this Company was the first of that kind that was establish'd in *Europe*. These King *James* incorporated by the Name of the *Governour and Company of the West-Indies*; which for their Male-administration was dissolv'd by his Son King *Charles I.*

1585. Sir *Richard Greenville*, for want of better Information, sail'd round by the *Western* and *Caribbee* Islands. He had laden his Ships with Provision, Arms, Ammunition, and spare Men to settle a Colony: With these he took the two Indians, to assist him in his Negotiations with their Countrymen: And having a prosperous Voyage, he arriv'd at *Wokokon* on the 26th of *May*; being the same place were the English had been the Year before.

In *August* following he began to plant at *Roenoke*, an Island about 5 Leagues from the Continent, which lies in 36 Degrees of Northern Latitude. He also made some little Discoveries more in the *Sound* to the Southward; trading with the Indians for Skins, Furrs, Pearl,

Pearl, and other Commodities; which they barter'd with him for things of inconsiderable Value.

He left 108 Men on *Roenoke* Island, under the Command of Mr. *Ralph Lane*, and Captain *Philip Amidas*, Mr. Ralph Lane first Governor. to keep possession of it; and himself return'd to *England*.

As soon as Sir *Richard* was gone, the Men he left behind set themselves about discovering the Continent, and rang'd up and down 80 Miles Southward, and 130 Northward, venturing indiscreetly too high up the Rivers, and too far into the Country; by which the Indians growing jealous of their Designs, began first to be weary of their Company, and cut off their Stragglers when they fell into their Hands; they also form'd a Conspiracy to destroy the rest, but were happily prevented.

The Journals of the Colony's Proceedings were duly transmitted to the Company in *England*; who was not so careful as they should have been, to send them Supplies of Provision: And the English not understanding the Nature of the Climate, had neglected to gather Food in Season, as the Indians did; by which means they were reduc'd to terrible streights. The Natives never after kept Faith with them, but watch'd all Opportunities to cut them off. And, as this oblig'd them to be more wary in their Enterprizes on the Main, so it hinder'd their receiving any Supply from them: However they endur'd all with incredible Resolution, and extended their Discoveriës near 100 Miles along the Sea-Coasts.

They kept the Indians in awe, by threatning them with the return of their Companions, and a Reinforcement of Men. But no Ships coming from *England* in all that Winter, nor in the Spring following, nor in Summer, they despair'd of being able to support themselves any longer; the Natives beginning to despise them, when they saw them; as it were, abandon'd by their Countrymen, and the English expected daily to be sacrific'd to their Cruelty.

In this Distress their chief Employment was to look out to Sea, in hopes of finding some means of Escape or Recruit: And when they were almost spent with Want and Watching, Hunger and Cold, in *August* they spy'd Sir *Francis Drake's* Fleet, who was returning

from an Expedition against the Spaniards in *North-America*, and had been commanded by the Queen to visit this Plantation in his way, and see what Encouragement or Assistance it wanted.

The sight of Sir *Francis's* Fleet was the most joyful one that ever the Eyes of the poor Wretches who were left on *Roenoke-Island* beheld. Their first Petition to him, was to grant them a Supply of Men and Provisions, with a small Ship or Bark to attend them; that in case they could not maintain themselves where they were, they might embark in it for *England*.

Sir *Francis* granted their Request; and they set all hands to work to fit the Ship he had given them, and furnish her with all manner of Stores for a long stay: but a Storm arising, which drove the Vessel from her Anchor to Sea, and the Ship suffering so much in it, that she was not fit for their use, they were so discourag'd, that notwithstanding Sir *Francis* offer'd them another Ship, they were afraid to stay, and earnestly entreated him to take them with him home, which he did; and this put an end to the first Settlement.

An end of
the first
Settlement.

In the mean time, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* being very solicitous for the Preservation of his Colony, solicited the Company to hasten their Supplies of Men and Provisions, resolving to go with them in Person: And fearing the Colony would suffer by their Delays, he fitted out the Ship he was to go in with all possible speed; and when it was ready, set sail by himself: A Fortnight after, Sir *Richard Greenville* sail'd again from *Plimouth*, with three other Ships for *Virginia*.

Sir *Walter* fell in with the Land at *Cape Hattaras*, a little to the Southward of *Roenoke*, where the 108 Men settled; whom, after strict search, not finding there, he return'd.

The Virginians positively affirm, that Sir *Walter Rawleigh* made this Voyage in Person, but the Histories of those Times, and the Authors of the Life of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, which has been twice written, make no mention of it: 'Tis more probable, that the common Account of it is true, that he fitted out a Vessel of a hundred Tun, loaded it with Necessaries, and dispatch'd it away to relieve his little Colony.

Before this Ship arriv'd, the English had abandon'd their Settlement, and return'd with Sir *Francis Drake*. And the Master of the Vessel not being able to get any Information concerning them, made the best of his way home.

Though the Author of *The History and Present State of Virginia*, assures us Sir *Walter Rawleigh* went then himself, 'tis not likely a Man of his Quality and Character would hazard his Person so far, in no better an Employ than the Master of an Advice Boat or Tender.

When Sir *Richard* arriv'd, which was a few days after the departure of the Vessel we have mention'd, he found the Island *Roenoke*, where he left his Men, entirely deserted. He knew nothing of Sir *Francis Drake's* having been there; and thought they had been all murder'd by the Indians, till *Manteo* satisfy'd him of the contrary; but he could not tell how they got away. However Sir *Richard* left fifty Men more (some Accounts say but 15) in the same Island; order'd them to build Houses, giving them Materials, and two Years Provision; after which he return'd, having assur'd them that they should be speedily and constantly supply'd.

Navigant, Itinerant. A Second Settlement.

In the Year following Mr. *John White* was sent thither by the Company, with three Ships. He carry'd with him a Supply of Men, and some Women, as also plentiful Recruits of Provisions, having a Commission to settle there, and to preside over the Settlement as Governour.

He arriv'd at *Roenoke* the 22d of July, 1587. but found no Englishmen there; at which he was very much troubled. He enquir'd of *Manteo* what was become of them; this Indian inform'd him, that the Natives secretly set upon them, kill'd some, and the rest fled into the Woods; where they were never heard of afterwards.

1587;

Destroy'd.

To confirm *Manteo's* Information, the Fort they had built he found demolish'd, their Huts empty, the place of their Habitation all grown up with Weeds; and at the Entrance of the Fort the Bones of a dead Man.

This did not discourage Mr. *John White* from making Attempts towards a third Settlement: So he sat

A third Settlement. down

down in the same place, repair'd the Houses : And when he had put all things in the best Order he could for their Preservation, he proceeded to constitute a Form of Government among them, consisting of a Governour and twelve Counsellors, incorporated by the Name of the Governour and Assistants of the City of *Rawleigh* in *Virginia*.

On the 13th of *August*, *Manteo* the faithful Indian was christen'd, and created by the Governour Lord *Manteo* of *Dassamenpeak*, an Indian Nation so call'd, as a *Re-Christen'd* ward of his Fidelity and Services to the English : And on the 18th of the same Month was born the first Child that was the Issue of Christian Parents in that place, being the Daughter of Mr. *Ananias Dare* : She was after the Name of the Country christen'd *Virginia*.

'Tis from these small Beginnings that we are to trace this Colony, which has encreas'd so much since, that 'tis now one of the best Branches of the Revenue of the Crown of *England*.

Good Government and Industry soon render'd Mr. *White* and his Men formidable to the Indians, who courted their Friendship, and made Leagues with the Corporation, which they kept or broke as they thought themselves too weak or too strong for the English ; who, as much as they seem'd to thrive, underwent so many Hardships for want of due Supplies from *Europe*, that nothing but the invincible Constancy, which is the distinguishing Character of their Nation, could have supported them in so much Misery : yet so far were they from repenting of their Undertaking, or desiring to return, that they disputed for the Liberty of remaining at *Roenoke* ; and oblig'd Mr. *White* their Governour to return for *England*, and sollicite the Company to send them Recruits of Men and Provisions.

Mr. *White* undertook to negotiate their Affairs ; and leaving 115 Men in the Corporation, set sail for *England*, where he arriv'd in safety, and was two Years there before he could obtain a Grant of the necessary Supplies : At last he had three Ships fitted out for him, with Provisions and more Men for the Colony.

He sail'd from *Plimouth* in the latter end of the Year 1589. 1589. taking the usual Course round by the Western and

and *Caribbee* Islands; for no other was then known. Tho they were skill'd in Navigation, and in the Knowledge of the use of the Globes, yet they chose rather to follow a prevailing Custom, and sail three thousand Miles about, than to attempt a more direct Passage.

On the 15th of *August* he arriv'd at Cape *Hattoras*, and landing on the Island *Roenoke*, found by Letters cut on the Trees, in large Roman Characters, that the English weré remov'd, but he could not tell where; They saw the Letters *C. R. O.* on several Trees; and searching further, on one of the Pallisadoes of the Fort which they had quitted, they found cut in large Capital Letters the Word *Croatan*; one of the Islands forming the Sound about 20 Leagues Southward of *Roenoke*.

On this Advice they reimbark'd in quest of their Fellows at *Croatan*; but they were scarce aboard all of them before a dreadful Storm arose, which separated the Ships one from another. They lost their Anchors and Cables, and durst not venture in with the Shore; so they all shifted for themselves; and with various Fortunes arriv'd in *England* and *Ireland*.

*An End of
the third
Settle-
ment.*

There were no more Attempts to find and relieve the 115 Men *Mr. White* left at *Roenoke* for sixteen Years following; and what became of them God only knows, for they were never heard of to this Day. 'Tis suppos'd the Indians seeing them forsaken by their Countrymen, fell upon them and destroy'd them.

*Mr. White
returns.*

This Misfortune was enough to put a stop to any further Enterprizes of this Nature for some time; and 'tis rather a matter of Wonder, that the English ever after it attempted a Settlement in *Virginia*, than that they neglected it so long, this being their third Miscarriage, and the two last with more terrible Circumstances: These were certainly the Reasons that the Design of settling a Colony there was laid aside for so long a while, and not *Sir Walter Rawleigh's* Troubles, as the Author of the *History* before mention'd pretends; for *Sir Walter* from the Year 1590. to the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, was in full Favour at Court, and at the head of several famous Expeditions.

1602. In the Year 1602. in which Queen *Elizabeth* dy'd.
 Captain *Bartholomew Gosnold* fitted out a small Vesse
 Gosnold's at *Dartmouth*, and set sail in her from that Port, with
 Voyage. 32 Sailors and Passengers for *Virginia*. He had been
 one of the Adventurers in a former Voyage thither.
 was an excellent Mariner, and had found out that
 there must be a shorter cut to that part of *America*
 than had hitherto been attempted; wherefore he de
 sign'd a more direct Course, and did not stand so far
 to the Southward, or pass by the *Caribbee* Islands, as
 all former Adventurers had done, by which they not
 only sail'd many hundreds of Leagues out of their Way,
 but were expos'd to the difficult Shores and dangerous
 Currents of the Islands, and the Coasts of *Florida*.

He attain'd his end in avoiding those Coasts and
 Currents, and taking a nearer Course than any had
 done before him.

He arriv'd in the Latitude of 42 Degrees, and a few
 Minutes, to the Northward of *Roenoke*, among the
 Islands, forming the North side of *Massachusetts* Bay
 in *New-England*; where not finding the Convenien
 ces he desir'd, he set sail again; and when he thought
 he had got clear of the Land, he fell upon the Bay of
Cod, now part of *New-England*.

By his Method of Navigation he shorten'd his way
 500 Leagues, and yet went farther about by as many
 more than our Ships do now.

Captain *Gosnold* stay'd some time on the Coast,
 trading with the Indians for their Furrs, Skins, &c.
 with which, *Sassafras* and some other Commodities,
 he loaded his Ship, and return'd, having too few Men
 in his Company to pretend to a Settlement. This
 Voyage was so healthy, that neither himself nor any
 of his Crew were in the least indispos'd in all the time.
 He was the first that had made it turn to any account
 since *Barlow* and *Amidas's* Voyage; and gave such a
 good Description of the commodious Harbours, plea
 sant Places, and profitable Trade he had met with,
 that the English once more began to talk of a Planta
 tion in *Virginia*; and several Merchants, particularly
 the Mayor and some Aldermen of *Bristol*, with
 whom Mr. *Hackluit*, who made a very good Collecti
 on of Voyages to *America*, was concern'd, set out
 Ships to trade to the same Places.

Two Vessels fitted out by the *Bristol Men*, fell in with the same Land Captain *Gosnold* had done, follow'd his Method and Traffick, and return'd with a rich Lading.

The *Bristol Merchants* encourag'd by this Adventure, continu'd their Voyages thither, and encreas'd their Commerce from time to time so much, that for many Years they were the most considerable Traders to that Colony; and, considering the Inequality of their Numbers, out-did the Londoners by much, till the Merchants of *Leverpoll* drove them out of the Irish Trade, and rivall'd them in that to *Virginia*.

The next Ship that sail'd thither from *England* was commanded by Captain *Martin Pring*, fitted out by the *Bristol Men*, who came to *Whitsan Bay*, anchor'd there, and traded with the Natives to advantage.

Capt. Pring's Voyage.

The same Year Captain *Gilbert* in the *Elizabeth* of *London*, made a Voyage to *Virginia*, but not with the like Success. He traded with the Savages in the *Caribbee Islands*, viz. *St. Lucia, Dominica, Nevis, St. Christophers*, and thence proceeded to the Bay of *Chesepeac* in *Virginia*, being the first that sail'd up into it, and landed there. The Indians set upon him and his Company in the Woods, and Captain *Gilbert* and 4 or 5 of his Men were kill'd by their Arrows; upon which his Crew return'd home.

The trading Voyages of *Gosnold* and the *Bristol Men* began to put the English on new Attempts for a Settlement: But before it could be brought to pass, *Henry Earl of Southampton*, and *Thomas Lord Arundel* of *Warder*, fitted out a Ship under the Command of Capt. *George Weymouth*, who fell upon the Eastern Parts of *Long-Island* (as 'tis now call'd) where they landed, and traffick'd with the Indians, made Trial of the Soil by English Grain; and found the Natives more affable and courteous than the Inhabitants of those other parts of *Virginia* which the English had discover'd; but the Adventurers being greedy of Gain, over-reach'd the Indians, imposing on their Ignorance; of which they growing jealous, it occasion'd the many Murthers and Massacres that follow in the Course of this History.

Capt. Weymouth's Voyage.

Capt. *Weymouth* enter'd the River of *Powhatan* Southward of the Bay of *Chesapeac*. He sail'd up above Forty Miles, finding the Channel deep and broad, being a Mile over, and 7 to 10 Fathom in depth, having Creeks on every side at every hal Mile Distance, all deep and safe; in which Ships of 500 Tuns may ride in many places, with a Cable or shore in the soft Oaze.

As he coasted along this River, he traffick'd with the Natives, bartering his Trifles for their Treasures: the Indians giving him to the value of 10 or 12 *l.* in Furs, Beaver, Otter, and Sable, for five Shillings worth of Knives, Combs, Beads and Toyes.

In one place where he traded, he and his Crew had like to have been surpriz'd by the Natives, who inviting him ashore on pretence of Traffick, plac'd 300 Men with Bows and Arrows in an Ambuscade; but Capt. *Weymouth* march'd with so much Caution, and so well arm'd, that they durst not attack him. He sent his Boat 70 Miles up the River, in which his Ship lay 6 Weeks. While he was there he made trial of the Soil of the Country with English Grain, which he found thriv'd; as it did in other parts of *Virginia* where the Experiment had been made.

Having laden his Ship with the Commodities of the Place, such as Furs, Safafra, and Tobacco, he return'd to *England*, carrying 3 or 4 Savages whom he had taken Prisoners with him.

The Account he gave of his Voyage when he came home, tempted others to adventure thither, but none had the Courage to think of a Settlement. They had forgot the 115 Men whom Mr. *White* had left at *Roanoke*: Their Pity was too weak for their Avarice, Trade and Profit was all they thought of; and these private Adventurers would have put the Design of a Colony out of the Peoples head, had not Capt. *Gosnold* so effectually sollicitated the Settlement of *Virginia* in the Court of King *James*, that several Gentlemen contributed towards it; and the King incorporated two Companies in one Patent, bearing date the 10th of *April*, 1606. for two Colonies.

1606.
The South
Virginia
Company.

The first Company were Sir *Tho. Gates*, Sir *George Summers*, the Reverend Mr. *Richard Hackluit*, Prebend of *Westminster*, and *Edward Maria Wingfeild*, Esq;

Esq; who were the *London-Adventurers*, and had liberty by their Patent to seat themselves, and such as shou'd join with them at any place on the Coast of *Virginia*, between the Degrees of 34 and 41 of Northern Latitude. They were allow'd to extend their Bounds from the place of their Plantation 50 English Miles, each way, and one hundred Miles up in the Country, directly from the Sea-Coast, and none was permitted to Plant or dwell there without leave of the Company or their Council.

This Patent included *Maryland, Virginia* and *Carolina*, as they are now distinguish'd from each other.

The second Company were *George Popham*, Esq; and others, as we shall shew in the History of *New-England*, these were call'd the *Plimouth-Adventurers*.

They had liberty by their Patent to plant and inhabit any Part of the Continent between the Degrees of 38 and 45 of Northern Latitude, with the like Privileges and Bounds as the First Company.

In this Patent was included *New-England, New-York, New-Jersey* and *Pensilvania*, as they are now divided into several Provinces; but the whole Country was then call'd *Virginia*, That which was granted to the second Colony, as well as that which was granted to the first. The latter was the earliest in their Settlement: For in the same year with the Date of their Patent, they fitted out two Ships under the Command of Capt. *Newport*, who fell in with the Coast near Cape *Henry*, the Southermost Point of the Bay *Cheseapeac*.

1606.

With him went the Honourable Mr. *Percy*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, Capt. *Gosnoll*, Capt. *Smith*, Capt. *Ratcliffe*, Capt. *Martin*, Mr. *Wingfield*, of whom the 5 last were of the Council. They took a Minister, and abundance of Handicraft Tradesmen with them. Capt. *Newport* rais'd a Fort at the Mouth of the River *Powhatan*. Here he left 100 Men, with Provisions, Arms, Ammunition, and other Necessaries to make a Settlement; and this was the first Colony that remain'd on the Place. The first Company resolving to prosecute their Undertaking vigorously, had taken Capt. *John Smith* into their Service. He was a noted Seaman, who from a mean Original had acquir'd a great Reputation by his Adventures. Capt. *Smith* chearfully undertook the Employment, and

Capt.

Newport.

First Colo-

ny that

remain'd.

and ventur'd his all on that Bottom. The Company were impower'd by their Patent to choose a President and Counsellors to grant Commissions, and exercise judicial Authority. Accordingly they gave a Commission to the Gentlemen above-mention'd to establish a Colony in their Territories, and govern it by a President and Council, who were invested with sufficient Authorities and Powers.

The Gentlemen who went over with Capt. *Smith*, were very unkind to him, and envying his Zeal and Experience in Maritime Affairs, they us'd him so ill, that 'twas thought they intended to put him to Death. This was carry'd on by the President Mr. *Wingfield*, a covetous haughty Person, who, while Capt. *Smith* was trading and treating with the Indian Kings, contriv'd his Ruin: False Witnesses were produc'd to swear ill Designs against him, and he was not only refus'd to be admitted into the Council, but thrown into Prison, where he lay till all the Forgeries of his Enemies were detected. He then was admitted a Member of the Council; Mr. *Wingfield* was depos'd from his Precedency, and Capt. *Radcliff* chosen President, who knowing Capt. *Smith's* Ability, left the Administration of Affairs to him.

Mr. Wingfield President.

Capt. Radcliff, President.

The Company gave Captain *Newport*, when he set out, orders to Sail to that Part of *Virginia*, where Mr. *White* left his Miserable Colony, tho there was no Security of Harbour there. Captain *Smith* was the Pilot of this little Fleet, and as good a Seaman as he was, went the old round-about way, by the Western and Charibbee Islands, and past his own Accounts in Navigation twice or thrice, in-somuch that his Companions began to Despair of reaching the Place they were bound for, and to think of returning to *England*. But when they were at the Point of returning, Capt. *Smith*, with two of his Vessels, luckily fell in with *Virginia*, at the Mouth of *Chesapeac* Bay. Some Authors distinguish Capt. *Smith's* Voyage from Capt. *Newport's*; and affirm, that the first Settlement which remain'd, was made by *Smith*, but others make the Voyage of Capt. *Newport* Prior to *Smith's*. Leaving this Dispute to be decided by the Company's Books, and the *Virginians*, we proceed in our History.

Capt.

Capt. *Smith*, when he had the Management of Affairs, built a Fort on the Southern Cape, which he nam'd Cape *Henry*, from Prince *Henry* King *James's* Eldest Son: the Northern he call'd Cape *Charles*, from Prince *Charles*, afterwards *Charles I.* And the River *Powhatan* he call'd *James River*, after the King's own Name.

Before the President and Council proceeded to a *James*-Settlement, they made a full Search of *James River*, and Town then they unanimously pitch'd on a Peninsula, about built 50 Miles up the River to build a Town upon, which they call'd *James-Town*.

The Soil about it is very good, the place it self two thirds environ'd by the Main River, which affords good Anchorage, and the other third by a small narrow River, capable of receiving Vessels of 100 Tuns, by which means the Ground the Town stands upon is a sort of an Island. Here they built Castles and a Fort, and might have gone on with Success, had not their own Divisions put a stop to the Growth of their Settlement, and given the Indians an Advantage over them. One hundred and eight Men staid upon the place.

'Tis certain that in this year 1607. the Plantation of *Virginia* was first settled by about one hundred Persons, and that from these small Beginnings it rose to the Figure it has since made in the British Commerce. The two Ships were sent back by the President and Council to fetch Recruits of Men and Provisions, and in the mean while those that remain'd fell to Planting and Sowing, to Building, Fortifying, and Trading with the Indians, making a prodigious Profit by their Traffick. But each private Trader being at liberty to sell their Goods at what Rates he please, the English undersold one another, by which means the Natives who had bought dearer than their Neighbours, thought they were cheated, and so conceiv'd an Aversion to the English in general, which ended in a National Quarrel. 1607.

The Trade was further interrupted by a sort of yellow *Dust-Isinglas*, which was found to be wash'd down by a Stream in a Neck of Land on the back of *James-Town*. This the English mistook for Gold, and all their Hearts were set

set upon it, to the neglect of their real Profit by Traffick, and their Security and Preservation, by making Provision for a time of Necessity, which then came upon them; for while they were all running mad after this Visionary Gold; their Town was burnt, their Stores consum'd, and they were reduc'd to the last Extremities of Wants. Many of them were also destroy'd by the Indians, none minding their defence, so much were they infatuated with the Hopes of Mountains of Wealth, by the help of these New-found-Sands; and they already began to despise the Mines of *Mexico* and *Peru*, in comparison of their own inestimable Stream. In the mean time they labour'd under unspeakable Difficulties, which however they bore with patience, being comforted by their golden Dreams. One of the Ships that had been sent back to *England* for Provisions, return'd; and they loaded her home with this *Yellow Dust*, thinking all the Stowage wasted that was bestow'd on Furrs or Druggs, and cou'd hardly afford any room for Cedar. Not long after her departure the other Ship arriv'd, and her they also loaded home with this imaginary Gold Dust, with Cedar and Clap-board to fill up. They were all so busy in Fishing for the Dirt, that they cou'd spare no time for Discoveries, till the heat of their Avarice began to Cool a little, and some of the wiser Sort to suspect, that according to a good old English Proverb, *All was not Gold that glister'd*. At last Capt. *Smith*, with part of the Colony, made several Discoveries in *James-River*, and up *Chesapeac Bay*, with two Sloops which they had brought with them for that Purpose.

1608.

In the same Year 1608. the English first gather'd Indian Corn of their own Planting, and they might have flourish'd, had not their Feuds, Folly, and Negligence, hinder'd their Success, and been the cause of their Future Mischiefs. For in Capt. *Smith's* absence, Matters fell into Confusion; several uneasy People were for deserting the Settlement, and attempted to run away with a small Vessel, which was left to attend it, but they were prevented.

Capt. *Smith* in his Expedition among the Savages, was surpriz'd, assaulted, and taken Prisoner by them. He was then making Discovery on the River
Chico-

Chicohomony, where *Oppecamcanough*, a King of that Nation, fell upon him treacherously, and put all his Men to death, after he had forc'd them to lay down their Arms. He not only spar'd Mr. *Smith's* Life, but carry'd him to his Town, feasted him, presented him to *Powhatan* the Chief King of the Savages, who wou'd have beheaded him, had he not been sav'd at the Intercession of *Powhatan's* Daughter *Pocahonta*, of whom we shall have occasion to say more hereafter. Capt. *Smith* returning to *James-Town*, found the Colony in such Distractions, that 'twas likely to break up. When he had prevail'd upon them to remain there, Capt. *Newport* return'd with Supplies of Men and Provilions, and they both paid a Visit to *Powhatan*, who receiv'd them in great State. Capt. *Newport* did not stay long in *Virginia*, and Capt. *Radcliff* resigning his Presidency, Capt. *Smith* was unanimously desir'd to accept of that Office. He made a second Expedition for Discoveries, leaving Mr. *Scrivener* Vice-President, but the Affairs of the Settlement still ran to destruction.

Capt. *Smith* President.

In the year following, 1609. *John Layden*, and *Anne Burroughs* were marry'd, which was the first Christian Marriage in *Virginia*, and in the same Year the President and Council at *James-Town* sent out People to make two other Settlements, one at *Nansamund*, under Capt. *Martin* in *James-River*; and the other at *Powhatan*, 6 Miles below the Falls of *James-River*, under the Honourable Mr. *West*: Mr. *Martin* attempting to seize the King of *Nansamund*, was forc'd to fly from his Settlement, and Mr. *West* did not stay long at his.

The Colony was by this time so encreas'd by Recruits from *England*, that the People of *James-Town* cou'd spare 120 Men for each of these Settlements. Not long after another Settlement was made at *Kiquotan*, at the Mouth of *James-River*. *Powhatan* was an Indian Town, and was bought of *Powhatan* King of *Werocomoco*, for some Copper.

The Company in *England* understanding how prejudicial the Divisions in their Colony were to the advancement of the Settlement, Petition'd the King for leave to appoint a Governour, which was granted them in a new Patent. Pursuant to this Grant they made the

Lord Delaware Governor.

Sir Tho. Gates, Sir George Summers, Capt. Newport, Dep. Governours. Lord *Delaware* Governour of the Colony, whose Brother Mr. *West* liv'd then in *Virginia*. My Lord appointed three of the Members of the Society, *Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers,* and Captain *Newport*, to be Joint Deputy Governours.

These three Gentlemen embark'd in one Ship, and set sail, with eight more in their Company, loaden with Provisions and Necessaries. The Ship in which the Governours were, being separated from the rest in a Storm, was driv'n ashore, and stay'd at *Bermudas*, but the Crew were all sav'd, and the three Governours with the rest; who, notwithstanding the dangers they had run, were always jangling, to the great detriment of their Affairs.

While they were there, the two Knights had perpetual Quarrels among themselves, form'd Factions; and their Differences grew to such a height, that they would not embark in the same Vessel; so they built each of them one of Cedar, picking up the Furniture of their old Ship for Rigging; and instead of Pitch and Tar, they made use of Fish Oil, and Hogs Grease mix'd with Lime and Ashes.

Several of the Nine Ships that came out with the Governours, arriv'd in *James-River*; and by their Arrival, encreas'd the Disorder in the Settlements there; for, pretending that the new Commission dissolv'd the old one, they would not submit to the Government they found on the Place; the fatal Consequence of which we shall see hereafter.

We must now return to Capt. *Smith*, who while the Company were preparing to dispatch away the three Governours, and those Gentlemen stay'd at *Bermudas*, continu'd his making Discoveries with great Difficulties and Hazards; in which he was oppos'd by *Powhatan*; with whom he made War, and had frequent Advantages of the Indians, tho not without Loss; himself was twice taken Prisoner by him, once, as was hinted before, as he was making a Discovery of the Head of *Chickahomony* River, and another time by an Ambuscade at *Onawmomet*. The manner of his Treatment among the Indians, and his Escape, his Friendship with *Nautaquaus* the King's Son, and the surprizing Tenderness of *Pocahonts* his Daughter for him, when he was about to be executed,

Capt. Smith's Adventures.

are Incidents equally agreeable and surprizing. He has given a large Account of them in his own History, to which the Reader is refer'd; only we cannot omit relating the wonderful Humanity of *Pocahonta*, who when Mr. *Smith's* Head was on the Block, and she could not prevail with her Father to give him his Life, put her own Head upon his, and ventur'd the receiving of the Blow to save him, tho' she was then scarce thirteen Years old: A remarkable Instance, how vain we are to our selves, in thinking that all who do not resemble us in our Customs are barbarous.

The Friendship of Pocahonta, an Indian Princess.

We shall have occasion in this Chapter to say something more of this generous Lady, who was the first *Virginian* that ever spoke English, or had a Child by an Englishman, and the first Christian of that Nation.

Capt. *Smith* having twice got out of the Hands of the Indians, proceeded in advancing the new settled Colony, which was now so numerous, that there were 500 Men in *James-City*, and Plantations up and down the Country; but Mr. *Smith* happening to be blown up by the accidental firing of some Gun-powder in his Boat, was so wounded that his Life was despar'd of, and his Friends oblig'd him to embark for *England* to be cur'd.

Capt. Smith returns to England.

He was no sooner gone, but those he left behind, Capt. *Radcliff* and Capt. *Martin*, fell out among themselves, and the Confusion increas'd upon the Arrival of the Ships belonging to the three Governours Fleet. The Colony soon mis'd their late President Mr. *Smith*, who by his Wisdom, Vigilance, Courage and Care, preserv'd the Settlements in good Order. Without him they had certainly been destroy'd, either by their own Laziness and Negligence, or the Treachery and Cruelty of the Indians: He always kept their Granaries full, and by fair means or force oblig'd the Indians to bring in Corn and Provisions. He aw'd them so much by his Valour, that they durst not make any Attempts against the English, for whose defence he rais'd Forts and Batteries, and was indeed the Soul of the Settlement; for as soon as he left it the People decreas'd daily, and by the Treason of the Natives, or Want and Hunger, to which they were soon reduc'd, their Numbers were lessen'd to 60, when Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *George Summers* arriv'd: 'Tis true, they

The miserable State of the Colony.

made some unsuccessful Attempts to defend themselves ; Capt. *Sicklemore* and Capt. *Radcliff*, with a Company of Men, going amongst the Indians to trade, were surpriz'd, and 60 Men slain by *Powhatan*, who would have no Dealing with them after Capt. *Smith's* Departure. All those that had settled in any other part of the Country, fled from the Indians to *James-Town*, except the Planters at *Kiquotan*, who being defended by *Algernoon-Fort*, maintain'd themselves against the Natives, but could not subsist for want of Provisions, which they, as well as their Country-men at *James-Town*, had wasted, and like them they were almost famish'd : Their Distress was so great, that they fed on the dead Bodies of the Indians whom they slew, and even dug up and eat those that were bury'd.

This dreadful Famine is still remember'd in *Virginia*, by the Name of the *Starving Time*. The Persons who came in the last Ships continu'd their Dissention amidst these Calamities; during which, some of them who pretended to be of the Three Governours Council, assum'd the Administration; and tho the Commission was not arriv'd, usurp'd the Power of Governing, to the Ruin of the Settlement; which, by Famine and Sickness, bred by bad Diet, were reduc'd from above 500 to 60 Persons.

1610. The Three Governours in the mean while set sail on the 11th of *May*, 1610. from *Bermudas*, in their two small Cedar Ships, with 150 Men in their Company; and in 14 Day arriv'd in *Virginia*. They went up to *James-Town* with their Vessels, where they found the poor Remains of the Colony.

Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Summers*, and Capt. *Newport* pity'd their deplorable State, and immediately call'd a Council, to consult of what should be done for their Relief. They inform'd them they had but 16 Days Provision aboard, and demanded of them whether they would venture to Sea with that, or stay in the Settlement, and take their Fortunes; in which they would very willingly share with them.

They soon resolv'd to abandon *James-Town*, and return for *England*; and, because Provisions fell short, to call at the Banks of *New-foundland*, in hopes to meet some Fishermen there, and in such case, to divide them-

themselves into several Crews, and go aboard several Ships, for their better Accomodation.

This Resolution being taken, they all went aboard, and fell down to *Hog-Island* the 9th of *June*, at Night; and the next Morning to *Mulberry-Island*, 18 Miles below *James-Town*, and 30 from the Mouth of the River; where they spy'd a Ship's Boat coming up to them, which the Lord *Delaware* had sent before him to sound the Channel.

The Lord Delaware arrives.

This Lord brought with him 3 Ships, very well provided with all manner of Provisions and Necessaries, and 250 People to recruit the Colony. The Lord *Delaware* perswaded them to return to *James-Town*; and by his good conduct brought the Settlement into a flourishing Condition. He restor'd Discipline among them, renew'd their Trade with the Indians, which had been interrupted by their Wars with them; and made the Savages once more afraid of attacking them, either openly, or by surprize.

In his time the Government had the Form of an Establishment, and several Men of Quality bore Offices in it, as the Lord *Delaware* Lord Governour, and Captain General, Sir *Thomas Gates* Lieutenant General, Sir *George Summers* Admiral, the Honourable *George Piercy* Esq; Governour of *James-Town* and *Fort*, Sir *Ferdinando Wenman* Master of the Ordnance, Capt. *Newport* Vice Admiral, *William Strachy* Esq; Secretary; an Appearance of Officers that has not since that time been seen in *Virginia*.

My Lord sent Sir *George Summers* and Capt. *Argall* to *Bermudas* to fetch Provisions: Sir *George* dy'd in the Voyage; but Capt. *Argall* got a Supply of Cod-fish at *Sagadahoc* in *New-England*.

Sir *Thomas Gates* was sent for by the Company at *London*, to give them an Account of their Proceedings; the Hon-ourable and the Lord *Delaware* being taken sick, left Mr. *Percy* Deputy Governour, and return'd to *England*; where he made the Adventurers such a pleasing Report of their Affairs, that they order'd it to be published.

The Hon-ourable G-0. Piercy Esq; Deputy Governor.

There were now about 250 Men on *James-River*; over whom Sir *Thomas Dale* was plac'd, with the Title of Marshal General, by the *London* Council: He arriv'd there the 10th of *June*, 1611. with three Ships laden

laden with Provisions and Necessaries, having Supplies of Men, and some live Cattle, and Hogs aboard, for Labour and Breed.

On his Predecessor's Departure the Colony fell into their old Disorders, and began to be in Want, occasion'd by their Sloth and Dissention. They depended on their Supplies from *England*, and neglected to plant Corn, to subsist them in case of a Disappointment, which they might reasonably have expected, considering the Length and Hazards of the Voyage.

From this Knights Government the Prosperity of the Plantation may be dated, for he set all the English to work, and did not disdain to put his own Hand to the Spade and the Axe, to help to turn up the Earth, and fell Trees; and that they might no more depend on the Natives for Corn, he put them upon sowing Grain of their own; which, tho they did not begin to prepare the Ground till the Middle of *May*, yielded an indifferent good Crop: he order'd Land to be wall'd in for Fences from wild Beasts, and the wilder Indians: He enlarg'd the English Bounds; survey'd the Rivers to find out a Place convenient for the building a new Town, which was done at his own Charge, and was from him call'd *Dales-Gift*.

Dales-Gift
built.

The Company in *England*, notwithstanding they had hitherto met with very little Encouragement, continu'd to supply their Colony with all sorts of Necessaries, sollicit'd to do it by the Lord *Delaware* and Sir *Thomas Gates*: The latter was sent with 6 Ships more, having 350 Men on board, 100 Head of live Cattle, and Plenty of Provisions and Tools for Labour and Life.

Sir Tho.
Gates Go-
vernor.

Sir *Thomas* arriv'd in *August*, took upon him the Government; and in *September* he settled a new Town at *Arrahattuck*, about sixty Miles above *James-City*, calling it *Henricopolis*, or *Henry's-Town*, in honour of *Henry Prince of Wales*.

Henrico-
polis built.

Here he built Forts and Centry-boxes, and ran a Palisadoe on the other side of the River at *Coxendale*, to secure their Hogs.

The English now plough'd the Ground, whereas before they planted all their Corn with the Spade; they also spread themselves abroad in the Country,
and

and possess'd themselves of private Plantations, which they cultivated, and planted Tobacco and Corn, each Planter paying a Quit-Rent to the Treasury of the Colony.

Their Cattle, especially their Hogs, encreas'd prodigiously; Laws and Order began to flourish, Industry to thrive, and the Plantation to have the Face of a Settlement that look'd to be lasting; yet it was not long before new Dangers threaten'd their Destruction; from which however the hand of God deliver'd them.

The Company at London finding the Colony was *Churches* in a flourishing Condition, thought it their Duty to *built.* provide for the Welfare of their Souls, as well as their Bodies; and to that end invited many charitable Persons to contribute to the building them Churches, and founding Schools for the Education of their Youth. Many devout People, in hopes of propagating the Gospel, open'd their Purfes; Ministers were sent over, Churches built, and supply'd with Preachers; as will be shewn more at large in its proper place.

In the Year 1612. Capt. *Argall*, afterwards Sir *Samuel*, arriv'd from *England* with two Ships more for the use of the Settlement. Sir *Thomas* sent *Argall* to *Potowmack* to buy Corn, where he met with *Pocahonts*, the Lady of whom we have before made honourable mention. He invited her to come aboard his Ship, which with some small difficulty she consented to, being betray'd by the King of *Pastancy*, Brother to the King of *Potowmack*, with whom she then resided. 1612!

Argall having got her in his Custody, detain'd her, and carry'd her to *James-Town*, intending to oblige her Father King *Powhatan* to come to what Terms he pleas'd, for the Deliverance of his Daughter: Tho the King lov'd her tenderly, yet he would not do any thing for her sake which he thought was not for his own and his Nations Interest; nor would he be prevail'd upon to conclude a firm Treaty of Peace, tho Sir *Thomas Dale* went himself to treat with him about it, being then Marshal under Sir *Thomas Gates*, till he heard his Daughter, who turn'd Christian, and was christened *Rebecca*, was marry'd to Mr. *John Rolfe*, an English Gentle

She marrys Gentleman, her Uncle giving her in Marriage in the
Mr. Rolfe. Church.

1613.

Powhatan approv'd of the Marriage, took it for a sincere Token of Friendship, and was so pleas'd with it, that he concluded a League with the English in the Year 1613. Intermarriage was propos'd at that time, as a sure means of continuing the Peace with the Indians: And how far it would have answer'd that end, the Reader may judge; but the English were not fond of taking the Indian Women to their Beds as their Wives. Whether it was on account of their being Pagans or Barbarians we cannot decide; or whether that Nicety was not very unseasonable in the Infancy of the Settlement.

By *Powhatan's* Alliance with the English, and *Mr. Rolfe's* marrying an Indian Princess, a great Nation were made Friends to the Colony: And thus they conceiv'd hopes that they had secur'd themselves from the Insults of the Savages: But we shall see in a Page or two they flatter'd themselves in their Security, when they were never nearer Destruction. Tho' *Sir Thomas Gates* was on the spot, yet *Sir Thomas Dale* had a great share in the Government; and *Capt. Argall* reduc'd the *Chicohomony* Indians.

Capt. Geo.
Yardly
Dep. Go-
vernour.
1616.

These two Gentlemen were very industrious in the Service of the Colony; and the former, *Sir Thomas Dale*, upon *Sir Thomas Gates's* return to *England*, in the Year 1614. presid'd over it two Years; during which time it flourish'd; and he then going for *England*, left *Capt. George Yardly* Deputy Governour; took *Mr. Rolfe* and his Wife *Pocahonta* with him, and arriv'd at *Plimouth* the 12th of *June*.

Pocohon-
ta arrives
in Eng-
land.

Capt. Smith hearing the Lady who had been so kind to him was arriv'd in *England*, and being engag'd at that time in a Voyage to *New-England*, which hinder'd his waiting on her himself, petition'd *Queen Anne*, Consort to *King James*, on her behalf, setting forth the Civilities he had receiv'd from her, and the Obligations she had laid upon the English, by the Services she had done them with her Father.

The Queen receiv'd his Petition graciously; and before *Capt. Smith* embark'd for *New-England*, *Mr. Rolfe* came with his Wife from *Plimouth* to *London*. The Smoak of the City offending her, he took Lodgings

ings for her at *Brentford*, and thither *Capt. Smith* went with several Friends to wait on her.

Pocahonta was told all along that *Capt. Smith* was dead, to excuse his not coming to *Virginia* again, from which he had been diverted, by settling a Colony in *New-England*. Wherefore when this Lady saw him, thinking the English had injur'd her in telling her a Falsity, which she had ill deserv'd from them, she was so angry, she wou'd not deign to speak to him; but at last, with much Perswasion and Attendance, was reconcil'd, and talk'd freely to him: She then put him in mind of the Obligations she had laid upon him; reproach'd him with forgetting her, with an Air so lively, and Words so sensible, that one might have seen Nature abhors nothing more than Ingratitude; a Vice which even the very Savages detest.

Her Treatment at Court and Behaviour.

She was carry'd to Court by the Lady *Delaware*, and entertain'd by Ladies of the first Quality, towards whom she behav'd her self with so much Grace and Majesty, that she confirm'd the bright Character *Capt. Smith* had given of her. The whole Court were charm'd with the Decency and Grandeur of her Deportment so much, that the poor Gentleman her Husband, was threaten'd to be call'd to an account for marrying a Princess Royal without the King's Consent.

Tho in that King *James* shew'd a very notable piece of *King-Craft*; for there was no likelihood that *Mr. Rolfe* by marrying *Pocahonta*, could any way endanger the Peace of his Dominions, or that his Alliance with the King of *Wiccomoco* could concern the King of *Great-Britain*: Indeed we are told that upon a fair and full Representation of the Matter, the King was pleas'd to be satisfy'd.

The Lady *Pocahonta* having been entertain'd with all manner of Respect in *England*, was taken ill at *Gravesend*, where she lay in order to embark for *Virginia*: She dy'd there with all the Signs of a sincere Christian, and true Penitent.

She dies in England.

She had one Son by *Mr. Rolfe*, whose Posterity are at this day in good Repute in *Virginia*.

Capt. Yardly, whom *Sir Thomas Dale* had left Governour, let the Buildings and Forts run to Decay, being

being so eager in planting Tobacco, that he neglected the Security of the Settlements, and would not spare Hands enough to keep the Fortifications in repair: He also omitted sowing Corn. And thus the Colony fell into their usual Distress, were reduc'd to great Want, and expos'd to the Mercy of the Indians.

1617.
Sir Sam.
Argall
Governor.

In the following Year Sir *Samuel Argall* came over Governour; who was griev'd to see the Number of the People lessen'd, and every thing running to ruin.

The Indians also, by mixing with the English, had learnt the use of Fire-Arms; and the Planters out of Laziness employ'd them to hunt and kill Wild-Fowl for them.

Sir *Samuel Argall* did what he could to regulate these Disorders; but the Mischief had taken so deep root, that he could not hinder its Growth.

Capt. *Yardly* return'd to *England*, and Sir *Samuel Argall* govern'd the Colony in Peace till the next Year.

1618.

1618. when the Lord *Delaware*, who all this time seems to have been Chief Governour, and those that succeeded him only his Deputies, came near the Coast with 200 choice Men, fresh recruits of Provisions, and all manner of Necessaries.

My Lord still sail'd the old way by the *Canary* and *Caribbee* Islands. The Length of the Voyage had an ill Effect on his People, of whom 30 dy'd; and the Lord *Delaware* himself did not live to reach *Virginia*; so that Sir *Samuel* continu'd in the Government.

Lord De-
laware
dies on the
Coast.

Powhatan dying in *April*, left his Kingdom to his second Brother *Itopatin*, who renew'd the League with the English: But this Prince was soon outed of his Dominions by *Oppecanough* his younger Brother, who reign'd over *Chickahomony*, made himself Master of all the Nations around him and his Empire at last became formidable to the English.

Sir *Sam. Argall* finding his Colony was in Peace, and that they thriv'd a-pace under his Government, began to look about him a little, and resolv'd to undertake an Expedition on the Coasts, to make Discoveries, and dislodge the French, who had settled in *Acadia*.

In his way he drove out some *Hollanders*, who had seated themselves on *Hudsons* River; he then attack'd a Settlement of French to the Northward of *Cape Cod*; and afterwards drove Monsieur *Bien-court* from *Port-Royal* in *Canada*, where the French had sow'd and reap'd, built Barns, Mills, and other Conveniences:

Sir
Sam. Ar-
gall's Ex-
peditions
against the
French and
Dutch.

Those of them that were for returning to *France* he permitted to embark; which some of them did, and others went up the River of *Canada*, to make a new Settlement there.

With the Plunder of these two Forts Sir *Samuel* return'd to *Virginia*: And how he could justify his attacking the Subjects of a Prince who was at Peace with his Master King *James*, does not appear in the Histories which mention this Event; only we are told, that some Months after it there arriv'd a small Vessel from *England*, which did not stay for any thing, but as soon as Governour *Argall* was on board, it set sail, and carry'd him home. The occasion of his being recall'd is not know; and therefore 'tis imputed to his attacking the French.

He is re-
call'd.
Capt.
Nath.
Powell
Dept. Go-
vernour.
Sir Geo.

He left Capt. *Nathaniel Powell* Deputy; who the same Year resign'd his Office to Sir *George Yardly*, whom King *James* had Knighted, and the Company made Governour.

Sir Geo.
Yardly
Governour.

I here arriv'd with Sir *George*, and some Months after him, 1300 Men in 21 Ships, the Earl of *Southampton*, one of the Company at *London*, being zealous to furnish them with Supplies of Men, Cattle and other Provisions. These seated themselves in all the Plantations that had been deserted, and planted new ones. And now the Colony grew so numerous, that to have the Consent of the whole in the Passing of any Laws or Orders for the Publick Good, Representatives were appointed to be chosen for every Precinct, whom the People were to Elect in their several Plantations.

These Representatives, being the first Assembly that sat in *Virginia*, met at *James-Town* in *May*, 1620. The Governour and Council at first sat with them, as the High Commissioner, Lords and Commons, sit together in the Parliament in *Scotland*; here the Affairs of the Settlement were debated. We shall see

The first
Assembly.
1620.

in

in the following Chapters how this Method of their Session came to be alter'd.

In *August* a Dutch Ship put in there with Negroes, and the Merchant sold 20, which were the first Slaves that were brought thither from *Guinea*. This Year also the Boundaries of *James-City* were mark'd out, and Land was laid out in several Places, to the Company, to the Governour, the College, the Churches, and particular Persons: New Settlements were made in *James* and *York* Rivers: Very great Supplies continually came over: A Salt-work was set up at *Cape Charles*, an Iron Work at *Falling Creek*; and Sir *George Yardly* seem'd to make amends for his former Male-Administration; yet he still suffer'd the People to grow secure, and neglected providing for their Defence. He was succeeded in the Government by Sir *Francis Wyat*, a young Man, who arriv'd in *October*, 1621. and this Year more Men settled there, who falling to Planting, they made so much Tobacco, that the Market was over-stock'd, and the Commodity yeilded little or nothing. The King pitying their Loss by it, commanded that no Planter shou'd the next year plant above 100 *l.* of Tobacco a Man, advising them to turn their spare time to provide Corn and Stock, and make Potash or other Manufactures. In *November* Capt. *Newport* arriv'd with 50 Men on his own Account, and settl'd a Plantation at the Place, which from him is call'd *Newport's News*. Settlements were made as far as *Patowmeck* River, where the Indians never molested the English. On the contrary, they were always friendly and serviceable to them.

Sir Francis Wyat,
Governor.
1621.

The General Assembly appointed inferiour Courts, call'd County-Courts, to be held for the more convenient Distribution of Justice in Causes of less moment: The rest were try'd before the Governour and Council, who were the supream Court of Judicature in the Country. The Prosperity and Increase of the Colony render'd the English careless of their Safety. They convers'd frequently and openly with the Indians, admitted them to eat, drink, and sleep with them, and wou'd often do the same at their Cabbins; by this Means the Savages became acquainted with their Strength, and learnt the use of Guns. They

They knew their Places of Residence and Resort, and their Fear of them by degrees wearing off, prepar'd 'em for any bold Enterprize against them on the first occasion; And 'twas not long before their Emperor *Oppecanough* took an Affront for the Murder of one of his Captains, a Man very eminent in his Nation for his Valour. This Fellow had robb'd one *Manning*, and kill'd him; for which he was about to have been apprehended and carry'd before a Justice of Peace, when he came next time into the English Boundaries; but making some Resistance he was shot dead.

Oppecanough, on News of the Death of his Captain, resolv'd to be reveng'd, and he and his Indians contriv'd a general Massacre of the English, which was to be executed on *Friday* the 22d of *March*, 1622. 1622. and most of the Nations of the Indians were engag'd in the Conspiracy, which was reveal'd to Mr. *Pace* by a converted Indian, or the Massacre in all probability had been general. *The English massacred by the Indians.*

The Discovery he made being but 4 or 5 Hours before the intended Execution of it, the remoter Plantations cou'd not take the allarm, and the English that dwelt nearest to the Savages, were barbarously butcher'd, Men, Women and Children, by them, to the Number of 334 Persons. Mr. *Pace* fled to *James-Town*, and so did all to whom he cou'd give notice of the Conspiracy. Others stood on their Defence, and made a retreating Fight to their Forts. The Plantations were deserted, and the Planters who liv'd at a Distance Commanded to set their Houses, Barns, Store-houses, &c. on Fire, to repair to the Forts, and defend themselves against the Common Enemy. Most of those that were kil'd, fell by their own Weapons, Instruments, and Working Tools. Those who were at the Works at the Iron Mines near *Falling Creek*, were all murder'd, except a Boy and a Girl who hid themselves. This Iron Work cou'd never after be restor'd, nor the Lead Mines, which the Superintendant had just then discover'd, be found out. The Project of Glass-houses at *James-Town* was ruin'd by the Massacre, which put Improvements out of Peoples Heads: from this time they were so enrag'd at the Natives, that they never gave over warring with them till they had

had almost utterly extirpated the Nations that were concern'd in the Massacre. They dealt the same measure to them that they had receiv'd from 'em; And the Savages, fearing the English after they were collected into one Body, fled to the Woods. The Governour invited them to return to their own Habitations, and plant their Corn, which on promise of Peace they did; and when they were as secure as the English had been, the latter fell upon them, cut great numbers of 'em to pieces, and destroy'd their Corn and Habitations. They attack'd and entirely destroy'd *Powhatan, Oppecanough's* Royal Seat, where in imitation of the English he had built him a House, and was so pleas'd with the Contrivance of a Lock and Key to fasten the Door, that 'tis said his Imperial Majesty spent most part of his Time in locking and unlocking it, wondring how such a slight Turn of his Hand, should have such an effect on the Door and Postern. The English continu'd to assault the Indians where-ever they found them, they deserted those Parts where they then inhabited, and the Colony receiving fresh Supplies from *England*, and Arms and Ammunition out of the Tower by the King's Command, extended themselves every way, and planted over all the Country, as 'tis now peopled and cultivated.

Some time after this Massacre, several Gentlemen procur'd Grants of Land in *England* from the Company, and others came over on their private Accounts to make Settlements; among the former was one Capt. *Martin*, who was nam'd to be of the Council. This Man rais'd so many Differences among them, that new Distractions follow'd, which the Indians observing, took heart, and once more fell upon the English on the Borders, destroying them, without pitying either Age, Sex, or Condition.

These and other Calamities being chiefly imputed to the Mismanagement of the Proprietors, whose Losses had so discourag'd most of their best Members, that they sold their Shares, King *Charles I.* on his Accession to the Throne, dissolv'd the Company, and took the Colony into his own immediate Direction. He appointed the Governour and Council himself, order'd all Patents and Process to issue in his own Name, and reserv'd

King
Charles I.
dissolves
the Com-
pany.

reserv'd a Quit-rent of 2 s. for every hundred Acres.

We have been the larger in our Account of the Discovery and Settlement of *Virginia*, because that part of the History of the Colony is slightly touch'd by most of the Writers who have treated of it, and we have from all of 'em taken so many Particulars, as will together give the Reader a clear Idea of the Infancy, Growth and Increase of this Settlement, from Capt. *Amidas* and Capt. *Barlow's* Discovery of the Country, to the Government of Sir *John Harvey* who was the first Governour of *Virginia* after the Dissolution of the Company. The King order'd the future Form of its Constitution to be by a Governour, a Council of twelve Gentlemen, and the Assembly consisting as has been said, of Representatives deputed by the several Towns and Counties in the Colony. He granted large Tracts of Land to Gentlemen and others in *England*, and to some of them added Authority independent of the Government, giving each Gentleman the same Power in his Province as the Proprietors of *Virginia* had formerly. The greatest of these Grants was that of the whole Territory of *Maryland*, which was giv'n by the King to *George Calvert*, Lord *Baltimore*.

The present
Constitution
settled.

The *Virginians* pretend that this Division of their Country into separate Provinces, created separate Interests, and that the General Advantage of the whole, has often suffer'd by their Opposition to the Regulations which have been made for the Common Good. They tell us, that when the Government of *Virginia* has thought fit to prohibit the Exportation of bad Tobacco to help the Market in *England*, the Planters of *Maryland* have pour'd in as much Trash as they cou'd make, to take the Advantage of that Market. Whether the People of *Maryland* have not the same or the like Complaints to make against the *Virginians*, is to be doubted, and that the Industry and good Management of that Colony have set an Example ev'n to her Mother-Plantation, which it had been better with her if she had follow'd. We must leave this Dispute to be decided by the Gentlemen concern'd in it, and continue our History of *Virginia*, during the Administration of Sir *John Harvey*, who was a great Promoter of the large Grants that were made of Land in his Province, and often went so far, that he procur'd the very

Sir John
Harvey,
Governor.

very Settlements which had been made before to be included. In a word, he was a very bad Governour, severe in his Extortions and Exactious, in Fines and Forfeitures, proud and turbulent in his Councils, and so unjust and arbitrary, that the Gentlemen of the Colony not being able to endure his Tyranny, seiz'd him, and sent him Prisoner to *London*, in the Year 1639. They deputed two of their Members to accompany him, and exhibit their Grievances to King *Charles I.* who was so far from redressing them, that he immediately order'd Sir *John Harvey* to return to his Government. But the Cry of the Plantation was so loud, that it was to be fear'd it might reach the Parliament: To prevent which Sir *John* was soon recall'd, and Sir *William Berkley* order'd to succeed him.

1639.
Seiz'd and
sent to
England.

Sir Wil-
liam Berk-
ley, Go-
vernour.

In Sir John Harvey's Time, says *Bullock* in his Discourse of Virginia, *what perplex'd Condition were both he and the Gentlemen of the Country in, when upon his Complaint they were sent for from Virginia, to answer here in England at the Council Board; and again upon their Complaint he and his Friends must come to London to answer at the same place, and this iterated, besides continual Heavings and Showings between two Parties, &c.*

The Differences between the Governour and the Colony occasion'd so much Confusion, that the Indians who watch'd all Opportunities to fall on the English, surpriz'd them again, and cut off 500 Men, Women, and Children.

Another
Massacre.

Oppecanconough highly resented the Incroachments that had been made on his Dominions by the late Grants, and had contriv'd another General Massacre, but the English were scatter'd up and down in so many separate Plantations, that 'twas impossible for him to destroy them at once, without an entire Conquest, to which he cou'd not pretend. However, he order'd the Savages in all Quarters to Massacre the Borderers, and himself and his Indians were the most active of all in destroying those that had settled on *York-River*, by the Natives call'd *Pamaunkee*, where he himself kept his rude Court, and had fix'd the Seat of his Empire. This Prince is by *Mr. Smith* said to be *Powhatan's* Brother. He was of a large Stature, a noble Presence, and understood the Arts of Government as well as 'tis possible for a Man to do, who was entirely unacquainted with

with Letters. The Indians by Tradition report, that he was not related to their King *Powhatan*, but came from a far Country which lay South-West of theirs. And by their Description of it must be near *Mexico*, or the Mines of *St. Barbe*. This Action of *Oppeccanough* provok'd the English so much, that they never wou'd give the Savages Peace, but continu'd to make War upon them till they took their Emperor, and led him into Captivity; for Sir *William Berkley* hearing he was at some distance from the place of his usual Residence, march'd against him with a Party of Horse, surpriz'd, and took him Prisoner in the Western Parts of *Henrico* County. Sir *William* intended to send him to the King, but a Souldier in revenge of the many Miseries the Colony had endur'd by his Incurfions, shot him in the back, of which Wound he dy'd. Before his death he carry'd himself with a Magnanimity truly Royal. He was very old, worn out with age, and the Hardships of War. His Eye-lids were so heavy, he cou'd not see without the help of his Servants to lift them up. When he was a Prisoner, hearing a Noise about him, he caus'd them to be lifted up, and perceiving 'twas the noise of a Rabble that were then come to see him, he reflected with Indignation on the ungenerous Treatment of the English, in making a Sight of him, and exposing him to the insolence of the Multitude; and calling for the Governour Sir *William Berkley*, he said, *Had it been my Fortune to have taken you, I wou'd not basely have expos'd you as a Show to the People.*

On the Death of this Emperor, the Nations whom he had subjected, became afraid of the Power of the English. There remain'd no Prince of an equal Genius to keep so many several Kingdoms united. They set up Sovereigns of their own, and their strength being weaken'd by this Division, the English were no more afraid of any Disturbance by them; unless it were those who lay nearest to them, and consequently were more liable to be surpriz'd by them, but Sir *William Berkley* made Peace with all of 'em, and the Savages knowing they cou'd get nothing by War, kept it a long time unviolated.

The manner of *Oppeccanough's* Death is variously related by the Writers that have made any mention

Bullock.

of it; some say he was kill'd in the Action when Sir *William Berkley* came to surprize him. Others, that he was taken and committed to Prison, where he dy'd. The most authentick account of it is what we have taken from the *Author of the History of Virginia*: 'Tis certain, that with him the Power of the Indians was entirely destroy'd. The Colony was in a fair way of improving this great Advantage, and there were no less than 15000 Men, besides Women and Children, on the Place. When News came of the Troubles in *England*, which naturally affected all the Colonies: Besides, that the Relations and Friends of the Inhabitants were involv'd in them; they depended on that Kingdom for Supplies and Protection, and a constant Market to take off the Commodities their Plantations produc'd. *Virginia* for a while was more concern'd in them, than any of the other Settlements. For Sir *William Berkley* stood out against the usurp'd Powers in *England*, after the Murder of King *Charles* the First; and by his Loyalty hinder'd the Commerce of the Planters there with their Friends and Correspondents at home. Their Supplies of Provisions were cut off: Their Tobacco lay on their Hands; and the *Virginians* were oblig'd to subsist by themselves, which they were now in a Condition to do, for the Planter had great Stocks, 30000 Head of Cattle, an infinite number of Hogs; Beef and Pork were 16 d. a Stone. Wheat and Barley very cheap, but few Beasts of Burden for there were no more than 200 Horses and Mares and 70 Asses at this time. However, as much as they abounded in Provisions, they cou'd not long have supported themselves without assistance from *England*, nor have been able to have kept up their Stocks for want of other Necessaries, for their Maintenance. Such as working Instruments and Tools, Hoes, Axes &c.

Ibid.

The Parliament of *England* who were very careful to secure the Plantations, sent a Squadron of Men of War to the West Indies, under the Command of Sir *Georg Ascue*, with Instructions to reduce *Barbadoes*, the *Caribbee* Islands, and the Northern Colonies to their Obedience. We shall see in the History of *Barbadoes*, what Sir *George* did at that Island, from whence

he detach'd Capt. *Dennis*, with a small Squadron of Ships to Land some Forces, and drive Sir *William Berkley* out of *Virginia*. Sir *William* still continu'd his unshaken Principles of Loyalty. He hir'd some Dutch Ships that were then in his Harbours, and made a brave Resistance. The Virginians being animated by his Example, Capt. *Dennis* attack'd them to no Purpose; and finding he shou'd lose a great many Men, and perhaps not succeed at last in his Enterprize by Force, he had recourse to Policy. He gave out that he had two very rich Cargoes of Goods belonging to two of the *Council* aboard one of his Ships, and if they did not Surrender themselves to him, and engage the rest to do so too; he wou'd detain the Merchandize. The *Council* were too well inclin'd to comply with the Wickedness of the Times. 'Twas only the Governour who was willing to hazard all, rather than submit to those Powers, to whom three Potent Kingdoms had already submitted. He wou'd hearken to no Terms till the two Counsellors, whose Hearts were bent on the safety of their Goods, engag'd the Majority of their Brethren to agree to a Surrender; and Sir *William* was not so very resolute, as to pretend to oppose both an Enemy without, and a Faction within his Government; so he was forc'd to lay down his Arms, and retire to his Plantation. We cannot omit correcting a Mistake of the Historian we have often mention'd in this History, who says Capt. *Dennis* was sent by *Oliver*. He has run into the vulgar Error of those, who call all the Governments from the King's Death to *Cromwell's*, *Oliver's*; Whereas *Cromwell* did not turn out the Rump, till two or three years after Sir *George Ay- scue's* Expedition.

He was himself in *Scotland* then, and had nothing to do with the Admiralty of *England*, further than as his Councils influenc'd the Affairs of the Commonwealth. When he was actually in Possession of the sole Administration, he busy'd himself about the Plantations, as much as any other part of the English Dominions, and *Virginia* fell under his Cognizance as well as the rest.

We read in an old Historian, that Major General *Pointz*, who was made Governour of the *Leeward Islands*

Capt. Dennis reduces Virginia to the Obedience of the Parliament.

Ilands by the Parliament, sail'd from *St. Christopher's* to *Virginia*, before *Sir George Ayscue* sent *Dennis*, who it seems by that Author found the Business done to his Hand, and that Country the only Retreat for Cavaliers, was forc'd to submit on Terms of Indemnity.

Col. Diggs
Governor.

Mr. Bennet
Governor.

Mr. Matthews
Governor.

Col. Diggs was first made Governour of *Virginia* by the Parliament, during whose Government nothing remarkable happen'd. He was succeeded by Mr. Bennet, and he by Mr. Matthews. The two last Governours only were put in by *Oliver*. Tho the same Historian says, That *Diggs*, *Bennet* and *Matthews*, were all Governours during the small time of *Cromwell's* Protectorate. If so, there must have been some other Governour between *Sir William Berkley*, and Col. *Diggs*: If not the changing of Governours was not so extraordinary as he pretends. Before the end of our History, we shall more than once find three Governours in seven years; for so long it was from *Sir William Berkley's* submission, to *Oliver's* Death; and this was the less rare, because Mr. *Matthews* dy'd in his Government.

The Trade of *Virginia* flourish'd in those Days, notwithstanding the Act which past in one of *Cromwell's* Parliaments, to break off that Colonies correspondence with other Nations, and to prohibit their Exporting or Importing any Commodities whatever, but what shou'd be loaden aboard English Ships, navigated by English Seamen: Which Act, commonly call'd, *The Act of Navigation*, was justify'd after the Restoration, by another Act of Parliament to the same purpose, but with several Restrictions and Prohibitions, by Bonds, Securities, &c. *Sir William Berkley* having shewn a great Concern always for the good of the Colony, was mightily belov'd by the People. On the Death of Mr. *Matthews*, when they were without a Governour, they immediately cast their Eyes upon him, and by an obliging Violence compell'd him to assume the Government; which however he wou'd not consent to, unless they all promis'd to join with him in venturing their Lives and Fortune for the King, who then was in Exile, but not at that time in *France*, as our Historian affirms.

This was indeed a very bold Action, for as yet there had no News arriv'd of *Oliver's* Death, and the Anarchy in *England* that succeeded.

The Virginians accepting of the Terms he propos'd, he accepted of the Government, and, we are told, forthwith Proclaimed *Charles II.* King of *England, Scotland, France, Ireland, and Virginia.* It happen'd well for him and his Colony, that King *Charles* was not long after restor'd to the Throne of his Ancestors; yet we don't find that the King gave Sir *William Berkley* any greater Reward than continuing him in his Commission, and making him one of the Proprietors of the Province of *Carolina*, when he erected it into a Principality about the Year 1663.

Sir *William* going for *England* to Congratulate his Majesty on his Restoration, left Col. *Francis Morrison* his Deputy. Col Francis Morrison, Deputy.

When he came to Court, he was graciously receiv'd by the King, who in Honour of his Loyal *Virginians*, 1660.

is said to have worn a Robe at his Coronation, made of the Silk that was sent from thence. Col. *Morrison* in the mean time behav'd himself to the General Satisfaction of the Plantation. He order'd the Laws to be revis'd and collect'd into a Body, to be lain before the Assembly at their next Session. He took the same care of the Church, as he did of the State. His Behaviour.

He regulated the Parishes, setled the Ministers Allowances, got a Revenue for the Support of the Government, and other Laws for the Encouragement of the Linen and Woollen Manufactories, the breeding of Silk-worms, Tanning and Salt-works. While the Deputy-Governour was so busy'd for the Service of the Colony, Sir *William Berkley* was in *England*, taking his Instructions from the King, for his future Conduct. His Majesty order'd him to promote Husbandry, Manufactures, Silk and Vineyards, that all Ships Trading to *Virginia*, shou'd go to *James-Town*, and be enter'd at the Custom-House there before they broke Bulk; which Order was giv'n with an Intent that by it the People might be tempted to come thither and dwell there, for the convenience of Trade; and had it been obey'd, it might have encreas'd the number of Buildings in that City, which is now much less than it was four-

score years ago, every Body coveting to live at his Plantation, and settle where he thinks he shall have the best Crops and Conveniencies of Shipping. This is the Reason that there are so few Towns in *Virginia*, and those that are there, so very small. Sir *William* being fully instructed by the King, how he shou'd proceed on his Return to his Government, set sail from *England* to *Virginia*, where he arriv'd in the Year 1662. and immediately put the People upon improving their Plantations, and advancing Manufactures. He summon'd an Assembly, and got an Act pass'd for building of *James-Town*. Each County was to build so many Houses, and some actually built their Quota, which notwithstanding the Act, were converted into Taverns and Eating-houses, and the Town was very little the bigger for 'em.

1662.
Sir *William*
Berk-
ley, Go-
vernour.

By Sir *William's* Behaviour on the Revolutions in *England*, one may perceive he was no Friend to the Puritans. Before the Civil War, he procur'd severe Laws to be made against them, and now he had an Act pass'd, laying great Restraints upon them, which not only drove many People out of *Virginia* to *Maryland* and other Colonies, but kept others from coming thither.

Clamours
in Virgi-
nia.

Tho the Order for all Ships to enter at *James-Town* was dispens'd with, yet the rigorous Circumscription of Trade, by the Act of Navigation, the Persecution of Dissenters, and the low Prices of Tobacco, rais'd great Clamours among the *Virginians*, fomented by some of *Cromwell's* Soldiers, who had been banish'd thither.

Berkin-
head's Con-
spiracy.

At last the Mutiny grew to such a Head, that several Planters and others enter'd into a Conspiracy against the Government: The Servants were the Chief Promoters of it; with a Design to kill their Masters, and seize their Plantations: Among these one *Berkinhead*, a Servant to Mr. *Smith* of *Purton* in *Gloster-County*, was one, and he repenting, discover'd it. Upon which notice was sent to the Governour at *Greenspring*, his Seat so call'd, who understanding that the Conspirators were to rendezvous at *Poplar Spring* near *Purton*, sent a Party of Militia-Horse to surprize them as they came. Accordingly some were taken, others made their Escape, and informing their
Fellows

Fellows of the Discovery of the Plot, prevented such as were on the Road, from coming to the Place appointed. Four of the Conspirators were hang'd; *Berkinhead* had his Freedom, and 200 *l.* Sterling bestow'd on him for a Reward; an Anniversary Day of Thanksgiving was appointed on the 13th of *Sept.* the day on which the Plot was to have been put in execution. The King hearing of it, sent Orders to build a Fort at *James-Town*, to curb the Mutineers, and serve for a Retreat to the Governour on the like Occasion; which Orders were never obey'd. The *Virginians* being loath to be at the Charge, when the Danger was over; they only rais'd a Battery of some small Pieces of Cannon. A very poor Defence, if ever they shou'd be forc'd to make use of it.

In *England* another Act of Parliament pass'd, which was thought to be a Hardship upon this Colony. It Prohibited their having any Foreign Goods but what were first landed in *England*, and thence exported to them. This reduc'd the Price of Tobacco still lower, and rais'd that of all European Goods. They in return prohibited, by an Act of their Assembly, the Planting of Tobacco for one Year, in order to keep up the Demand for it; but this Act had not the desir'd effect; because the Province of *Maryland* refus'd to consent to it, and stock'd the Market sufficiently to keep down the Price. They attempt'd again to have the Planting of Tobacco stinted, and the Agents of *Carolina* and *Maryland*, who were then at *James-Town*, consented to it. But the Governour of *Maryland* evaded it, and Proclaimed the Act void. Thus the poor Planters drudg'd on to their Loss, their Tobacco yielded little or nothing, and all sorts of Goods that were imported from *Europe*, bore very high Prizes, which was enough to raise Discontents and Murmurs, and produce the Disturbances that soon after happen'd.

Tho the *Virginians* had all the Reason in the World to expect a Compliance from the People of *Maryland*, yet they condescended to send Agents to *St. Mary's*, the Capital of the Province, as it were to Petition for their Consent. In which they were unsuccessful also; the Governour telling 'em, *He wou'd not call an Assembly on purpose.*

About this time there were Attempts made to prevent Ships unlading any where at the Master's Pleasure, that no Forreign Goods might be imported, which had not been landed in *England*.

It had been found impracticable to oblige all Ships to enter at *James-Town*, and afterwards disperse themselves up and down in the several Rivers whither they were bound; and were us'd to unload their Cargoes, and load again, even at the very Doors of the Merchants to whom they were consign'd; which gave them many Opportunities of bringing in prohibited Goods; wherefore his Majesty order'd that Forts should be built in the several Rivers; that all Ships should ride under those Forts; and those Places only be the Ports of Trade.

Had these Orders been obey'd, it would necessarily have caus'd People to have resorted to such Places; Houses would have been built, and Towns rais'd by degrees, without the Force of an Act; which has little Influence on the Wills of People, and in Free Governments, where Mens Properties are concern'd, the Laws are always tender of using too much Violence, unless the immediate Safety of the Commonwealth requires it.

The Plague and Fire happening at *London* when these Forts were about to be built, put a stop to the Undertaking, and it never was prosecuted afterwards; for want of which, the Dutch often insulted the Coasts in the Wars between *England* and *Holland*, and took the Ships out of the Harbours.

To defend them against any Invasion from the Enemy, a few Batteries were rais'd, which contributed little to their Security.

Sir *William Berkley*, to remedy the Evil of the low Price of Tobacco, earnestly recommended, and heartily encourag'd the Silk and Linnen-Manufactures, Pot-Ash and Hemp: He set an Example himself at his own Plantation; and it had been well for the Colony if they had industriously follow'd it.

The Indians all this while continu'd quiet; indeed they durst not offend the English, who were now grown so powerful, that they could send an Army of 6 or 7000 Men into the Field, and leave twice as many at home to look after their Plantations.

He sent out Capt. *Batt* with 14 English, and 14 Indians, to make Discoveries. This little Company went from *Appamatox* in *Charles-County*, and in seven days time reach'd the Foot of the Mountains, which they cross'd with great Difficulty in three days more; and then descended into fruitful Vallies, where they found an incredible Quantity of Deer, Elks, Buffaloes and Turkeys, so tame, that they would suffer them almost to reach them. They also found Grapes as big as small Plums.

Adventurers.

Discoveries.

Farther forward they came to a Rivulet, which descended backwards. They travell'd down that Stream several days, and coming to some Cabbins, they could perceive that Indians had lately been there, and as they suppos'd fled away at Capt. *Batt* and his Company's approach.

The Savages he had with him could not be perswaded to pass some Marshes that were beyond those Cabbins. They said there liv'd a Nation a little farther that made Salt, and sold it to their Neighbours; that they suffer'd no body to return who had been amongst them: And notwithstanding Capt. *Batt* us'd all the Arguments he could think of to perswade them to go forward, the cowardly Indians would not stir a step farther; so the Company were forc'd to return.

On the Report Capt. *Batt* made to the Governour of his Travels and Adventures, Sir *William Berkley* resolv'd to go in Person: He had made Preparations for it, nam'd the Man who was to have been his Deputy Governour, got the Assembly to pass an Act in favour of the Enterprize; and just as things were ready for his Departure, Col. *Bacon's* Rebellion broke out, which ruin'd the Design.

Col. Bacon's Rebellion.

In the Year 1670. 4 or 5 Years before Capt. *Batt's* Enterprize, Col. *Collet* with 9 English Horse, and 5 Indians, march'd up in the Country; and so did Major *Harris* with 20 English Horse, and 5 Indians; but to as little Advantage as *Batt's*: After whom, Sir *William* gave a Commission to a German Surgeon to discover the South-West Parts of *Virginia*.

He went along the Foot of the Mountains as far as the Lake *Sherre*, and discover'd them to be passable in two places. This Man reported, that while he was in an Indian Town near the Mountains, there came

came 4 Savages on an Embassy to the King of that Town, from a King who liv'd beyond the Mountains.

He brought back an Emerald, and some Spanish Money which he had of the Indians bordering on the Lake there; and this rais'd Conjectures, that the Spaniards are seated near the back of those Mountains.

The Rebellion we are going to speak of, being one of the most extraordinary Events that ever happen'd in the English Plantations, we shall be larger in our Account of it, which we have taken from publick and private Authorities.

The Author of it, Col. *Nathaniel Bacon, Jun.* was a Gentleman who had been liberally bred in *England*, having study'd some time at the *Temple*: He was young, bold, active, handsome, and eloquent: His Merit advanc'd him to the degree of a Counsellor; and his good Qualities got him the Love and Respect of the People, who were at that time very much disaffected with the Government, and ready to take Fire; which *Bacon* perceiving, blew up the Coals of Dissention among them so much, that at last it burst out into a Flame.

Before we come to the Fact, it will be proper to let the Reader into the Causes of the Peoples Murmurs and Resentments; of which these four were the chief:

The Causes of it.

1. *The low Price of Tobacco in England; and the high Prices of all Goods exported thence to Virginia.*
2. *The Grants made by King Charles, of several Parts of their Country to Noblemen in England; in some of which several of their Plantations were included.*
3. *The Burdens laid upon them by the Parliament in England; and Taxes by the Assembly in Virginia.*
4. *The Disturbances given them by the Indians.*

Of all these Grievances, that of the Grants was the most intolerable: Their Property being given away from them, after they had been at great Trouble, Hazard and Charge, to make Settlements.

The Assembly taking the bad Condition of many of the Planters, by the vexatious Suits, and the Expence they were forc'd to be at about their Titles to their Plantations.

Plantations, into Consideration; deputed Mr. *Ludwell* Secretary of *Virginia*, and Col. *Park* to go to *England*, to represent the Matter to the King, and petition for Redress.

A new Tax was levy'd, to defray the Charge of their Voyage; and this was the more burthensome, because the *Agents* did not succeed in their Negotiation.

After a Year's Patience in waiting for News from them, they had Advice, that there were little hopes of Redress. Upon which they grew outrageous; and their Rage ended in Rebellion. King *Charles* hearing of it, would not hearken to their Agents Remonstrances; and those of them who had Money, were forc'd to compound with the Grantees for 3 or 400 *l.* a Man.

The Indians ever since their last Massacre, had kept The Indi-
ans stir. very quiet till lately: And now they began to be troublesome at the Head of the Bay of *Chesapeake*, and on their own Frontiers. Those at the Head of the Bay us'd to trade with the Dutch in *Monadas*, since call'd *New-York*.

When the Indians travell'd thither, they past, going and coming, by the Frontiers of *Virginia*, and traded with the *Virginians*; who had the first of their Market, and the Choice of their Furs. While the Dutch stay'd at *Monadas* this Traffick went on very peaceably; but as soon as the English, who had possess'd themselves of *New-York* and the Trade, understood the Advantage their Countrymen in *Virginia* made of it, they treacherously set the Savages against them; and succeeded so well, that instead of calling on them as Friends, they never came, but to murder or rob them.

The Indians on their own Frontiers were provok'd by the Loss of their Trade, which decay'd daily; and by Sir *William Berkley's* Attempts for Discoveries, which they apprehended was intended to destroy them; and therefore, whenever they had an Opportunity, they never fail'd to shew their Hatred and Cruelty to the English; who being grown peevish by their Losses and Grievances, were glad of an Occasion of venting their Fury on the Indians; and on the Cry of Murders committed by them, most of the poorer
fort

fort demanded to be led against them, resolving utterly to extirpate all the Nations of the Savages. They gather'd together in riotous and tumultuous Bands, running from one Plantation to another, without a Head, crying out against the Barbarity of the Natives, the Murder of their Countrymen, and engaging more and more every day to undertake an Expedition for Revenge.

Sir Wil.
Berkley
opposes
Bacon's
Designs.

The Governour, who was jealous of his Prerogative, would not suffer them to judge when 'twas fit to make War; and the more they were for it, the more obstinate he was not to allow them to take Arms: However, they continu'd their Meetings, and Col. Bacon fell in with them, approv'd of their Zeal for the Service of their Country, aggravated the Calamities they endur'd by the Indians, and complain'd of the Want of a Regulation in Trade.

Bacon cho-
sen Gene-
ral by the
People.

The Multitude were transported with Joy that they had got a Man of his Quality and Merit among them; and immediately chose him their General: Which Post he accepted; and by his Eloquence and obliging Carriage so charm'd them, that they were all to a Man entirely at his Devotion.

He knew the Danger of the Step he had taken, and yet his Ambition, or his Interest, (for 'twas thought his Design was to engross the whole Indian Trade to himself) still spur'd him on to open Rebellion. He muster'd his Men, exercis'd them, and prepar'd them for Action, the Pretence being a War with the Indians, which was at that time a very plausible one: To reconcile his Ambition with his Duty, he sent to the Governour for a Commission; and order'd the Messenger to represent the Mischiefs the Savages did, so deplorably, that Sir William might think himself oblig'd by the Necessity of their Affairs, to make him General.

The Council had such an Esteem of Col. Bacon's Merit, that the Governour did not think it safe to deny his Request flatly; so he answer'd the Messenger, *He would consult the Council, and send him word what Resolution they came to about it.* But Bacon had not Patience to stay for the Result of their formal Debates. He sent again and again to Sir William, to issue out a Commission, and dispatch it away to him, that he
might

might lead the Voluntiers against the Indians; saying, *They had already chosen him for their General; and he and they resolv'd to begin the War, whether the Governour sent him the Commission, or not.*

'Twas out of Caution that he desir'd it, to justifie his taking Arms; and finding Sir *William* prevaricated with him, he with forty of his Men in his own Sloop, went to *James-Town* himself, to get what he wanted: He took his Seat at the Council-Board, like a Man, who, far from having committed a Fault, deserv'd Thanks for his Zeal for the Publick Good, and against the common Enemy.

He laid before the Council the *miserable State of the Borderers; how they were plunder'd and murder'd by the Savages; and how ready the Voluntiers were to drive them from the Borders, and prevent such Calamities for the future; if they had a Warrant to do so.*

The Governour instead of granting *Bacon* a Commission, commanded him to disperse; and for speaking too freely before the Council, suspended him: By which he exasperated a Man, who had it in his Power to be reveng'd, when he himself had not Strength sufficient to oppose him.

Bacon broke up from the Council-Table in a heat; and went out, with an Intention to retire to his Men. Sir *William* fill'd a long Boat, and made after him; sending away some Horse to stop him when he landed at *Sandy-Point*, the Place he design'd to go ashore at.

His Orders were obey'd here; and *Bacon* forc'd to return to *James-Town*. The Governour instead of chastizing his Insolence, receiv'd him very graciously; and by fair Words, endeavour'd to dissuade him from his intended Enterprize: But *Bacon* was resolute, and persisted in his Demand of a Commission, knowing Sir *William* durst not do him any hurt; when there were near 1000 Men in Arms, who would severely have reveng'd whatever Punishment had been inflicted upon him: Besides, while they were disputing the Matter in Council, fresh News came of Murders and Robberies committed by the Indians; which seem'd to warrant Col. *Bacon's* Design and Demand.

However the Governour, who was as jealous of his Prerogative, as he was zealous for the Welfare of the Colony, would not grant him the Commission, because it look'd as if it was extorted from him, and that there was a Power in *Virginia* superior to his own.

Comes to
James-
Town
with his
Army.

Bacon seeing he could get nothing by fair Means, made his Escape out of *James-Town*, and posted away to the Voluntiers; of whom he led 6 or 700 to the Town, and drew them up in Battalia before the State-House, where the Assembly were sitting; so that he had now the Governour, Council, and Assembly of *Virginia* in his Power; and may be said to be Master of the Colony.

Forces the
Governor
to give him
a Commis-
sion.

The Assembly, besides that many of them wish'd well to *Bacon's* Enterprize, were afraid of offending him; so they drew up a Commission themselves, and presented it, with an Address to Sir *William Berkley*, desiring him to sign it.

By this Commission, he was constituted General of all the Forces in *Virginia*; and Sir *William*, much against his Inclination, sign'd it.

As soon as *Bacon* had it, he march'd towards the Frontiers, and was chearfully follow'd by his Men; and no doubt, had not Sir *William Berkley* done what he could to hinder his Proceedings, these Forces, under such a General, would have conquer'd all the Nations of the Indians to the Mountains.

'Tis true, the *Virginians* did not want Room, yet the Savages were so false and cruel to them of late, that it seems to have been their Interest to have got rid of such troublesome Neighbours; and so the People of *Virginia* generally thought at that time.

He is pro-
claim'd a
Rebel.

When *Bacon* had modestly withdrawn his Troops, to leave the Assembly free, the Governour prevail'd with them to consent that his Commission should be revok'd, which was done: Then Sir *William* proclaim'd him a Rebel; commanded his Followers to deliver him up, and disperse, on pain of being treated like Traitors: He also issu'd out Orders for raising the Militia; and made Preparations for a Civil War.

The People were generally exasperated at this double Dealing with Col. *Bacon*; and his Soldiers unanimously resolv'd to live and die with him. Instead of marching against the Indians, as they design'd, they deman-

demanded to be led back to *James-Town*; and in their March they fell upon the Lands and Houses of such as sided with *Sir William*.

The Governour fled to *Accomack*, on the other side of the Bay, hoping the Inhabitants of that County, which was at a distance from those Parts where *Bacon* had the greatest Interest, would espouse his Quarrel; having still no better Disposition to Peace, than before he had proclaim'd Col. *Bacon* a Rebel.

A little Moderation in him would have remedy'd these Disorders, which put the King and Colony to 100000 *l.* Expence to compose them; and would have endanger'd the Ruin of the Country, had not *Bacon's* Death prevented it; for upon the Governour's leaving *James-Town*, and abdicating the Government, Col. *Bacon* assembled the Gentlemen of the Country at *Middle-Plantation*; himself and four others of the Council signing the Writ of Summons; where they publish'd a Declaration of the occasion of their meeting, and an Association to stand by *Bacon* against all Opposers, till the King was fully inform'd of the Matter, by Persons deputed by General *Bacon*.

They declar'd, among other things, that *Sir William Berkley* had fomented and stir'd up the People to a Civil War, and withdrawn himself from his Government, to the great Astonishment and Unsettlement of the Country. That the Army rais'd by *Bacon* was for the publick Good; and that the Country justify'd him in all his Proceedings.

In the mean time *Sir William* was busy in getting his Friends together, to make head against the Rebels, whose Reasons wou'd have had little weight with King *Charles*, while they argu'd with their Swords in their Hands. The Governour was still obstinately bent on reducing *Bacon* by Force; and in order to it, several Sloops were provided to transport the Men he had rais'd over the Bay. Some of his Parties met with some of *Bacon's*, and Rencounters happen'd; in which some Men were kill'd, and some taken.

Thus every thing tended to a Civil War, which must have had very terrible Effects, for *Bacon's* Men were resolute, and enrag'd at the Hardships they endur'd; and *Sir William Berkley's*, animated by the Loyalty of their Leader, were as furious and implacable

The Governour flies from him.

The Gentlemen join with him.

And publish a Declaration against the Governour.

cable as the Generals, whom they call'd and treated as Rebels.

Bacon was much Superiour in Numbers; but the Governour depending on Supplies from *England*, assur'd himself that He shou'd at last be too strong for him, and all his Adherents.

The King when he was inform'd of this Rebellion, was so far from hearkning to the Pretences of *Bacon's* Assembly, that he order'd a Squadron of Men of War to be fitted out, and a Regiment of Soldiers to embark aboard it for *Virginia*. This Squadron was commanded by Sir *John Berry*, and set Sail about *Christmas*, in the year 1676. The Hopes of these Succours confirm'd the Governour in his Severity, and all Terms of Accomodation were offer'd to no purpose. Such was the dreadful Prospect of Affairs in *Virginia*, when happily for the Peace of the Colony *Col. Bacon* dy'd at Dr. *Green's* House in *Glouster-County*. He was privately bury'd, and the Place kept very secret, to prevent his Enemies insulting his Body, as would have been done, cou'd the Corps have been found; for strict Enquiry was made after it, *With a Design to expose his Bones to Publick Infamy*.

Col. Bacon
dies.

Sir Wil-
liam
Berkley
returns.

The Death of the General broke all the Measures of the Malecontents; *Col. Ingram*, his Lieutenant General, and *Col. Walklate*, his Major General, laid down their Arms on promise of Pardon. The rest follow'd their Example, and Sir *William Berkley* return'd to *James-Town*, after *Bacon* and his Assembly had been about six Months in Possession of the Government of all the Countries on that side of the Bay, and had influenc'd the Affairs on the other side. Peace being restor'd, the Governour had leisure to punish the Criminals; but having promis'd them all Pardons, on their Submission, cou'd not do it without breaking his word. *Col. Johnson*, and *Col. Walklate* were turn'd out of all their Places, and incapacitated of bearing Offices in the Colony for the future. As for his Proceeding with the rest, he cou'd not come to any Resolution, till he had Orders from *England*, which he did not receive; for that Affair was left to Commissioners, that were sent on purpose by King *Charles*, to inquire into it; and the Lord *Colepepper* who succeeded him in the Government, was intrusted with the Power of punishing

punishing or pardoning those who had a hand in the Disorders committed in the late Rebellion, which were very fatal to the Country.

James-Town, the Capital of the Colony, was burnt to the Ground by Capt. *Richard Lawrence*, an Officer under *Bacon*, who, when his Men refus'd to set fire to the Houses, did it with his own Hands: and thus this Unfortunate City, which never deserv'd that Name, suffer'd so much, that she has not since recover'd ev'n the Condition she was then in.

All Sorts of Improvements were neglected, Stock ran to ruin, the Indians taking an Advantage of these Confusions, fell upon the Borders, and butcher'd the Inhabitants without Mercy. They destroy'd the Plantations on the Frontiers so much, that the *Virginians* have hardly to this day been able to plant them and stock them, much less to extend their Bounds: Tho the Savages are brought so low that their Liberty is precarious, and they are little better than Slaves to the English. *Bacon* was dead, and the Country in Peace before Sir *John Berry* arriv'd with his Squadron and the Regiment he had aboard, which landed in *February* following. The Souldiers were kept in pay, tho there was no Employment for them; and soon after Sir *William Berkley* went for *England*, leaving *Herbert Jeffreys*, Esq; his Deputy Governour. Sir *William* fell sick on his Arrival in *England*, and his Sickness confin'd him to his Chamber till he dy'd. The King who had all the Reason in the World to be pleas'd with him, enquir'd often after his Health, and forbad him to hazard it, by making too much haste to Court. Sir *William* never saw his Majesty. However he had the satisfaction to hear the King had done him the Honour to declare, He highly approv'd of his Conduct in *Virginia*.

1677.

Herbert
Jeffreys,
Esq; De-
puty Go-
vernour.

Sir Willi-
am Berk-
ley dies in
England.

He had been Governour of that Colony from the Year 1640, to 1678. when he dy'd. In all thirty eight years, if we take in the Time of the Usurpation, when his Commission was virtually in force, tho not actually.

He was doubtless a Great Friend to it by encouraging Manufactures and Building. And whatever Inconveniencies he was drawn into by the Warmth of his Loyalty, or Zeal for the Church, ought to be excus'd

His Character.

for the Honour and Honesty of the Man's Intentions. Those who liv'd on the Spot, have a great Respect for his Memory, and they who are the best Judges of his Merit, always speak of him as a wise and a just Governour.

Mr. *Jeffreys's* first Care after Sir *William Berkley's* Departure, was to make Peace with the Indians: To that purpose he held an Assembly at *Middle Plantation*, where *Bacon's* Convention met, and Overtures of Peace were agreed on and concluded in *May, 1677*. On the *29th* of that Month, the Kings of the several Nations were invited to come and sign the Peace, and Partake in the Rejoicings of that Day, which the Governour celebrated with more than usual Solemnity, in Commemoration of his Majesty's Birth and happy Restoration.

A Solemn Peace with the Indians.

The Indian Kings and Queens came to the Place appointed, and were kindly receiv'd by the Commissioners and Council; And Silence being Proclaim'd. the Articles of the Peace were Publickly read, and each of them expounded by Interpreters. After which the Queen of *Pamunke* was desir'd to come within the Bar of the Court to Sign the Treaty in behalf of her self, and several Nations that were united under her Subjection. She did it cheerfully, and deliver'd the Instrument to the Governour of which he gave her back the Counter-part; and on the Exchanging those Instruments the Field-piece were discharg'd.

The Queen, and the other Indian Princes were nobly entertain'd by the English, and the next day return'd to their Kingdoms. This is the last formal Peace that was made with the Savages. And now they are sunk so low, that if they shou'd dare to give the English any Disturbance, a Troop of Militia-Horse wou'd cut 'em all to Pieces. They do the *Virginians* more good than harm by their Trade and Services, and are suffer'd to enjoy the vain Name of Kingdoms, tho' *Kentish Town* is an Empire, compar'd to the biggest of them, as will appear in another Chapter. The Governour and Assembly had gi'n the Law to them in this Treaty which, tho' they thought hard measure, they were oblig'd to comply with.

Mr. *Jeffreys* dy'd the following Year, and Sir *Henry* 1678.
Chickely was appointed Deputy-Governour in his Place. Sir Henry

He did nothing Extraordinary, or worthy to be Chickely
remembered, except procuring an Act of the Assem- Deputy
bly, for building Magazines at the Heads of the four Governor.
great Rivers, where Men in constant Pay were or-
der'd to keep Guard, and Stores of Arms, and Am-
munition were laid up, to the great Terror of the Sa-
vages. The same Assembly observing that Tobacco
was frequently imported from *Carolina* and *Maryland*,
pass an Act against it, to streighten those Colonies for
want of Shipping.

In the Year 1679. the Lord *Colepepper*, whom the 1679.
King had made Governour of *Virginia*, arriv'd there, The Lord
and brought with him several Acts drawn up in *Eng-* Colepep-
land, to be pass into Laws. per Go-

He summon'd an Assembly, and the Members un- vernor.
derstanding he had a Power to call such to an Ac-
count, as had been concern'd in *Bacon's* Rebellion,
to keep him in a good Humour, pass several Acts,
wherein the Authority and Interest of the Gover-
nour were enlarg'd, and he in return gave his Con-
sent to some that were grateful to the Country.

The Lord *Colepepper* obtain'd a Salary of 2000 *l.* a
year of the King, which before was but 1000 *l.* He
on account of his Quality, got an Allowance of 150 *l.*
a year for House-Rent, and turn'd the usual Presents
made him by Masters of Ships, of Wine or Provi-
sions, into a certain Sum of Money, settling the Rate
at 30 *s.* for each Ship above one hundred Tun, and
20 *s.* for each below that Burden, which Duty has
since been levy'd as strictly as if it had been given
by an Act of the Assembly. Besides these Advanta-
ges, his Lordship had one in view, that wou'd have
turn'd very well to account, had it taken effect. The
Assembly taking into Consideration their Loss by
lowering their Coin, which had occasion'd the Coun-
try's being almost drain'd of it by Exportion to Places
where it pass for more than it did in *Virginia*, or-
der'd a Bill to be brought in for raising it.

The Governour interposing in the matter, told
them, it was the King's Prerogative to alter the Va-
lue of the Coin, and the Prerogative being intrusted
with him, he wou'd do it by Proclamation. The As-
sembly

fembly durst not oppose such an Argument. Those were not times to dispute the Prerogative Royal; so the Governour's Reasons were allow'd, and the Act dropt.

His Lordship having gain'd his Point, privately bought up all the light Pieces of Eight he could get at 5 s. the Piece; and then put forth a Proclamation to raise the Value of them to 6 Shillings: He soon after produc'd an Order to pay and disband the Regiment that had been sent over by Sir *John Berry*; and accordingly he paid them off with those Pieces at 6 s. a piece; and they were forc'd to take them at that rate.

This Lord however found very great Inconveniencie by his raising the Coin, as well on account of his own Salary, his Duty on Ships, as of the King's Taxes, which were paid in Pieces of Eight, at 6 s. a piece: The loss was like to be more than his Gain, by injuring the poor Soldiers. He affected a Despotick way of governing, and by his Proclamation repeal'd several Laws. The *Virginians* began to be afraid that the Acts of their Assembly would stand in force no longer than the Governour should think fit; and that his *Will and Pleasure* would be set over them instead of Laws and Ordinances.

This occasion'd fresh Murmurs; and had not *Bacon's* Rebellion been so lately suppress'd, it might have ended in Mutiny. The Assembly at their next Session, to put a stop to the like Evils, pass'd a particular Act to provide against the ill Conveniences of them.

The Lord *Colepepper* did not stay quite a Year in *Virginia*, before he embark'd for *England*: He left Sir *Henry Chickely* his Deputy Governour, the Country well settled, and the Crop so good, that the Planters made too much Tobacco, by which the Market was glutted, and the Price fell yet lower: And this produc'd a new Riot; for some of the Inhabitants, to raise the Price, agreed with their Neighbours, not only to destroy their own Tobacco, but all the Plants round the Country, where-ever they found them, while they were yet in their Beds.

Accordingly they cut up their own first; and then did so in other Plantations, whether the Owners consented, or not.

They destroy'd a great deal of sweet-scented Tobacco, and threaten'd to cut up all; but they had not

A Riot about Tobacco.

not Courage enough to go through with their Design. The Offenders were seiz'd, imprison'd, try'd, and were condemn'd to be Hang'd: Their Plant-cutting being adjudg'd to be Felony and Sedition; and was declar'd to be so by an Act of the next Assembly.

The Lord *Colepepper* returning in the following year, began to think of trumping up his Title to the *Northern Neck*, a large Territory, containing several Counties. 1680.

These Counties had the Privilege of sending Representatives to the Assembly, as well as the other: And the Assembly being the Supream Court to which all others were to appeal, he was afraid his Propriety would never be allow'd by them; wherefore he contriv'd to get the Appeals out of their hands; and to that end, rais'd such Divisions between the Representatives and Council, that the former pretending to the sole Power of Appeals, were encourag'd in their Pretences secretly by the Governour, till he had Instructions from the King; to whom having represented the Quarrel to the disadvantage of the Representatives, his Majesty order'd that all Appeals should be made to the Governour and Council: And now this Noble Lord thought he might put in his Claim to the *Northern Neck*, by a Grant from the Crown. There were several others concern'd in the Patent; and these he bought off: After which, he prevail'd with his Cousin Mr. *Spencer*, Secretary of *Virginia*, who liv'd in the *Northern Neck*, to side with the Patent; which he did till he dy'd: For his Lordship, notwithstanding he had broken the old Constitution of the Assembly, thought fit to proceed by fair Means, and engage as many of the Inhabitants as he cou'd to own his Propriety; as he did Col. *Philip Ludwell*, when he was in *England*, in the Year 1690.

The Lord
Coelpepper gets
the Northern
Neck.

This Gentleman undertook to manage his Matters for him; but could make nothing of it.

Col. *George Brent*, and Col. *William Fitzhugh*, who also were Inhabitants of the *Neck*, engag'd, as Col. *Ludwell* had done, to serve him as their Proprietor; but had no better Success than Col. *Ludwell*.

The People of the *Neck* address'd the Assembly, and they to the King; which had no effect, because

they had no Agent in *England* to sollicite the Affair : So the Inhabitants being tir'd with expecting Relief in vain, and weary'd by vexatious Suits with the Proprietor's Agents, thought it their Interest to compound with him, and pay him Quit-Rent. The first that did it was Col. *Richard Lee*, one of the Council ; whose Example was follow'd by the rest : And Col. *Robert Carter*, another of the Council, and one of the greatest Freeholders of the *Northern Neck*, is at this time the Proprietor's Agent.

We have been the longer on this Propriety, because it was the Occasion of altering the Constitution of the Government ; and besides is a very large Parcel of the Colony.

In other things his Lordship's Administration was very commendable ; he regulated several Abuses that had crept into the Practice of the Courts, and prevented the Chicanry, so much complain'd of in *England*, which was beginning to corrupt the Law, and lessen'd the Expence the Clerks had contriv'd to put their Clients to. He demolish'd the Forts built by Sir *Henry Chickely*, they being a great Charge, and of little use to the Country : In their stead, he procur'd an Act to be pass'd, for some Troops of Horse to range on the Borders by turns, till there was no more fear of the Indians.

1683. In the year 1683. he return'd to *England*, and would go thither no more : upon which *Francis Lord Howard of Effingham* was sent over Governour. The Lord *Colepepper* had declar'd his Kinsman Mr. *Spencer* President of the Council ; tho there were other Members who with more reason pretended to that Honour, being Elder than he ; and the oldest Counsellour us'd always to be President ; as the President in the Absence of the Governour, or Deputy Governour, always supplies his Place.

1684. Mr. *Spencer's* Presidency was attended with nothing remarkable. And the next Year, 1684. the Lord *Howard* arriv'd, with the same Resolution to get Money as his Predecessor had done : He condescended to share the Fees with his Clerks ; oblig'd all Lawyers and Schoolmasters to take out Licenses to teach and plead ; for which they paid according to their Abilities : He extorted excessive Fees for sealing Probats

of Wills, and Letters of Administration, without considering the Value of the Estates of the Deceas'd: He threw Men into Prison, and kept them there without Trials: He repeal'd Laws by Proclamation, as much as in him lay; for the Judges did not mind those Proclamations, but allow'd the Laws to be in as full force as ever, one excepted; and that was the Law for paying Quit-Rent; by which the Planters were permitted to pay Quit-Rent in Tobacco at 2 d. a Pound Tobacco falling afterwards, that Law was repeal'd by Proclamation, and the Payment demanded in Money or Tobacco at a Penny a Pound.

To which Order the *Virginians* submitted, no Man daring in that Case to stand Trial with the Governour, especially because the Quit-Rent was reserv'd in Money by the Words of his Patent.

This Lord, by many other Exactions, so exasperated the Colony, that they sent Col. *Ludwell* over to *England*, to make their Complaints to the King. Mr. *Ludwell* did all that could be expected from a wise and a faithful Agent; but did not prevail to have his Lordship remov'd.

We are oblig'd for Connection of things, sometimes to make bold with Chronology; and the Convenience the Reader will find in it, will, we hope, more than excuse the Freedom we take.

In the Year 1685. that severe Duty, which has so long loaded Tobacco, and been the occasion of selling many thousand Hogsheads, at 12 d. a Hogshead, rather than pay the Custom and Charges, was impos'd on this Commodity, three Months after King *James's* coming to the Crown: It was obtain'd when the Parliament were in a warm fit of Loyalty, just on the Duke of *Monmouth's* Landing.

1685.
*The Impost
on Tobacco,*

The Bill had been read before, but 'tis thought would not have pass'd so easily, if the Duke of *Monmouth* had not landed opportunely, and quicken'd it by his Rebellion.

This heavy Imposition has been a great Discouragement to the Industry of the Plantation, and is the source of all the Miseries the Planters since suffer'd, having kept them poor, and depriv'd them of the Means to support themselves in the long War that follow'd upon the Revolution.

The Lord *Howard* summon'd an Assembly; who laid the first Tax impos'd upon Liquors imported from the other Plantations. The Pretence was for rebuilding the State-house; which had lain in Ashes ever since Capt. *Lawrence* burnt *James-Town*.

His Lordship also erected a Court of Chancery; and took away that Jurisdiction from the General Court: He assum'd the Office of Chancellour; and the Counsellours were his Masters. He would not hold this Court in the State-house, because the General Court us'd to sit there: And therefore in opposition to them, he heard Causes in a Dining-room in a private House.

He exacted exorbitant Fees in his New Court; and made it turn very much to account. This Novelty was laid aside on his Lordship's going for *England*; and the General Court again resum'd their Antient Jurisdiction; which was as old as the Colony.

As the Lord *Howard* had shown an extraordinary Joy on King *James's* Accession to the Throne; an Account of which was publish'd in the Gazette: So he as joyfully proclaim'd King *William* on the Revolution; and soon after went for *England*, leaving *Nathaniel Bacon* Esquire, Father of Col. *Bacon*, President: During whose Administration the Project of a College first began: A Scheme of it was drawn up by the Projectors, and presented to the President and Council; who approving of it, the Matter was prepar'd to be laid before the Assembly.

Nath. Bacon Esq;
President.
A College
set on foot.

The President had not time to call one himself; for 'twas not long before *Francis Nicholson* Esq; arriv'd, with the Character of the Lord *Howard's* Lieutenant. This Gentleman on his Arrival, study'd to grow Popular, by all the winning Arts which Persons in Power make use of, to engage the People: He made himself familiar with them; was solicitous about improving Trade, and encouraging Manufactures: He instituted Publick Games; and allotted Prizes to such as excell'd in Riding, Running, Shooting, Wrestling, and Back-sword. He enter'd heartily into the Project of the College:

Fran. Nicholson Esq;
Lieut. Governor.

That the Project might not stand still for want of Encouragement from the Assembly, which was not then sitting, a private Subscription was propos'd,
and

and agreed to by the Governour, and two thousand five hundred Pounds subscrib'd; Mr. *Nicholson* and the Council setting the other Gentlemen of the Colony a good Example. The *London* Merchants also contributed generously towards it: And in the next Year, when the Lieutenant Governour summon'd an Assembly, the Matter was mov'd to them; who zealously engag'd in it, drew up an Address to their Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, to grant a Charter for it; and sent the Reverend Mr. *James Blair* into *England*, to present it, and sollicite the Affair.

The Assembly pass'd an Act for the Encouragement of the Linnen Manufactures, the Leather Trade, &c. and another for Cohabitation: Yet all the Laws for it avail'd nothing; no Town was built by them; nor even *James-Town* rebuilt to the State 'twas in before 'twas burnt in the Rebellion.

Mr. *Nicholson* pay'd an extraordinary Respect to these and all other Acts of the Assembly, governing himself always strictly by them in the General Court.

The Lord *Howard* was dismiss'd from being Principal Governour in the Year 1692. and his Place supply'd by Sir *Edmund Andros*; who had been Governour of *New-England*. 1692.
Sir Edm.
Andros
Governor.

Sir *Edmund* arriv'd in *February*; and began his Government with calling an Assembly. These Representatives were so manag'd by the Governour, that they suspended the Law for Cohabitation, which the Merchants of *London* were against; and found it for their Ease and Advantage to have the Trade alike open in all parts of the Capital Rivers; and the Masters of their Ships could not endure to think of lying under a Fort, or at Key, when they could come up to the Door of a Planter or Factor; live merrily and plentifully at his House, and unload and load at pleasure.

In *England*, Mr. *Neal*, the famous Projector, had procur'd a Patent to be Post-Master-General of those Parts of *America*. This Assembly took the Patent into Consideration, pass'd an Act in favour of it; but by reason of the distance of one House from another, 'twas found to be impracticable.

Low-
thorp's
Phil. Transf.
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104.

In the following Year there happen'd a most violent Storm in this Province, which stop't the Course of the antient Channels, and made some where never were any : By which means, between the Bounds of *Virginia* and *Newcastle* in *Pensylvania*, are many navigable Rivers for Sloops and small Vessels.

Sir *Edmund Andros* was very fond of introducing the Statutes and Laws of *England*; and even such as related to particular Customs in that Kingdom; which was like to have brought all things into Confusion in the Courts of Justice: For the Acts of the Assembly being despis'd, those Laws that were the best Title most of the Planters had to their Estates, were forc'd to give way to Customs and Usages adapted to the Tenures in *England*: By which the *Virginians* were alarm'd, as if they were all at once threaten'd to be outed of their Holds.

No body knew what was Law; and a great Man was so free, as to declare frequently, *They had none of them any Right to their Lands*: Tho what he meant by it was a Mystry he either cou'd not or wou'd not unfold.

Sir *Edmund* brought over the Charter for the College; and Dr. *Thomas Bray* went thither to be President of it; carrying with him a Library, well chosen for the Uses it was to be put to.

Several Professors also were preparing to go over; but all that was done and given towards it came to nothing: The People were very ready to subscribe, but not so ready to pay in their Money: However, Contributions were sent from *England*; which were promoted by the Example of their Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, of Glorious Memory; who by their own Royal Bounty, invited others to assist so charitable an Undertaking: And there was Money enough rais'd to build the College; of which the Foundation was laid soon after Sir *Edmoud Andros's* Arrival.

This Gentleman set up several Manufactures, and Fulling-Mills; and was earnest with the Planters to propagate Cotton: He regulated the Management of the Secretary's Office; which had been mightily neglected since *Bacon's* Rebellion. He commanded all the Publick Papers and Records to be sorted, and kept

n exact Order ; and when the *State-house* was burnt, he was careful to have them preserv'd ; and all that could be sav'd, to be again sorted and register'd : He put the Clerks into a Method of dispatching Business ; and by these and other commendable Acts, went a great way in gaining the Esteem of the People.

He was endeavouring to find out easy Means to rebuild the *State-house*, which might not be burdensome to the People ; and in all likelihood would have effected it, had his stay been longer.

In the Year 1697. Admiral *Nevil's* Squadron, which had been at the *Havana* looking after Monsieur *Poinci*, and the French Squadron, touch'd in their return home at *Virginia* : The Admiral, Commodore *Mees*, Capt. *Lycot*, Capt. *Holms*, Capt. *Bellwood*, Capt. *Dyer*, Capt. *Studly*, Capt. *Foster*, all the Dutch Captains out of 6 but one, and most of their Men, were dead of an Infectious Disease ; which the Remainder of their Crew brought to *Virginia* with them : And the Infection spread in *James-Town*, and the Country on that River carrying off several of the Inhabitants : The Plantation continu'd sickly a long time after it.

In November, 1698. Colonel *Nicholson*, who went from *Virginia* to *Maryland*, return'd to *Vir-* 1689.
Col. Ni-
cholson
Governor.
ginia, with the Character of Governour ; He remov'd the Seat of his Government from *James-Town* to *Middle-Plantation* ; where he began to build a City in Honour of the King ; mark'd out the Streets in the Form of a *W*. and call'd the Town *Williamsburgh*.

He procur'd a stately Fabrick to be built there, over against the College ; and gave it the Name of the *Capitol*. Some Persons, who were not endow'd with any publick Principle, were against this Expense : The Impositions with which they were loaded in *England* and *Virginia*, keeping them always low. And now a Tax of 15 s. upon each Christian Servant ; and 20 s. for each Negro, was laid upon them. Besides, this Year was very sickly, and the Crop so short, that the Ships return'd home with not above one third part of their Loading ; but the next was healthy and plentiful.

1700.

About the Year 1700. a Pirate came into *Lyabaven-Bay*, near the Mouth of *James-River*, and took out some Merchant-Ships that were fall'n down there, in order to sail for *England*. It happen'd that a small Vessel came into the Bay, and saw the Pirate engag'd with one of the Merchant-men. This Vessel slipt by the Pirate, and got into the River; where the *Shoram*, a Fifth Rate Man of War, Capt. *Passenger* Commander, lay, being newly arriv'd from *England*.

There was another Man of War, a Sixth Rate, Capt. *Aldred* Commander, in *Elizabeth-River*; but that was on the *Careen*, sitting out for a homeward Voyage.

The Master of the small Vessel posted to *Kiquotan*, where the Governour happen'd to be at that time, to send away his Dispatches for *England*; and Capt. *Passenger* was also gone thither to wait upon him, and pay his Respects to him on his Arrival.

When the Captain heard of the Pirate's being in the Bay, he was for hastening to his Ship as fast as he could, in hopes to come up with him. The Governour desir'd him to stay a little, and he wou'd accompany him; so he and Capt. *Passenger* put to Sea; and getting between the Capes and the River, forc'd the Pirate to come to an Engagement.

The Governour takes a Privateer.

The Fight was sharp and bloody; but at last the Pirate struck, and surrender'd at Discretion; the Captain of the Privateer and his Crew being to be left to the King's Mercy.

It was represented by the Agents of the Colony of *New-York* to King *William*, that *Virginia* being secur'd from the Indians and French by *New-York*, as by a Barrier, the *Virginians* ought to contribute towards building the Fort there.

The King referr'd the Matter to the Assembly of *Virginia*; and the Governour thinking it a reasonable Proposal, very zealously espous'd it. The Assembly however drew up a Remonstrance against it, to this purpose; *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 Indians might invade that Colony, and not come within 100 Miles of any such Fort.*

This

This Remonstrance put a stop to the Affair in the Assembly: Whereupon the Governour contributed the 900 l. himself, the Sum that was demanded of the *Virginians*; This was so generous an Action, that it seems to bear some Resemblance with that Roman Spirit, which the Heroes of all Ages since have been proud to imitate; and the Glory of it, was, what all the Governour's Enemies admir'd and envy'd.

Col. *Quarry* of *Virginia*, then in *England*, declar'd in a Memorial, deliver'd to the Council of Trade after Queen *Anne's* Accession to the Throne; That as soon as Governour *Nicholson* found the Assembly of *Virginia* wou'd 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 900 l. to answer the Quota of *Virginia*; wholly depending on her Majesty's Favour, to reimburse him out of the Revenues of that Province.

And as Col. *Nicholson* was generous in promoting the Security of the Province of *New-York*, so was he to encourage such as fought for the Defence of that of *New-England* in the time of the Indian War: When two *New-England* Women having surpriz'd and kill'd 10 or 12 Indians; and had a Gift from the Assembly there, he sent them also a very noble Present.

In the Year 1701. the Governour hearing the French Privateers were busy on the Coasts, laid an Embargo on all Ships, to prevent their going out, and falling into their hands. The same Year some Camels were brought thither in some *Guinea* Ships; Those Beasts would carry 1200 Weight: But we have not heard how they thriv'd there; and suppose the *Virginians* succeeded with them no better than the *Barbadians*; who were soon forc'd to lay down that sort of Carriage.

On the 5th of *October*, 1703. there happen'd a very violent Hurricane at *Virginia*; which was the more remarkable, because that Country is not subject to such Accidents. In this Tempest several Ships were driven ashore in their Harbours; and others damag'd in their Masts and Rigging, and much Mischiefe done by it in the Plantations.

1704.

In the following Year Col. *Nicholson* return'd to *England*, having in his Government deserv'd a better Character of the Province of *Virginia*, than the late Author of the History of that Country is pleas'd to bestow upon him. The Reception he met with at Court, is a sufficient Demonstration that her Majesty approv'd of his Conduct; and all the World must condemn that Historian, otherwise Judicious and Eloquent, for suffering a private Pique to prevail over the Justice and Gratitude which was due to the Merit of the Governour.

George
Earl of
Orkney
Governor.
Benjamin
Notte
Esq; Dep.
Governor.

He was succeeded by *George* Earl of *Orkney*, Lieutenant General of Her Majesty's Armies; whose Deputy is *Benjamin Notte* Esq; During their Authority nothing extraordinary has happen'd in *Virginia*; which Colony is now in a safe and flourishing Condition, having no just reason to complain of any thing but those Taxes, which the Preservation of their Religion and Liberty at this time makes necessary.

C H A P. II.

Containing a Geographical Description of Virginia; Of the Towns, Ports, Rivers, Forts, &c.

IN the former Chapter we have shewn how several Provinces, that at first went all under the Name of *Virginia*, were divided from it, by Patents granted to other Proprietors; who gave them other Names, as *New-England*, *New-York*, *Maryland*, &c. to the North; and *Carolina* to the South: All which were a part of the Country that was by Queen *Elizabeth* call'd *Virginia*.

In process of Time that Name was lost to all, except the Tract of Land lying along the Bay of *Chesapeake*; in which are included *Virginia* and *Maryland*; and both in common Discourse, are still call'd *Virginia*: But the Province that's properly so call'd, is bounded on the North by the great River *Patowmack*; which parts it from *Maryland*; and on the South, by

by *Carolina*: On the East it has the *Virginian Sea*; and on the West and North-West, those Wilderesses that have so often been in vain attempted to be Discover'd; and are suppos'd to stretch themselves to the *Californian Sea*. Bounds.

The Bounds of this Country are not well settled; and in the Year 1703. the Assembly had it under Consideration to fix them: But by common Computation, 'tis reckon'd to reach 200 Miles North from *Point Comfort* at the Mouth of *Chesapeac Bay*, and two hundred Miles South, including all the Land, West and North-West, from the Western or *Virginian*, to the *Californian Sea*, with the Islands on both Seas within 100 Miles of the Continent.

Both this Province and that of *Maryland* are situated on the Great Bay of *Chesapeac*; whose Mouth is *Chesapeac Bay*. *Cape Henry* on the South, and *Cape Charles* on the North. The Water in the Channel is for the most part 9 Fathom deep; but in some places not above 7.

The Bay is eighteen Miles broad; and lies in 37 Degrees North Latitude. It runs about 100 Leagues up in the Country; and is seven Miles over, 60 Leagues within Land. This is what our Modern Sailors call the Capes of *Virginia*.

It receives into it abundance of Navigable Rivers; which, like those in the North of *England*, flowing into the *Humber*, all loose themselves in this Bay; so big, that 'tis said all the Shipping in *Europe* can ride there. In it are several little Islands; some of which are planted.

Virginia is divided into 25 Counties; in which are 49 Parishes; 34 with Incumbents on them, and 15 vacant. The latter are distinguish'd by the Letter *V*.

We shall begin with those that lie on *James-River*, the most Southern in the Province: 'Twas, as has been said, call'd *Powhatan* by the Indians. Here the English first settled, and built two Forts for their Defence: but these are since demolish'd. It runs 140 Miles up in the Country; and is near a Mile broad as high as *James-City*. The first County on the South side of it, is *Norfolk County*; which borders on *Carolina*.

In this Shire stands the Parish of *Elizabeth*; it contains 112019 Acres, and is water'd by *Elizabeth-River*, which rises in it, and runs into *James-River*, between *East-Bay* and *West-Bay*. The next is,

Princess-Ann-County on the Coast: In which are 58305 Acres of Land, and the Parish of *Lynhaven V.*, below *Cape Henry*. The next is,

Nansemond-County: In which are 131172 Acres of Land, and three Parishes; *Upper Parish*, *Lower Parish*, and *Chuckatuck*, all vacant. The River *Nansemond* rises in this Shire, and falls into *James-River*, above *Bennet's Creek*. The next is,

Isle-of-White-County: In which are 142796 Acres of Land, and two Parishes, *Warwick-Squeek* and *Newport*. Here's also a Spring that vents almost as great a Source of Water as *Holy-Well* in *Wales*. The next is,

Surry-County: In which are 111050 Acres of Land, and two Parishes, *Southwark V.* and *Lyons-Creek*. The next is,

Henrico-County, the uppermost on the South-side of *James-River*; it contains 148787 Acres of Land, and two Parishes, *Henrico* and *Bristol*. The next over against it on the North-side of the River are,

Prince George and *Charles-City*, Counties: In which are 161239 Acres of Land, and three Parishes; *Martin Brandon*, *Wyanoke*, *Westover*. The Parishes in the three last Counties are all supply'd with Ministers. In the County of *Henrico*, there was a Town call'd *Henricopolis*, which is fall'n to decay. Twenty Miles above the Falls, is the *Monacan* Town, where the French Refuges have settled; and next below *Charles-County* on the North-side of the River is,

James-County: In which are 108362 Acres of Land, and five Parishes, of which one lies on the other side of the River, as does part of the County. The Parishes are *Wallingford* and *Wilmington*, *James-City*, *Merchants Hundred V.* on the South-side of the River, and *Bruton*. This is reckon'd the chief County, because,

James-City stands in it, in a *Peninsula* on the North-side of *James-River*, about 40 Miles from the Mouth of it. There are several Brick Houses in it; and Taverns and Eating Houses, for the Convenience of

of Voyagers and Travellers: But the Buildings are not many nor contiguous, not above 60 or 70 Houses in all. In this Town there were formerly two or three Forts, and many fair Streets; but they have been ruin'd by Fire and Revolutions in the Government, or rather in the Disposition of the Governours. The Removal of the Courts of Justice to *Williamstadt*, by Col. *Nicholson*; His residing and holding the Sessions of Assembly and General Court there, and the building the College there, help'd to keep *James-Town* in the mean Condition he found it; and the Humour of the *Virginians* to live upon Plantations, seem'd to forbid that City to hope for an Increase of Houses and Inhabitants. Not far from *James-City* Sir *William Berkley* built a handsome House for his Residence, call'd *Greenspring*, where is a Spring so cold, that 'tis dangerous to drink of it in the Summer time. In the same County stands,

Williamsburgh; Which before the late Governour remov'd thither, was call'd *Middle Plantation*; 'tis about 7 Miles from *James-City* within Land. In this Town are 20 or 30 Houses, and the Publick Assemblies and Courts are held there; yet neither these Advantages, nor that of the College and Academy founded there, cou'd procure it a better Figure than that of a Country Village. Here is a small Fort or rather Battery mounted with 10 or 12 Guns, which were brought thither from *James-City* by order of Col. *Nicholson*, who caus'd a State-house or Capital to be erected, and several Streets to be laid out in the Form of a *W*; but we do not hear that a *V*, or one Angle of it is yet finish'd, or ever likely to be so: For 'tis probable that whenever the Government, or the People shall think of building a City, they will return to their Old Capital, *James-City*. The next County to this is,

York-County. It lies between the two Rivers, *James-River*, and *York-River*, and contains 60767 Acres of Land, and three Parishes; *Hampton, V*, *York*, and *New-Pokoson*. The latter stands at the Mouth of *York-River*. The next County to it

^{s,} *Warwick-County*: In which are 38444 Acres of Land, and 2 Parishes, *Denby V*, and *Mulberry-Island V*.
T
The

The River *Pokoson* rises in it, and runs into the Bay of *Chesapeac* near the Mouth of *York-River*. The next to this is,

Elizabeth-City and County, the least in *Virginia*, containing but 29000 Acres of Land, and one Parish. *Elizabeth-City*, which tho never very great, is less than when 'twas first built: It had then several good Houses of Brick and Stone, and a Fort was rais'd there in the Dutch-War; all which are Ruins already, there being a sort of Fatality which attends the Towns in *Virginia*, so that they are like never to come to any thing, unless the very nature of the Inhabitants is quite alter'd; for they have now nothing so little in their thoughts, as the building of Towns. The Parish-Church of *Elizabeth-City* is supply'd with a Minister. Crossing the Neck of Land to *Pokoson*, we come to the Mouth of *York-River*, which the Indians call'd *Pamunky*, a Name the upper Branch of this River in King *William's* County still retains.

This River is navigable 60 Miles with Great Ships, and with Ketches and Sloops 30 more. It runs the same Course with *James-River* for an 100 Miles, and so near it, that in some Places 'tis not above 5 Miles over Land from one to the other; which Land between them being so well accomodated for Navigation, and so near two such great Rivers, is best inhabited; and here the Richest Planters are seated. After the last Indian Massacre, 'twas propos'd to draw a Pale from one River to the other, and wholly clearing the Country of Savages, to live secure between the two Rivers, where they had the Conveniency of Ships coming within a few Miles of every House; we must go up higher into the Country, and following the Course of the River through *Elizabeth*, *Warwick* and *York-Counties*, before-mention'd, we come to,

New Kent; Containing 171314 Acres of Land. This is one of the largest and most populous Counties in *Virginia*. 'Tis water'd by the Southern Branch of the River *York*, and has two Parishes in it, *Blislana* and *St. Peter's*. The Western Bounds of this County, and the next, are certain Hills, out of which issue forth a Glittering Sand, like the Filings of Brass, which Sand was, as is shewn in the History, mistaken.

ken, for Gold by the first Planters. The next Country to this nearer the Falls is,

King William-County: In which are 84324 Acres, and one Parish, *St. John's*: *Pamunky-River* runs thro' it; 'tis the Southern Branch of *York-River*. On the South of this lies,

King and Queens-County: Containing 131716 Acres of Land, and two Parishes, *Straton-Major*, and *St. Stephens*. *Chicohomony-River* rises in it, and falls into *James-River*, near *Bromfield's* Plantation. From this County, returning thro' *King William-County*, and *New-Kent*, down the North-shore of *York-River*, we come to,

Gloucester-County; the best Peopl'd of any in the Country. It has 142450 Acres of Land in it, and 4 Parish Churches, *Perse*, *Abington*, *Ware* and *Kingston*. 'Tis parted from,

Middlesex-County, by the River *Prankitank*, which is navigable twenty or thirty Miles up, containing 49500 Acres, and one Parish, *Christ-Church*. The County of *Middlesex* lies on the South Shoar of *Rappahanock-River*, which is very broad, deep, and navigable 40 Miles within Land, where 'tis remarkable that the Heads of *York-River* and *Rappahanock-River*, issue out of low marshy Ground, and not of Hills and Mountains, as other Rivers do. Above *Middlesex*, towards the Falls, is *Rappahanock*; or,

Essex-County: Containing 140920 Acres of Land. In this County and *Middlesex* lies the Great Swamp, or Bog, call'd the *Dragon-swamp*, 'tis near 60 Miles long, and is over-run with Bryars, Thorns, and wild Beasts, which herd there, because the Place being almost inaccessible, the Inhabitants can't come at them, at least not so easily as in the Woods and Savana's. In this County stands three Parishes, *South Farnham*, *Sittingburn V*, *St. Mary's*. The South-side of it is water'd by *Mattapony*, the Western Branch of *York-River*, which is Navigable. Above it are the Counties of,

Richmond and *Stafford*: A Survey of which I have not seen; they are new Counties, and are not in the old Surveys, going all by the Name of *Rappahanock*. In these are three Parishes, *North-Farnham* in *Richmond*, and *St. Pauls V*, and *Overworton* in *Stafford-County*. The next below it, between *Rappahanock*, and *Patowmack*, is,

Westmoreland-County, which is very large; but our Author has not communicated the Number of Acres. It has two Parishes in it, *Copeley* and *Washington*. Below it lies the County of,

Lancaster, On the North-Shore of *Rappahanock-River*; 'tis water'd by the River *Cartomain*, or *Corotoman*, which runs into *Rappahanock-River*, about 3 Leagues from the Mouth of it. There are two Parishes in this County, *Christ-Church* and *St. Mary's White-Chappel*. The next to this and the last in the Province on the South Shoar of *Patowmack*, is,

Northumberland-County: In which are two Parish Churches, *Fairfeld* and *Bowtracy V*, and *Wiccomoco*. There is a River of the same Name *Wiccomoco*, which Rises in this County, and runs into the Bay at the Mouth of *Patowmack-River*, which is the Northern Bounds of *Virginia*, and divides it from *Maryland*. The Neck of Land from *Wiccomoco* to the Bay is what goes by the Name of the *Northern Neck*, which we often mention'd in the first Chapter. We must now cross over the Bay: and all along the Shoar from *Cape Charles*, at the Mouth of the Bay, to the River *Pocemoke*, which divides it from *Maryland* on the Eastern Bounds, the Province of *Virginia* still continues, and there are two Counties in it:

Accomack; Which retains its Indian Name. This is the largest County in *Virginia*, and contains 200923 Acres of Land. 'Tis not so Populous as those on the other side of the Bay, and has but one Parish in it that of *Accomack*, which is without a Minister. The River *Chiffonessex* rises in this County, as do several others of less Note. The other County is,

Northampton: A narrow County that runs along in a Neck between the *Virginian-Sea*, and the Bay of *Chesapeac*. *Cape Charles*, in the most Southernly part of it, is opposite to *Cape Henry*, and those two Points of Land are what is commonly call'd *The Capes of Virginia*. This County contains 99384 Acres of Land, and one Parish Church, that of *Hungers*, which is also without a Minister. Thus we have visited the whole Province, and have taken notice of the most remarkable things; but as there are no Towns, nor Mines, nor other Places worthy the Reader's Curiosity; so our Relation wants that Variety

of Objects which renders such Descriptions delightful. The *Apelchean* Mountains are in the Western Bounds of *Virginia*, and are stor'd with Minerals, if we may believe some Travellers who have spoken of them, but we don't find that they have been of any other Advantage to the *Virginians*, than to furnish them with Earth, for the Experiments of their Virtuoso's at the College. The whole Country is water'd with Rivers, the most noted of which we have treated of; the Falls of each of those Rivers, are but 15 or 20 Miles distant from one another; and besides them, there are *North-River*, *Eastmost-River*, *Pungoteque*, *Apumatuc*, *Poyanketank*, and others, that are Navigable many Miles, and well stor'd with Fish. The Tides are scarce discernable when the Winds hold at N. W. but at other times they flow as they do in *England*, only they seem not so large, which is thought to be occasion'd by the Tides diffusing it self into so many Rivers. The Original Springs that make all these Rivers, rise at the Foot of the *Appallean* or *Apelchean* Lowth: Mountains; but the Cataracts or Falls are 60 or 70 *Phil.* Miles distant from those Hills. The Shoars are for *Transf. p.* the most Part Sandy. What Stones are there, are al- 567, 568. most all of 'em hard and transparent. Some will cut Glafs like Diamonds, and are equal to 'em in Lustre. The Clifts of these Rivers are full of great Veins of Iron Mine, and generally all the Highlands under the Mould are a meer Rock of Iron: The Charge of raising an Iron-Work is so great, that no Body in *Virginia* dares ventures on the Expence, or the Planters are so intent on Planting Tobacco, that they neglect all other Improvements.

There was another Town built in *James-County*, call'd *Dales Gift*; but 'twas ruin'd by the Incurfions of the Indians, Fire, and other Accidents. The Country lying between *York-River*, and *James-River*, is the best inhabited. The Banks of the former are full of Plantations; and the best Tobacco growing here, the Trade of the Colony tends most that way. We have elsewhere observ'd in what Counties the Indian Nations still remain. Their Towns are very small, and their Houses or Huts such mean Dwellings, that they are rather like the Cabbins of the Slaves in the Sugar-Islands, than the Habitations of free People.

The abundance of Rivers occasion abundance of Mills in this Country; some of their Springs send forth such a glut of Water, that in less than half a Mile below the Fountain-Head, they afford a Stream sufficient to supply a Grist-mill. All these Rivers are full of Creeks, in which the Planters employ an infinite number of Sloops and small Boats, to convey their Tobacco and Merchandize from and to the Ships that lie in the greater Rivers, or in the the less. We have said little of the greatest River of them all, *Patomack*, because 'twill as properly come under the Article of *Maryland*, being the Boundary of that Province, on the Western-side of *Virginia*. It cannot be expected that in so little a Map as that is which is annex'd to this History, so full a Description can be made of *Virginia*, as in the large one; but this is the newest Survey: And the Country is divided into the Counties that are the present Divisions of it, there being at this time 6 new ones; *Prince George*, *Princess Anne*, *King William*, *King* and *Queen*, *Richmond* and *Stafford*. In the former Surveys there were but 19 Counties: In this all of them are included, together with as many Plantations as wou'd stand in so much room; and the same Care has been taken in the Maps of the other Countries.

C H A P. III.

*Of the Inhabitants ; and first of the Indians :
Their Government , Religion, Manners,
and Customs : Of the English, Masters,
Servants , and Slaves : Their Numbers,
Strength and Way of Living.*

WHEN the English first discover'd *Virginia*, the Indians were divided into several Nations, as, the *Kecongthans*, the *Weanocks*, the *Arrahattocks*, the *Apemetoeks*, the *Nansemunds*, the *Chesapeacs*, the *Pashahoges*, who possess'd the Ground where *James-City* now stands. These Tribes or Divisions inhabited the Country lying on the River *Powhatan*, or *James-River*. On the River *Pamunke* there dwelt the Nations of the *Youngtanunds*, and the *Mattapaments*. On *Rappahanock*, or *Toppahanuck-River*, the *Manahoacs*, the *Moraughtacunds*, and the *Cuttatawomens*. The Country on which the English landed, when Capt. *Barlow* and Capt. *Amidas* discover'd it, was call'd *Wingandacoa*, and the King of it *Wingina*. It lies Southward of the Bay of *Chesapeac*, near the Frontiers of *Florida*. Sometimes the King of one of these Nations made War on the rest, and conquer'd three or four of them ; the Dominion of which generally after his Death, fell back to the natural Princes of those Countries. All these Nations are now entirely ruin'd, occasion'd partly by their Feuds among themselves, and partly by their Wars with the English, who are Masters of all the Countries which they formerly Possess'd : The English for their Convenience, or out of Humanity, suffer'd them to enjoy their Lives, and Liberties, and frequently enter'd into Leagues with them, which the faithless Savages kept no longer than they were forc'd to it. Those who dwell upon the Borders of the Province, which only retains the Name of *Virginia* at this day, were the most treacherous

and cruel to the English of all the Indian Nations. The People of *Wingandacoa* were affable and courteous to the first Adventurers, while *Grangammeo*, *Wingina's* Elder Brother reign'd. His Wife also did many good Offices to the English, who afterwards attempted to settle on the Island of *Roenoke*: But after *Grangammeo's* Death, *Wingina*, who perhaps lik'd them better for Dealers than for Neighbours, behav'd himself very treacherously towards them; And when a Party of 'em was going towards the Kingdom of the *Mangoacs*, in quest of Copper Mines, he stir'd up several Tribes against them, and particularly *Temoatan*, Prince of the *Moratoes*, whose Father *Ensenore* prevented his falling upon them; and *Menatonon* King of one of those Tribes, courted their Friendship by Presents of Pearl, as did *Okisco* King of the *Weopomeocs*, who submitted to become Tributary to the Queen of *England*. *Wingina* finding all his Contrivances to destroy them were disappointed, thought it his Interest to affect a Friendship for them, as the other Kings did; but this Friendship lasted no longer than till he had an Opportunity to shew his Treachery, and when he thought he had 'em at an Advantage, he fell upon them, who putting his wild Army to flight, took him Prisoner, and cut off his Head. The English being forc'd to abandon those Settlements, Capt. *Smith* founded the present one, as we have elsewhere related, in the Dominions of *Powhatan*, King of *Wicomoco*, who warr'd with the English all his Life-time, except a few Intervals of Peace, and the same did his Successor *Oppecanough*, the last Prince of any Fame of the Savages. They fell to decay after his Death, and tho they committed several Murders on the Borders; 'twas rather like the Sallies of Robbers from their lurking Holes, than the Incurfions of a warlike Nation. They are now brought so low, that the English are not in the least fear of them, having it in their Power to extirpate them whenever they please; but they serve them in Hunting and Fowling, and other Services; which is the chiefest, if not the only Cause of their Preservation. One may judge by *Oppecanough's* Greatness, who we are told cou'd bring 20000 Men into the Field, that had all the Indian Tribes been united, it wou'd have been impossible to have made

a Settlement with such small Numbers as the English brought over, or from time to time sent to *Virginia*. Of all the Nations that were then in being; at which time two or three thousand Bow-men liv'd in a Town together, the few that remain are scatter'd up and down on the Frontiers of the English Plantations; and tho they live in Towns, or what some call Cities, we may perceive by the following Account of them, they are reduc'd so low; that the Hand of Providence appears visibly in their Destruction.

They are much more afraid of the Indians who in habit higher up in the Country, than of the English; to whom they pay Tribute of three Indian Arrows, and 20 Beavors Skins, each Town, for Protection.

On the North-side of the Bay,

In *Accomac* are 8 Towns, viz.

- Matomkin*, Lately almost depopulated by the Small-Pox.
- Gingoteque*, What is left of this Place is now part of the Kingdom of a Prince, who reigns over a Nation of *Maryland-Indians*.
- Kiquotan*, Almost ruin'd.
- Matchepungo*, Some few Families remain there.
- Occahanock*, There a few Families are also yet in being.
- Pungoteque*, Govern'd by a Queen; a small Nation.
- Oanancock*, Has but 4 or 5 Families.
- Chiconessex*, Not many more.
- Nanduye*, Govern'd by an Empress, to whom all the Nations on the Coasts are Tributary.
- Gangascoe*, In the County of *Northampton*, bordering on *Accomac*, as numerous as all the other Nations put together

On the South-side of the Bay are,

- Wyanoke*, In Prince *George* County, almost come to nothing. The Remains of this Tribe are gone to live with other Indians.

Appamatiox, In *Charles-City*. These live on *Col. Byrd's Lands*; about 7 Families: They were formerly a great Nation.

Nottawayes, In *Surrey*. This King can raise 100 Bow-men; the most thriving People of all the *Virginian-Indians*.

Menkeering, By *Nansamund*: Has about 30 Bow-men.

Nansamund, About 30 Bow-men; and increase of late.

Pamunkeye, In King *William County*, has 40 Bow-men; they decrease.

Chickahomony, Has 16 Bow-men; they increase, and were a powerful People when the English first landed here.

Rappahanock, In *Essex*; has but a few Families; and they live scatter'd on the English Seats.

Port-Tobago, In *Richmond*, 5 Bow-men.

Wiccomoco, Of which Nation there are now but three Men living, who retain the Name of their Kingdom, and the particular Customs of their Ancestors. Of this People, *Powhatan* was at first King, and conquer'd several others after them. If these three Men have a King, he must be of the same Rank with *Trincolo* in the *Tempest*, the Nation being much of the same size. These Men are very proud of their Original, and live by themselves, separate from either the other Indians or the English.

Were all these Nations or Tribes united, they could not raise 500 fighting Men: A poor Army, compar'd to the *Virginian Militia*; which, as we shall make appear in this Chapter, consists of near 10000 Men.

Those miserable Wretches still follow the Religion and Customs of their Ancestors; and are not become either more pious or more polite by the Company of the English.

As to their Religion, they have all of 'em some dark Notion of God; and some of them brighter ones, if my Author may be believ'd, who had this Confession from the Mouth of an Indian, *That they believ'd God was universally beneficent: That his Dwelling was in Heaven above; and the Influences of his Goodness reach'd to the Earth beneath: That he was incomprehensible in his Excellence; and enjoy'd all possible Felicity; That his Duration was eternal; his Perfection boundless; and, That he possesses everlasting Indolence and Ease.* So far the Savage talk'd as rationally of the Being of a God, as a Christian Divine or Philosopher could have done: But when he came to justify their Worshiping of the Devil, whom they call *Okee*, his Notions were very Heterodox: He said, *'Tis true God is the Giver of all good Things, but they flow naturally and promiscuously from him; that they are shower'd down upon all Men indifferently, without Distinction: That God does not trouble himself with the impertinent Affairs of Men; nor is concern'd at what they do, but leaves them to make the most of their free Will, and to secure as many as they can of the good Things that flow from him: That therefore it was to no purpose either to fear or worship him: But on the contrary, if they did not pacify the evil Spirit, he would ruin their Health, Peace, and Plenty, he being always visiting them in the Air, Thunder, Storms, &c.*

As to the Idol which they all worship, and is kept in a Temple, call'd *Quiocasán*; He seem'd to have a very indifferent Opinion of its Divinity, and cry'd out upon the Juggling of the Priests--- This Man does not talk like a common Savage; and therefore we may suppose he had study'd the Matter more than his Countrymen; who for the generality pay a great deal of Devotion to the Idol, and worship him as their chief Deity.

Their Priests and Conjurers are highly reverenc'd by them: They are given extreamly to Panwawing or Conjuring: And one of them very lately conjur'd a Shower of Rain for Col. *Byrd's* Plantation in a time of Drought, for two Bottles of Rum. We are not apt to give Credit to such supernatural Events; and had we not found this in an Author who was on the Spot, we should have reject'd it as a Fable.

Their

Their Priests promise fine Women Eternal Spring, and every Pleasure in Perfection in the other World, which charm'd them in this ; and threaten them with Lakes of Fire and Torments, by a Fairy in the Shape of an old Woman. They are often bloody in their Sacrifices ; and offer up young Children to the Devil. They have a superstitious Ceremony among them, which they call *Huskanawing*, and is perform'd thus ; They shut up ten or twelve young Men, the most deserving among them, about 20 Years of Age, in a strong Inclosure, made on purpose, like a Sugar Loaf, and every way open like a Lattice, for the Air to pass through. They are kept there for several Months ; and are allow'd to have no Sustenance, but the Infusion or Decoction of poisonous intoxicating Roots ; which turns their Brain, and they run stark mad.

By this 'tis pretended they lose the Remembrance of all former things, even of their Parents, Treasure, Language, as if they had drunk of the Water of Oblivion, dipt out of the Lake *Lethe*.

When they have been in this Condition as long as their Custom directs, they lessen this intoxicating Portion ; and by degrees the young Men recover the Use of their Senses : But before they are quite well, they are shewn in their Towns ; and the Youth who have been *huskanaw'd*, are afraid to discover the least sign of their remembering any thing of their past Lives ; for in such case they must be *huskanaw'd* again ; and they are disciplin'd so severely the second time, that it generally kills them.

After the young Men have past this Trial, they are *Coucaroufes*, or Men of Quality in their Nations : and the Indians say they do it, to take away from Youth all childish Impressions, and that strong Partiality to Persons and Things, which is contracted before Reason comes to take place.

The Indian Priests, to command the Respect of the People, make themselves look as ugly and as terrible as they can. The Conjurers always share with them in their Deceit, and the Gain by it : The Indians consult both of them before they go on any Enterprize. There are no Priestesses or Witches among them. They erect Altars on every remarkable Occasion ;
and

and have Temples built like their common Cabins, in which their Idol stands, and the Corpse of their Kings and Rulers are preserv'd.

They have no sort of Literature among them ; and their way of communicating things from one to another, is by Hieroglyphicks. They make their Accounts by Units, Tens, Hundreds, &c. as the English do ; but they reckon their Years by Cohonks or Winters ; and divide every Year into five Seasons: The budding time, the earing of the Corn, the Summer, the Harvest, the Winter.

The Months they count by Moons. They divide the Day into three parts ; The Rise, Power, and lowering of the Sun: And keep their Accounts by Knots on a String, or Notches on a Stick. Of which Capt. *Smith* relates a pleasant Story ; That when the Princess *Pocahonta* came for *England*, a *Coucarouse*, or Lord of her own Nation attended her ; his Name was *Uttamaccomack*: And King *Powhatan*, *Pocahonta's* Father, commanded him when he arriv'd in *England*, to tell the People, and give him an Account of their Number. *Uttamaccomack*, when he came ashore, got a Stick, intending to count them by Notches ; but he soon found that his Arithmetick wou'd be to no purpose ; and threw away his Stick. At his Return, the King ask'd him, *How many People there were?* and he reply'd, *Count the Stars in the Sky, the Leaves upon the Trees, and the Sand on the Sea-shore, and you will know how many ; for such is the Number of the People in England.*

They esteem the Marriage-Vow as the most sacred of all Engagements ; and abhor Divorces: Adultery is the most unpardonable of Crimes amongst them.

Their Maidens are very Chaste ; and if any one of them happens to have a Child before Marriage, her Fortune is Spoilt. This Account contradicts others that describe them to be common Prostitutes ; but the Indians and the Virginians disown the Scandal, which some Authors lay to their Charge: They are very spritely and good-humour'd, and the Women generally handsome. Their manner of handling Infants is very rough ; As soon as the Child is born, they plunge it over Head and Ears in cold Water, and then bind it naked to a Board, making a hole
in

in it in the proper place for Evacuation. Between the Child and the Board, they put some Cotton-Wool or Fur, and let it lie in this Posture, till the Bones begin to harden, the Joints to knit, and the Limbs to grow strong. Then they loosen it from the Board, and let it crawl about where it pleases. From this Custom 'tis said the Indians derive the Cleanness and Exactness of their Limbs, which are the most perfect for these Qualities in the World. Some of 'em are of a Gygantick Stature, live to a greater Age, and are stronger than others; there being never a Dwarfse, crooked, bandy-legg'd, or ill-shapen Indian to be seen. Some Nations of 'em are very tall and large-limb'd, and others are short and small: Their Complexion is a Chestnut brown and Tawny. They paint themselves with a Pocone-root, which stains them of a reddish Colour. They are clear when they are Young. Greasing and Sunning makes their Skin turn hard and black. Their Hair for the most part is cole-black; so are their Eyes: They wear their Hair cut after several whimsical Modes; the Persons of Note always keeping a long Lock behind. The Women wear it very long, hanging at their Backs, or twisted up with Beads, and all the better Sort adorn their Heads with a kind of Coronet; the Men have no Beards, and to prevent their having any, use certain Devices which they will not communicate to the English.

Their Cloaths are a Mantle girt close in the middle, and underneath a Piece of Cloth ty'd round the Waste, and reaching down to the middle of the Thigh. The common Sort only tie a piece of Cloth or Skin round their Middle. As for their Food they boil, broil, or roast all the Meat they eat: *Homony* is their standing Dish, and consists of Indian Corn soak'd, broken in a Mortar, and then boil'd in Water over a gentle Fire for 10 or 12 Hours together. They draw and pluck their Fowl, skin and paunch their Quadrupedes; but dress their Fish with their Scales on, without gutting: They leave the Scales, Entrails and Bones, till they eat the Fish, when they throw the Offals away. Their Food is chiefly Bevors, Turtle, several Species of Snakes: Broth made of Deers Humbles, Pease, Beans, &c. They have no set Meals,

Meals, they eat when they are hungry; and drink nothing but Water. Their Bread is made of Indian Corn, Wild Oats, or the Seed of the Sun Flower: They eat it alone, and not with Meat.

They travel always on Foot, with a Gun or Bow. They live upon the Game they kill; and lie under a Tree, upon a little high Grass. The English prohibit them to keep Corn, Sheep, or Hogs, lest they should steal their Neighbours.

When they come to Rivers, they presently patch up a Canoo of Birch Bark, cross over in it; and leave it on the River's Bank, if they think they shall not want it, otherwise they carry it along with them.

Their way of receiving Strangers is by the Pipe or *Calumet* of Peace: Of the latter *Pero Hennepin* has given a large account in his Voyages; and the Pipe is as follows; They fill a Pipe of Tobacco, larger and bigger than any common Pipe, light it, and then the chief of them takes a Whiff, gives it to the Stranger, and if he smoaks of it, 'tis Peace; if not, War: If Peace, the Pipe is handed all round the Company.

The Diseases of the Indians are very few, and easy to be cur'd: They for the most part arise from excessive Heats and Colds, which they get off by Sweating. As for Aches, and settled Pains in the Joints or Limbs, they use Causticks and Scarifying. Their Priests are their Physicians; and from their Childhood are taught the Nature and Use of Simples; in which their Knowledge is excellent; but they will not communicate it, pretending 'tis a Gift of God; and by the Mystery they make it the more valuable.

Their Riches consist in Furrs, Peak, Roenoke, and Pearl. Their Peak and Roenoke are made of Shells; the Peak like an English Buglas; the Roenoke is a piece of Cockle, drill'd through like a Bead. Before the English came among them, this Peak and Roenoke were all their Treasure, but now they set a value on their Furr and Pearl, and are greedy of scraping Quantities together. The Pearl is good; and formerly was not so rare as 'tis at this time.

They had no Iron Tools before the English brought 'em over: Their Knives were sharpen'd Reeds or Shells; their Axes sharp Stones: They rub'd Fire, by turning

turning the End of a hard piece upon the side of one that is soft and dry, which at last wou'd burn. They fell'd great Trees by burning them down at the Root having ways of keeping the Fire from ascending. They hollow'd them with gentle Fires, scrap'd the Trunk clean; and this made their Canoo's, of which some were 30 Foot long. They are very good Handicrafts Men; and what they do is generally neat and convenient.

In the first Chapter we have said enough to shew that the Government of the Indians was Monarchical: Their Kingdoms descended to the next Heir Male or Female; and they were very exact in preserving the Succession in the right Line. If, as it often happen'd, one great Prince subjected the other those Conquests commonly were lost at his Death, and the Nations return'd again to the Obedience of their natural Princes. They have no written Laws; neither can they have any, having no Letters. Their Lands are in common, and their *Werowances* or Judges are all Lord Chancellours, deciding Causes, and inflicting Punishments, according as they think fit. These *Werowances*, and the *Coucarouses*, are their Terms to distinguish their Men of Quality: The former are their War Captains, and the latter such as have pass'd the Trial of *Huskanawing*. Their Priest and Conjurers have great Authority among them. They have Servants whom they call *Black Boys*; and are very exact in requiring the Respect that is due to their several Qualities.---- And thus much of the Indians, who from a State of Nature and Innocence, in which the English found them, are now infected with the European Vices of Drunkenness, Avarice and Fraud, having learn'd nothing of the new Comers, but what has serv'd to render their Ignorance the more detestable.

We must now treat of the English Inhabitants, their Rise, Numbers, Distinction, and way of Living. We have seen in the beginning of this Treatise, from what small beginnings the English Colony rose to the State it is in at present: And it cannot be imagin'd, that the first Adventurers there were Men of Quality and Fortune, whatever the Proprietors in *England* were. Men of Estate wou'd not leave their Native Country

of which the English are of all Men most fond to seek an Habitation in an unknown Wilderness: And what deter'd such from going thither at first, will always deter them. 'Tis true, as the Colony encreas'd, and became settled, Men of good Families, and small Fortunes, remov'd to *Virginia*, thriv'd and grew great by their Industry and Success: And thus many Gentlemen of *Virginia* may boast as good Descents as those in *England*: But there's no need as yet of an Heral'd-Office to be set up at *James-Town*; and the Colony are in the right to make slight of such empty Honours, in comparison of the substantial Profit which is got by Planting and Traffick. Wherefore the honest Merchant, and industrious Planter, are the Men of Honour in *Virginia*; and it would not be the worse for *England*, if Industry and Honour were nearer a-kin than some vain Persons make them.

'Twas a long time before *Virginia* saw a Race of English born on the spot; which was occasion'd by the small number of Women that came over; the first Planters being so hard put to it, that they made no scruple to buy a Wife, and to accept of any Woman that could give a tolerable Account of her Virtue. Women were not so scarce afterwards; when the Colony was come to a sort of Perfection, whole Families transported themselves thither from *England*, to mend their Fortunes, and others to enjoy that Liberty of Conscience which was deny'd them at home, in the Reign of *Charles I.* and his Son *Charles II.* Besides which, several Royalists remov'd thither during the Rump and *Oliver's* Usurpations.

By this means the Colony has so encreas'd in Numbers, that there are now by the nicest Computation near 70000 Men, Women, and Children in *Virginia*, including the French Refugees, the Inhabitants of the *Northern Neck*, and the Negro Servants, who are but a few, in comparison to the Sugar-Plantations. Of these the Men are more numerous in proportion than the Women, occasion'd by greater Numbers of them going over thither; tho' of late years, it has been customary for young Women, who are fall'n into Disgrace in *England*, or are ill us'd by their Parents, to transport themselves thither; and, as they say, *Try their Fortunes*, which have often been

very favourable. The People of *Virginia* are, as in *England*, distinguish'd by the Names of Masters and Servants. The Distinctions of the Masters are by their Offices or Birth; and of the Servants, by such as are for Life, and such as are for a Term of Years: tho' Negroes and their Posterity are all Servants for Life; the white Men and Women for as many Years as they bind themselves: And if they don't bind themselves by particular Indentures, the Laws of the Country oblige them to serve till they are four and twenty Years of Age, if they are under Nineteen when they commence their Service: if above, the term is set to five Years; and then they are as much entitul'd to the Liberties and Privileges of the Place, as any of the Inhabitants or Natives are. Their Masters, when their Times are out, are oblig'd to give each Servant 15 Bushels of Corn, and two new Suits of Cloaths, Linnen and Woollen; besides each of them may take Possession of 50 Acres of unpatented Ground, if he can find any; which is a Privilege that makes a Noise, and is tempting to the poor Creature who go over, but is not worth the naming, for a Crown will purchase it at any time.

The Laws of *Virginia* take great Care for the good Usage of Servants, as to Necessaries, Diet and Cloaths. And the Labour of the Country, which consists chiefly in Tilling, Manuring the Ground, Sowing and Planting Tobacco is so easy, that as hard Work as 'tis represented to be, the Day-Labourers in *England* are much the greater Slaves, if hard Work, and hard Living, are Signs of Slavery.

The Servants and Slaves are never list'd in the Militia of the Country; but every Freeman from Sixteen to Sixty Years of Age, is enroll'd, and oblig'd to muster once a Year. Their Number is in all 9522; of which 2363 are Light-Horse, and 7159 Foot and Dragoons, according to the following Schedule, taken in the Year 1703. By which the Reader will have a clear View of the Strength of *Virginia*; without including the *Northern Neck*, or the French Refugees at the *Monachan-Town*, which may encrease the Number of Souls to near 70000.

Counties Names.	Number of Souls.	Males.	Females and Children.	Militia.	Horse.	Foot & Dragoons.
Henrico,	2413	915	1498	345	98	247
Prince George and Charles-City,	4045	1406	2639	625	203	422
Surrey,	2230	880	1350	350	62	288
Isle of Wight,	2714	841	1873	514	140	374
Nansamund,	2530	1018	1512	591	142	449
Norfolk,	2279	717	1572	380	48	332
Princess Anne,	2037	686	1351	284	69	215
James-City,	2990	1297	1693	401	123	278
York,	2357	1208	1149	390	68	322
Warwick,	1377	482	895	201	49	152
Elizabeth-City,	1188	469	719	196	54	142
New-Kent,	3374	1325	2049	420	120	300
King William,	1834	803	1031	698	189	509
King and Queen,	2842	1244	1598			
Glocester,	5834	2628	3206	594	121	473
Middlesex,	1632	776	856	199	56	143
Essex,	2400	1090	1310	438	139	299
Richmond,	2622	1392	1230	504	122	382
Stafford,	2033	863	1170	345	84	261
Westmoreland,	2736	1131	1605	451	133	318
Lancaster,	2155	941	1214	271	42	229
Northumberland,	2099	1168	931	522	130	392
Accomack,	2804	1041	1763	456	101	355
Northampton,	2081	712	1369	347	70	277

60606 | 25023 | 35583 | 9522 | 2363 | 7159

Besides the English Inhabitants, there are now several hundred of French Refugees Families, who were sent over thither by King William. These Refugees had a very rich Territory assign'd them, twenty Miles above the Falls of James-River, on the South-side of the River, formerly the Habitation of a Warlike Nation of the Indians, call'd the *Monachans*; and the Town where the French Protestants settled, is call'd the *Monachan Town*.

The Assembly has granted them great Privileges, and been bountiful in their Charity to them, for their Encouragement. They are also very much oblig'd to the Generosity and Protection of Col. *Byrd*, whose Friendship has been serviceable to them on many Occasions. They are an industrious People; have made excellent Wine there, even of the Wild Grapes; and are upon several Improvements, which will be very much to their own Advantage, and that of the Colony.

'Tis computed that the Number of Souls which either came over at first, or since, or have been born in the Country, amounts to near twelve hundred French. And the *Northern-Neck* being larger than the largest of the other Counties, and almost as populous, may contain about six thousand: So that the whole Number of Souls in the Province of *Virginia*, exclusive of *Maryland*, is about 70000.

As to the Customs and Manners of the *Virginians*, they are the same with the English; and one may as well go about to describe the Manners and Customs of any one particular County of *England* separate from the rest.

Their Diet is somewhat different; so is their Cloathing, as also their Sports and Pastimes, and Diseases, occasion'd by the difference of the Climates: Besides Beef, Mutton, and Veal, which the *Virginians* have in plenty, tho' not so good in its kind as we have in *England*, they have Pork, Bacon, and all sorts of Tame and Wild Fowl, better than any of the several Kinds that are in *England*.

Pork is sold from 1 *d.* to 3 *d.* a Pound; a large Pullet for 6 *d.* a Capon for 8 *d.* Chickens 3 *s.* a Dozen; Deer 8 *s.* a Head. The Bread which the better sort of People use, is generally made of Wheat: The poorer eat Pone, made of *Oppone*, or Indian Meal. Their Kitchin-Gardens supplies them with all sorts of Roots, Sallats, and Pot-herbs. Their Drink is according to their Circumstances; the Gentlemen brew small Beer with English Malt: Strong Beer they have from *England*; as also French Wine and Brandy, with which they make *Punch*; or with Rum, from the *Caribbee* Islands, or Spirits of their own distilling, from Apples, Peaches, &c. *Madera* Wine is the most-com-
 moa

non and the most noble of all their strong Drinks. The Poor brew their Beer with Mellasses and Bran; or Indian Corn dry'd in a Stove. They have several other sorts of Potables, which are very wholesom and pleasant. They burn Wood every where, tho there is Pit-Coal in many places; but Wood being so plenty, that they may have it for cutting, no body has thought it worth while to dig for Coal.

Their Cloaths are brought from *England* for Persons of Distinction, and are as much in the Mode as Art and Cost can make them: They are generally of the lightest Stuffs or Silks, both for Men and Women. The Men for Coolness, as in other parts of the *Vest-Indies*, wear in the Heat of the Summer Fustian and Linnen Jackets; and the Women Linnen or Muslin Gowns. They have almost all their Necessaries, as to Dress, from *England*. Their Buildings are as in *England*, of Brick, Timber and Stone, the out-side of their Houses being cover'd with Lime made of Oyster Shells, much more durable than English Lime.

Their Sports are Deer-hunting, Hare-hunting; but different from the English Chase: They learnt of the Indians to come up to the Deer under the blind of a stalking Horse, as the Savages did under that of a talking Head: They teach a Horse to walk gently by the Huntsman's Side, to cover him from the Sight of the Deer; and so they have an Opportunity to kill him. They have other ways of Deer-hunting; but this being the most remarkable, I have cholen to mention it in this place.

Their Hares they hunt with Mungrils or Swift-Dogs: The Hares generally hole in a hollow Tree, and then they are smoak'd out by the Hunters. They also have other sorts of Hunting, as Vermine-hunting, and Horse-hunting; the latter is much delighted in by young People, who pursue wild Horses with Dogs, and sometimes without them. These wild Horses are such as are foal'd in the Woods in the Hill Country; and no body knowing whom they belong to, every one is free to catch and keep as many as he pleases: Tho they are of the English Breed, they are as shy as any Savage Creatute; but this sort of Cattle seldom is fit for use.

They have several other Sports, as taking wild Turkeys and Wolves in Snares, Fishing, Fowling, and Catching of Beavers; which is an excellent Pastime. 'Tis said that these last Creatures live in a sort of Monarchy like Bees, and are very kind and obedient to their Sovereign.

The Diseases most incident to the Place are Colds caught by the irregular Conduct of People at their first Arrival; Gripes and Fluxes, occasion'd by the same means, the English eating too greedily the pleasant Fruits of the Country; Cachexes or *Yaws*, which is a violent Scurvy, the *Seasoning* here, as in other parts of *America*, is a Fever or Ague, which the Change of the Climate and Diet generally throws new Comers into; The Bark is in *Virginia* a Sovereign Remedy to this Disease.

The *Virginians* have but few Doctors among them, and they reckon it among their Blessings, fancying the Number of their Diseases would encrease with that of their Physicians. The few they have study and make use of Simples most, with which their Woods are plentifully furnish'd.

We will conclude this Account of the Inhabitants of *Virginia*, with a short Character of them. They are a prudent, careful, generous, hospitable People, their Houses being open to all Travellers, whom they entertain as heartily as Relations or Friends; and that sordid Wretch who offends against this laudible Custom of his Country, is the Object of every one's Contempt.

As for the Convenience of Society, the Gentlemen's Houses are at not much greater Distance from one another, than they are in *England*. The Planters are almost all sociable; and as every thing towards making their Friends welcome is cheaper than in *England*, so the Entertainments there are larger, the Reception more sincere, and the Mirth of the Company more hearty than in most of our Gentlemen's Houses; among whom Hospitality is so far out of Fashion, that a Man who pretends to it is reckon'd a Sot or a Bubble; and the costly and pernicious Vices that were introduc'd in the place of it in the last Century, has banish'd it from that Country where it formerly flourish'd, to the eternal Praise

Praise of our Ancestors, and the Shame of their Posterity.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Government of Virginia; Of the Laws, Courts of Judicature, Publick Offices, and Revenues.

THE Government of *Virginia* was at first by a President, and a Council of twelve. Mr. *John White* was the first President; and when the Presidency was abrogated, there was a Commission granted by the Company or Proprietors in *England* to Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Summers*, and Capt. *Newport*, to be joint Governours. We don't find that the Governours and their Council had any more Power than the President and his Council; but the Name gave more Authority to their Acts in the Imagination of some Persons.

When *K. Charles I.* dissolv'd the Company, he continu'd the Form of the Government by a Governour and Council for the Executive Power, and plac'd the Legislative in the Assembly. The Assembly had been appointed before, and met several times during the Governments under the Company. The chief Court next to the Assembly is the *General Court*, held by the Governour and Council, who are Judges of it, and take Cognizance of all Causes Criminal, Penal, Ecclesiastical and Civil. There is no Appeal from this Court, unless the Matter in dispute amounts in value to above three hundred Pounds, and then Appeals lie to the Queen and Council in *England*. In Criminal Cases there never was any Appeal, but the Governour can pardon Persons for any Crime whatsoever, except Murder, and reprieve ev'n for that till her Majesty's Pleasure be known therein. Indeed the Governour's Power in this and the other Plantations is very great: He is subject only to the Queen's Commands, and represents her Person in his Government; he assents to or dissents from the Acts of Assembly, as he thinks

fit, and by his Assent passes 'em into Laws. He Calls, Prorogues and Dissolves the Assembly: He Calls and Presides in the Council: He makes Justices of the Peace; all Officers of the Militia under the Degree of a Lieutenant General: Puts out Proclamations: Is the Keeper of the Seal of the Colony, and disposes of the Queen's Lands according to the Charter and Laws of the Country: all Payments out of the Treasury are order'd by him, or in his Name: He is Vice-Admiral by Virtue of a Commission from the Admiralty, and has a Salary of 2000 *l.* a Year; formerly 'twas but 1000 *l.* and about 500 *l.* Perquisites; 200 *l.* a Year was added by the Assembly in favour of Sir *William Berkley*; and the Lord *Colepepper* got it encreas'd to 2000 *l.* a Year, and 150 *l.* a Year House-rent, which, with the Perquisites, make it worth near 3000 *l.* a Year to the Governour, and more if he oppresses the People, as too many Governours have done. When the Governour and Deputy Governour are absent, the Administration falls to the President of the Council for the time being, who has a Sallary of 500 *l.* a Year only, added to what is given him as a Counsellor, which is a very small Allowance. The Queen nominates the Counsellors by Letter or Instruction, which says no more, but that they be sworn of the Council. The Governour can fill up the vacant Places of such as die, or are remov'd without staying for Orders from *England*. These Counsellors have an equal Vote with the Governour at the Council-Table in many things, and are a Check upon him, if he offers to exceed the Bounds of his Commission, in calling Assemblies, disposing of the Publick Revenue, placing and displacing Officers, Votes and Orders of Council, publishing Proclamations, making Grants, and passing all Patents. They are the Upper House in the Assembly, and claim a negative Voice to all Laws.

Their Sallary in all is 350 *l.* a Year, which is divided amongst them, according to their Attendance on General Courts and Assemblies. The Lower House of the Assembly consists of the Representatives of the Counties, two for each, and one for *James-City*; in all 51. The College also has Power by their Charter, to send a Member to the Assembly.

The

The Assembly-Men are chosen by the Freeholders, by Virtue of a Writ directed to the Sheriff, which is read in every Church and Chappel in the County, and the Day of Election then appointed. The Privileges of these Assembly-Men are the same with the Members of Parliament in *England*, and the Power much the same with that of the House of Commons, only they are very much influenc'd by the Pleasure of the Governour; and after their Acts have regularly pass'd the Lower House and Upper House, and have had the Governour's Assent, they must send to *England* to be confirm'd by the Queen; but till she has declar'd her Negative, they are in full Force. These Assemblies meet once or twice a Year, as occasion requires. Besides the Governour and Council, the Publick Officers are,

The Auditor of the Revenue, Dudley Diggs, Esq; whose Salary is $7\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. of all the Publick Money.

The Secretary and President of the Council, Edmund Jennings, Esq; whose Fees and Perquisites amount to above 400 l. a Year.

The Treasurer, William Byrd, Esq; whose Salary is 6 l. per Cent. of all Money that pass'es through his Hands.

Collector of the Customs, Col. Gawen Corbin.

These are General Officers and Servants of the Colony. There are other little Officers; as Clerks of Courts, Sheriffs, and Surveyors, &c. The Sheriffs Place of each County is very profitable by an Allowance of 10 per Cent. out of all his Receipts and other Advantages. The Revenues of *Virginia*, arise,

1. By the Queen's Quit-rents 2 s. } for every 100 Acres.	} 1200 l. a Year.
2. By the Act for the Support of the Government, 2 s. for every Hogshead of Tobacco export- ed; 15 d. a Tun for every Ship; 6 d. Poll for every Passenger; Fines and Forfeitures, Waifs and Strays, Escheats of Land, and Personal Estate for want of a lawful Heir.	
3. By the Act reserv'd to be dis- pos'd of by the Assembly, 4 d. a Gallon on Wine, Rum and Brandy; 1 d. a Gallon on Beer, Cyder and other Liquors, 15 s. for each Servant not be- ing a Native of <i>England</i> and <i>Wales</i> , and 28 s. for each Slave or Negroe.	} 1200
4. The College-Revenue, a Du- ty on Skins and Furs.	} 100
5. The Duty of 1 d. a pound on all Tobacco exported to the other Plantations, and not car- ry'd directly to <i>England</i> , King <i>William</i> gave it to the Col- lege.	} 200
	<hr/> 5700 <hr/>

The General Court, of which we have made some mention, is also call'd the Quarter Court, as being held every Quarter of a Year. There are inferior Courts, which are kept every Month in each County, and are call'd the County-Courts, or Monthly Courts, where Matters that are not of the highest Moment, such as do not relate to Life or Member, or exceed a certain limited Value, are try'd. From these Courts there lies an Appeal to the Quarterly Courts: In which no Action can be originally brought under the value of Ten Pounds Sterling. The Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and other Officers,

cers, are Judges of these County-Courts. In which every Man may plead his own Cause, or his Friends do it for him, the *Virginians* understanding their Interest too well to encourage Lawyers; believing that as Diseases wou'd be brought in by Doctors, so Lawyers wou'd create Suits; a Mischief we in *England* all complain of, but despair of seeing remedy'd. The Justices of the Peace also hold Courts yearly in each County to look after Orphans, and take care of them and their Estates, to provide for those Children that are Fatherless, and have no Body to provide for them. The Laws of *Virginia* are the Acts of Parliament and Statutes of *England*, which affect all her Majesty's Dominions in general; the Statutes and Acts of the Assembly, which relate only to the Affairs of this Colony, in particular Orders of the Queen and Council in *England*, which in many things have the Force of Laws in the Plantations; the Usages of the Country, or the Civil Law, by which all Cases in the Admiralty are adjudg'd. But there being an excellent Collection of the Laws of this and all the other Plantations already publish'd, I refer the Reader to it for a larger and clearer account of them.

C H A P. V.

Of the Church, and Church-Affairs, and the College in Virginia.

WHEN the Nobility, Gentry, Merchants, and others, first got a Grant of this Country, and resolv'd to make a Settlement upon it, they receiv'd large Contributions to carry it on from several Devout Persons, who were for propagating the Gospel among the Indians, building Schools, Churches, and settling Ministers for their Conversion and Instruction. To this end a great Lottery was set up in *London*, the Profits of which were for the benefit of the Colony; and what instigated many charitable People to put Money into it, were Hopes that a good part of it wou'd be laid out

out on the use for which it was by them intended This Lottery was drawn in *St. Paul's Church*; but we do not find that the Money was employ'd as those Religious Persons wou'd have had it, or that there have been many Converts made by the English in this Country. The Religion of the *Virginians* is the same as in the rest of her Majesty's Dominions: The Body of the People are Members of the Church of *England*. There are some few Dissenters, and might have been more, had they not been persecuted by *Sir William Berkley*. Whether the *Virginians* glory in it or not, or honour the Memory of this Governour the more for it, we can't tell; but *Puritans* were certainly always discountenanc'd by him. In the Year 1641. *Mr. Bennet* went to *Boston* in *New-England* to desire in the Name of some other Gentlemen, that two or three Ministers might be sent them. *Mr. Phillips*, *Mr. Thompson*, and *Mr. Knowles*, a late Dissenting Minister in *London*, came thither, where they were kindly entertain'd by private Persons, but the Governour and his Council, forbade them to Preach, and order'd, *That such as wou'd not conform to the Ceremonies of the Church of England shou'd depart the Country.*

There are forty nine Parish-Churches in the Province, of which thirty four are supply'd with Ministers, and 15 vacant. It were to be wish'd that care was taken to supply them with such Divines as might, by their Example as well as by their Preaching, invite People to a Religious Life; the Indian Darkeness being not more gloomy and horrid than what some of the Meaner Sort of *Virginians* live in, and their Parsons for the most part don't take much Pains to lead 'em into the Light of the Gospel. In each Parish there is a Church built either with Timber, Brick or Stone, and decently adorn'd with all things proper for the Celebration of Divine Service. In large Parishes there's a Chappel of Ease, and sometimes two for the Convenience of the Parishioners. The Minister of the Parish preaches in them alternately, and each of 'em has a Reader to read Prayers in his Absence. The Minister's Maintenance is settled at 16000 *l.* Tobacco each, yearly, besides Perquisites, as 40 *s.* for a Funeral Sermon, 20 *s.* for a Marriage.

The Parish-Affairs are govern'd by a Vestry of twelve Gentlemen chosen out of the Inhabitants; these are call'd the Patrons of the Church, and on the Death of one of them the Survivors elect another in his Place. They have the Presentation of Ministers, and the sole Power of all Parish-Assessments: No Man can be of the Vestry, but what subscribes an Instrument to be conformable to the Church of *England*; two of these are the Church-Wardens, whose Business it is to see the Orders of the Vestry obey'd, to collect the Parish and the Parsons Tobacco, to keep the Parish Accounts, and to present all Profaneness and Immorality. The Power of Induction upon the Presentation of Ministers, is lodg'd in the Governour's hands by Law. There are only two Presbyterian, and three Quakers Meetings in this Colony. The Bishop of *London*, who is the Ordinary of this and all the other Plantations, appoints a Commissary here, whose Business is to make Visitations of Churches, and have the Inspection of the Clergy, for which he's allow'd 100*l.* per *Annunum*, and by the strict hand that the Clergy and Governour have held over Dissenters, they have been kept low in *Virginia*, and never encreas'd there: The Assemblies having done what their Governours would have 'em, to discourage them.

In the Year 1642. Sir *W. Berkley* then Governour, they pass an Act to prevent Dissenting Ministers preaching and propagating their Doctrines. They admitted none to preach in their Churches, but such as were ordain'd by some Bishop of the Church of *England*: And in 1663. Sir *William Berkley* being still Governour, great Restraints were laid upon them by a mistaken Zeal, to prevent their getting ground. Of what ill Consequence this has been to the Colony, I leave to those moderate *Virginians* to determine, who think they ought not to sacrifice the true Interest of their Country to the Revenge or Pride of a Party. In the first Chapter of this Treatise, we have hinted the Project of a College, which afterwards was built at Middle-Plantation, now call'd *Williamsburgh*, mostly at the Charge of their late Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, who gave 2000*l.* towards it, and 20000 Acres of Land, the Duty of 1*d.* a pound on all Tobacco exported from *Virginia* and *Maryland* to the Plantations,

tions, and the Surveyor-Generals Place, which was then vacant. He also granted them the Privilege of sending a Member to the Assembly. The Assembly afterwards added a Duty on Skins and Furs. The whole Profit amounts now to above 400 *l.* a Year and the Revenue encreases yearly. The Foundation was to consist of

A President.

Six Masters, or Professors; the Chief Master was to have 100 *l.* a Year.

100 Scholars, Graduates or Non-graduates.

They were enabled to purchase and hold to the value of 2000 *l.* a Year, and were to be govern'd and visited by certain Gentlemen nam'd in the Charter who were to be call'd the Governours and Visitors and upon the Death of any one of them, were empower'd to choose another in his Place. One of these was to be Rector, and their number in all to be 18. They were to name the President, Masters, and other Officers of the College, and had Power to make Statutes and Ordinances. The Building, when perfect, was to consist of a Quadrangle, and two sides of it were carry'd up. The Kitchen, Brew-house and Bake-house were finish'd.

The Professors were to read on all the liberal Sciences, on Agriculture, Architecture, Art Military, Navigation, Gardning, Trade, and Manufactures, once a Week from *Easter* to *Michaelmas*, and twice a Week from *Michaelmas* to *Easter*. They began upon Experiments of Plants, Minerals, and were assisted by the French in the *Monahan* Town; their own Lead, Iron and Copper Mines in the *Appallean* Mountains were under their Consideration, when the Fire put an end to their College and Studies. There were such Expectations of the Revenue, which wou'd be rais'd by all Tobacco exported to the other Colonies, that they talk'd of adding four itinerant Professors to the Resident, each to have 120 *l.* a Year, and these were to travel into *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*, and the other Parts of *America*, to make Inquisitions in natural and experimental Phylosophy for the use of this Univerfity: They were to take an Oath to write

nothing

nothing that they cou'd not prove to be true. The College was to bear their Charges, but they had no occasion to be at such Expence.

The first President of the College was Dr. *Thomas Bray*, who procur'd considerable Contributions in *England*, towards collecting a Library. They proceeded so far, that they had a Commencement there in the Year 1700. at which there was a great Concourse of People : several Planters came thither in their Coaches, and several in Sloops from *New-York*, *Pensilvania* and *Maryland*. It being a new thing in *America* to hear Graduates perform their Academical Exercises. The Indians themselves had the Curiosity to come to *Williamsburgh* on this occasion, and the whole Country rejoic'd as if they had some relish of Learning. About this time the Clergy here translated the Practice of Piety into the Indian Language, and the College intended to send for a Printer from *England*. Since that a dreadful Fire seiz'd this Building before it was quite finish'd, and consum'd it to Ashes, under which the Project seems to lie bury'd, and the Colony must be in a better Condition than now 'tis, before they can think of reviving it.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Climate, the Soil, and its Productions, as Trees, Seeds, Plants, Roots, Fruits, and Flowers.

WE may imagine by the Situation of the Country, that the Climate is Healthy, and indeed it generally agrees well with English Constitutions. 'Tis full of Rivers, and consequently the Soil very fruitful. The Sickness that the English who go thither complain of, is occasion'd by Folly, Intemperance, or Carelessness; and a sober prudent Man will not only find every thing that preserves and confirms Health, but also all things that are charming by the Beauty of the Prospect, and the Delight, the Fragrancy of the Fields and Gardens, the Brightness of the Skye, and Serenity of the Air affects the Ravish'd Senses. The greatest Disturbance the People meet with there, are terrible Claps of Thunder, which however do very little Harm, the excessive Heats of the Summer, against which the Inhabitants are defended by the cool Shades of the Woods and Groves, and stinging Insects, as Frogs, Snakes, Muscketa's, Chinches, Seed-takes and Red-worms. The Rattle-Snake is most talk'd of, and his Bite without a present Application, is infallibly Death; but the Remedies are so well known, that there's ne're a Servant, and scarce a Slave who cannot cure it immediately, by applying the Rattle-snake's Heart to it, which restores the Patient in two or three hours. Besides, 'tis very rare here, that these or any of the other poisonous Snakes are to be seen. The Musketa's are troublesome, like Gnats in Marshy Ground in *England*, but are only found in the Fenny places there. They are stronger, and continue longer than the Gnats in *England*. As to the other Insects, there are ways to get rid of them, and the trouble they put the People to is not worth naming. The Winter in all *Virginia* does not continue above three or four Months, *December, January, February, and March*, of which thirty or forty

forty days only are very bad Weather. The Frosts are severe, but attended with a clear Skye, and don't last long. The Rains are frequent and refreshing, and the Heats of the Summer, which are most violent in *June*, *July*, and *August*, are much mitigated by them, and the fresh Breezes that are common in this Country contribute much to render the Heat tolerable to new Comers, and hardly sensible to the Inhabitants.

The Soil in general is a rich fat Mould 3 foot deep, and under it a Loam, of which they make a fine Brick; but according as the Situation is moist or dry, the Soil varies. 'Tis distinguish'd into 3 Sorts, *High*, *Low*, and *Marshy*, all which having Sand mix'd with 'em, makes their Land warmer than *Old England*. The Highlands are most Sandy: However they bear good Crops of Tobacco, only the Soil does not hold in Strength so long as the Low-Lands, which are very rich, being a blackish Mould about a Foot deep, and this Soil will hold its Strength 7 or 8 Crops, without manuring. Their Marsh-Lands bear Sedges and Rushes like ours, and are unimprov'd. Their Land in general is as good as in *England*. That at the Mouth of the Rivers is moist and fat, and produces Rice, Hemp, and Indian Corn. There are Veins of cold, hungry, Sandy Soil, where Huckleberries, Cranberries, and Chinkapins generally grow. Also Oaks, Poplars, Pines, Cedar, Cypress and Sweet-Gumms, Hockly, Sweet-Myrtle, and the Live Oak are found here in great Quantities. The Land higher up the Rivers is a various Soil, and stor'd with Chestnuts, Chinkapins, Oaks, Walnut, Hickories, Dogwood, Elder, Hasel, Locust, Sassafras, Elm, Ash, Beech, and Poplar. The Land at the Heads of the Rivers, and its Productions, are also various. Here are Trees of an incredible Bigness, and Plenty of Pasture-ground, Physick-Earth, Dyers-Wares, Coal, Quarries of Stone, Iron and Lead Mines; Col. *Bird* being at this time searching for one, which was formerly work'd, but destroy'd at the Massacre, as is related in the first Chapter; and Mr. *Wittaker*, Minister of *Henrico*, before the Dissolution of the Company, wrote home, That not far from the Fall, there was found some Silver Ore. Thus we see *Virginia* abounds in every thing that is for the Pleasure or Pro-

fit of the Inhabitants. We shall now describe some of the chief Productions of the Soil, and speak first of the Timber-Trees, of which the most useful are Oak, Cedar, Cypress, Firs; two sorts of Elm, Walnut and Ash. The Oaks are commonly of so prodigious Bigness, that they will measure two Foot square at 60 Foot high. The first Ships that went to *Virginia* were us'd to Load with Cedar and Clapboard, but some richer Commodities have been exported. There is not much of this Timber sent abroad, tho' the Country was then full of Woods; they were so clear from Bushes, Bryars and Underwood, that a Man might have been seen above a Mile and a half, among them; and the Trees stood at that distance, that a Cart or Coach might have been driven between the thickest of the Trees, they having no Boughs to a great Height, yet they were so tufted, that they afford a very comfortable Shade in Summer. Yet tho' the Grapes are juicy and plenty, all that have attempted to fall into the Wine-Trade, to raise Vineyards, and make Wine, have never been able to bring their Designs to perfection. The Reasons are, because the Fir and Pine-tree, with which the Country abounds, are noxious to the Vine; and the Experiments that have been made were in the Low-lands, subject to the Pine, and near the Malignant Influence of the Salt Water. This ruin'd Monsieur *Jamart* a French Merchants Vineyard on *James-River*, near *Archer's Hope-Creek*; and Sir *William Berkley's* had the same Inconveniences, and the same Fate. Several *French Vignerons* were sent over in 1621. the Year before the Massacre, and wrote over very promising Letters of the Country and the Vineyard they were raising; but that Bloody Treason of the Savages, put at end to them and their Undertaking, which the French Refugees at the *Monacan Town* talk of reviving. There are Plenty of Shrubs as well as of Timber, and besides the Berry, we have before-mention'd, there is a Brier growing something like the Sarsaparilla. The Berry is as big as a Pea round, and of a bright crimson Colour. Besides the Sassafras Tree, whose Root was formerly one of the best Commodities that came from hence, here are several sorts of Gums and Drugs, and most of the Shrubs that grow

grow in *England*, or other parts of *Europe*. The whole Country is interspers'd with an incredible variety of Plants and Flowers, there being scarce any kind of either, which does not thrive wonderfully in *Virginia*, and the Fruits are equally plentiful and pleasant.

Of Stone-Fruits, they have here Plums, and Persimmons or *Putchamimes*. Here are three sorts of Cherries, which are as plentiful as they are in *Kent*, and larger than the English. The one grows in Bunches like Grapes; the other is black without, and red within. The third is the Indian Cherry, and grows up higher than the others do. Here is such Plenty of Peaches, that they give 'em to their Hogs; some of 'em call'd Malachotoons, are as big as a Lemon, and resembles it a little. Quinces they have in abundance; as also Pumpions and Muskmelons. The Plums that grow here are the black, and the Murrey Plum. The English sorts of Plums do not ripen so kindly as they do in *England*. Their Wild-Plum is like our *White-Plum*. The Persimmons or *Putchamimes* are of several Sizes, from the Bigness of a Damefin, to that of a Bergamot Pear; when 'tis eaten ripe, 'tis as delicious as an Apricock; but if green, is dangerous, and causes Gripes and Convulsions. Their Taste and Colour resemble those of a Cherry, all those Fruits grow wild, and without cultivating, as most of those do that we have already treated of. Apples and Pears are so plentiful, that 50 Butts of Perry, and as many of Cyder have been made out of two Orchards, few of which have less than 11 or 1200 Trees. The Bergamot and Warden are the most common. There's great store of Quinces in *Virginia*, of which the People us'd to make Quince-Drink. Their Messamines are a kind of Grapes; the Cheinquamine's a kind of Fruit, resembling a Chesnut; the Rawcamen, like a Gooseberry; the Macoquez, a kind of Apple; Mattaquesumaucks, a Fruit like an Indian Fig; Matococks a kind of Strawberry; *Oconghtanamins*, like a *Caper*. Figs grow as well there as in *Spain*; but Oranges and Lemons do not thrive. Besides the Common Acorns, the *Virginians* find another sort with which the Natives us'd to make a sweet Oil to anoint their Joints;

and another sort of Acron better than the Ordinary, the Indians dry'd and kept for their Winter Food, when Corn was scarce: Of Roots, they have the Puccoon and Musquaspenn, the Juice of which is of a pleasant Colour, and the Indians made use of it to paint their Bodies and Warlike Arms. The Tockawaeigh, a very wholsome and favory Root. Shumack, Chapacour, and the famous Snake-root, so much admir'd in *England* for being a Cordial, and an Antidote in all Pestilential Diseases. There is no kind of Garden-root, but what they have in perfection; Sallad-Herbs, and Pot-herbs grow there spontaneously, as do Purslain, Sorrel, &c. Their Flowers are as fine as any in the World; such as the Crown-Imperial, the Cardinal-Flower, the Moccasin-Flower, the Tulip-bearing-Lawrel, the Tulip-Tree, the Locust like the Jessamine, the Perfuming-Crab-Tree, and the Assentamin, a kind of Pink. They have plenty of Musmelons, Water-Melons, Pumpions, Cushaws, Macocks and Gourds. Their Cushaws are a kind of Pumpions of a blewish-green colour, streak'd with white. Their Macocks are a less sort of Pumpions. There are several kinds of them: The Savages never eat the Gourds, planting them only for the Shells, which serve them instead of Flaggons and Cups. The Indians had Pease, Beans, and Potatoes, before the English came among them; but the Staff of their Food was their Corn; of which we have giv'n a large Description in the History of *New-England*.

Plantain of all sorts grow wild in the Woods; as also Yellow-Dock, and Burdock, Solomon's-Seal, Egrimony, Centery, Scabions, Groundsel, Dwarf-Elder, Yarrow, and White Maiden-hair; Asarum is gather'd on the Sides of the Hills, and Soldanalla on the Bay-side. Their Dillany grows a Foot and half high: The Water distill'd from it, the best Medicine for the Worms: The Turbil and Mechoacan, or Roots exactly like 'em, grow there.

Tobacco is the standing Commodity of the Country, and is so beneficial to the Planter, and so natural to the Soil, that all other Improvements give place to that. Indeed they could turn their Hands to nothing that would employ so many Slaves and Servants, and require so little Stock to manage it, or take up such a large

large Tract of Land; for the same Ground that is Planted every year with Tobacco, wou'd produce, if Corn was sown there, more than all the Plantations in *America* cou'd consume. This Plant is so common in *England*, that we need not describe it: It grows much like a Dock: And whereas in our Gardens it must be manag'd with as much care as the choicest Fruit or Flower, in *Virginia* they leave it expos'd to all the Injuries of the Weather, which is very favourable to it, and 'tis seldom that the Crop suffers by it. The Tobacco of this Plantation was not at first so good as 'tis now. That of *Brazil* had once the greatest Reputation all over *Europe*, but now *Virginia* and *Maryland* has the best Price in all Markets. 'Tis not known how the Indians cur'd theirs: They now have it all from the English. 'Tis said they us'd to let it run to Seed, only succouring the Leaves, to keep the Sprouts from growing upon and starving them. When it was ripe, they pull'd them off, cur'd them in the Sun, and laid them up for use. The *Virginia* Planters sow the Tobacco-Seeds in Beds, as the Gardeners in *England* do Colwort-Seeds; they leave them there a Month, taking care all that time to have them well weeded. When the Plants are about the breadth of ones hand, they are remov'd in the first rainy Weather, and transplanted into what they call *Tobacco-Hills*. In a Month's time the Plants will be a Foot high, and they top them, and then prune off all the bottom Leaves, leaving only 7 or 8 on the Stalk, that they may be the better fed by the Top, and these Leaves in 6 Weeks time will be in their full growth. The Planters prune off the Suckers, and clear 'em of the *Horn-Worm* twice a Week, which is call'd *Worming* and *Suckering*; and this Work lasts three Weeks or a Month; by which time the Leaf from green begins to turn to brownish, and to spot, and to thicken, which is a Sign of its ripening. As fast as the Plants ripen, you must cut 'em down, leave 'em in the Field for half a Day, then heap them up, let 'em lye and sweat a night, and the next day carry them to the Tobacco-House, where every Plant is hang'd one by another, at a convenient distance, for about a Month or 5 Weeks; at the end of which time they strike or take 'em down in moist Weather, when the Leaf gives, or else 'twill crum-

ble to dust; after which they are laid upon Sticks and cover'd up close in the *Tobacco-House* for a Week or a Fortnight to sweat, and then opening the Bulk in a wet day, the Servants strip them and sort them, the top-Leaves being the best, and the bottom the worst Tobacco. The last Work is to pack it in Hogheads, or bundle it up, which is also done in a wet Season; for in the curing Tobacco, wet Seasons are as necessary as dry, to make the Leaf plyant, which wou'd otherwise be brittle and break. They take a great deal of Pains with it now, and with all their Trouble can scarce make it turn to account. The English have carry'd over a thousand several sorts of the Productions of Nature, and have found all to succeed there: They have had such extraordinary Success with Apples and Pears, that there's never a Planter but has an Orchard, and makes large Quantities of Cyder and Perry, which is some of their common Drinks, and there is nothing in *England* belonging either to a Garden or Orchard, but what they have or may have there in as great or greater Perfection.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Beasts, Birds, and Fish.

THE Beasts that are peculiar to this Country, are the Aronghena, somewhat like a Badger. The Assapanic, or flying Squirrel. The Mussacus, a kind of Water-Rat. The Utchunquois, a Wild-Cat. The Opassum, a certain Animal, whose Female has a Bag under her Belly, wherein she carries her young ones. The Woods are stock'd with Deer, the same in kind with ours in *England*, and larger and fatter for the most part. There are Racoons, Beavours, Otters, Foxes, Wild-Cats, Martins and Minks in the Freshes. The Indians are dextrous in catching them, and keep the Secret to themselves, that they may preserve the Furr Trade, which otherwise the English wou'd soon drive them out of. Lyons, Leopards,

pards, Elks, Bears and Wolves, especially the latter, are met with in *Virginia*, tho not so frequently as in some other Parts of *North America*, and the Wolves are not much bigger than English Foxes. This Country was not over-stock'd with any kind of Beasts, either wild or tame, when the English discover'd it, and the Cattle that are now to be found there, are all of English breeding: Horses are as plenty and as good as in *England*.

Having mention'd the Flying-Squirrel, we think the Reader will not be displeas'd with a Description of it: This Creature has a fleshy Substance, which it extends in its skipping from one Tree to another, like Wings; and by the help of these, he will fly or rather Skip 30 or 40 yards at a time, from Tree to Tree. The Opassum has a Head like a Hog, and a Tail like a Rat, 'tis about the bigness of a Cat; and the False Belly, in which the Female carries her Young, is thus describ'd by one that saw it. 'Tis like a loose Skin quite over the Belly, which never sticks to the Flesh, but may be look'd into at all times, after they have been concern'd in Procreation. In the hinder part of it is an Overture big enough for a small hand to pass, and thither the young ones, after they are full hair'd, and strong enough to run about, fly when any Danger appears; or when they go to rest or suck, and continue to do so till they have learn'd to live without their Dam. The strangest part of this Description, is, that the young ones are bred in this false Belly, without ever having been in the true one. They are form'd at the Teat, and grow there for several Weeks together, till they are in perfect Shape, and have Strength, Sight, and Hair: They then drop off, and rest in this False Belly, going in and out at pleasure: The Person from whom we took the Description, says, he has seen them thus fasten'd to the Teat, from the bigness of a Fly till they became as large as a Mouse. Neither is it any hurt to the old one to open the Bag, and look in upon her Young. Some Panthers, Bufaloes and wild Hogs, which yield equal Pleasure and Profit to the Hunter, are caught up in the Country near the Heads of the Rivers. The reason of there being few Sheep, is because the Country is not yet clear'd of Wolves; all other

other Beasts that are reckon'd wild, do no damage to the *Virginians*, flying from the Face of a Man whenever they see one; and the Planters, by Pasture-Fences, secure their Cattle and Hogs from them. There were no Rats nor Mice there, when the English first landed; but they soon multiply'd so from the English Shipping, that once there was like to have been a sort of *Rat-Plague* among the Planters. The *Virginian Water-Rat*, or *Mussascus*, smells like Musk. Pole-cats and Wefels are sometimes to be seen there, but the Plenty of Hares and Rabbits make amends for it.

There is no Country more remarkable for the variety of Birds in it than *Virginia*, where the Woods and Groves in the Spring, Summer, Autumn, and almost all the Year, are render'd as delightful by the Musick of their feather'd Quires, as by the Coolness of their Shades, or the Fragrancy of their Flowers. Among these the *Rock-Birds* are the most diverting: They love Society so well, that whenever they see Mankind, they will perch upon a Twig near the Person, and sing the sweetest Airs in the World. The next is the *Humming-Bird*, who revels among the Flowers, and licks off the Dew and Honey from their Leaves. 'Tis not half so large as an English Wren, and its Colour is a shining Mixture of Scarlet, Green and Gold. There are Black-birds with red Shoulders that come in prodigious Flights out of the Woods about the Fall of the Leaf; a sort of *Nightingal*, whose Feathers are very gay, of a Crimson and blew Colour; but it seldom or never sings. The *Mock-Bird* comes in about *March* and stays till *June*, and in bigness and colour is like a *Thrush*. The *Hérons* there are very large, and the *Partridges* very small. There's great variety of *Wild Fowl*, as *Swans*, *Geese*, *Brants*, *Sheldrakes*, *Ducks*, *Mallard*, *Teal*, *Blewings*, *Cranes*, *Curlews*, *Snipes*, *Woodcocks*, *Oxe-Eyes*, *Plover*, *Larks*, *Pheasants*, *Pigeons*; and which is best of all 'em, wild *Turkeys*, much larger than our tame; they are in Season all the Year. The *Virginians* have several ingenious Devices to take them; among others a *Trap* wherein 16 or 17 have been caught at a time.

As for Fish there's such prodigious plenty of em, that 'tis hardly credible to an European. Some of the Stories that have been told of it, are certainly Romantick, and are rejected as fictitious, such as Shoals of Fish, swimming with their Heads above Water, and to be taken by Hand, loading a Canoo with Fish in the open Sea by one Indian, in half an hour; but 'tis certain that no Rivers in the World are better stor'd than theirs, and that the Virginian Sea-Coast abounds in Cod and Sturgeon, of which some are eight foot long. Indeed there's scarce any Fish, but what may be caught either in the Sea or the Rivers. And yet there is only one sort peculiar to this Country, which is the Stingrass. 'Tis good to eat, but has a long Tail with a very dangerous sting in it. There are other strange Fishes; but then they are also to be found in most parts of *North-America*; such as the Coney-Fish, Rock-Fish, Cat-Fish, and a Fish in the form of a Dragon, to which there's no Name as yet assign'd in our Language. The Toad-Fish, when 'tis taken out of the Water, swells till 'tis like to burst. Muscles and Oysters are very plentiful in *Virginia*, and so large, that some of 'em are as big as a Horse's Hoof. Pearl has been often found in the Shells. The Indians had large, but the English found only Seed-Pearl, of which good Quantities have been sent to *England*. In the Spring-time the Brooks and Fords are so full of Herrings, which come up to Spawn there, that 'tis almost impossible to ride through without treading on them. The Rivers are also at that time stock'd with Shads, Rock-Sturgeon, and Lampreys, which fasten themselves to the Shad. In the Salt Water at certain times of the Year, there are Shoals of other Fish; such as the *Old Wife*, something like an Herring, and the Sheeps-head, which *Virginians* esteem in the number of their Best. Black and red Drumms, Trouts, Taylors, Green-fish, Sun-fish, Bass, Chub, Place, Flounders, Whitings, Flat-backs, Maids, Wives, small Turtle, Crabs, Cockles, Shrimps, Needle-fish, Breme, Carp, Pike, Jack, Mulletts, Eels, and Perch. These are to be found in the Rivers and Brooks all the Summer long, and are eaten by the People. Those that follow are not eaten: The Whale, Porpus, Shark, Dog-fish, Garr,

Garr, Thornback, Saw-fish, Frog-fish, Land-Crabs, Fiddlers and Periwinkles. Many of these Fish will leap into Canoes and Boats, as the English or Indians cross a River; and there's such Quantities of them, that they often tire the Sportsmen with taking 'em: Whereas in *England*, they are generally tir'd for want of it. The manner of Fishing-Hawks preying upon Fish, is very diverting. The Sport is to be seen every Summer in the Mornings, and sometimes all day long. These Hawks are wonderful eager after their Game, when the Fish first come in the Spring. In the dead of the Winter 'tis suppos'd they fish further off at Sea, or remain among the uninhabited Islands upon the Sea-Coast. They have often been seen to catch the Fish out of the Water, and as they were flying away with their Quarry, the Bald Eagles have taken it from them again. The Fishing-Hawk will hover over the Water, and rest upon the Wing some Minutes together, and then from a vast height dart down directly into the Water, plunge into it for the space of half a Minute, and at last bring up a Fish with him, so big, that he can hardly carry it. When he is on the Wing he shakes himself so strongly, that the Water comes off of him like a Mist, and then he flies to the Woods with his Prey, unless the Bald-Eagle intercepts him, and takes it away from him. This Bird, as soon as he perceives the Fishing-Hawk, with his Game in his Mouth, pursues him, and strives to get above him in the Air, which if he can do, the Hawk lets his Fish drop, and the Eagle leaves him to take up his Prey, which he shoots after with such surprizing Swiftnes, that he catches it in the Air, before it falls to the Ground. These Fishing-Hawks, when the Seasons are extraordinarily plentiful, will catch a Fish, and loiter about with it in the Air, on purpose to have a Chace with the Eagle for it; and if the Eagle does not come, he'll make a daring Noise, as if it were to defy him. This Sport has frequently been seen by the English, and by the Description of it must certainly be extremely pleasant to the Spectators.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Coins in Virginia : Of the Trade to and from England, and other Parts of Europe and America : The Prodigious Revenue that the Customs of Tobacco brings in : The Advantage that Trade has been to England, and the Disadvantages it lies under.

THO the common way of Traffick there is by Barter or Exchange of one Commodity for another, or of any for Tobacco; yet there is some Silver Coins, English and Spanish, and were much more, till the lowering of the Value tempted People to export the Coin to the other Plantations, where it went for more than it did in *Virginia*. The Chief of their Coins are either Gold of the Stamp of *Arabia*, or Silver and Gold of the Stamp of Spanish *America*, or English Money. There's very little of either kind to be seen in this Country for the Reasons above-mention'd: The Government, round about it, often raising the Value of the Coin, is the Cause that *Virginia* is drain'd of the little it has. And 'tis impossible to prevent this Inconvenience, unless all the Colonies on the Continent were oblig'd to have one and the same Standard for their Coin, which there have lately been some attempts made to effect, tho without the Success that was expected and desir'd. The Scarcity of Money is such in this Plantation, that Gentlemen can hardly get enough for Travelling Charges, or to pay Labourers and Tradesmens Wages. It occasions also the commencing many vexatious Suits for Debt, which by this means are contracted. The Value of the several Coins that are there, is as follows:

	l.	s.	d.
The Spanish Double Doublon,	03	10	00
The Doublon, consequently,	01	15	00
The Pistole,	00	17	06
Arabian Chequins,	00	10	00
Pieces of Eight (except of Peru) } weighing 16 penny Weight, }	00	05	00
French Crowns,	00	05	00
Peru Pieces of Eight, and Dutch } Dollars, }	00	04	00

And all English Coin as it goes in *England*.

The Trade of this Colony, as well as that of *Maryland*, consists almost entirely of Tobacco; for tho' the Country would produce several extraordinary Commodities fit for Trade; yet the Planters are so wholly bent on planting Tobacco, that they seem to have laid aside all thoughts of other Improvements. This Trade is brought to such Perfection, that the *Virginia* Tobacco, especially the sweet-scented, which grows on *York-River*, is reckon'd the best in the World, and is what is generally vend'd in *England* for a Home Consumption. The other sorts, call'd *Oranoac*, and that of *Maryland*, are hotter in the Mouth; but they turn to as good an Account, being in demand in *Holland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Germany*. Of this Commodity 300000 Hotheades have been exported yearly, which besides the other Advantages that the English reap by it, have clear'd 5 l. a Hothead in a Foreign Market, and encreas'd the General Stock of the Nation, 1500000 l. a year. The whole Trade of Tobacco is indeed one of the most Profitable of all the English Commerce, it employs above 200 Sail of stout Ships every year; and brings in between 3 and 4000000 l. to her Majesty's Treasury one year with another. Tho' this Calculation may seem too extravagant to such as know nothing of this Trade, and to some who make guessees of the Trade in general only, from their own in particular, yet it will appear to be Modest to all that have experience in the Matter. There are 200 Sail of Ships freighted with this Commodity *Communibus Annis*, from the whole Bay: In which we include the

the Province of *Maryland*; and, one with another, we can't reckon they carry less than 300 Hogsheads of Tobacco; in all 70000 Hogsheads; of which half we suppose to be sold and spent in *England*; and the Duty of those 35000 Hogsheads, at but 400 weight of Tobacco each, will come to 8 *l.* a Hogshead, and 280000 *l.* for the whole. The other half which is exported will not produce above a 5th part so much in the Exchequer, because all the Imposts are drawn back, and part of the Subsidy; yet allowing but 50000 *l.* for the Duty of the 35000 Hogsheads exported, the whole Amount of the Customs for the 70000 Hogsheads of Tobacco, will come to 330000 *l.* a year; and so much it certainly brings into the Exchequer in a time of Peace. For in this War-time our Trade is more uncertain; and a just Calculation of this Branch of it, in part, or in the whole, cannot now be made, tho considering that the *Virginia* and *Maryland* Merchants have escap'd much better than those of *Barbadoes*, *Jamaica*, and the *Charibbee* Islands, our Estimate, with some abatement, according to the number of Ships lost, may stand good. Some who pretend to be very well acquainted with the *Virginia* Trade, have assur'd us, that 100000 Hogsheads have been Ship'd off from *Virginia* and *Maryland* in a Year, and 40000 of 'em spent in *England*: If so, we are rather too short in our Account than too long, both with reference to the Calculation of the Customs, and the Addition the Trade makes to the National Stock. But we have kept as close to Truth as we cou'd by our own Experience, and the best Information; and to render what we have said the more credible to the Reader, 'tis necessary he shou'd know how vastly this Trade is improv'd in all Parts of *England*, as well as in the Port of *London*. The Town of *Liverpool* has had 50 Sail of Ships unlade at her Key from thence in a Year, for several Years past, reckoning one year with another; many of the out-Ports have 8 or 10 Sail employ'd yearly in the *Virginia*-Trade, and the City of *Bristol* is said to pay above 60000 *l.* a year Duty for Tobacco her self, which will not appear improbable, if what we are very credibly inform'd by *Bristol*-Men is true, that one Ship belong-

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ing to that Port, call'd the *Bristol-Merchant*, has paid 8 or 10000 *l.* Custom, every year for these Twenty years last past. And very often 30 or 40 Sail of Ships have come into the *Severn* at a time, bound for *Bristol*; besides Runners and Stragglers. If the Out-ports together send 100 Sail to *Virginia* in a year, as we think we have sufficiently prov'd; *London* will more than make up the other 100. And what we have said of the Trade and the Customs, will seem very rational and certain.

Besides the vast Advantage that accrues to the National Stock, by the Exportation of *Tobacco* from *England* to all other Parts of *Europe*; we must consider, how beneficial this Trade is, by the prodigious Number of Hands it employs, and Families it maintains, in *England* and *Virginia*: No less than Seventy thousand *English* Souls in *Virginia*; and as many in *England*. There are vast Quantities of Manufactures exported from hence daily to this Colony; who have all their Necessaries for Cloathing, Labour, and Luxury, from *England*: And those Commodities that are sent hence lying most among Handicraft-Trades, are such as employ the most Hands, feed the most Mouths, and consequently are the most beneficial to the Publick; such as *Weavers*, *Shoomakers*, *Hatters*, *Ironmongers*, *Turners*, *Foiners*, *Taylors*, *Cutlers*, *Smiths*, *Bakers*, *Brewers*, *Ropemakers*, *Hosiers*, and indeed all the Mechanicks in *England*; their Manufactures being good Merchandise in *Virginia*, when the Ignorance or Avarice of some Merchants do not glut the Market. The Commodities sent thither, besides Linnen, Silks, *India* Goods, Wine, and other foreign Manufactures, are Cloth coarse and fine, *Serges*, *Stuffs*, *Bays*, *Hats*, and all sorts of *Haberdashers* Ware, *Houghs*, *Bills*, *Axes*, *Nails*, *Adzes*, and other *Iron-Ware*; *Cloaths* ready-made, *Knives*, *Bisket*, *Flower*, *Stockings*, *Shoos*, *Caps* for *Servants*; and in short, every thing that is made in *England*.

They formerly drove a considerable Trade with *Pipe-Staves* and *Hoops*, from *Virginia* to *Madera*, *Terceras*, *Fial*, and the other *Islands* call'd the *Azores*; but lately *New-England* and *New-York* have almost driv'n the *Virginians* out of that profitable Trade

Trade. They still keep part of the Trade to and from the Sugar-Islands, on account of the *York-River* Tobacco, which is most smoak'd among the better sort of People; tho' the *Oranoc* will serve the Negroes, and the worst of the White Servants, as well or better than the sweet-scented. The *Virginia*-Merchants and Planters export Tobacco, Cattle, and Provisions to *Barbadoes* and the *Leward* Islands; and in Exchange bring back Rum, Melasses, and Sugar. For notwithstanding they make good Brandy of their own, and might have Sugar from their Sugar-Tree, as has been prov'd by many Experiments; yet they are so lazy, that they will be at no pains to provide themselves with any thing which they can fetch elsewhere for Tobacco. There are several Trades which they might fall into, beside that of Tobacco, and which would be a Service to that Commodity, because the less of it was made, the greater Price it would bear. The Country is certainly capable of large Improvements, by the Timber-Trade, and its Appurtenances, as Pitch, Tar, and Rosin. They might also manufacture Flax, Hemp, Cotton, and even Silk; the three first Commodities thriving there as well as in any Country in the World, and the Mulberry-Tree feeding Silk-Worms formerly in abundance. *Edward Diggs* Esq; was at great Charge and Pains to promote the Silk-Manufacture, since it was given over by others; but wanting Encouragement, he also gave it over: Several of the late Governours have, for Reasons which they did not think fit to reveal, discourag'd all such as went about Manufactures; and the Planters have been oblig'd to stick to their old Drudgery, the Planting of Tobacco. Silk-Grass grows there spontaneously in many places, and may be cut several times in a year. The Fibres of this Plant are as fine as Flax, and much stronger than Hemp: A Piece of Grogram was made of it in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, and presented to her; and yet the *English* neglect it, and make no manner of Use of it; not so much as the *Indians* did, who made their Baskets, Fishing-Nets and Lines with it. The *Virginians* might also drive as good a Trade with Cattle and Provisions, Horses, Cows, Oxen, Beef, Pork,

Pork, &c. as the People of *New-England* and *Carolina* do to the Sugar-Islands: But all their Thought run upon Tobacco, and they make nothing of those Advantages, which would enrich an industrious People.

Indeed the Naval Stores that might be brought thence to *England*, for the Queen's and Merchant Service, are of such Consequence, that 'twould be well, if some Care was taken to oblige them to Manufacture 'em, and due Encouragement was given to do it. It seems a little unaccountable, why the *English*, whose Plantations are so well furnish'd with those Commodities, should be at the Charge of buying them in the *Baltick* with Ready Money, such as Pitch, Tar, Rosin, Turpentine, Plank, Timber, Masts, Yards, and Cordage. *New-England* and *Virginia* would plentifully supply all our Naval Wants, and we should not then be oblig'd to the People of the North, who do not always deal friendly or fairly by us. The *Virginians* are so far from thinking of improving these Manufactures, that tho' they see others send thither to build Ships, they seldom or never do it themselves. They not only neglect making a Trade of Provisions, but even to provide a necessary Store against an accidental Scarcity, contenting themselves with a Supply of Food from Hand to Mouth; insomuch that if a scarce year should come, there would not be enough in the Country to subsist them three Months. The only Excuse that the *Virginians* can plead for their Laziness is, that their Industry was never encourag'd. Their Want of Towns hinders them from receiving many Advantages by the Fruitfulness of their Soil for the People who inhabited them would take those Commodities off their Hands, which every Planter in the Country is furnish'd with at home. But this Want of Cohabitation, they are incapable of making a beneficial Use of their Flax, Hemp, Cotton, Silk, Silk-Grass, and Wool; which might otherwise supply their Necessities from their Towns and their Tobacco would enrich them, as we have shew'd elsewhere. The greatest of their Discouragements is the high Duties on their Commodities, the Custom being often ten times as much as

the Prime Cost. And if it wants in Goodness, there is no Abatement for it, no Consideration for Losses, for high Freight and Premio's of Insurance, for a small Crop, the Dearness of Hands, and other Accidents which may prove the Ruin of this Plantation: For when his Goods come to Market, after Custom and the Factor's Bill for Commission is paid, the Neet Proceed comes to little. The poor Planter is not only disappointed in the Value of his Goods, but his Bills that he drew come back protested, and he is forc'd to pay exorbitant Interest, to prevent being su'd, or forc'd to sign Judgments to the Merchant there; who, having got the least Hold of his Estate, feeds him insensibly with Money, till the whole follows at a mean Rate. If this Fate does not attend his Bills, he is forc'd to buy the Necessaries at home, at dear Rates, which he wrote for to *England*; and if he goes upon Trust, 'tis at such Prizes, that a Usurer blushes to extort, but Custom makes it look like lawful. If he sells his Tobacco in the Country, the Factors take Care to beat down the Price so low, that 'twill hardly pay for cultivating. How can all this be remedy'd, you say, in War Time? By securing their Trade, which would make Insurances unnecessary: And how can it be secur'd? That Question has been so often answer'd to such as have the Care of these things, 'tis needless for us to decide it here. This we may venture to say, that the sending a Ship or two to this or other Colonies, under Commanders who think themselves Admirals, and defy all Power but their own, will never answer the End. A Representation of which was made to those that have the Management of these Affairs, in which 'twas said, *They make it their Business to oppose Authority, and when there is any Faction in any Place, they are sure to join with them against the Governour; They will lie in a Harbour for a Week together, without once going out to cruise; by their ill Usage of their Men, they force them to run away from the Ship, and then they ruin the Merchants and Trade of the Place, by pressing away the Seamen from the Vessels.* Some Instances of the ill Practises of these Captains are mention'd. *One of them, when he was at Virginia, neither spar'd the Gentlemen of the Country, the Queen's Officers, nor the Governour*

himself, because they would not suffer him to marry a Gentleman's Daughter, when at the same time he had a Wife and Children at London. Upon which he attempted the Lives of the Gentlewoman's Father, severall of her Relations, especially of a very worthy Gentleman one Col. Cary, who courted the young Lady. The Governour was forc'd to secure the Peace: The Province being all in an uproar by this Man's extravagant Actions. The Council of Maryland complain'd of another, representing, He was fitter for Bedlam than to command a Ship. And another at New-York, When the Lord Cornbury order'd him to take several Vessels loaden with Provisions on her Majesty's Account, in Pennsylvania and Carolina, and convoy them to Jamaica, excus'd himself, saying, His Ship was laid up, and unrigg'd. They might have been ready before Christmas but he would not go till the 25th of March, promising then to set Sail. However, he lay in the Harbour till the latter end of May; all which time her Majesty paid Demurrage, the Provisions lying on board, which is great Damage. He refus'd to obey the Orders he receiv'd to touch at Carolina, and take those Vessels under his Convoy.

But should we go about to write a History of all the Complaints that have been made against such Officers as these, for their Miscarriages in America one might add another Volume to these of the Plantations.

We have also seen a State of Virginia, drawn by an Inhabitant of North-America, and presented to the Lords of Trade in England. The People are very numerous, dispers'd thro' the whole Province. Their almost sole Business is planting and improving Tobacco even to that degree, that most of them scarce allow themselves time to produce their necessary Provisions and consequently take little Leisure to busy themselves about Matters of State. They have always been respectful and obedient to Government, &c. Again, On every River of this Province there are Men in Number from ten to thirty, who by Trade and Industry have got very compleat Estates. These Gentlemen take Care to supply the poorer sort with Goods and Necessaries, and are sure to keep them always in their Debt, and consequently dependant on them. Out of this Number are chosen

A State of Virginia.

osen her Majesty's Council, the Assembly, the Justices and Officers of the Government. Many of these Gentlemen have apply'd themselves of late Years to procure from their Governours good Laws, for the better Government and Improvement of the Country, &c. Again, they consider this Province is of far greater Advantage to her Majesty, than all the rest of the Provinces besides on the Main; and therefore falsely conclude, that they ought to have greater Privileges than the rest of her Majesty's Subjects. Further, The Assembly think themselves entitled to all the Rights and Privileges of the English Parliament, and begin to search into the Records of that Honourable House, for Precedents to govern themselves by. The Council imagine, they most stand upon equal Terms with the Right Honourable House of Lords. We think a great Part of what follows in this Representation might have been spar'd, we leave it as we found it.

The Society for propagating the Gospel, in the Account they have publish'd of their Success in *America*, tell us, *Virginia* is divided into fifty Parishes, and about thirty Chapels. Here was also a noble College, erected for the Education of the *American* Youth, in the Studies of *Divinity* and *Philosophy*. Maintenance for the Students has been settled, but by Disuse is impair'd in many Places. Several Parishes are not supply'd with Ministers, particularly *Princess Ann's County*. There was no Mathematical Professor in *William and Mary College*. The Society have paid to Mr. Tyliard 20 l. and to Mr. Tallace of *Elizabeth City Parish* 15 l. in Books.

Of the College above-mention'd, we have spoken already, but since that have met with a better Account of it. A stately Fabrick was rais'd, a Royal Charter given, with ample Privileges and Immunities, a publick Fund was allotted for the Endowment of it, and a President appointed with an honourable Sallary, for propagation. and in Honour of the Founder it was call'd *William and Mary College*. But it could not be furnish'd with Professors and Students, nor advanc'd above a Grammar-School, before the whole College was unfortunately destroy'd by Fire. And the great Service Col. Nicholson did this Society, and the Cause of Religion, in this Province, while he was Governour, has been

The History of Virginia.

often acknowleg'd by them, in Publick and Private.

We have nothing further to observe relating to *Virginia*; but that on the Death of Mr. *Notte*, my Lord *Orkney's* Deputy in the Government of this Colony, Col. *Hunter* was appointed his Successor in that honourable Post, *A. D.* 1707. On which he embark'd for his Province, and in his Passage was taken by the French, and carry'd into *France*: From whence he return'd into *England*, and now waits for a Convoy to *Virginia*.

We have only to add a List of the Chief Officers, Civil and Military, as is done in the other Parts of this Treatise.

Col. *Hunter*, Governour.
Edmund Jennings, Esq; President.

<i>Dudley Diggs</i> , Esq;	} Counsellors.
<i>Benjamin Harrison</i> , Sen' Esq;	
<i>Robert Carter</i> , Esq;	
<i>John Custis</i> , Esq;	
The Reverend Mr. <i>James</i>	
<i>Blare</i> ,	
<i>Philip Ludwell</i> , Esq;	
<i>Henry Duke</i> , Esq;	
<i>Robert Quarry</i> , Esq;	
<i>John Smith</i> , Esq;	
<i>John Lewis</i> , Esq;	
<i>William Churchill</i> , Esq;	

Commissary to the Bishop of *London*, the Reverend
 Mr. *James Blaire*.

Auditor of the Revenue, *Dudley Diggs*, Esq;
 Secretary, *Edmund Jennings*, Esq;
 Receiver General, *William Bird*, Esq;
 Collector of the Customs, Col. *Gawen Corbin*.
 Attorney General, *Stephen Tompson*.



1790

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F

C A R O L I N A.

C H A P. I.

Containing an Account of the Discovery and Settlement of this Province, and of all the Wars, Factions, Disturbances, and other Events there, from that time to the present.

WE are not ignorant of the Pretences of *Discovery* the Concern'd in this Province, who affirm, 'twas discover'd by *Sebastian Cabot*. Mr. *Archdale*, one of the Proprietors; in his printed Description of *Carolina*, says, *Henry the VIIIth. about the Year 1500. furnish'd Sir Sebastian Cabot with Shipping, (He was born at Bristol, tho his Father was a Venetian,) to make a Discovery; and he fell upon the Coast of Florida, and having sail'd along the Continent a considerable way North-East, return'd.* But this does not appear in any authentick Historian; nor that *Sir Sebastian Cabot* ever got so far to the South.

Carolina is the Northern part of the vast Region of *America*, which was discover'd by *John Ponce de Leon*, in the Year 1512. He made Land about 30 Degrees from the *Aequator*, near the River of *San Mattao*, the most Southerly part of this Province. He sail'd thither from the Island of *Porto Rico*, and gave the Country the Name of *Florida*, for that the Face of it has the Resemblance of a continual Spring.

Castell of
America.

The Spaniards, who passionately desir'd to secure it to themselves, eight Years afterwards sent *Vasquez de Ayllon* to make a further Discovery of it, as belonging to *Charles V.* in whose Name *de Leon* had taken Possession of it. He came upon the North Coast, and call'd the North North-West River by the Name of *Jordan*. He did nothing memorable, except this infamous Action, of inviting many of the Natives aboard his Ships, where when he had got them, he hoisted Sail, and carry'd them into miserable Bondage.

In the Year 1526. *Charles V.* Emperor of *Germany* and King of *Spain*, sent *Pamphilio Narvesi* to *Florida*, who stay'd so long in the South-West part of this Country, which is the most barren, that, says my Author, they were fain to eat one another, his Crew having spent their Provisions.

Ten Years afterwards *Ferdinando a Soto* came hither in the search of Gold and Silver Mines, having a little Army of 900 Foot, and 500 Horse. Himself, and three Parts of his Soldiers, dy'd, either thro' Want, or by Sicknes, or the Indians: and the rest were led back by *Lewis Moscos* to *New Spain*, tho not without great Difficulty, for the Natives setting upon them several times in their March, kill'd all that fell into their Hands.

This unfortunate and expensive Expedition so discourag'd the Spaniards, that for several Years they made no more Attempts in these Parts, and indeed they search'd no further than that Part of the Continent which lies opposite to the Gulph of *New Spain*, and not within and beyond the Streights of *Bahama*, which includes that part of the Country we are now treating of, and which is the most fertile and rich, abounding in several merchantable Commodities.

The

The French perceiving the *Spaniards* neglected this long Tract of Land, Admiral *Coligny*, in the Reign of *Charles IX.* procur'd two of the King's Ships to be sent thither, the Command of which he gave to *Jean Ribaut*, who after a Voyage of two Months, arriv'd at the River of *Dolphins*, between that of *San Matteo*, and that of *May*, lying about the 30th Degree.

The next River to that of *May*, he call'd the *Seine*. The next to that, the *Somme*; then the *Loire*; then the *Charente*, and the *Garonne*. At the Mouth of *Albemarle* River, then call'd the *Great River*; the Port being safe and commodious, he built a Fort, which he call'd *Charles Fort*, and gave it the Name of *Port Royal*, in 32 Degrees of Latitude, bordering on *Virginia*, now *North Carolina*, where the first Settlement was made by any European Nation.

The Civil Wars raging in *France*, *Ribaut's* Soldiers mutiny'd, for want of Supplies. The Natives, 'tis true, were very kind to them, out of Hatred to the *Spaniards*; but they could not furnish them with many Necessaries which they wanted; and the Admiral was so engag'd in Politicks at home, that he had not Leisure to provide for the Wants of his Colony. So *Ribaut* having made some Discoveries in the North-East part of *Florida*, return'd to *France*, and in his Return, if Credit may be given to an old Author, his Company were reduc'd to such Extremity, that they kill'd and eat one of their own Men; and probably would have done so by others, had they not accidentally met with an *English* Ship, the Master of which furnish'd them with some Provisions. A Peace being concluded 2 Years after in *France*, between the Papists and Protestants, *Coligny*, who was then in Favour at Court, procur'd other Ships to be sent to this Country, which was now call'd *Carolina*, from Fort *Charles*, as that was from the French King. The Command of those Ships, and the Men aboard, was given to *Lewis Laudonier*, who was order'd to carry on the Settlement. He arriv'd here the 20th of *June*, 1554. with 3 Ships, and was kindly receiv'd by the *Indians*, but could find no Gold and Silver Mines, tho he spent much Labour and Time in search after them. His Provisions

Ibid.

sions being almost all gone, and the Natives either unable, or unwilling to furnish him with more, *Laudoner* resolv'd to return also to *France*; and as he was preparing to depart, *Jean Ribaut* arriv'd with 3 Ships, which had so good an Effect on the *Indians*, that they seem'd to be as welcome to them as to the *French*. The Kings of *Homoloa*, *Seravatri*, *Almacam*, *Malica*, and *Castri*, waited upon *Ribaut*, to congratulate his Arrival, and promis'd to conduct him to the *Apalataean* Mountains, which part *Carolina* from *Virginia*.

The *French* conceiv'd great Hopes of this Settlement, but all vanish'd on the Arrival of the *Spaniards*, who with a Squadron of Ships and Land Forces, drove the *French* out of their Forts, kill'd *Ribaut*, and 600 Men, after having given them Conditions of Life, and oblig'd *Laudoner*, with a few of his Countrymen who remain'd alive, to return to *France*.

The *French* King took no notice of this Act of Violence committed on his Subjects, because they were Protestants; and indeed 'tis thought *Coligny* intended by this Settlement, to secure a Retreat for himself, and his Brethren of the Reform'd Religion, in case they were conquer'd in *France*. *Peter Melanda* commanded the *Spaniards*, who dislodg'd the *French*, and so provok'd the *Indians* by his Cruelty and Injustice, that they were very ready to revenge themselves when Opportunity offer'd, as it did not long after; for Capt. *De Gorgues*, a *French* Gentleman, at his own cost, fitted out three stout Ships, and with 280 Men sail'd to *Carolina*, where he took the Fort, and put all the *Spaniards* within it to the Sword. They had built two other Forts, which he easily reduc'd, and serv'd the Garrisons as he did that of Fort *Charles*. He demolish'd them, and was assist'd by the Kings of *Homoloa*, and *Seravatri*.

The *French* travell'd into the Dominions of the great King of *Apalacha*, near the Mountains, where they converted many *Indians* to Christianity. These *Indians* were more civil than those to the Northward, their Kings Dominions larger, and their Manners, in a great measure, resembled the *Mexicans*.

We do not find that Monsieur de Gorgues made any Settlement here; or that the Spaniards attempted to recover the Country; which from the Year 1567. lay deserted by all European Nations, till the Reign of King Charles II. of England. In the Year 1622. several English Families flying from the Massacres of the Indians in Virginia and New-England, were driven on these Coasts, and settled in the Province of Mallica, near the Head of the River of May, where they acted the Part of Missionaries among the Mallicans and Apalachites. The King of the Country is said to have been baptiz'd; and in the Year 1653. Mr. Brigstock, an Englishman, went to Apalacha, where he was honourably entertain'd by his Countrymen, who were there before him; and from his Relation of the Country ours is taken.

It will not be unacceptable to the Curious, to see a Description of Carolina, as it was before the English settled there, which we find very distinctly related in a Discourse Printed A. D. 1644. *The nearest River, of any Note, to Virginia, falling into the Sea, is the Jordan, which lies in 32 Degrees; from whence, about 20 Leagues downwards to the South, is the Promontory of St. Helen, near Port-Royal, which the French chose for the best and surest Place to begin their Plantations. Between the River Jordan and St. Helens, are Oristanum, Ostanum, and Cayagna; Oristanum lying 6 Leagues from St. Helens; Ostanum 4 Leagues from Oristanum; and Cayagna 8 Leagues from Ostanum. From St. Helens to Dos Baxos Haven is 5 Leagues. From thence to the Bay de Asapo, 3 Leagues; thence to Cafanusium 3, to Capula 5, to Saron 9, to S. Alcany 14, and to S. Peter 20 Leagues, lying in 31 Degrees of Latitude. The next Place is San Mattæo, 5 Leagues from St. Peter.*

'Twill be difficult for an Inhabitant of the present Carolina, to reconcile all these Names to the Modern, and the old Description to the New; wherefore we shall not pretend to it, at least but occasionally, and where we can be almost sure that we are in the right.

This Country having been abandon'd by all European Nations for near 100 Years, it seem'd reasonable then, that any one who would be at the Expence of settling

Ibid.

A Description of Old Carolina.

Castell. p. 33.

settling upon it, and cultivate it. should possess it and the Pretence of *Sebastian Cabot's* discovering it gave the Crown of *England* a Title to it, which King *Charles II.* asserted: For some Noblemen and Gentlemen begging it of him, he made a Grant of it, by Patent, bearing date the 24th of *March*, 1663. to *Edward Earl of Clarendon*, then Lord High Chancellor of *England*, *George Duke of Albemarle*, *William Lord Craven*, *John Lord Berkley*, *Anthony Lord Ashley*, *Sir George Cartaret*, *Sir William Berkley*, and *Sir John Colliton*: Who, to use the Words of the Grant Charter, being excited with a laudable and pious Zeal for the Propagation of the Gospel, beg'd a certain Country in the Parts of *America* not yet cultivated and planted and only inhabited by some barbarous People, who had no Knowledge of God, &c. wherefore the King granted them all that Territory in his Dominions in *America* from the North End of the Island call'd *Lucke-Island* which lies in the Southern *Virginian Sea*, and within 30 Degrees of *N. Latitude*; & to the West as far as the *South Seas*; and so Southerly, as far as the River *San Mattæo* which borders on the Coast of *Florida*, and is within 30 Degrees of *North Latitude*, and so West, in a direct Line, as far as the *South Seas* aforesaid: With all Royal Fisheries, Mines, Power of Life and Limb, and every thing necessary in an absolute Propriety, paying a Quit-rent of 20 Marks Yearly.

We are not to enter into the Merits of the Cause nor inquire by what Right King *Charles* became possess'd of this Province, and *Carolina* to be a part of his Dominions in *America*; 'tis enough for us, that he gave the Proprietaries such a Charter, and that they proceeded towards a Settlement by virtue of it which was in a few Years effected. Whatever has been said of the *French* and *Spaniards*, 'tis but just that if one Nation does not think a Country worth cultivating, and deserts it, another, who has a better Opinion of it, may enter upon it, by the Law of Nature and Reason.

The Proprietaries, after they had got their Charter, gave due Encouragement for Persons to settle in this Province, and there being express Provision made in it for a Toleration, and Indulgence to all Christians in the free Exercise of their Religion, great Number

pers of Protestants, Dissenters from the Church of England, retir'd thither.

This Toleration appears so firm by this Charter, that we wonder any Palatine could presume to break in upon it. The King granted the Proprietaries full and free License, Liberty and Authority, by such legal Ways and Means, as they shall think fit, to give into such Person and Persons, inhabiting, and being within the said Province, or any Part thereof, who really in their Judgments, and for Conscience sake, cannot, or shall not conform to the Liturgy, Form, and Ceremonies of the Church of England, and take and subscribe the Oaths, and Articles, made and establish'd in that behalf, or any of them, such Indulgences and Dispensations in that behalf, for, and during such Time and Times, and with such Limitations and Restrictions, as they, &c. shall think fit.

Let us now see what the Proprietaries did, pursuant to the Power the King had invested them with, to grant Liberty of Conscience. We cannot have a better Authority than the *Case of the Dissenters in Carolina*, publish'd lately by a Gentleman of this Province.

The first Proprietors were so sensible that nothing could P. 27.
 please the People of that Province, and enrich it, but an universal and absolute Toleration, that they made the most express and ample Provision for such a Toleration that ever was made in any Constitution in the World, as may be seen in the 96, 101, 102, 106 Articles of the Fundamental Constitutions: Which provide, as the Lords Proprietaries word it in those Constitutions, That since the Natives of that Place, who will be concern'd in our Plantations, are utterly Strangers to Christianity, whose Idolatry, Ignorance, or Mistake, give us no Right to expel or use them ill, and that those who remove from other Parts to plant there, will unavoidably be of different Opinions concerning Matters of Religion, the Liberty whereof they will expect to have allow'd them; and that it will not be reasonable for us, on this account, to keep them out; therefore, that sure Peace may be maintain'd, amidst the Diversity of Opinions, and our Agreement and Compact with all Men may be duly and faithfully observ'd, the Violation whereof, upon what Pretence soever, cannot be without great Offence to Almighty God, and great Scandal

P. 36.

Scandal to the true Religion, which we profess: And also that Jews, Heathens, and other Dissenters, from the Purity of the Christian Religion, may not be scar'd, and kept at a Distance from it, but by having an Opportunity of acquainting themselves with the Truth and Reasonableness of its Doctrines, and the Peaceableness and Inoffensiveness of its Professors, may by good Usage and Perswasion, and all those convincing Methods of Gentleness and Meekness, suitable to the Rules and Designs of the Gospel, be won over to embrace, and unfeignedly receive thy Truth. Therefore the said Constitutions provided for their Liberty, but declar'd, That no Person above seventeen Years of Age, shall have any Benefit or Protection of the Law, which is not a Member of some Church or Profession, having his Name recorded in some one religious Record.

Thus did these Lords Proprietaries take care, that Persons of all Professions in Religion should be protected and secur'd in the free Exercise of them; and the Reader thus prepossess'd with the Laws of the Country, on which the Government of the Colony is intirely founded, will be the better able to judge of the Principles of those Men, who in the Sequel of this History, we shall find endeavouring to over-turn the most considerable Articles of these Fundamentals; for great Numbers of Protestant Dissenters from the Church of *England*, removing with their Families to *Carolina*, when there were so many Inhabitants, that a Form of Government was necessary, the Proprietaries agreed on that abovemention'd, call'd, the Fundamental Constitutions, consisting of 120 Articles, sign'd by the Duke of *Albemarle*, then *Palatine* of the Province; the Lord *Craven*, the Lord *Ashley*, Sir *John Colliton*, the Lord *Cornbury*, the Lord *Berkley*, Sir *George Cartaret*, the 1st of *March*, 1699. Which Constitutions, as is expressed in the last Article, shall be, and remain the sacred and unalterable Form and Rule of Government in *Carolina* for ever.

They were drawn up by that famous Politician the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, one of the Proprietors, and the only one that could be suspected of having the least Inclination to favour the Dissenters. The first Article of these Fundamentals, is, that a *Palatine* shall be chosen out of one of the Proprietaries, who shall con-

George
Duke of Al-
bemarle
Palatine.

tinue during Life, and be succeeded by the eldest of the other Proprietaries. The Palatine has the executive Power in most Cases, and the rest of the Proprietaries have their Places and Privileges. Mr. Archdale, in the before-mention'd Treatise, says, They center'd all their Power in four of them, viz. in a Palatine of their own choosing, and three more, who were authoriz'd to execute the whole Powers of the Charter. This is call'd the Palatine's Court; and their Deputies in Carolina execute it as they are directed by their Principals.

By the Fundamental Constitutions, there are to be three Hereditary Noblemen in every County, one call'd a Landgrave, and 2 call'd Cassiques. The Parliament consists of the Proprietors, or their Deputies, the Governour and Commons; and by the Fundamentals should have 25 Landgraves, and 50 Cassiques to make a Nobility: But the Number of Landgraves and Cassiques is very small, and they are not summon'd to make an Upper-House, on that Account; so the Governour and the Proprietors Deputies arrogate that Title. The Commoners are chosen by the Free-holders of every County, as the Commons in *England*; and all were at first to sit in one House, and have equal Votes. This Parliament should meet once in every two Years, and oftner, if Occasion require. The Courts of Justice are, besides those of the Palatine's Court, the Chief Justice's Court, the High-Constables Court, the Chancellor's Court, the Treasurer's Court, the Chamberlain's Court, the High-Steward's Court: Besides which, there are the Great Council and the Hundred Courts. Mr. Archdale, on this Head, tells us, " The Charter generally, as in other Charters, agrees on " Royal Privileges and Powers, but especially at that " Time it had an over-plus Power to grant Liberty " of Conscience, tho at home was a hot persecuting " Time; as also a Power to create a Nobility, yet " not to have the same Titles as here in *England*: " And therefore they are there by Patent, under " the Great-Seal of the Province, call'd Land- " graves and Cassiques, in lieu of Earls and Lords, " and are by their Titles to sit with the Lords Pro- " prietors Deputies, and together make the Upper " House,

" House, the Lower House being elected by the
 " People. These Landgraves are to have four Ba-
 " ronies annex'd to their Dignities, of 6000 Acres
 " each Barony; and the Cassiques two Baronies, of
 " 3000 each, and not to be divided by Sale of any
 " Part. Only they have Power to let out a third
 " Part for three Lives, to raise Portions for younger
 " Children. Every County has a Sheriff and four
 Justices of the Peace. Every Planter pays 1 *d.* an
 Acre Quit-Rent to the Proprietaries, unless he buys
 it off. All the Inhabitants and Free-men; from 16
 to 60 Years old, are bound to bear Arms, when com-
 manded by the *Great Council*.

The Proprietaries enter'd into a Joint-Stock, and
 fitted out Ships on their own proper Charges,
 to transport People and Cattle thither, which Ex-
 pence amounted to 12000 *l.* besides as much or more
 disburs'd by single Proprietors to advance the Colo-
 ny; and all their Rents and Incomes have since the
 Beginning been laid out in Publick Services.

Many Dissenters of good Estates went over, and
 many other Persons, in hopes to mend their For-
 tunes. And if they could tell how to improve the
 Opportunities that were put into their Hands there,
 they had seldom any Reason to repent of going thi-
 ther.

Tho the Difficulties and Dangers they met with
 at first were a little discouraging, all free Persons,
 who came over, were to have 50 Acres of Land for
 themselves, 50 more for each Man-Servant, and 50
 more for each Woman-Servant Marriageable; and not
 Marriageable, 40 Acres. Each Servant out of his
 or her Time was to have 50 Acres, paying the Quit-
 Rent of 1 *d.* an Acre.

The Proportion of Land was much greater by the
 first Instructions which the Proprietaries sent their
 Governours, but they afterwards thought fit to re-
 duce it to the present Allotment. Some Gentlemen
 who did not care to be liable to the yearly Quit-
 Rent of 1 *d.* an Acre, bought their Lands out-
 right.

The common Rate of purchasing now, is 20 *l.* for
 a 100 Acres, and 10 *s.* a Year Quit-Rent. The
 Proprietors, in all their Leases, never forget to ex-
 cept

cept all Mines, Minerals, and Quarries of Gemms and precious Stones.

Things being thus establish'd, the Lords Proprietaries appointed Col. *William Sayle*, to be Governour of their Province, about the Year 1670. The First Plantations that came to any Perfection, were about *Albemarle* and *Port-Royal* Rivers. But *Affley* and *Cooper* Rivers drew People that way, for the Convenience of Pasture and Tillage, for which Reason that Part of the Country became most inhabited.

Col. Will. Sayle Governour.

In 1671. The Proprietaries sent Cap. *Halsted* with a Supply of Provisions and Stores for the Colony, and created *James Cartaret*, Sir *John Yeomans*, and *John Lock*, Esq; Landgraves.

The Constitutions having been found deficient in some Cases, Temporary Laws were added, and the Form of Government settled thus.

A Governour nam'd by the Palatine.

A Council, }
consisting of }
7 Deputies of the Proprietors.
7 Gentlemen, chosen by the Parliament.
7 of the eldest Landgraves and Cassiques.

An Admiral.	High-Steward.
A Chamberlain.	High-Constable.
Chancellor.	Register of Births, Burials, and Marriages.
Chief-Justice.	Register of Writings.
Secretary.	Marshal of the Admiralty.
Surveyor.	
Treasurer.	

All which were nominated by the Proprietors respectively. The *Quorum* of the Council were to be the Governour and 6 Councillors, of whom 3 at least were to be Proprietors Deputies; and because there were not Inhabitants to make a Parliament, according to the *Fundamental Constitutions*, 'twas order'd to consist of the Governour, the Deputies of Proprietors, and twenty Members chosen by the Freeholders; of whom ten were to be elected by *Berk-*
ley-

ley's County, and ten by *Colliton* County ; which number was encreas'd, as more Counties were laid out, and more People came to settle in the Province.

The Temporary Laws were made in the Year 1671. At which time *William*, Earl of *Craven*, was Palatine. On which Office he enter'd, after the Death of the Duke of *Albemarle* ; who, as has been said, was Palatine, when the *Fundamental Constitutions* were sign'd, but dy'd soon after. In the same Year *Cap. Halsted* was order'd to make Discoveries up *Ashley* River, and a Model of a Town was sent, which it will be well, if the People of *Carolina* are able to build 100 Years hence ; but the Proprietaries, as appears by their Constitutions and Instructions to their Governours, thought 'twas almost as easy to build Towns, as to draw Schemes.

Sir John
Yeomans
Governour

The next Governour to *Col. Sayle* was *Sir John Yeomans*, Baronet ; in whose time many of the before-mention'd Transactions happen'd, but we have not been able to distinguish the Events in his Government from those in *Sayle's*.

Joseph
West Go-
vernour.

About the Year 1680. the Proprietaries made *Joseph West*, Esq; one of the first Planters, their Governour. He was a Man of Courage, Wisdom, Piety, and Moderation : And such an One was necessary in his time ; for tho many Dissenters had fled from the Rage of their Enemies in *England*, yet there were not wanting Men of other Principles who by Factions disturb'd the Peace of the Infant Colony. *Mr. Archdale's* Word will, in this Case be more acceptable to the Reader : " The most de-
" sperate Fortunes first ventur'd over to break th
" Ice, which being generally the ill Livers of th
" pretended Churchmen, tho the Proprietors commi
" sionated one *Col. West* their Governour, a mode
" rate, just, pious, and valiant Person ; yet having
" Council of the loose principled Men, they grev
" very unruly, and had like to have ruin'd the Col
" ny, by abusing the *Indians*, whom in Prudence the
" ought to have oblig'd in the highest degree, an
" so brought an *Indian* War on the Country, lik
" that in the first planting of *Virginia*, in whic
" several were cut off ; but the Governour, by h
" manl

manly Prudence at least in a great measure extinguish'd the Flame, which had a long time threatned the Dissolution of the Colony. The two Factions were that of the Proprietaries and that of the Planters, like Court and Country Party in England. This Division got to such a Head, that one Mr. John Culpeper was sent Prisoner to England, with a Charge of High-Treason against him, for raising a Rebellion in Carolina; for which he was try'd at Westminster-Hall, and upon hearing the Matter, it appear'd only to be a disorderly Quarrel among the Planters and Inhabitants of the Province, so he was acquitted.

Col. West held a Parliament in Charles Town, A. D. 1682. In which several Acts were pass'd and ratify'd by him, (*Andrew Percivall, Esq; William Owen, Esq; and Maurice Matthews, Esq;* Deputies of the Proprietaries); as, *An Act for High-ways, for suppressing Drunkenness and prophane Swearing, for Observation of the Lord's Day, and for settling the Militia.*

'Twas in this Governour's Time, that the Westoes, a Nation of the Indians, were troublesome to the Colony, and attempted the Subversion of this hopeful Settlement, as the Act of Parliament to raise Money for repelling them words it. There was not much Blood shed, or Money spilt; for 4 or 500 l. paid the Charge of the War, and other publick Expences.

The Lords Proprietaries erected a Commission for *Maurice Matthews, Esq; William Fuller, Esq; Jonathan Fitz, Esq; and John Boon, Esq;* to decide all Causes between the English and Indians. And; Mr. West is charg'd with dealing in Indians: For which, and opposing the Proprietaries Party, he was remov'd, in the Year 1683. and *Joseph Moreton, Esq;* appointed Governour in his stead.

'Twas about this time, that the Persecution rais'd by the Popish Faction, and their Adherents, in England, against the Protestant Dissenters, was at the height; and no Part of this Kingdom suffer'd more by it than *Somerset-shire*. The Author of this History liv'd at that time with Mr. Blake, Brother to

the famous General of that Name, being educated by his Son-in-law, who taught School in *Bridgwater*; and remembers, tho then very young, the Reasons old Mr. *Blake* us'd to give for leaving *England*: One of which was, That the Miseries they endur'd, meaning the Dissenters then, were nothing to what he foresaw would attend the Reign of a Popish Successor; wherefore he resolv'd to remove to *Carolina*: And he had so great an Interest among Persons of his Principles, I mean the Dissenters, that many honest substantial Persons engag'd to go over with him.

I must prevent all Prejudice to what I have said, by declaring, that this Book is written by one who is not himself a Dissenter, but verily believes, the true Church of *England* is the most Orthodox and the most Pure Church in the World. And by the true Church of *England*, he understands all those who live up to the Doctrine it professes; who by their Piety, Charity, and Moderation, are Ornaments of our Holy Religion, and who do not blindly espouse a Name out of Interest, or from the Impressions of Education; who pity, and not hate, such as dissent from them; who are loyal to their Prince, submissive to their Superiours, true to their Country, and charitable to all: Of such a Temper is every true Church-man; and may their Number daily encrease, till we are all of One Mind and One Religion, as we have but one God and One Saviour.

If the Reader will pardon this Digression, he shall have no more; and so much 'twas necessary to say, that he may not think, whatever is said of Mr. *Blake*, or his Brethren, is out of Respect to his Profession, but as a Christian: For tho I doubt not there may be many good Christians of the same Principles, I should esteem them more, if they would be convinc'd and conform; that the Union so often recommended by our Gracious and Glorious Queen *Anne*, may be universal.

I say the more of Mr. *Blake*, because his Family is one of the most considerable in this Province; where he arriv'd in the Year 1683. with several other Families, the Followers of his Fortune. What Estate

state he had in *England*, he sold, to carry the Effects along with him; and tho the Sum was not many Thousands, if it did at all deserve the plural Number; yet 'twas all that his Great Brother left him, tho for several Years he commanded the *British* Fleet; and in a time when our Naval Arms were victorious, and the Treasures of *New-Spain* seldom reach'd home.

By Mr. *Blake's* Presence in *Carolina*, the *Sober* Party, we call them so in opposition to Mr. *Archdale's* *Ill Livers*, began to take Heart, and the other to be discourag'd in their irregular Courses. The Gentleman I just mention'd, in his *Description of Carolina*, writes thus: *In Governour Moreton's Time, General Blake's Brother, with many Dissenters, came to Carolina; which Blake being a wise and prudent Person, of an heroick Temper of Spirit, strengthened the Hands of the sober inclin'd People, and kept under the first loose and extravagant Spirit, &c.* The Governour, as we are told, marry'd Mrs. *Elizabeth Blake*, his Daughter; and by this Alliance, the Strength of their Party was so encreas'd, that we hear little of the other till Mr. *Colliton's* Government.

There being some Complaints against Mr. *Matthews*, and the other Commissioners for deciding Causes between the *English* and the *Indians*, they were discharg'd, and the Commission abrogated. The Lords Proprietaries order'd the *Indians* 400 Miles from *Charles Town*, to be taken into their Protection.

The County of *Berkley*, between *Stono* and *Sewee*; was now laid out; and soon after *Craven* County, in the North of *Berkley*; and *Colliton* County, on the South: All which Counties were divided into squares of 12000 Acres, for the several Shares of the Proprietaries, Landgraves, and Cassiques.

Mr. *Moreton*, at his entering upon his Office, call'd a Parliament, which met in Form, and pass'd several Acts; as, *For raising 500 l. for defraying the Publick Charge of the Province; for regulating the Surveyor General's Fees; for raising the Value of Foreign Coin; for Trial of small and mean Causes under 40 s. for Damage of protested Bills of Exchange; for ascertaining Publick Officers Fees; to suspend Prosecution*

for Foreign Debts; to inhibit the trading with Servants or Slaves; for laying out, and making good High-Ways: for preventing the taking away Boats and Canoos; for marking of all sorts of Cattle; to prevent unlicens'd Taverns and Punch-Houses, and ascertaining the Rates and Prices of Wine, and other Liquors; to prevent Runaways. All which Acts were sign'd by *Joseph Moreton*, Esq; Governour, *John Godfrey*, Esq; *John Boon*, Esq; *James Moor*, Esq; *Maurice Matthews*, Esq; *Andrew Percivall*, Esq; *Arthur Middleton*, Esq; Counsellors and Deputies; and *Mr. Joseph Oldys*, Clerk to the Parliament. At this time, *Robert Gibbs*, Esq; was Treasurer of the Colony; *John Moor*, Esq; Secretary; *John Boon*, Esq; *Robert Daniel*, Esq; *Mr. Bernard Schinkingh*, *Mr. Peter Hearn*, and *Cap. Florence O Sullivan*, were appointed Commissioners for stating and passing the Publick Accounts. *Maurice Matthews*, Esq; was also Surveyor-General. The Trade of dealing in *Indians* continu'd, and several of the Proprietors Deputies were concern'd in it: Whether the Governour, *Mr. Moreton*, favour'd it or not, we cannot undertake to determine. 'Tis certain, he did not long enjoy his Office: For it appears by the Copies of the Original Instructions sent by the Proprietaries to his Successor, that in the following Year the Pallatine made *Sir Richard Kyrle* Governour. He was a Gentleman of *Ireland*; and dying within the Year, *Joseph West*, Esq; was again chosen Governour by the Council; and being a Man of great Interest, the Proprietaries thought fit to confirm him in his Government: But they turn'd out *Maurice Matthews*, Esq; *James Moor*, Esq; and *Arthur Middleton*, Esq; from being Deputies and Councillors, for disobeying their Orders, and sending away *Indians*. They also displac'd their Secretary *John Moor*, Esq; and put *Rob. Quarry*, Esq; in his Place.

Sir Rich.
Kyrle Go-
vernour.
Joseph
West, Esq;
Governour

Thus we see the latter has enjoy'd honourable Offices many Years in the *American Colonies*; with the Interest of which he must, by this means, be very well acquainted.

In *Mr. West's* second Government, the Right Honourable the Lord *Cardrosse* remov'd to *Carolina* and, with ten *Scots* Families, settled at *Port-Royal* esteem'd

esteem'd the most convenient Place in this Province for Commerce, as being the best Port. The Lord *Carrdrosse* having been disgusted with the Government of the Province, for some ill Usage he met with, return'd to *Scotland*, and the *Spaniards* dislodg'd the *Scots*, who had seated themselves on that fine River. This Lord was of the House of *Buchan*, and in King *William's* Reign enjoy'd the Title of Earl of *Buchan*.

Dissenters continuing to come hither from all Parts of *England*, the Colony thriv'd and encreas'd in Numbers and Riches.

James Colliton, Esq; of *Barbadoes*, Brother to Sir *Peter Colliton*, Baronet, a Proprietary, being honour'd with the Title of Landgrave, left the Island he liv'd in, and transported himself and Family to *Carolina*, where he seated himself at old *Charles Town*, on *Cooper-River*, built a handsome House there; and being made Governour, his Seat is to this Day James call'd the Governour's House. Had this Gentleman Colliton, had as much Honour and Capacity as his Brother Sir *Peter*, we should have had no Occasion to excuse *Esq; Governour*. our selves for keeping to the Truth of History in his Behalf. One of his Successors writes in this Manner of his Government: 'The Party Governour *Mr. Arch-*
' *Moreton* had gone a great way in suppressing, grew *dale's De-*
' now so strong among the Common People, that *scription of*
' they chose Members to oppose whatsoever the Go- *Carolina,*
' vernour requested; insomuch that they would not
' settle the Militia Act, tho' their own Security de-
' pended on it, and that it would be Grounds of
' their further Strength. The Reason of the Dis-
' content the People lay under, were Disputes about
' the Tenure of their Lands, and Payment of their
' Quit-Rents, which were not settled till Mr. *Arch-*
dale's Government.

Mr. *Colliton* call'd a Parliament, *A. D. 1687*. This Assembly not liking the Proprietaries *Fun-*
damental Constitutions; and thinking they could sup-
ply the Deficiencies in them, appointed a Committee
to examine them: And these Gentlemen drew up
a new Form of Government, differing in many
Articles from the former; to which they gave the
Title of *Standing Laws*, and *Temporary Laws*. This

Committee were *James Colliton, Esq;* Governour; *Paul Grimbball, Esq;* and *William Dunlop, Esq;* Deputies; *Bernard Schinking, Thomas Smith, John Farr* and *Joseph Blake, Esqs;* Commoners. But neither the Lords Proprietaries, nor the People of *Carolina* accepted of them; and thus the *Fundamental Constitutions* keep their Ground to this Day.

Mr. *Colliton* gave such Discontent in his Administration, that he was banish'd the Province; a few Governours of Colonies were ever so unhappy as to meet with.

Thomas
Smith,
Esq; Go-
vernour.

Mr. *Archdale* tells us, Mr. *Smith* succeeded Mr. *Colliton*, and that he succeeded Mr. *Smith*; but then the latter must have been twice Governour: For we find several other Gentlemen, who had that Title and Office before the Year 1694. when Mr. *Archdale* says, Governour *Smith* wrote over to the Proprietaries, to advise them to send one of their Number to *Carolina*. For

Col. Rob.
Quarry
Governour

Mr.
Southwell
Governour

Col. Philip
Ludwell
Governour

Thomas
Smith,
Esq; Go-
vernour.

Col. *Robert Quarry* was Governour about the Year 1690. After him, Mr. *Southwell*. And in the Year 1692. Col. *Philip Ludwell* held this Government. In which 'tis certain, he was succeeded by the above mention'd *Thomas Smith, Esq;* Landgrave of this Province.

We are not doubtful of any Error in this Order of the Governours, except in Mr. *Southwell's*: our Informations having been uncertain as to him.

‘ Mr. *Smith*, says Mr. *Archdale*, was a wise, sober, well-living Man; who grew so uneasy in the Government, by Reason he could not satisfy People in their Demands, that he wrote over, *Anno 1694*. ‘ *It was impossible to settle the Country, except a Proprietary himself was sent thither, with full Power to hear their Grievances.* The Proprietaries took Governour *Smith's* Letter into Consideration, and the Lord *Ashley* was pitch'd upon by all the Lords as a Person every way qualify'd for so good a Work; but he desir'd to be excus'd, on Account of his particular Affairs in *England*. Upon which Mr. *Archdale* was chosen by the Proprietaries, to be sent over with large and ample Powers. Which having receiv'd, he embark'd and sail'd to *Carolina*. When he

he arriv'd, and enter'd upon the Government, in *John Archdale*
August, 1695. he found all Matters in great Confu-
 sion, and every Faction apply'd themselves to him, *Esq; Go-*
 in hopes of Relief. In order to which he summon'd *vernour.*
 an Assembly, and made a kind Speech to them. The
 Parliament chose *Jonathan Amary Esq;* to be their
 Speaker; and having presented a dutiful Address to
 the Governour, proceeded to do Business. But the
 Divisions among them were so great, that had not
 Mr. *Archdale* exercis'd a great deal of Patience, nei-
 ther his Power as Governour, nor his higher Title
 of Proprietary, could have brought that Assembly to
 any Temper; which he at last effected, and the
 Disorders of the Province were remedy'd.

The Parliament presented an Address of Thanks to
 the Governour, to be transmitted to the Proprietaries,
 and all things ended well. In his time the *Tamma-*
sees, an Indian Nation, who formerly liv'd under
 the Spanish Government, and now under the Eng-
 lish, made an Incurfion into the Territories of ano-
 ther Indian Nation, near *Sancta Maria*, not far from
St. Augustino, took several Prisoners, and intended
 to sell them for Slaves at *Barbadoes* or *Jamaica*, as
 had been usual among them. Mr. *Archdale* hearing
 of it, sent for the King of the *Tammasees*, and order'd
 him to bring those Indians to *Charles Town*, which
 he did. They were Papists; and the Kings of *Eng-*
land and *Spain* being at that time Confederates, the
 Governour gave the King of the *Tammasees* Orders to
 carry them to *St. Augustino*, with a Letter to the
 Governour; which may serve to give us an Idea of
 the Power of an Indian King, who receives Orders
 from a Governour of a small Province, as *Carolina*
 was then at least, whatever it is now.

The Spaniard who commanded in *St. Augustino*, re-
 turn'd Mr. *Archdale* a Letter of Thanks; and not long
 after another Indian King was sent by the Spanish
 Governour, with a Letter of Complaint, of wrong
 done the Spanish Indians by those ally'd to the Eng-
 lish.

The Spanish Indians were called *Churchcates*; of
 whom the *Apalachicoles*, English Indians, had kill'd
 three. The Governour commanded that Nation,
 and all others depending on the English, to forbear
 molest-

molesting those within the Spanish Jurisdiction; which had so good an Effect, that when Mr. *Robert Barrow*, Mr. *Edward Wardell*, and other Englishmen, were afterward cast away to the Southward of *Augustino*, the barbarous Indians offer'd them no hurt; and when they arriv'd at that Town; the Governour supply'd them with all Necessaries.

Col. *Bull*, one of the Council, and a greater Trader with the Indians, engag'd that Nation which dwelt about *Cape Fear*, to submit to the English; who however were afraid to trust them; for a Vessel coming from *New-England* being shipwrack'd on that Coast, the Passengers, to the Number of 52, despair'd of their Lives from those Barbarians, but resolv'd to defend themselves as well as they could: Accordingly they entrench'd in their little Camp. The Indians came down, and by Signs of Friendship invited them to come forth; which they were afraid to do. At last, when their Provisions were almost all spent, some of them ventur'd out, were kindly receiv'd, and furnish'd by the Indians with Necessaries. The King invited them to his Town, treated them; and 4 or 5 of them travelling to *Charles Town*, gave the Governour notice of their Misfortunes; which hearing, he sent a Ship to fetch the rest; and they arriv'd safely at the Capital of *Carolina*.

In Mr. *Archdale's* Time, two Indians quarrelling in their Drinking, one of them presently kill'd the other; whose Wife being by, immediately dismember'd the Murderer, to revenge her Husband's Death, cutting off his Privities with a Knife. The Governour happening to be near the Place where the Murder was committed, order'd the Criminal to be pursu'd. He was taken in a Swamp about 16 Miles from the Town; to which he was sent under a Guard. The Nation to whom the slain Indian belong'd, hearing of his Death, their King came to Mr. *Archdale*, and desir'd Justice upon the Murderer. Some of whose Friends would have bought him off as usual; but nothing less than his Death would satisfy the injur'd Nation; and, according to the Custom of his own Country, the Governour order'd him to be shot by the Kinsman of the Deceas'd. As he was leading to Execution, his King came to him, and bid him

die like a Man, since he must die, adding; he had often forewarn'd him of Rum, the Liquor which he was drunk with when he kill'd the Man, and now he must loose his Life for not taking his Council.

When he came to the Tree, he desir'd not to be ty'd to it, but to stand loose, saying, *I will not stir when he shoots me.* So he was shot in the Head, and fell down dead.

This Piece of Justice hinder'd a War between the Nations to which these two Indians belong'd. The Indians inhabiting the Country about the River *Pemlico*, were almost all consum'd by a Pestilential Disease, while this Governour was in *Carolina*; and the *Coranines*, a bloody and barbarous People, were most of them cut off by a neighbouring Nation.

In his Time several Families remov'd from *New-England*, to settle at *Carolina*, and seated themselves on the River *Sewee*, in *North Carolina*. These are all the Events which happen'd during Mr. *Archdale's* Government, at least he has thought fit to communicate no more to the Publick; and as inconsiderable as they may appear to some Persons, who are us'd to turn over the *Græcian* and *Roman* Histories, if they will give themselves the Trouble to examine the Affairs of these two Empires, they will find them as trivial, in the beginning at least, if they can distinguish the *History* from the *Fable*.

We cannot expect much Business in the Infancy of a Colony; and yet *Carolina* is not so young, but Factions have been as rampant there, as if the People had been made wanton by many Ages of Prosperity.

Mr. *Archdale*, to use his own Phrase, *Return'd* for *England*, being not sent for home. And *Joseph Blake*, Joseph Blake Esq; Son of the before-mention'd Mr. *Blake*, being Blake become a Proprietary, was look'd upon as the fittest Esq; Go- Person to succeed him in his Government; in which vernour. Office he behav'd himself to the Satisfaction of the Country, which he govern'd with equal Prudence and Moderation.

In his time Major *Daniel* brought from *England* new Constitutions, consisting of 41 Articles, wherein as ample Provision was made for Liberty of Conscience, as in the Fundamental Constitutions. These
new

John Earl of Bath Palatine. new Laws were call'd, the last *Fundamental Constitutions*, and sign'd by John Earl of Bath, Palatine; Anthony Lord Ashley, the Lord Craven, the Lord Cartaret, the Earl of Bath, Sir John Colliton, William Thornburgh Merchant, Thomas Amy, and Wil. Thornburgh; but they were never confirm'd in Parliament at Carolina.

Mr. Blake, tho he was himself a Dissenter, finding there was no settled Maintenance for the Church of England Minister, procur'd an Act of Assembly (in which there were a great Number of Dissenters) for the settling a very convenient House, with a Glebe, two Servants, and 150 *l. per Annum* upon the Minister of Charles Town for ever. 'Twas by his Influence that Act pass'd, and he gave his Assent to it; he, as Governour, having a negative Voice to all Bills. His Lady also was one of the greatest Benefactors towards the Ornaments of the Church. And this Friendship deserv'd a more grateful Return than they met with from those who succeeded in the Government.

Mr. Blake dying about the Year 1700. after he had been Governour 4 or 5 Years, the Proprietaries Deputies met, according to their Instructions in such Cases, and proceeded to the Election of a new Governour; which Post is generally conferr'd on the eldest Landgrave, if there's no Objection to him, and no Person sent from England with that Character.

Joseph Moreton Esq; being the eldest Landgrave, was elected Governour by the Deputies: but Capt. James Moor, one of these Deputies, knowing the Party he had among them, objected against Mr. Moreton, as if he had made a Breach of the Trust repos'd in him by the true and absolute Lords and Proprietaries, by accepting of a Commission from King William, to be Judge of the Admiralty, when he had at the same time a Commission from the Lords Proprietaries for the same Office.

Tho this Objection was answer'd by Mr. Moreton's Friends; That it did not appear by the Charter, the Proprietaries can impower any one to try Persons for Facts committed out of their Dominions, which is necessary for such a Judge; and the Proprietaries could not grant it; yet such was Mr. Moor's Interest, that on this

his Objection Mr. *Moreton* was set aside, and his Opponent Mr. *Moor* chosen Governour. Mr. *Moreton* inform'd and complain'd to the Proprietaries, but was never redrest.

Col. James Moor Governour.

From this Election I date the Rise of all the Misfortunes that have since befallen this Colony, and that have given the Government of *England* so much Trouble.

The Earl of *Bath* was dead, and his Son *John Lord Granville*, lately advanc'd to the House of Peers, was Palatine. All the World knew how zealous that Gentleman had been for promoting a Bill against Occasional Conformists in *England*, and that he shew'd his Aversion to Dissenters even in the Court of *Stannaries* in the *West*, while he was Warden. The Bitterness of his Spirit appear'd in the Speeches he made to the Representatives of that Court; and was such, that he was not long employ'd by a Government, which is founded on Principles of Justice and Moderation; which has in all things promoted Union, and which has united the Hearts of all the Subjects of the British Empire more than all the Princes could do since the *Conquest*, and many Ages before it.

John Lord Granville Palatine.

In an ill time therefore did this Palatine countenance the Divisions in *Carolina*, by encouraging this and the succeeding Governour in their vain Endeavours, to establish that for a Law there, which had been rejected with such Marks of Abhorrence in *England* by our *Illustrious Representatives*.

Mr. *Moor* was easily confirm'd in his new Dignity by the Palatine; and as he is said to have sought after it, to enrich himself, so he made use of it to that end, he being in mean Circumstances, if the Representation of the principal Inhabitants of the Colony does not deceive us.

Let us give the Reader the proper Words, that we may not be accus'd of Partiality, which we detest in all things that hurt the Truth. But we know very well, that Faction will often accuse Fact of Partiality; and an Historian may write Things true, and yet by writing the Truth only of one Side, and concealing what is to its Disadvantage, it may give a plausible Appearance to a bad Cause; wherefore

we

we solemnly declare, that after a full Enquiry we have not been able to learn any thing that could excuse the Disorders we are about to relate, and vindicate the Administration in *Carolina*, while the Lord *Granville* was Palatine. Whether that Lord or his Governours ought to be blam'd most, let the World judge.

Case of
Diff. in
Car. p. 29,
30.

Mr. *Moor*, says the Author of the above-mention'd Representation, having thus boldly gotten the Government, resolv'd to make the best use of his Authority, and finding himself too poor, with the Countenance of his Office, to make any considerable Profit of the Indian Trade, he laid the Design of getting it wholly into his Power. He to that end procur'd a Bill to be brought into the Assembly, then sitting, for regulating the Indian Trade: Which Bill was so drawn, that had it pass'd, he would have engross'd all that beneficial Commerce. But Mr. *Robert Stephens*, and Mr. *Nicholas Trott* (who had not then forsaken the Country Interest) and some others, so plainly shew'd the ill Aim of that Act, that 'twas thrown out of the Assembly: Which Mr. *Moor* dissolv'd, perceiving they would not answer his Ends.

We do not think our selves oblig'd to keep to the Words of this Representation, which are too rough in some Places; but we keep religiously to the Sense; and having refer'd the Reader in the Margin to our Authority, he cannot suppose we endeavour to impose on him.

The Governour call'd a new Assembly about the latter end of the Year 1701. At the choosing of which, tho the Right of Electing be in the Freeholders only, he so influenc'd the Sheriff, that Strangers, Servants, Aliens; nay, Malatoes and Negroes were poll'd, and return'd.

Such as at the Place of Election oppos'd these Practices, were abus'd, and some assaulted by Mr. *Moor's* Favourites. By this means having got several into the Assembly, Men of no Sense and Credit, who would vote as he wou'd have them; he there kept them from being thrown out, on the Petition of those who were unjustly excluded.

Colliton County sent a Representation against him to the Palatine, containing in Substance the same, as that

that we have spoken of before ; therefore we cannot suspect the Truth of it.

When the Governour was afraid any of the Mem- Ibid. p. 34
bers he was sure was in his Interest would be turn'd out, on Petitions, he prorogu'd the Assembly : And when at last they were suffer'd to sit, the Inquiry into the Sheriff of *Berkley* County's Return was obstructed, by setting on foot an ill contriv'd Design of raising Forces to attack *St. Augustino*, a Fort belonging to the Spaniards, to the Southward of *Carolina*. If any Member of the Assembly undertook to speak against it, and to shew how unable the Province was at that time to undertake such an Expedition, he was presently look'd upon by him, and his Adherents, as an Enemy and Traitor to his Country ; and accordingly revil'd and affronted ; tho the true Design of the Expedition, as the Representation from *Colliton* County tells us, was *no other than catching and making Slaves of Indians, for private Advantage*. He would have had this Military Enterprize been undertaken before the War with *Spain* was proclaim'd ; but the Assembly carry'd that in the Negative.

Before we treat of this Expedition, we must observe what pass'd further in the Assembly. Mr. *John Ash*, one of the Members, propos'd to have the last *Fundamental Constitutions*, which Mr. *Daniel* brought over, confirm'd ; but he was oppos'd by Mr. *Trott* Ibid. and Mr. *How*, the Governour's Creatures.

This Mr. *Trott* had himself been Governour of *Providence*, and behav'd himself so arbitrarily, that he was complain'd of to King *William* some Years before. *Trott* and *How* expos'd the Constitutions as ridiculous ; and the Country was thus left in an unsettled Condition.

There's one Article in this Representation which is very extraordinary : *That the said late Governour Moor did grant Commissions to Anthony Dodsworth, Robert Mackoone, and others, to set upon, assault, Coll Coun- kill, destroy, and take as many Indians as they possibly by Repr. could ; the Profit and Produce of which Indian Slaves Article 5. were turn'd to his private Use. Whereas such Undertakings, unjust and barbarous in themselves, will in all Probability draw upon us an Indian War.*

We have said enough to give an Idea of the Condition the People of *Carolina* were in under such a Government, and have taken it all from Memorials presented by their Agents to the Lords Proprietaries. The next thing that comes in our way is the War of *Augustino*.

Two thousand Pounds were rais'd by an Act of the Assembly, to defray the Charge of this Expedition. The Governour prest as many Merchant Ships as were necessary to transport the Troops he intended to embark; who were order'd to rendezvous at *Port Royal*.

The Number of Men which were list'd for this Enterprize were 1200, 600 English, and 600 Indians. Col. *Moor* took the Command on himself, as General of all the Forces that should be rais'd within the Limits of his Government.

Col. *Rob. Daniel*, a very brave Man, commanded a Party who were to go up the River in *Periaga's*, and come upon *Augustino* on the Land side, while the Governour sail'd thither and attack'd it by Sea. They both set out in *August*, 1702. Col. *Daniel* in his Way took *St. John's*, a small Spanish Settlement; as also *St. Mary's*, another little Village, belonging to the Spaniards. After which he proceeded to *Augustino*, came before the Town, enter'd and took it; Col. *Moor* not being yet arriv'd with the Fleet.

The Inhabitants having notice of the Approach of the English had pack'd up their best Effects, and retir'd with them into the Castle, which was surrounded by a very deep and broad Moat.

They had laid up Provisions there for 4 Months, and resolv'd to defend themselves to the last Extremity. However Col. *Daniel* found a considerable Booty in the Town. The next Day the Governour arriv'd, and a Council of War was immediately call'd, in which 'twas resolv'd to land.

Accordingly the Governour came ashore, and his Troops following him, they entrench'd, posted their Guards in the Church, and block'd up the Castle. The English held the Possession of the Town a whole Month, but finding they could do nothing for want of Mortars and Bombs, they dispatch'd away a Sloop for *Jamaica*; but the Commander of the Sloop, instead

stead of going thither, came to *Carolina*, out of Fear or Treachery. Finding others offer'd to go in his stead, he proceeded in the Voyage himself, after he had lain some time at *Charles-Town*.

The Governour all this while lay before the Castle of *Augustino*, in Expectation of the Return of the Sloop: Which hearing nothing of, he sent Col. *Daniel*, who was the Life of the Action, to *Jamaica*, on the same Errand.

This Gentleman being hearty in the Design, procur'd a Supply of Bombs, and return'd towards *Augustino*. But in the mean time two Ships appear'd in the *Offing*, which being taken to be very large Men of War, the Governour thought fit to raise the Siege, and abandon his Ships, with a great Quantity of Stores, Ammunition, and Provision, to the Enemy. Upon which the two Men of War enter'd the Port of *Augustino*, and took the Governour's Ships. Some say he burnt them himself. Certain it is, they were lost to the English, and that he return'd to *Charles-Town* over Land, 300 Miles from *Augustino*. The two Men of War that were thought to be so large, prov'd to be two small Frigats, one of 22, and the other of 16 Guns.

When Col. *Daniel* came back to *Augustino*, he was chas'd, but got away; and Col. *Moor* retreated with no great Honour homewards. The *Periagas* lay at *St. John's*, whether the Governour retir'd, and so to *Charles Town*, having lost but two Men in the whole Expedition. *Arratommakaw*, King of the *Yaniosseaves*; who commanded the *Indians*, retreated to the *Periagas* with the rest, and there slept upon his Oars, with a great deal of Bravery and Inconcern. The Governour's Soldiers taking a false Alarm, and thinking the *Spaniards* were coming, did not like this slow Pace of the *Indian King* in his Flight; and to quicken him in it, bad him make more Haste: But he reply'd, No; tho your Governour leaves you, I will not stir till I have seen all my Men before me.

The First Representation, call'd also, *The present* Ib. p. 301
State of Affairs in Carolina, reflects a little too bit-
 terly on Col. *Moor* on this Head; and one would
 suspect the Truth of what it contains, if it was not
 con-

confirm'd by the second. We are told there, *They sent Plunder to Jamaica by their trusty Officers, under Colour of seeking Supplies, and sending for Bombs and Mortars.* Which is a malicious Turn given by Col. *Moor's* Enemies to Col. *Daniel's* going to *Jamaica*, who by the Dispatch he made there shew'd he went really for Mortars; and had the Governour staid till he had return'd, the Castle of *Augustino* had perhaps now been in *English* Hands; for the *Spaniards* had not above 200 Men aboard the two Figats. This Expedition, as unfortunate as it was in it self, was much more so in the Consequence of it; for it brought a Debt of 6000 *l.* on the Province. The Assembly had been under a Prorogation during the Governour's Absence, and when he return'd they met. The first thing they went upon, was to raise Money to pay off the Debt above-mention'd, and then they took into Consideration the Danger of the Country, as it lay expos'd to the Southward. But while these Bills were passing, another for the better regulating Elections, pass'd the Lower House twice, and was sent up to the Governour and Council, by whom 'twas rejected without so much as a Conference. Upon which several of the Members, jealous of their Privileges, and being so order'd by those that sent them, enter'd their Protestation, and left the House; but return'd the next Day, offering to sit longer if the rest of the Assembly would join with them, in asserting their Right. The whole Assembly consists of but 30 Members, and 15 of them protested against the irregular Proceedings of the Governour. Instead of tempering Matters, when they return'd to the House, they were abus'd and treated with the most scandalous Reflections, unbecoming an Assembly that represented a whole Province. And as they were insulted within Doors, they were assaulted without; for a Day or two after Lieut. Col. *George Dearsby* drew his Sword upon *Thomas Smith*, Esq; a Landgrave, and once Governour of the Colony, threatning his Life. *John Ash*, Esq; a Member of the Assembly, was not only abus'd in the Streets by a Company of Drunken Fellows, but forc'd aboard a Ship belonging to Cap. *Rhett*, and threatned to be hang'd, or sent to *Jamaica*, or left

See the
Representation of
the Members of
Colliton
County.

on some Desert-Island. This Mr. *Ash* is the Man who was employ'd as Agent for the People of *Carolina*, to represent their Grievances in the first Memorial, call'd, *The present State of Affairs in Carolina*; and the Persons who thus barbarously treated him, were *George Dearsby*, *Nicholas Nary*, *Thomas Dalton*, and others, whom, says the Representation of *Colliton County*, Article XI. *the Governour had treated immediately before the Riot began, and us'd such Expressions to them, as gave them, next their Drink, the greatest Encouragements for what they acted*; telling them, *The protesting Members would bring the People on their Heads for neglecting to pay the Countrys Debts. After the Riot began, of Part of which he was an Eye-Witness, having first drunk with some of them, he withdrew himself out of the way.* This Riot continu'd 4 or 5 Days; and *Edmund Bellinger*, Esq; a Landgrave, and Justice of Peace, attempting to suppress it, was call'd opprobrious Names by the Rioters, and *Rhett* can'd him for a considerable time. The Rioters assaulted Mr. *Joseph Boon*, a Merchant, deputed by *Colliton County*, to present the above-mention'd Second Representation to the *Palatine* and *Lords Proprietaries*, and put him in Danger and Fear of his Life, without any Provocation. The same they did by Mr. *James Byres*; who with the rest complain'd to the Governour; and receiving no Satisfaction, they ask'd him, whether he did not look on himself, as Governour, oblig'd to keep the Peace of the Province: The Governour reply'd, *That's a Question I am not oblig'd to answer.* He told them, 'twas a Justice of Peace's Business.

The Rioters went one Night to the House of one *John Smith*, a Butcher in *Charles-Town*, and forcing open the Door, threw down a Woman big with Child, and otherwise misusing her; she brought forth a dead Child, with the Back and Skull broken. These Instances are enough to shew any Man the Temper of this Governour and his Party; who were the same that stickled so much for the unhappy Bill we must speak of in the Sequel of this History. What follow'd upon this Riot, is told us in a late Tract, which I shall make use of in the Author's own Words, 'As this Riot was rais'd, encourag'd, and

Case of
Dis. in
Car. 19.

Sir Nath.
Johnson
Governor.

countenanc'd by the said Governour and Council ;
And as no Assistance could be obtain'd to quell it,
so all Methods to enquire into, and punish it, have
been render'd ineffectual, and the Course of Justice
intirely stop'd. For Sir *Nathaniel Johnson* was
made Governour in the Room of the said *Moor*.
The said Governor *Moor* was presently made At-
torney General; and Mr. *Trott*, another of the
chief Abettors of the Riot, the Chief Justice of the
Common Pleas; who in this Province is sole
Judge. Sir *Nathaniel Johnson* was General of
the *Leward Islands*, in the Reign of the late King
James; but he quitted his Government upon the
Revolution, and retir'd to *Carolina*, where he
liv'd privately till the Death of the late King *James*.
Upon which he first took the Oaths to the Govern-
ment; and some time after was made Governour
of the Province. And he has since his being Go-
vernour appointed such Sheriffs, as prevent all
Prosecutions of this Riot at their Assizes or Quar-
ter Sessions (which are the only Courts of Justice
in this Province) where Crimes of this Nature can
be try'd; and where the said Mr. *Trott* is sole
Judge, by returning such Jurors as were known
Abettors of the said Riot: So that there is a total
Failure of Justice, and nothing but Corruption in
the whole Frame and Administration of Govern-
ment.

Colliton-County Representation tells us particu-
larly, that Mr. *Bullinger* did what in him lay to have
the said Riot inquir'd into. He gave in the Record of
it to the Bench; and some of the Grand Jury urg'd
to have it presented, but to no purpose. The first
Representation informs us, that the Grand Jury pre-
sented it to the Court as a great Grievance, that the
Riot was not look'd into, and the Rioters prosecu-
ted; yet no Justice against them could be obtain'd;
the Judge giving for Answer, 'Twas before the Coun-
cil, his Superiors: The present Governour, That
it was an Action done before his coming to the
Government; that he thought the time of Prose-
cution laps'd, but would take care the like should be no
more.

This Answer had in the last part of it a Face of Moderation ; and such an Air was necessary, because an Assembly was about being elected. The *Conspirators*, as my Author terms them, saw that a new Parliament might set all things to rights again, and therefore when the time of a new Election came, which, according to their Constitution, is once in two Years ; they resolv'd to procure a Commons House of Assembly of the same Complexion with the former, and by more illegal Practices. If those they had us'd in the former Elections would not do their Business, their Designs took Effect ; and such a Commons House of Assembly was return'd, as fully answer'd their Expectations. Ib. p. 20.

The first Representation brought over by Mr. *Ash*, informs us, That at the Election for Berkley and Craven County, the Violence in Mr. Moor's Time, and all other illegal Practices, were with more Violence repeated, and openly avow'd by the present Governour, and his Friends.

The second Representation adds, *Jews, Strangers, Sailors, Servants, Negroes, and almost every Frenchman in Craven and Berkley Counties, came down to elect, and their Votes were taken, and the Persons by them voted for, were return'd by the Sheriffs.*

The Assembly meeting, chose *Job How, Esq;* to be their Speaker, and this was that Parliament, who, to oppress the Protestant Dissenters, brought in a Bill contrary to the first and last Fundamental Constitutions to the true Interest of the Colony, and the Right of every Freeholder there. 'Twas entitl'd, *An Act for the more effectual Preservation of the Government, by requiring all Persons that shall hereafter be chosen Members of the Commons House of Assembly, and sit in the same, to, &c. and to conform to the religious Worship in this Province, according to the Church of England, and to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the Rights and Usage of the said Church.*

Every Dissenter that was turn'd out of the House, by virtue of this Act, made room for the most bigoted of the Faction to get in ; for it provided, that the Person who had the most Votes next to such Dissenter, should be admitted in his Place ; and those that oppos'd the Dissenters being generally, according to the

before-mention'd Author, Men of violent and persecuting Principles, the Faction secur'd the Power in their own Hands.

There were 12 Members for this Bill, and 11 against it, in the Lower House; and in the Upper, *Joseph Moreton*, Esq; a Landgrave, and one of the Proprietary's Deputies, was deny'd the Liberty of entering his Protest against it. The Bill pass'd the 6th of *May*, A. D. 1704. and was sign'd by Sir *Nathaniel Johnson*, Col. *Thomas Broughton*, Col. *James Moor*, *Robert Gibbs*, Esq; *Henry Noble*, Esq; *Nicholas Trott*, Esq;

Case of
Diff. Part
2. P. 57. The Governour and Proprietaries Deputies, upon passing this Act, allarm'd all the Dissenters, who according to the Orthodox Minister of *Charles Town*, the Reverend Mr. *Marston's* Letter to the Reverend Dr. *Stanhope*, are the soberest, most numerous, and richest People of this Province; and this Assembly was compos'd of many Men of very loose and corrupt Morals.

We have shewn in the Beginning of the History of *Carolina*, that by the Fundamentals of the Province, the Dissenters could not be justly excluded from any Rights of the Members of it; we have shewn here what a sort of Convention, and by what Government countenanc'd, this Assembly was; and there's no need of exaggerating Matters, to make the thing look black; wherefore we shall proceed in our History.

It cannot be imagin'd, that a People who had been us'd so ill, wou'd sit still, and tamely bear such barbarous Usage; especially considering those that were concern'd in the Riot were some of the worst, and those that suffer'd by it, some of the best Men in the Province.

Col. *Joseph Moreton*, and *Edmund Bellinger*, Esq; Landgraves, and Deputies of the Lords Proprietaries, all the other Members of *Colliton* County, and several of the greatest Worth and Reputation in *Berkley* County, prevail'd with Mr. *Joseph Ash* to come for *England*, to represent the miserable State of the Province to the Proprietaries.

The Faction being apprehensive of their Danger in such a Proceeding, did their utmost to prevent Mr.

Mr *Ash's* Voyage; and 'twas not without the greatest Difficulty that he got away from *Carolina* to *Virginia*, where his Powers and Instructions were convey'd to him, as Agent for the Gentlemen and Inhabitants above-nam'd.

Coming to *England*, he apply'd himself to the Lord *Granville*, then Proprietary of the Province: But finding he was entirely in the Interests of the prevailing Party in *Carolina*, he despair'd of seeing the Grievances he came to complain of, redress'd: He therefore drew up the first Representation, often cited in this Treatise, printed a Sheet of it, and intended to go through with it; but dy'd before he could finish it; and his Papers, after his Death, were betray'd into his Enemies Hands.

How this Agency was lik'd in *Carolina*, we may suppose; and that the Author of, *The Case of the Dissenters in Carolina*, does not impose upon us, in telling us, *The Governour and his Agents prosecuted and insulted several of the Inhabitants, and particularly Landgrave Smith, on the account of some private Letters which they sent to the said Ash, while he was in Virginia and England, and which were found among the Papers betray'd to the Governour's Agents.*

Mr. *Ash* may probably represent Things with too much Partiality, especially if what Mr. *Archdale* says of him be true; *Their first Agent seem'd not a Person suitably qualify'd to represent their State here, not that he wanted Wit, but Temper.*

*Desc. of
Car. p. 25.*

What Share the Governour had in this Business, appears also in the same Tract. Sir *Nathaniel Johnson*, by a Chymical Wit, Zeal, and Art, transmuted or turn'd this Civil Difference into a religious Controversy; and so setting up a Standard for those called High Church, ventur'd at all to exclude all the Dissenters out of the Assembly, as being those principally that were for a strict Examination into the Grounds and Causes of the Miscarriage of the *Augustino* Expedition.

P; 23.

The Party did not stop here; for on the 4th of *November* an Act pass'd, and was sign'd by the Governour, and the Deputies above-nam'd; entitl'd, *An Act for establishing Religious Worship in this Province, according to the Church of England; and for*

the erecting of Churches for the Publick Worship of God, and also for the Maintenance of Ministers, and the building convenient Houses for them.

Which Act Mr. Archdale acquaints us, notwithstanding its splendid Gloss, favour'd of a persecuting Spirit, and of a haughty Dominion over the Clergy it self; for they set up a High Commission Court, giving them Power to place and displace Ministers, and act much in the Nature of the High Commission Court erected by King James II. in England. These Commissioners were Sir Nathaniel Johnson, Thomas Broughton, Esq; Col. James Moor, Nicholas Trott, Esq; Col. Robert Gibbes, Job How, Esq; Ralph Izard, Esq; Col. James Risbee, Col. George Logan, Lieut. Colonel William Rhet, William Smith, Esq; Mr. John Stroude, Mr. Thomas Hubbard, Richard Beresford, Esq; Mr. Robert Seabrook, Mr. Hugh Hicks, John Ashby, Esq; Capt. John Godfrey, James Serurier, alias Smith, Esq; and Mr. Thomas Barton.

It will not be improper to give a Character of this James Serurier, who has been mightily employ'd by the present Government in Carolina; and we cannot do it better, than in using the same Words Mrs. Blake, Mother of the Proprietary Joseph Blake, Esq; writes to the Lords Proprietaries. Towards the Satisfaction of the Augustino Debt, an Act was contriv'd, for forcing the Currency of Bills of Credit to the Value of 6000 l. These Bills were declar'd current in all Payments, and the Refuser of them sueable in double the Value of the Sum refus'd; whereby the boldest Stroke has been given to the Property of the Settlers in this Province, that ever was known in any Country not govern'd by Arbitrary Power. And the bad Consequences of this forc'd Currency, in relation to Trade with Strangers, are so great, that they can scarcely be express'd. But there has nothing of this been weigh'd by your Lordship's Deputies here, or by the pack'd Members of our Commons House of Assembly. Besides all this, the People are not satisfy'd how many Bills are truly sent abroad; and the great Concern Mr. James Smith, alias Serurier (who cheated the Scots Company of a considerable Sum of Money, and with his Keeper made his Escape from London hither) had in this Contrivance, gives a Jealousy of
indi-

indirect Practices. By this the Reader understands what Inconveniencies the *Augustino* Expedition brought upon the Colony, and what sort of Persons were Promoters of this Occasional Bill in *America*. But to shew that this Faction in the Assembly had nothing less in their View, than the real Advancement of Religion, and the Church of *England*; the Reverend Mr. *Edward Marston*, Minister of that Church in *Charles Town*, was censur'd by them, for three Passages of a Sermon preach'd there by him; two of which Passages were not in the said Sermon; and that which was amounted to no more, than that the Clergy had a Divine Right to a Maintenance. They depriv'd him of his Salary settl'd on him by Act of Parliament, and of 50 *l.* besides due to him by an Act of Assembly: Tho the chief Reason was his having visited Mr. Landgrave *Smith*, when he was in Custody of a Messenger, being committed by the Commons House, and living Friendly with the Dissenters.

Case of
Diss. Car.
p. 23.

Of this Assembly the same Reverend Divine says, *They made some very odd and unjustifiable Laws, which have occasion'd great Feuds and Animosities here.* And in his Representation to the Lords Proprietaries; *Most of the late Members of Assembly have been constant Absenters from the Holy Sacrament: So 'tis no Wonder they have inserted an absurd Oath in a late Act, &c. I cannot think it will be much for the Credit and Service of the Church of England here, that such Provisions should be made, for admitting the most loose and profligate Persons to sit and vote in the making of our Laws, who will but take the Oath appointed by the late Act.* And of the High Commissioners 'tis said, *Eleven of the Twenty were never known to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.*

See his
Letter to
Dr. Stan-
hope, Part
2. p. 57.

p. 62.

p. 63.

And that this furious Faction were no Friends to the Church of *England* is plain, by their Delign to wrest the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction out of the Hands of the Right Reverend Father in God, *Henry Lord Bishop of London*. Mr. *Marston* being threaten'd in Col. *Risbee's* House, *That at the next Sessions of Assembly he should see the Bishop of London's Jurisdiction abolish'd there.* And of this *Carolina* Parliament he adds further, *Our Lower House of Assembly imprison by a Vote of the House, sine die, and bid Defiance to*

p. 67.

P. 60. the Habeas Corpus Act, tho made in Force there by an Act of Assembly. The Governour was very cholerick with the Minister, because he had made Landgrave Smith a Visit, at the House of the Messenger; and a Bully lash'd him causelessly with his Whip, and tore his Gown from his Back. His Creatures also in the Assembly were the occasion of his Sufferings.

P. 58. If I am accus'd of being partial in representing this Matter, I answer, that besides the Memorials publish'd by the Agent of Carolina, Mr. Archdale's Tract and others, I have diligently inquir'd into the Truth of the Fact, and have not been able to learn the least hint that makes against it, or vindicates the Party that is complain'd of, and were powerfully protect'd by the Lord Granville; notwithstanding it was made out to him, that the Assembly in passing the Occasional Bill in Carolina, were guilty of the most notorious ill Practices, and were Men of corrupt Principles and Manners. That Bill was brought into the House the 4th of May, and carry'd so precipitately, that it pass'd the 6th, four Days before the time to which they were prorogu'd. There never were above 23 Members present, from the 26th of April to the 6th of May. There was but one more for it than against it; and of the latter many were Members of the Church of England.

Part I. p.
38.

There's one thing very remarkable in the Act, which is the Stile: *Be it enacted, by his Excellency John Lord Granville, and the rest of the true and absolute Lords and Proprietors of Carolina, &c.* A Stile never assum'd by them till very lately. From whence we may observe how pleas'd that Faction is every where with the Despotick and Absolute Power, inso-much as to usurp the Name, when they cannot obtain any thing more. *The Case of the Dissenters in Carolina*, is so full of Irregularities in the Course of this Affair, that we must refer the Reader to it. We have taken the most material, and now are to see what was done in *England* relating to this Matter.

The principal Merchants in *London* trading to *Carolina*, drew up a Petition to the Lord Granville against passing this Act, or to order its Repeal. Which Petition they lodg'd with Mr. Boone, the Agent

gent of *Carolina*, who solicited the Palatine seven Weeks before he could prevail to have a Board of Proprietaries call'd.

Mr. *Archdale*, one of the Proprietaries, oppos'd the ratifying the Bill against the Dissenters at the Board, and with such solid Reasons, that 'tis amazing to find the Palatine make this short Answer to all of 'em: *Sir, you are of one Opinion, and I am of another; and our Lives may not be long enough to end the Controversy: I am for this Bill, and this is the Party that I will head and countenance.*

What other Tone could he have talk'd in had he been Sultan of *Carolina*? Mr. *Boon* pray'd he might be heard by Council. The Palatine reply'd, *What Business has Council here? It is a prudential Act in me; and I will do as I see fit. I see no harm at all in this Bill, and am resolv'd to pass it.* He should have added, *Car tel est notre Plaisir.*

As all Methods to procure Justice from this Board were ineffectual, in the Case of the Dissenters, the same were they in Mr. *Marston's* Case, and the Abuses he met with from the Party, the Lord *Granville* was resolv'd to head and countenance. And what that Party was in *England*, and how they have seen their unreasonable Attempts baffl'd and exploded, is too well known, to need any Remembrance here.

The Bill which occasion'd all the Complaints in *Carolina*, having pass'd thus illegally and arbitrarily, the Dissenters in this Province being notoriously known P. 12. to be above two thirds of the People, and the richest and soberest among them, according to Mr. *Marston's* Evidence, 'twas not likely that they would suffer themselves to be insulted and persecuted without seeking Redress. The very Assembly who pass'd the Bill, about half a Year afterwards pass'd another to repeal it, when the House was full; but it was lost in the Upper House; and the Governour, in great Indignation, dissolv'd the Commons House, by the Name of the Unsteady Assembly. P. 41. The Society for propagating the Gospel in *America* and elsewhere, meeting in *St. Paul's* Church, taking the Act for the Establishing of Religious Worship, &c. into Consideration, resolv'd not to send or support any Missionaries

naries in that Province, till the said Act, or the Clause relating to the Lay Commissioners, was annul'd.

There being no Hopes of any Redress of the Grievances the Inhabitants of this Colony suffer'd in *Carolina*, nor from the Lords Proprietaries in *England*, they resolv'd to bring the Matter before the House of Lords in *England*, not doubting but to have entire Justice done them by that august Assembly; where the Language of their Palatine was never heard from the Throne, at least in this Reign, or the last; both which are the Glory of the *British Annals*.

Mr. *Boon* was not only impower'd by the principal Inhabitants of *Carolina* to act as their Agent, but he was assisted in his Agency by several eminent Merchants of *London*, who sign'd the Petition to the House of Lords; as Mr. *Micaiah Perry*, Mr. *Joseph Paice*, Mr. *Peter Renew*, Mr. *Christopher Fowler*, and others.

The Effect of which was, after a full hearing of the Cause at the Lord's Bar, that most Honourable House, who have done such great Things for the Liberties of *England*, voted an Address to the Queen, in behalf of the Province of *Carolina*: But the Reader cannot be better satisfy'd, than to have it in their own Words; by which the State of the Case will be best seen.

The Hum-
ble Ad-
dress of the
Right Ho-
nourable
the Lords
Spiritual
and Tempo-
ral in Par-
liament as-
sembled,
Die Mar-
tii 12,
1705.

‘ The House having fully and maturely weigh’d
‘ the Nature of these two Acts, found themselves
‘ oblig’d in Duty to Your Majesty, and in Justice to
‘ your Subjects in *Carolina* (who by the Express
‘ Words of the Charter of Your Royal Uncle King
‘ *Charles II.* granted to the Proprietors, are declared
‘ to be the Liege People of the Crown of *England*,
‘ and to have Right to all the Liberties, Franchises,
‘ and Privileges of *Englishmen*, as if they were born
‘ within this Kingdom: And who by the Words of
‘ the same Charter, are to be subject to no Laws,
‘ but such as are consonant to Reason, and as near as
‘ may be to the Laws and Customs of *England*) to
‘ come to the following Resolutions.

' *First*, That it is the Opinion of this House, that the
 ' Act of the Assembly of *Carolina*, lately pass'd there,
 ' and since sign'd and seal'd by *John Lord Granville*,
 ' Palatine, for himself, and for the Lord *Cartarett*,
 ' and the Lord *Craven*, and Sir *John Colliton*, four of
 ' the Proprietors of that Province, in order to the
 ' ratifying it, entitled, *An Act for the establishing Re-*
 ' *ligious Worship in this Province, according to the*
 ' *Church of England; and for the erecting of Churches*
 ' *for the publick Worship of God, and also for the Main-*
 ' *tenance of Ministers, and building convenient Houses*
 ' *for them.* So far forth as the same relates to the
 ' establishing a Commission for the displacing the
 ' Rectors or Ministers of the Churches there, is not
 ' warranted by the Charter granted to the Proprie-
 ' tors of that Colony, as being not consonant to Rea-
 ' son, repugnant to the Laws of this Realm, and de-
 ' structive to the Constitution of the Church of *Eng-*
 ' *land.*

' *Secondly*, That it is the Opinion of this House,
 ' That the Act of the Assembly of *Carolina*, entitled,
 ' *An Act for the more effectual Preservation of the Go-*
 ' *vernment of this Province, by requiring all Persons*
 ' *that shall hereafter be chosen Members of the Commons*
 ' *House of Assembly, and sit in the same, to take the*
 ' *Oaths, and subscribe the Declaration appointed by this*
 ' *Act, and to conform to the Religious Worship in this*
 ' *Province, according to the Rites and Usage of the said*
 ' *Church,* lately pass'd there, and sign'd and seal'd by
 ' *John Lord Granville*, Palatine, for himself, and the
 ' Lord *Craven*, and also for the Lord *Cartarett*, and
 ' by Sir *John Colliton*, four of the Proprietors of that
 ' Province, in order to the ratifying of it, is found-
 ' ed upon Falsity in Matter of Fact, is repugnant to
 ' the Laws of *England*, contrary to the Charter
 ' granted to the Proprietors of that Colony, is an
 ' Encouragement to Atheism and Irreligion, destru-
 ' ctive to Trade, and tends to the depopulating and
 ' ruining the said Province,

May it please your Majesty ;

We your Majesty's most dutiful Subjects, having thus humbly presented our Opinion of these Acts, we beseech your Majesty to use the most effectual Methods to deliver the said Province from the arbitrary Oppressions, under which it now lies; and to order the Authors thereof to be prosecuted according to Law.

To which Her Majesty was graciously pleas'd to answer :

I thank the House, for laying these Matters so plainly before me; I am very sensible of what great Consequence the Plantations are to England, and will do all that is in my Power to relieve my Subjects.

It appear'd to the House, that some of the Proprietors absolutely refus'd to join in these Acts. This Matter being referr'd to the Lords of the Committee of Trade, they examin'd into it; and finding all the Fact charg'd upon the Promoters of these Bills, true, represented to Her Majesty, the 24th of *May*, 1706. That the making such Laws is an Abuse of the Power granted to the Proprietors by their Charter, and will be a Forfeiture of such Power. They further humbly offer'd to her Majesty, That she would be pleas'd to give Directions for re-assuming the same into her Majesty's Hands by *Scire Facias*, in her Majesty's Court of *Queen's-Bench*. Which Representation was sign'd by the Right Honourable the Lord *Dartmouth*, the Honourable *Robert Cecil*, Esq; Sir *Philip Meadows*, *William Blathwayte*, Esq; *Matthew Prior*, Esq; and *John Pollexfen*, Esq;

On the 10th of *June*, her Majesty was pleas'd to approve of the said Representation; and accordingly having declar'd the Laws mention'd therein to be NULL and VOID, did Order, That for the more effectual Proceeding against the said Charter, by way of *Quo Warranto*, Mr. Attorney, and Mr. Solicitor General do inform themselves fully concerning what may be most necessary for effecting the same.

Thus

Thus did our most Gracious Sovereign hear the Cry of the Oppress'd, right the Innocent, and do Justice on the Oppressor. For no Distance of Country can put any of her Subjects out of her Protection; nor no Difference of Opinion (provided they are kept within the Bounds of Duty and Religion) prevent her favouring alike all her People, and doing her utmost to make them all happy, as the infinite God has made her Reign to her self, and her Empire, in a distinguish'd manner.

The Assembly which pass'd these two memorable Acts were dissolv'd in the following Year, and a new one summon'd to meet at *Charles Town*. At the Election, *Craven* and *Berkley* Counties were so streightned by the Qualifying Act, that they had not 20 Men to represent them, unless they would choose a Dissenter, or a Man not fit to sit in the Assembly. Nineteen of the Party against the *Occasional Bill* were chosen, and one Mr. *Job How* was elected by the Interest of the *Goosecreek* Faction, a Branch of the former. The *French*, who were Free-holders, voted for them, being induc'd to it, by a *Frenchman's* being set up for a Candidate. They also procur'd Masters of Ships, particularly Cap. *Cole*, who lay in the Harbour, to vote on their Side. This Election was made in the Town, and the Faction gave out, An Assembly was chosen, who would repeal the Church-Act, and not pay the *Augustino* Debt, threatening if they did, the House and Town should quickly be too hot to hold them.

In *Colliton* County, there were but 14 Men would qualify themselves: Therefore none of the Dissenters appear'd, and there were but 10 Votes out of 200 that appear'd at the Election. The 10 Electors voted for 14 Candidates, and the Sheriff return'd 10 that had the Majority of Votes.

On *Jan. 2. 1705.* the Members met, but not enough to make a House, and choose a Speaker. Mr. *Stephens*, one of the Members, ask'd Mr. *How*, in the Governour's Presence, to attend; but he refus'd. Before Night the House was compleat, and waited on the Governour, and ask'd if he would direct them to choose a Speaker? He answer'd, he thought 'twas too late, but if they would venture they must do it
with

with speed, for he was not well, and 'twould endanger his Health to sit up. So they presently chose Mr. *Seabrook*, and presented him to the Governour; who approv'd of the Choice.

The next Day the House met, the Speaker in the Chair, and the Members were call'd upon to qualify themselves: Six did, and three more were ready to do it, and Debates arising about Qualifying, the House adjourn'd.

The House meeting again, a Report was, as 'tis said, industriously spread, that the Members had forfeited 50 *l.* a Man for adjourning before they were qualify'd. Mr. *How* and Mr. *Wigginton* attended in their Places, and offer'd to qualify themselves; but Mr. *Bornwell* coming with a Message, the House waited on the Governour; who spoke to this Purpose:

GENTLEMEN,

You are building on a wrong Foundation, and then the Superstructure will never stand; for you have dissolv'd your selves by adjourning, before there was a competent Number of Members to adjourn, and I cannot dissolve you if I would, you not being a House. All this I know very well, as being my self many Years a Member of the House of Commons in England; and therefore as I am Head, I would advise you to go back no more to the House, but go every Man about his own Business: For if you should persist in settling and making Laws, besides the incurring the Penalties of the Act, the Laws would be of no Force, &c.

The Speaker refus'd to return to the Chair, and the Members dispers'd. The Governour and Council disowning the Assembly, Mr. *Wigginton* declar'd, 'Twas his Opinion the House was dissolv'd. But their Dissolution was aggravated, by the Pleasure the Government took in making them *Felo de se*, their own Murderers.

Then another Assembly was call'd, the Choice of which was carry'd on with greater Violence than the former. *Job How*, Esq; was chosen Speaker, and the Members for the most Part qualify'd themselves

selves according to the Qualifying Act. The Faction had not then heard of the Proceedings against them in *England*, which indeed were not come to a Conclusion. They continu'd their Irregularities as if they were the most innocent Men in the Province, and the only true Patriots. They pass'd an Act for their Continuance two Years after the Death of the present Governour, or the Succession of a new one: The Reason is told us in the Preamble, *Whereas the Church of England has of late been so happily establish'd among them, fearing by the Succession of a new Governour, the Church may be either undermin'd, or wholly subverted, to prevent that Calamity befalling them, be it enacted, &c.* Mr. *Job How*, Speaker of the Assembly, dying some time after, Col. *William Rhett* was chosen in his Place. But what has been since done in these Affairs, we know not more than in general, that the two Acts have been repeal'd, and the Party who drove things on with such Fury, have entirely lost their Credit, and that the Proprietaries are oblig'd to them for the Cause now depending; wherein if they are cast, the Government of the Province will be forfeited to the Crown. They may thank themselves for it, or at least their late Palatine the Lord *Granville*; for since the foregoing Pages were written, that Lord dy'd.

How things may be manag'd now, is not difficult to be foreseen, from the good Intelligence between the Persons we have just mention'd; and the Fall of this Faction is a terrible Example to all Colonies, not to let any Prejudice or Passion hurry them on to do things which they cannot answer to their Superiours in *England*.

'Tis not yet known who will be *Palatine* of this Province, there being some Disputes in the Succession. 'Tis suppos'd the Lord *Craven* will succeed the late Lord *Granville*, who assign'd his Propriety to the Duke of *Beaufort*.

C H A P. II.

Containing a Geographical Description of Carolina; as also an Account of the Climate, Soil, Product, Trade, First Inhabitants, &c.

TIS very well known, that the Province of *Carolina* has been a long time divided into two separate Governments, the one call'd *North Carolina*, and the other *South Carolina*; but the latter being the more populous, goes generally under the Denomination of *Carolina*, and as such we have treated of it in the foregoing Pages. The Proprietaries of *North Carolina* are the Proprietaries of *South Carolina*; tho' the Governours are different, in other things they are exactly the same. And we shall put them together in the Geographical Description; as also in our Account of the Climate, Soil, Product, Trade, first Inhabitants, &c.

Carolina, as has been said, contains all the Coast of *North America*, between 31 and 36 Degrees of Northern Latitude. Its Breadth is not to be computed, King *Charles II.* having granted the Proprietors all the Land Westward in a direct Line from the above-mention'd Degrees to the South Seas. 'Tis in Length three hundred Miles. Its Situation is most convenient for Trade, the Coast pleasant and safe, not stormy, or frozen in the Winter.

As to the Climate, Mr. *Archdale* says of it, *Carolina is the Northern Part of Florida, viz. from 29 Degrees to 36 ½, and is indeed the very Center of the habitable Part of the Northern Hemisphere; for taking it to be habitable from the Equinoctial to 64 Degrees, the Center of Carolina lies in about 32. which is about the middle of 64, lying Parallel with the Land of Canaan, and may be called the temperate Zone comparatively, as not being pester'd with the violent Heats of the more Southern Colonies, or the Extremes and violent Colds of the more Northern Settlements. Its Production answers the Title of Florida, quia Regio est Florida. Carolina North and*

Def. of
Car. p. 6.

and South is divided into 6 Counties; of which two are in *North Carolina*, *Albemarle* and *Clarendon*; and four in *South*, *Craven*, *Berkley*, *Colliton*, and *Cartarett* Counties.

The first is *Albemarle* County, to the North, bordering on *Virginia*. 'Tis water'd by *Albemarle* River; and in this Part of the Country lies the Island *Roanoke*, where *Philip Amidas* and *Arthur Barlow*, whom Sir *Walter Rawleigh* sent to *Virginia*, landed. This County may be said to belong to *Virginia*, as *New England*, &c. did, which justifies King *Charles's* Grant. When *Carolina* was first settled, *Albemarle* was more planted than any of the other Counties, and consisted of near 300 Families. But the Plantations upon *Ashley* River in time grew upon it so much, that most of the Planters here remov'd thither. This River is full of Creeks on both Sides of it, which for Breadth deserve the Name of Rivers, but they do not run far into the Country. At *Sandy Point*, it divides it self into two Branches, *Noratoke* and *Notaway*; and in the North Point lives an *Indian* Nation, call'd the *Mataromogs*. Next to *Albemarle* is *Pantegoe* River; between them is *Cape Hattoras*, mention'd in the History of *Virginia*. Next to it is *Neuse* River. The *Coranines*, an *Indian* Nation, inhabit the Country about *Cape Look-out*.

Next to *Albemarle* is *Clarendon* County; in which is the famous Promontary, call'd *Cape Fear*, at the Mouth of *Clarendon* River, call'd also *Cape Fear* River. Hereabouts a Colony from *Barbadoes* formerly settled. The *Indians* in this Neighbourhood are reckon'd the most barbarous of any in the Province. The next River is nam'd *Waterey* River, or *Winyann*, about 25 Leagues distant from *Ashley* River: 'Tis capable of receiving large Ships, but inferior to *Port Royal*, nor is yet inhabited. There's another small River between this and *Clarendon* River call'd *Wingon* River, and a little Settlement honour'd with the Name of *Charles Town*, but so thinly inhabited, that 'tis not worth taking Notice of. We come now to *South Carolina*, which is parted from *North* by *Zantee* River. The adjacent Count'ry is call'd,

Craven County; it is pretty well inhabited by *English* and *French*; of the latter there's a Settlement on *Zantee River*, and they were very instrumental in the irregular Election of the *Unsteady Assembly*. The next River to *Zantee* is *Sewee River*; where some Families from *New England* settled: And in the Year 1706. the *French* landing there, they were vigorously oppos'd by this little Colony; who beat off the Invaders, having forc'd them to leave many of their Companions dead behind them. This County sends 10 Members to the Assembly. We now enter

Berkley County, passing still from North to South. The Northern Parts of this Shire are not planted, but the Southern are thick of Plantations, on Account of the two great Rivers, *Cooper* and *Ashley*. On the North Coast, there's a little River call'd *Bowal River*; which, with a Creek, forms an Islands, and off of the Coasts are several Isles, nam'd the *Hunting-Islands*, and *Sillivants Isle*. Between the latter and *Bowal River*, is a Ridge of Hills; which, from the Nature of the Soil, is call'd the *Sand-Hills*. The River *Wando* waters the North-West Parts of this County, and has several good Plantations upon it, as Col. *Daniel's* on the South Side, and Col. *Dearsby's* lower down on the North. It runs into *Cooper River* near the latter, and they both unite their Streams with *Ashley River* at *Charles Town*. The late Assembly enacted, That a Church should be built on the South-East of *Wando River*, and another upon the Neck of Land, lying on the North-West of *Wando*, but we do not see that this Act was obey'd.

Charles Town, the Capital of this Province, is built on a Neck of Land between *Ashley* and *Cooper Rivers*, but lying most on *Cooper River*, having a Creek on the North Side, and another on the South. It lies in 32 Deg. 40 Min. N. Lat. 2 Leagues from the Sea. This the only free Port in the Province, which is a great Discouragement to it, and a vast Injury to Trade: 'Tis fortify'd more for Beauty than Strength. It has 6 Bastions, and a Line all round it. Towards *Cooper River* are *Blake's Bastion*, *Granville Bastion*, a Half Moon, and *Craven Bastion*. On the South Creek are

are the Pallifades, and *Ashley* Bastion; on the North a Line; and facing *Ashley* River are *Colliton* Bastion, *Johnson's* Cover'd Half-Moon, with a Draw-bridge in the Line, and another in the Half-Moon. *Cartarett* Bastion is next to it. If all these Works are well made, and can be well mann'd, we see no Reason why they should not defend as well as beautify the Town; which is a Market Town, and thither the whole Product of the Province is brought for Sale. Neither is its Trade inconsiderable; for it deals near 1000 Miles into the Continent: However, 'tis unhappy in a Bar, that admits no Ships above 200 Tuns. Its Situation is very inviting, and the Country about it agreeable and fruitful: The High-ways extremely delightful, especially that call'd *Broad-way*, which for three or four Miles make a Road and Walk, *so pleasantly green, that, says my Author, I Archd. believe no Prince in Europe, by all his Art, can make P. 9. so pleasant a Sight for the whole Year.* There are several fair Streets in the Town, and some very handsome Buildings; as Mr. Landgrave *Smith's* House on the Key, with a Draw-bridge and Wharf before it; Col. *Rhett's* on the Key; also Mr. *Boon's*, Mr. *Loggan's*, Mr. *Schinking's*, and 10 or 12 more, which deserve to be taken Notice of. As for publick Edifices, the Church is most remarkable: 'Tis large and stately enough; but the Number of the Professors of the *Anglicane* Worship encreasing daily, the Auditory begin to want Room, and another Church. This is dedicated to St. *Philip*; and by the Act, which appointed the High Commission Court, 'twas enacted, *That Charles Town, and the Neck between Cooper and Ashley River, as far up as the Plantation of John Bird, Gent. on Cooper River, inclusive, is, and from henceforth shall for ever be a distinct Parish, by the Name of St. Philip's in Charles Town;* and the Church and Cæmetry then in this Town were enacted to be the Parish Church and Church-Yard of St. *Philip's* in Charles Town: Mr. *Williams* was the first Church of England Minister in Carolina: A Person, of whom since Mr. *Marston* has said so much, we shall say no more. One Mr. *Warmel* was sent over after him. The Reverend Mr. *Samuel Marshal* was the first establish'd Minister at *Charles Town*; and his

Successor was Mr. *Edward Marston*, the present Rector of *St. Philips*; he came over seven Years ago. Mr. *Kendal*, Minister of *Bermudas*, was invited to this Colony; and Mr. *Corbin*, an Acquaintance of Mr. *Marston's*, coming by chance, he got him settl'd in this Province.

See Mr. Marston's Letter to Dr. Stanhope, Part 2. of Case of Dissent. p. 58.

The Society for propagating the Gospel sent over one Mr. *Thomas*, to convert the Roman Catholick Indians; but he did not obey his Mission. On the contrary, 'twas by his Influence on some Men of Interest here, that Mr. *Kendal* was displac'd: Upon which he went distracted.

Mr. *Warmell* was also us'd so ill by him, that he also dy'd distracted; and Mr. *Corbin* was forc'd to leave the Colony, by the causeless Quarrels of the Inhabitants; in which the Dissenters had the least Hand. 'Twas by their Procurement that the 150 l. a Year, &c. was settl'd on the Orthodox Minister of this Church. The Church stands near the cover'd Half Moon.

There's a Publick Library in this Town, and a Free-School has been long talk'd of: Whether founded or not, we have not learn'd. The Library is kept by the Minister for the time being. It owes its Rise to Dr. *Thomas Bray*; as do most of the *American* Libraries, for which he zealously sollicitd Contributions in *England*.

Not far off, by *Cartarett Bastion*, is the Presbyterian Meeting-house; of which Mr. *Archibald Stobe* is Minister. Between *Colliton* and *Ashley* Bastion is the Anabaptist Meeting-house, Mr. *William Screven* Minister. The French Church is in the Chief Street: Besides which there is a Quakers Meeting-house, in the Suburbs of it, properly so call'd, on the other Side of the Draw-bridge, in the Half Moon, toward *Ashley* River.

To the Southward is the Watch-house; and the most noted Plantations in the Neighbourhood of *Charles Town*, are *Ferguson's*, *Underwood's*, *Gilbertson* and *Garnett's*.

We may see by this Description that the Town is full of Dissenters, and would flourish more, were not the Inhabitants uneasy under the Government there. For one may imagine they who fled from

England, to avoid Persecution, cannot be well pleas'd to meet with it in *America*; nor to cross the *Atlantic*, to live under Oppression abroad, while their Relations and Friends at home enjoy all the Blessings of a peaceful and gentle Administration.

There are at least 250 Families in this Town, most of which are numerous, and many of them have 10 or 12 Children in each; in the whole amounting to about 3000 Souls.

In *Charles Town* the Governour generally resides, the Assembly sit, the Courts of Judicature are held, the Publick Offices kept, and the Business of the Province is transacted.

The Neck of Land between *Cooper* and *Ashley* Rivers is about 4 Miles over; and the Banks of both of these are well planted. The chief Settlements on *Cooper* River are *Mathew's*, *Green's*, *Gray's*, *Starkey's*, *Grimboll's*, *Dickeson's*, and *Izard's*; the latter on *Turky Creek*. About a Mile from thence is the Mouth of *Goose-Creek*, which is also very well planted. Here Mr. *William Corbin* above-mention'd liv'd, and had a Congregation of Church of England Men; and one of the Churches propos'd to be built by the Assembly which pass'd the two fatal Acts we have spoken of, was to be erected.

Mr. *Thomas*, a Missionary sent by the Society before-mention'd, settled here, by Capt. *How's* and Col. *Moor's* Sollicitations; as did Mr. *Stackhouse*, and the Reverend Dr. *Lejau*.

Mr. *Marston* in his Letter to the Reverend Dr. *Stanhope*, accuses Mr. *Thomas* of being the Occasion of the ill Usage that made Mr. *Kendal* run distracted. He complains he never had University Education, laying, *That the best Service your Society can do this young Man, Mr. Thomas, is, to maintain him a few Years at one of our Universities, where he may better learn the Principles and Government of the Church of England, &c. and some other useful Learning, which I am afraid he wants.*

Sir *John Yeaman's*, and Mr. *Landgrave Bellerger's* Plantations are here; as also Col. *Gibbs's*, Mr. *Schinking's*, and *Colliton's* Company. Between this and *Back River* are Col. *Moor's* and Col. *Quarry's* Plantations.

Back River falls into *Cooper River*, about 2 Miles above *Goosecreek*, and its Western Branch a little higher. Here another Church was propos'd to be built. The most noted Plantations are Capt. *Comming's*, and Sir *Nathaniel Johnson's*, bordering on the Barony of Mr. *Thomas Colliton*.

We must now take a View of *Ashley River*, where we first meet with Mr. Landgrave *West's* Plantation on one side, and Col. *Gibbs's* on the other. Mr. *Baden's* over against Col. *Godfrey's*; Mr. *Simond's* opposite to Dr. *Trevillian's*; and Mr. *Pendarvis's* to Mr. *West's*, Mr. *Colliton's* to Mr. *Marshal's*, and others, almost contiguous.

This Part of the Country belongs to the Lord *Shaftsbury*. On the South-West of *Ashley River* is the great *Savana*. One of the Churches intended to be erected in this County, was to have been built on *Ashley River*.

Dorchester is in this Shire, bordering on *Colliton* County. 'Tis a small Town, containing about 350 Souls. There's a Meeting-House belonging to the Independants, the Pastor of which is Mr. *John Lord*. Next to it is *Stono River*, which divides *Berkley* from *Colliton* County. To which we must now proceed, observing only that *Berkley* County sends ten Members to the Assembly. The same does,

Colliton County; which *Stono River* waters, and is join'd by a Cut, near Mr. *Blake's* Plantation, to *Wadmoolaw* River. The North-East Parts of this Division of the Province is full of Indian Settlements; and the *Stono*, and other Rivers, form an Island, call'd *Boones* Island, a little below *Charles Town*, which is well planted and inhabited. The two chief Rivers in this County are *North Edistow*, and *South Edistow*. At the Mouth of the latter is Col. *Paul Grimboll's* Plantation; and for two or three Miles up the River, the Plantations are thick on both sides, as they continue for three or four Miles higher on the North-side, and branching there, the River meets with the *North Edistow*.

Two Miles higher is *Wilton*, by some call'd *New London*, a little Town, consisting of about 30 Houses. Landgrave *Moreton*, Mr. *Blake*, Mr. *Boon*,

Boon, Landgrave *Axtel*, and other considerable Planters, have Settlements in this Neighbourhood, which is Sir *John Colliton's* Precinct.

A Church was to have been built on the South-side of the *Stono*, had that Project gone on, and the Act taken effect. This County has 200 Freeholders, that vote in Election for Parliament Men. There's an Orthodox Church in this Precinct, of which Mr. *Williams* is Minister.

Cartarett County is not yet inhabited, but is generally esteem'd to be the most fruitful and pleasant Part of the Province; this and *Colliton* County are distinguish'd from the other by the Name of the *Southward*. In it is the great River *Cambage*, which joining with the River *May*, forms with the Sea Island *Edelano*.

The Country upon the River *May* was inhabited by the *Westoes*, an Indian Nation already mention'd. There's a pleasant Lake and Valley in it; and the first English that came to *Carolina*, thought of settling hereabouts; but the Indians advis'd them to the contrary, because the Harbour of *Port Royal* was the finest in *Florida*, and would have tempted the Spaniards to disturb them.

The Scots settled here, under the Lord *Cardross*, but were soon forc'd to abandon their Settlements, as has been elsewhere hinted. *Port Royal* River lies 20 Leagues from *Ashley* River, to the South, in 31 Degrees, 45 Minutes, North Latitude. It has a bold Entrance, 17 Foot low Water on the Bar. The Harbour is large, commodious, and safe for Shipping, and runs into a fine fruitful Country, preferable to the other Parts of *Carolina*. It spends its self, by various Branches, into other large Rivers. This Port is not 200 Miles from *Augustino*, and would be a great Curb to the Spaniards there, where their Settlement is not very considerable.

Next to it is the River of *May*, and then *San Matteo*; which is the last of any Note in the English *Florida*, a Name this Province highly deserves.

The Air of this Country is healthy, and Soil fruitful, of a sandy Mould, which near the Sea appears ten times more barren than it proves to be. There's a vast Quantity of Vines in many Parts on the Coasts,

bearing abundance of Grapes, where one would wonder they should get Nourishment. Within Land the Soil is more mix'd with a blackish Mould, and its Foundation generally Clay, good for Bricks.

Its Products are the chief Trade of the Inhabitants, who send it abroad, according as the Market offers; and 'tis in demand in *America* or *Europe*. But the chief Commerce from hence is to *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, and the *Leward* Islands. Yet their Trade to *England* is very much encreas'd; for notwithstanding all the Discouragements the People lie under, seventeen Ships came last Year, laden from *Carolina*, with Rice, Skins, Pitch, and Tar, in the *Virginia* Fleet, besides stragling Ships.

Its principal Commodities are Provisions, as Beef, Pork, Corn, Pease, Butter, Tallow, Hides, Tann'd Leather, Hoghead and Barrel Staves, Hoops, Cotton, Silk; besides what they send for *England*. Their Timber Trees, Fruit Trees, Plants, and Animals, are much the same with those in *Virginia*; in which History may be seen a large Account of them: But since Mr. *Archdale* has been a little particular in his, and has added a short Description of the Natives, &c. we will communicate what he says to the Reader.

P. 9.

'Tis beautify'd with odoriferous Woods, green all the Year; as Pine, Cedar, and Cypress. 'Tis naturally fertile, and easy to manure. Were the Inhabitants industrious, Riches would flow in upon them; for I am satisfy'd, a Person with 500*l.* discreetly laid out in *England*, and again prudently manag'd in *Carolina*, shall in a few Years live in as much Plenty, as a Man of 300*l.* a Year in *England*; and if he continues careful, not covetous, shall increase to great Riches, as many there are already Witneses, and many more might have been, if Luxury and Intemperance had not ended their Days.

As to the Air, 'tis always serene, and agreeable to any Constitutions, as the first Planters experienc'd. There's seldom any raging Sickness, but what is brought from the Southern Colonies; as the late Sickness was, which rag'd, *A. D.* 1706. and carry'd off

‘ off abundance of People in *Charles Town*, and other
‘ Places.

‘ Intemperance also has occasion’d some Distempers.
‘ What may properly be said to belong to the Country
‘ is, to have some gentle Touches of Agues and Fe-
‘ vers in *July* and *August*, especially to new Comers. Ibid.
‘ It has a Winter-Season, to beget a new Spring.
I was there, adds my Author, *at twice, five Years, and P. 7.*
had no Sickness, but what I got by a careless violent
Cold; and indeed I perceiv’d that the Fevers and Agues
were generally gotten by Carelessness in Cloathing, or In-
temperance.

‘ Every thing generally grows there that will grow
‘ in any part of *Europe*, there being already many
‘ sorts of Fruits, as Apples, Pears, Apricocks, Necta-
‘ rines, &c. They that once tast of them, will despise
‘ the watry washy Tast of those in *England*. There’s
‘ such Plenty of them, that they are given to the
‘ Hogs. In 4 or 5 Years they come from a Stone to
‘ be bearing Trees.

‘ All sorts of Grain thrive in *Carolina*, as Wheat,
‘ Barley, Peas, &c. And I have measur’d some
‘ Wheat-Ears 7 or 8 of our Inches long. It produces
‘ the best Rice in the known World, which is a good
‘ Commodity for Returns home; as is also Pitch, Tar,
‘ Buck, Doe, Bear Skins, and Furs, tho the last not
‘ so good as the Northern Colonies.

‘ It has already such Plenty of Provisions, that it in
‘ a great measure furnishes *Barbadoes, Jamaica, &c.*
‘ There are vast Numbers of wild Ducks, Geese, Teal;
‘ and the Sea and Rivers abound in Fish. That which
‘ makes Provisions so cheap, is the Shortness of the
‘ Winter: For having no need to mow for Winter
‘ Fodder, they can apply their Hands in raising other
‘ Commodities.

‘ The Rivers are found to be more navigable than
‘ was at first believ’d; and ’twas then prudently con-
‘ triv’d, not to settle on the most navigable; but on
‘ *Ashley* and *Cooper* River, those Entrances are not so
‘ bold as the others; so that Enemies and Pirates have
‘ been dishearten’d in their Designs to disturb that
‘ Settlement.

‘ The new Settlers have now great Advantages
‘ over the first Planters, since they can be sup-
‘ ply’d

ply'd with Stocks of Cattle and Corn at reasonable Rates.

I shall conclude this Account of *Carolina*, with an Extract of a Letter from thence, from a Person of Credit; in whose Words I communicate it to the Publick: He speaks of the *Southward*.

The many Lakes we have up and down breed a Multitude of Geese, and other Water-Fowl. All along *Port Royal River*, and in all this part of *Carolina*, the Air is so temperate, and the Seasons of the Year so regular, that there's no Excess of Heat or Cold, nor any troublesome Variety of Weather: For tho' there is every Year a kind of Winter, yet it is both shorter and milder than at *Ashley* or *Cooper River*; and passes over insensibly, as if there was no Winter at all. This sweet Temperature of Air, causes the Banks of this River to be cover'd with various Kinds of lovely Trees; which being perpetually green, present a thousand Landships to the Eye, so fine, and so diversify'd, that the Sight is entirely charm'd with them. The Ground is very low in most Places near the River; but rises gradually, at a distance, with little Hills, adjoining to fruitful Plains, all cover'd with Flowers, without so much as a Tree to interrupt the Prospect. Beyond these are beautiful Vales, cloath'd with green Herbs, and a continual Verdure, caus'd by the refreshing Rivulets that run through them. There are a great many Thickets, which produce abundance of Simples. The Indians make use of them for the Cure of their Diseases. There are also Sarsaparilla, Cassia Trees, Gumms, and Rosin, very good for Wounds and Bruises; and such a prodigious Quantity of Honey, which the Bees make every where, that the Store of it is not to be exhausted. Of this they make excellent Spirits, and Mead as good as *Málaga Sack*. The Bees swarm five or six times. There's a kind of Tree, from which there runs an Oil of extraordinary Virtue, for Curing Wounds. And another Tree, which yields a Balm, thought to be scarce inferiour to that of *Mecca*.

Silk is come to a great Improvement here, some Fami-

Families making 40 or 50 Pound a Year, and their Plantation Work not neglected, their little Negro Children being serviceable in feeding the Silk-Worms. And we must do Sir *Nathaniel Johnson* the Justice, to own he has been the principal Promoter of this Improvement, as also of Vineyards. He makes yearly 3 or 400 *l.* in Silk only.

But 'tis objected, Since the Climate is so proper, since Grapes are so plentiful, and the Wine they make so good, why is there not more of it? Why do we not see some of it?

To which I answer, That the Inhabitants either think they can turn their Hands to a more profitable Culture, or impose upon us in their Reports; for I would not think them so weak, as to neglect making good Wine, and enough of it, if they could, and thought it worth their while.

They manufacture their Silk with Wool, and make Druggets. The French Protestants have set up a Linnen Manufacture; and good Romalls are made here.

A French Dancing-Master settling in *Craven* County, taught the Indians Country-Dances, to play on the Flute and Hautboit, and got a good Estate; for it seems the Barbarians encourag'd him with the same Extravagance, as we do the Dancers, Singers, and Fiddlers, his Countrymen.

Tho we have said enough of the *Virginian* Indians, who are much the same with the *Carolinian*; yet since we find Mr. *Archdale* speaks of them in particular, let the Reader see what he has said of 'em.

‘ Providence was visible in thinning the Indians,
 ‘ to make Room for the English. There were two
 ‘ potent Nations, the *Westoes* and *Saramas*, who
 ‘ broke out into an usual Civil War before the Eng-
 ‘ lish arriv'd; and from many Thousands reduc'd
 ‘ themselves to a small Number. The most cruel
 ‘ of them, the *Westoes*, were driven out of the Pro-
 ‘ vince; and the *Saramas* continu'd good Friends,
 ‘ and useful Neighbours to the English. It pleas'd
 ‘ God also to send unusual Sicknesses among them;
 ‘ as the Small-Pox, &c. The *Pemlico* Indians in P. 2, 3.
 ‘ North Carolina, were lately swept away by a Pesti-
 ‘ lence; and the *Caranine*, by War. The Natives
 are

P. 7.

‘are somewhat tawny, occasion’d chiefly by oiling
 ‘their Skins, and by the naked Rays of the Sun. They
 ‘are generally streight body’d, comely in Person,
 ‘quick of Apprehension, and great Hunters; by which
 ‘they are not only very serviceable, by killing Deer,
 ‘to procure Skins for Trade with us; but those that
 ‘live in Country-Plantations procure of them the
 ‘whole Deer’s Flesh, and they will bring it many Miles
 ‘for the Value of about 6 d. and a wild Turkey of
 ‘40 Pound, for the Value of 2 d.

They have learn’d one of their worst Vices of the English, which is, Drinking; and that occasions Quarrels among them, one of which we have mention’d in the time of Mr. *Archdale’s* Government. As to what he would excite us, to their Conversion to Christianity, ’tis a Project which, like a great many other very good ones, we rather wish than hope to see effected.

Mr. *Thomas* was sent to instruct the *Tammosees* in the Christian Religion, and had an Allowance of 50 l. a Year from the before-mention’d Society, besides other Allowances: But finding it an improper Season, his Mission is respited; the Reason is, those Indians revolted to the English from the Spaniards; and not being willing to embrace Christianity, ’tis fear’d they would return to their old Confederates, if any means were made use of to that purpose.

This Country is in a very flourishing Condition; the Families are very large, in some are 10 or 12 Children; and the Number of Souls in all is computed to be 12000. The Children are set to Work at 8 Years old. The ordinary Women take care of Cows, Hogs, and other small Cattle, make Butter and Cheese, spin Cotton and Flax, help to sow and reap Corn, wind Silk from the Worms, gather Fruit, and look after the House. ’Tis pity this People should not be easy in their Government; for all their Industry, all the Advantages of the Climate, Soil, and Situation for Trade, will be useless to them, if they live under Oppression; and *Pensylvania* will have no occasion to complain; that she tempts away her Inhabitants; being a new Beauty, a fairer, and consequently a powerful Rival.

We shall conclude this History and Account of *Carolina*, with a List of the present Proprietaries, and chief Officers of this Colony.

<i>William Lord Craven,</i>	}	Proprietaries.
<i>Henry Duke of Beaufort,</i>		
The Honourable <i>Maurice</i>		
<i>Ashley, Esq;</i> Brother to		
the Earl of <i>Shaftsbury,</i>		
<i>John Lord Cartaret,</i>		
<i>Sir John Colliton, Baronet,</i>		
<i>Joseph Blake, Esq;</i>	}	Counsellors.
<i>John Archdale, Esq;</i>		
<i>Nicholas Trott, Esq;</i>		

Sir Nath. Johnson, Governour, Sallary 200 l. a Year.

<i>Col. James Moor,</i>	}	Counsellors.
<i>Col. Thomas Broughton,</i>		
<i>Col. Rob. Gibbs,</i>		
<i>Mr. Nich. Trott,</i>		
<i>Mr. ----- Ward,</i>		
<i>Mr. Hen. Noble,</i>		

Speaker of the Assembly, *William Rhett, Esq;*
 The Secretary, ----- *Ward, Esq;* His Salary 50 l.
 a Year.

The Chief Justice, *Mr. Trott, 60 l.*

The Judge of the Admiralty-Court, *Col. James Moor, 40 l.*

Surveyor General, ----- *How, Esq;* 40 l.

Attorney General, *Col. James Moor, 60 l.*

Receiver General, the same, 60 l.

Naval Officer, *Mr. Trott, 40 l.*

Collector of the Customs, *Col. Thomas Broughton.*

Agent for the Colony in *England, Mr. Joseph Boone.*

T H E
H I S T O R Y
 O F
H U D S O N ' S - B A Y .

C O N T A I N I N G

An Account of its Discovery and Settlement, the Progress of it, and the present State ; of the *Indians*, Trade, and every thing else relating to it.

T WAS in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, that all the *English* Dominions on the Continent of *America* were discover'd, except *Hudson's* Streights ; which being the most Northerly, should have been treated of first, and put at the Head of the other Settlements ; but the *French* have a large Dominion between the *English* at *Hudson's Bay*, and those at *New England* : And besides there being no Towns nor Plantations in this Country, but two or three poor Forts to defend the Factories, we thought we were at Liberty to place it where we pleas'd, and were loath to let our History open with the Description of so miserable a Wilderness, and so wretched a Colony. For as rich as the Trade to these Parts have been or may be, the way of Living is such, that we cannot reckon any Man happy, whose Lot is cast upon this Bay.

In

In the Year 1576. Cap. *Martin Frobisher* made his first Voyage for the Discovery of a Passage to *China* and *Cathay* by the North-West; and on the 12th of *June* he discover'd *Tierra de Labrador*, in 63 Degrees 8 Minutes, and enter'd a Streight, which is call'd by his Name. On the 1st of *October* he return'd to *England*. In the following Year, he went a second time on the same Discovery, came to the same Streight, and us'd all possible Means to bring the Natives to Trade, or give him some Account of themselves; but they were so wild, that they only study'd to destroy the *English*. Cap. *Frobisher* stay'd here till Winter drew on, and then he return'd to *England*. He made the same Voyage the following Year, and with the like Success.

Six Years afterwards, *A. D.* 1585. *John David* sail'd from *Dartmouth* on the same Adventure, came into the Latitude of 64 Degrees 15 Minutes, and proceeded to 66 Degrees 40 Minutes. In the Year ensuing, he ran to 66 Degrees 20 Minutes, and coasted Southward again to 56 Degrees. Sailing thence in 54 Degrees, he found an open Sea tending Westward, which he hop'd might be the Passage so long sought for; but the Weather proving tempestuous, he return'd to *England*. In *October*, the next Year, he did the same.

After which there were no more Adventures this way, till the Year 1607. when Cap. *Henry Hudson* discover'd as far as 80 Degrees 23 Minutes: At the Mention of which, the Reader will almost freeze as the Writer does; for that Country is so prodigiously cold, that Nature is never impregnated by the Sun; or rather, her barren Womb produces nothing for the Subsistence of Man. In 1608. he set out again; and, having added little to his former Discoveries, return'd. Two Years after which, *A. D.* 1610. he again undertook a Voyage to find out the North-West Passage, proceeded 100 Leagues farther than any Man had done before him, till he could not go forward for Ice and Shoal Water; and finding himself imbay'd, he resolv'd to winter there. In the Spring, *A. D.* 1611. pursuing a further Discovery, he and seven more of his Company were seiz'd, the rest of his Men put into an open Boat, and committed

mitted to the Mercy of the Waves and Savages. By one or the other of which he perish'd, dearly purchasing the Honour of having this large Streight and Bay call'd after his Name.

We know 'tis pretended, that a *Dane* made the Discovery of this Streight, and that he call'd it *Christiana*, from the King of *Denmark*, *Christiern* the IVth. then reigning. But Cap. *Hudson* was the Man who discover'd it to the *English*, and who indeed first sail'd so near the Bottom of the Bay, as he did within a Degree or two.

The same Year that he dy'd, Sir *Thomas Button*, at the Instigation of Prince *Henry*, pursu'd the same Discovery. He pass'd *Hudson's* Streights, and leaving *Hudson's-Bay* to the South, settled above 200 Leagues to the South-West, and discover'd a great Continent, by him call'd *New-Wales*. He winter'd at the Place afterwards call'd *Port Nelson*, carefully search'd all the Bay, from him call'd *Button's-Bay*, and return'd to *Digg's* Island.

In 1516. Mr. *Baffin* enter'd Sir *Thomas Smith's* Bay, in 78 Degrees, and return'd despairing to find any Passage that way.

Thus we see all the Adventures made to the North West, were in Hopes of passing to *China*; but that is a Discovery as latent as the Philosophers Stone, the petual Motion, or the Longitude.

In 1631. Cap. *James* sail'd to the North-West, and roving up and down in those Seas, arriv'd at *Charlton* Island, where he winter'd in 52 Degrees, much beyond *Hudson*, *Button*, and *Baffin*. Cap. *Fox* went out this Year on the same Account, but proceeded no further than *Port Nelson*.

The Civil Wars in *England* put Discoveries out of Mens Heads; the Bold had other Work cut out for them; and we hear of no more such Adventures till the Year 1667. when *Zachariah Gillam*, in the *Nonfuch* Ketch, pass'd thro *Hudson's* Streights, and then into *Baffin's* Bay to 75 Degrees; and thence Southward into 51 Degrees; where in a River, afterwards call'd Prince *Rupert's* River, he had a friendly Correspondence with the Natives, built a Fort, nam'd it *Charles Fort*, and return'd with Success.

The Occasion of *Gillam's* going was this: Monsieur *Radison* and Monsieur *Gooselier*, two *French-men*, meeting with some Savages in the Lake of *Assimponals*, in *Canada*, they learnt of them that they might go by Land to the Bottom of the Bay, where the *English* had not yet been. Upon which they desir'd them to conduct them thither, and the Savages accordingly did it. The two *French-men* return'd to the upper Lake the same way they came, and thence to *Quebec*, the Capital of *Canada*; where they offer'd the principal Merchants to carry Ships to *Hudson's-Bay*, but their Project was rejected. Thence they went to *France*, in hopes of a more favourable Hearing at Court; but after presenting several Memorials, and spending a great deal of Time and Money, they were answer'd as they had been at *Quebec*, and their Project look'd upon as Chimerical. The King of *England's* Ambassador at *Paris*, hearing what Proposals they had made, imagin'd he should do his Country good Service, in engaging them to serve the *English*, who had already Pretences to the Bay: So he perswaded them to go for *London*; where they met with a favourable Reception from some Men of Quality, Merchants, and others, who employ'd *Gillam* before-mention'd, a *New England* Captain, in the Voyage; and *Radison* and *Gooselier* accompanying, they arriv'd at the Bottom of the Bay, and succeeded as we have hinted already.

When *Gillam* return'd, the Adventurers concern'd in fitting him out, apply'd themselves to King *Charles* the II. for a Patent; who granted one to them and their Successors, for the Bay call'd *Hudson's-Bay*, and the Streights call'd *Hudson's-Streights*. The Patent bears Date the 2d. of *May*, in the 22d. Year of that King's Reign, *A. D.* 1670.

The first Proprietors or Company, call'd the *Hudson's-Bay Company*, were,

Prince *Rupert*.

Sir *James Hayes*.

Mr. *William Young*.

Mr. *Gerard Weymans*.

Mr. *Richard Cradock*.

Mr. *John Letton*.

Christopher Wren, Esq;

Mr. *Nicholas Hayward*.

The History of Hudson's Bay.

The Bay lies from 64 Degrees North Latitude to 51 Degrees, and is 10 Degrees, or 600 Miles in Length.

Before we proceed any further in the History, it will not be improper to give an Account of the Country, Climate, Product, Trade, and Inhabitants.

The Mouth of the Streights, which is in about 61 Degrees North Latitude, is 6 Leagues over. At the Mouth is an Island, call'd *Resolution*. *Charles* Island, *Salisbury* Island, and *Nottingham*, are in the Streights, and *Mansfield* Island in the Mouth of the Bay.

Hudson's Streights, which lead to the Bay, are about 120 Leagues in Length; the Land on both Sides inhabited by Savages, of whom we have little or no Knowledge. The South Coast is known by the Name of the *Tierra Labarador*, the North by as many Names as Men of several Nations have been there, and pretended to the Discovery of it. On the West Side of the Bay, the *English* made a Settlement, built a Fort at Port *Nelson*, and all that Country goes by the Name of *New South Wales*. The Bay here is call'd *Button's*; and *Hudson's-Bay*, which is broadest in this Place, may be near 130 Leagues broad.

On the other Shoar, or the Coast of *Labarador* lie several Islands, call'd the *Sleepers* Isles, and the *Baker's Dozen*. The Bottom of the Bay, by which we understand all that Part of it from Cape *Henrietta Maria*, in *New South Wales*, to *Redonda*, below Prince *Rupert's* River, is about 80 Leagues long, and much of one Breadth all the way, being between 40 and 50 Leagues over.

Here are several Islands; to which the first Adventurers gave the Names of some Great Men in *England*, or some that employ'd them; as Lord *Weston's* Island, Sir *Thomas Roe's* Island, *Charlton* Island, and others. The two opposite Shores are call'd the *East Main* and *West Main*. The former is *Labarador*, and the latter *New South Wales*. The Continent at the Bottom of the Bay is by the *French* pretended to be Part of *New-France*; and indeed to cross the Country from St. *Margaret's* River, which
runs

runs into the River of *Canada*, to *Rupert's River*, at the Bottom of *Hudson's-Bay*, is not above 150 Miles.

At *Rupert's River*, the *English* built their first Fort, which they call *Charles Fort*. They never had any Towns or Plantations here, and probably never will. They live within their Forts in little Houses, or Hutts, wherein the Builders consider nothing but to defend them from the Cold and Rains, tho they are not so much disturb'd by the latter as by the former.

There's an Island about 5 or 6 Leagues from the *West Main*, call'd the *Little Rocky Isle*, it being a meer Heap of Rocks and Stones, with some small Brush-Wood growing upon it. 'Tis suppos'd to overflow with great North-West Winds, which make a High-Tide all over the Bay. In this Isle is plenty of Gulls and Sea Swallows. About 3 Miles from the South South-East Part of the Island, lies a dangerous Reaf of Sand, which is dry at Low-Water.

Charlton Island is a light white Sand, cover'd over with a white Moss, full of Trees, Juniper and Spruce, tho not very large. This Isle affords a beautiful Prospect to such as make it in the Spring, after a long Voyage of 3 or 4 Months, in the most dangerous Seas in the World, occasion'd by the vast Mountains of Ice, which drive in the Bay and Streights; against which, if Ships happen to strike, they are dash'd in Pieces as certainly as if they ran against Rocks: For indeed they are Rocks congeal'd, or rather petrify'd by the Violence of the continual Frosts.

To see one Day the Shoar on the *West Main* bare, the Mountains cover'd with Snow, and Nature looking like a Carcass frozen to Death; and the next to behold *Charlton* Island spread with Trees, and the Branches making as it were a green Tuft of the whole, is a Surprize, that must give the greatest Pleasure after the Fatigues of an intollerable Winter Voyage.

The Air even at the Bottom of the Bay, tho by the Latitude 'tis nearer the Sun than *London*, being but in 51 Degrees, is excessive cold for 9 Months, the other three Months very hot, but on a North-West Wind.

The Soil on the *East Main*, as well as the West, bears no manner of Grain. Some Fruits, Gooseberries, Strawberries, and Dew Otter-berries, grow about *Prince Rupert's River*.

The Commodities for Trade here, are Guns, Powder, Shot, Cloth, Hatchets, Kettles, Tobacco, &c. which the *English* exchange with the *Indians* for Furs, Beavers, Martin, Fox, Moose, and other Peltry; and the Curious, who have any Taste of Commerce, will not think it a Digression to insert a Standard of Trade, which the *Hudson's-Bay Company* fix'd about 25 Years ago; and by which may be seen what Advantage they made of this Traffick. This Paper being put into my Hands, among others relating to the Affairs of the Company, is as follows.

The S T A N D A R D how the *Company's Goods* must be barter'd in the *Southern Part of the Bay*.

Guns.	One with the other 10 good Skins; that is, Winter Beaver; 12 Skins for the biggest sort, 10 for the mean, and 8 for the smallest.
Powder.	A Beaver for half a Pound.
Shot.	A Beaver for four Pounds.
Hatchets.	A Beaver for a great and little Hatchet.
Knives.	A Beaver for 6 great Knives, or 8 Jack Knives.
Beads.	A Beaver for half a Pound of Beads.
Lac'd Coats.	Six Beavers for one good Lac'd Coat.
Plain Coats.	Five Beaver Skins for one Red Plain Coat.
Coats.	For Women, Lac'd, 2 Yards, 6 Beavers.
Coats.	For Women, Plain, 5 Beavers.
Tobacco.	A Beaver for one Pound.
Powder- Horns.	} A Beaver for a large Powder-Horn and two small ones.
Kettles.	
Looking-Glasses and Combs.	Two Skins.

'Tis plain by this Standard the Company got prodigioussly, and had they traded much, their Auctions might have been now 300 per Cent. as they were once; but their Returns were small, and their Charges great:

great: Ten thousand Beavers in all their Factories was one of the best Years of Trade they ever had, besides other Peltry.

As to the *Indians*, their Manners, Customs, Language, Government, and Religion, they are the same with the *Canadians*; and *La Hontan* has describ'd them very naturally, excepting that he has rais'd Nature, and made her too polite in this barbarous Clime, where Barbarity her self is in the Height of her Empire.

The *Indians* about *Rupert's River*, and other Places in the Bay, are more simple than the *Canadians*, who have had longer Commerce with the Europeans. They are generally peaceable, and not given to quarrel either with themselves or others, except the *Nodways*, a wild barbarous People on the Borders of *Hudson's Streights*; who sometimes in slight Parties make IncurSIONS on the other *Indians*, and, having knock'd 8 or 10 on the Head, return in Triumph.

The *Indians* of certain Districhs, which are bounded by such and such Rivers, have each an *Okimah*, as they call him, or Captain over them, who is an Old Man, consider'd only for his Prudence and Experience. He has no Authority but what they think fit to give him upon certain Occasions. He is their Speech-maker to the *English*; as also in their own grave Debates, when they meet every Spring and Fall, to settle the Disposition of their Quarters for Hunting, Fowling, and Fishing. Every Family have their Boundaries adjusted, which they seldom quit, unless they have not Success there in their Hunting, and then they join in with some Family who have succeeded.

Their Notions of Religion are but very slender. They say, there are two *Mumetoës* or Spirits, the one sends all the Good things they have, and the other all the bad. Their Worship consists in Songs and Dances at their Feasts, in Honour of the *Mumetoës* that have favour'd them: But if they are sick or famish'd, they hang some little Bawble, which they set a Value upon, on the Top of a Pole, near their Tent, to pacify the Spirit offended, as they conceive.

Let the Learned say all the fine Things that Wit, Eloquence, and Art, can inspire them with, of the Simplicity of pure Nature, the Beauty and Innocence; these Wretches are an Instance, that this Innocence is downright Stupidity, and this pretended Beauty a Deformity, which puts Man, the Lord of the Creation, on an equal Foot with the Beasts of the Forrest.

The History of *Hudson's Bay* will not afford us much Matter. The Settlements are too inconsiderable, to deserve much Pains to be taken about them. What we know of them is as follows.

Charles Baily, Esq; *Baily*, Esq; Governour: With whom went Mr. Governour *Radison*, the Frenchman before-mention'd, and 10 or 20 Men, who were to stay on the Place; his Residence being at *Rupert River*, where a mean Fort has been built.

Mr. *Baily* appointed Mr. *Thomas Gorst* to be his Secretary, and order'd him to keep a Journal of their Proceedings there, which is now in my Custody; but the Events it contains are too trivial to be remember'd: what are most curious I shall report; and the Reader must excuse me, if they are of no more Importance: They serve to give him an Idea of an Infant Colony, in one of the rudest Parts of the World.

The chief Indian near the Fort had the Name of Prince given him. Two other Indians were call'd *Peter* and the *Chancellor*; who with their Wives and Families came to the Governour, to beg Subsistence, declaring they could kill nothing, and were almost starv'd. For if these Barbarians could meet with no Game, they had no Meat.

Thus we see in what a miserable Condition these English there were like to be, if Supplies did not come regularly from *England*. Mr. *Baily* having fed the Prince, the Chancellor, his *Cocamish*, or Wife, and the rest of them, sent them up the Falls a fishing, and follow'd them in his *Canoo*, to hunt up in the Country; but could meet with no Game, except 2 Moose, and no People to trade with. These Moose are but indifferent Meat; however the Air is sharp, to make it relish as well

as Venison, and 'twas accordingly very well-come.

Some Days afterwards the Indians return'd. The Prince brought a young Deer: The Chancellour and his Wife some Fish and Moose. The greatest Part of the Autumn Fowl here, are Geese, of which there's then Plenty, and they begin to come about the Beginning of *September*, a sure sign that the People must take their Leave of Summer, and prepare for a long Winter of near forty Weeks.

The English had now worse Hutts than afterwards, and no Covering for them but Moose Skins. There was at this time a Factory at *Port Nelson*, where Captain *Gooselier* arriv'd in *August*, 1673. He search'd the River for Indians, but met with none. He saw several *Wigwams*, where they had lately been, and suppos'd them to be gone up the Country. He saw also the Relicts of Sir *Thomas Button's* Ship; and one of his Company, *Mr. Cole*, brought home a piece of Shot, a piece of her Bulk-head, and a small piece of Cable, which had lain there about 60 Years.

This Captain was order'd to search for *Severn* River, but could not find it, tho' 'twas in the old Draughts of this Bay.

About the Beginning of *October* the Geese fly away to the Southward; a terrible Sight to the poor Europeans in the Bay; for by that they know the hard Weather is approaching, and begin to provide Wood for Winter before the Snow falls.

Now *Mr. Baily* and his little Colony fell to patching up their Cabbins, and prepare for the Enemy; and they had nothing to fear but the Season. He sent a Sloop to *Point Comfort*, between *Rupert* River and *Charlton* Island, to kill Seals, to make Oil for their Lamps, they having no Candles, and the Nights being long.

About the 10th of *October* the Ice begins to congeal on the Shores; but often warm Weather comes after that, and thaws it. The 23d of *October* several Indians came to the Fort to trade; and among others, one from *Quebec*. In one Night the Snow was a Foot deep, and by the 6th of *November* the River was frozen over.

About the middle of the Month Partridges come, of which they kill'd 5, as white as Snow. The English that were there, diverted themselves, while the Weather permitted, with killing Partridges; but truly there seems not to have been much Plenty of them, for four Men, in a Weeks time, kill'd but 36. They Fowl'd for them about *Peter's River*, and *Frenchmans River*; the one above, and the other below *Rupert's*. But in *December* and *January* the Frosts were so severe, they could not stay out. The Governour's Boys Feet and Face were spoil'd by the Frost, in catching of Partridges.

The Snows in the Woods, when at the deepest, are 7 or 8 Foot; sometimes they do not exceed 4 Foot, as in the Year 1673. and then least Moose is to be had. The 25th of *January*, 3 Indians brought Beaver to the Fort, and a little fresh Meat. They reported, that as they pass'd *Moose River*, about 10 Days Journey from *Rupert's*, they saw some dead Bodies of Indians, which they suppos'd to be *Onachanoes*, most of that Nation being destroy'd by the *Nodwayes*, who were then about *Moose River*; and, as they threaten'd, intended to visit the English in the Spring; they were accordingly as good as their Words. The 1st of *February* there was such a Change of Weather, that it rather thaw'd than froze. The English with living on Salt-Meats, were all down with the Scurvy in this Month: For tho they continu'd to catch Partridges, there were so few caught; they went but a very little way among them.

Several Indians came in *March*, and built their *Wigwams* at the East End of the Fort, intending to stay there all Winter, that they might be ready for Trade in the Spring. The Nation that took up their Quarters near the Fort were the *Cuscididabs*; and the King sent Mr. *Baily* word, he would come to him speedily. The Governour on the 23d of *March*, accompany'd by *John Abraham*, and others, travell'd on the Ice to *Point Comfort*, where were some Indian Tents, to buy what fresh dry'd Meat he could; the Store at the Fort being almost spent.

About the 20th of *March* it began to thaw; and the *Nodwayes* still threatenng the English with War, the Governour prepar'd every thing necessary in the
Fort

Fort for his Defence. On the 25th of *March*, 6 Men, as Ambassadors, came from King *Cuscudidah*, to notify his Approach, and that he would be at the Fort next Day; which he made good, and was troubled that the Governour was absent. He brought a Retinue with him, but little Beaver, the Indians having sent their best to *Canada*.

The English at the Fort stood on their Guard, and Mr. *Cole* commanded them in the Governour's Absence; for whom the King sent 2 Indians. And the 31st of *March*, the Governour return'd, with a small Supply of *Moose* Flesh. On the 1st of *April*, the Geese, the Promise of the Spring, begin to return again, and prodigious Quantities were caught.

All this while the Indian King stay'd at the *Wigwams*, near the Fort; and the reason of it was, They were apprehensive of being attack'd by some Indians, whom the French Jesuits had animated against the English, and all that dealt with them. The French us'd many Artifices to hinder the Natives trading with the English; they gave them great Rates for their Goods, and oblig'd Mr. *Baily* to lower the Prices of his, to oblige the Indians, who dwelt about *Moose* River, with whom they drove the greatest Trade.

The French, to ruin their Commerce with the Natives, came and made a Settlement, not above 8 Days Journey up that River, from the Place where the English traded. 'Twas therefore debated, whether the Company's Agents should not remove from *Rupert's* to *Moose* River, to prevent their Traffick being intercepted by the French.

On the 3d of *April*, 1674. a Council of the principal Persons in the Fort was held, where Mr. *Baily*, the Governour, Capt. *Gooselier*, and Capt. *Cole*, were present, and gave their several Opinions. The Governour inclin'd to remove. Capt. *Cole* was against it, as dangerous; and Capt. *Gooselier* for going thither in their Bark to trade, when the Indians belonging to King *Cuscudidah* were gone a hunting, and there was no fear of the Fort's being surpriz'd.

The Indians went to building their Wigwams near the Fort, and rais'd their *Wauscohegein*, or Fort, so near the English, that the Palifadoes join'd. One of those Barbarians being jealous of his Wife, and finding her in the Fort, pull'd out a Hatchet, which he had hidden under his Coat, and gave her a desperate Wound in the Head; but she did not die of it. The Indian fearing the Governour wou'd punish him for striking in the Fort, fled to the Woods. Upon which Mr. *Baily* order'd that no Indian, but King *Cuscudidah*, and his chief Courtiers, should be admitted into the Fort, and a Watch was set upon the Gate.

As the Ice grew rotten and melted, the Indians who ventur'd on the Rivers fell frequently in; but they all swam like Ducks, and seldom or never were any of them drown'd. The great Thaw began about the 20th of *April*, and then all the English having spent their Beer, and Winter-Liquor, return'd to drinking of Water.

Geese and Swans were now to be had, and that supply'd in some measure their Want of Provision. The Governour having been cheated by the Indians at *Point Comfort*, in his *Moose Flesh*, went thither, and oblig'd them to make Satisfaction.

On the 20th of *May*, 12 Indians, Subjects to King *Cuscudidah*, came in seven Canoos, and the King meeting them, conducted them to the Fort, where they told him, there would be few or no *Upland* Indians come to trade that Season, the French having perswaded them to come to *Canada*: However Mr. *Baily* order'd the Sloop to be got ready, and resolv'd to go up the River.

Upon the Arrival of this new Company, among whom was the King's Brother, a Feast was made; the Manner of which was this; They all sat down together, and one Man, a Kinsman of the King's, broke the Meat and Fat in small Pieces, according to the Number of Men there. After a short Speech made by the King, the Substance of which was, for them to take Courage against their Enemies, and other Stories. The Company shouted, and then the Man who broke, distributed the Meat about to them, they crying, *Oh! Ho!* as much as to say, *I*
thank

thank you. 'Tis incredible, to tell the Abundance of fat Beaver, Moose Flesh, and Fat, they eat together with the Broath, and Fat as black as Ink, which they drink. Then every Man had a small Piece of Tobacco distributed to him, and they all fell to Smoaking. Some afterwards danc'd, some sung, and a Man beat a Drum, which was a Skin put over a Kettle, and lac'd a-thwart. They continue this commonly all Night, and when they go home, carry what Meat is left to their Sqwaws, it being very rare for them to admit the Women to their Feasts.

On the 22d of *May*, the Indians at their Wigwams, near the Fort, had a *Powwow*, or sort of Conjuring; which is thus, There's a small Tower built, with *Wyth* Sticks, about 8 Foot high, the Top being open; but the rest cover'd very close with Skins, that none may see into it. In the Night, the Man that *Powwows* goes into the Tower; the rest sit nigh it, and in their Places ask him several Questions, which in a manner they know already; as, When any Strangers will be here? The *Powwower* guesses at the time, and answers accordingly. The *Maneto*, or their God, told them, the *Nodways* would come down upon them e're long, and advis'd them to be upon their Guard, as also against the *Mistigooses*, or English.

They *Powwow* often, and upon several Occasions. If it happens not as they expected it would, then the *Maneto* is *Muchocauwan*, or very bad; and if it falls out to their Desires, then *Maneto* is *Moruchsee*, or good. When they kill a Moose, their *Maneto* is *White* and *Good*. When they kill none, then he is *Black* and *Naught*. They *Powwow* very much when they celebrate any Marriages. Every Man has commonly two Wives, whom they keep in great Subjection, and make 'em do all Slavery; as draw *Sledds*, cut Wood, make Fires, and dress Moose Hides. The Men only hunt, and kill the Game: The Women fetch the Beast that is kill'd, and take Care to preserve the Flesh.

The next Day the Governour, and some English and Indians arm'd, went down to the Bottom of the Bay, to *Frenchmens* River, to seek for the *Nodways*, but could meet with none.

At the latter end of *May* the Geese go to the Northward, to breed. On the 27th, about 50 Men, Women and Children, came in 22 Canoes, to trade, but brought little or no Beaver with them. They were of the Nation call'd *Pishhapocanoes*, near a-kin to the *Eskeimoes*, and both alike a poor beggarly People: By which we may perceive the French ran away with the best of the Trade.

The Governour having got every thing ready for a Voyage to *Moose River*, sent Capt. *Gooselier*, Capt. *Cole*, Mr. *Gorst*, my Author, and other English Indians, to trade there. They got about 250 Skins; and the Captain of the *Tabittee* Indians inform'd them, the French Jesuits had not brib'd the Indians, not to deal with the English, but to live in Friendship with the Indian Nations in League with the French. He blam'd the English for trading with such pitiful Nations, as the *Cuscudidahs* and *Pishhapocanoes*, advising them to settle at *Moose Sebee*, and the *Upland* Indians would come down and trade with them. The Reason they got no more Peltry now, was, because the Indians thought *Gooselier* was too hard for them, and few would come down to deal with him.

My Author, in this Voyage, pass'd by *Robinson Island*, *Willow Island*, and saw several *White Whales*. The Musketoos are extreanly troublesome in *May* and *June*, especially after Rains. The *Nodways* coming down within a Quarter of a Mile of the Fort, the Alarm was given the English and Indians; but the Enemy were afraid to come farther; and Mr. *Baily* with a Party of both, pursu'd them in their Retreat, but could not come near enough to do any Execution.

This Fright being over, Mr. *Baily* sail'd himself for *Moose Sebee*, and brought home 1500 Skins; the *Shechittawams*, 50 Leagues from that River, having come to trade with him. By the 24th of *June* all the Indians had left their Wigwams near the Fort, and were gone abroad to hunt and trade, some with the English, and some by themselves.

The Governour undertook a Voyage to discover *Shechittawam River*; and thence intended to coast along to *Port Nelson*, where as yet was no Fort. In the mean time Mr. *Gorst*, who was left Deputy at the Fort, sent a *Yaul*, and four Men well arm'd,

up the *Nodways* River, which, as high as they could go for the *Falls*, was 5 Miles broad, full of small Islands and Rocks; in which Geese breed.

By the Beginning of *August*, the English that remain'd at the Fort had almost spent all their Provisions, their Powder and Shot, and began to be in mortal dread of starving. They kill'd Ducks, Teal, and Plover, and some of them were always out, for their Lives depended upon it.

After about 2 Months Voyage, Mr. *Baily* return'd, and gave this Account of his Voyage in the Sloop. On the 16th of *July* he sail'd from *Moose River*, and arriv'd at *Schettawam* River on the 18th, where no Englishman had been before. He stay'd there till the 21st, but could meet with little or no Beaver.

'Tis a fine River, and a good Channel, to the N. W. in 52 Deg. N. L. He treated with the King, and his Son made them a Promise to come with a Ship and trade with them the next Year. In return, they assur'd him, they would provide Store of Beaver, and bring the *Upland* Indians down.

The 21st he set sail towards *Cape Henrietta Maria*, and saw a great Island, stretching N. N. W. and S. S. E. distant about 14 Leagues from the Mouth of *Shechittawam* River. The Island being two Days Journey in Circumference, Indian Paddling, which they account to be 30 Leagues; 'twas nam'd *Viner's* Island.

The 23d, upon a Point, as he and his Crew were sailing along Shore, they spy'd a great Smoak; they stood in for it, and found 7 distress'd Indians there. This Point lay in 52 Deg. 40 Min. The Governour took them in, and gave them Passage to a small River, call'd *Equon*, 100 Leagues to the Southward of it; where they saw the Bodies of some Indians dead on the Ground. There had been a great Mortality among them, and several were starv'd to Death for want of Food; this Country being such a miserable Wilderness, that it affords not sufficient Sustenance for the wretched Inhabitants.

On the 27th of *July*, the Sloop ran upon Ice, and had like to have founder'd. Their Pilot was a *Was-shahoe*, or *New Severn* Indian, and 'twas reported, that

that he had two Rows of Teeth; but he hated so much to see the Compass, that he was very troublesome to the Crew; so the Governour order'd him to be put ashore.

The Indians on *New Severn* River are as poor as the *Eiskemoes*; and indeed all the Northward Indians are more beggarly and brutal than the Southward. The Governour understanding by some *Wassahoe* Indians, there was no Beaver to be had, and that the Sea beyond the Cape was full of Ice, resolv'd to return, neither he nor his Company having eaten any thing in two Days, but a few sodden Pease and Oat-Meal.

In their Return they were forc'd a-shore upon *Charlton* Island, where they lay 2 or 3 Days in Distress, and at last got off, with the loss of several Necessaries. After he had return'd to the Fort, on the 30th of *August*, a Canoo arriv'd at *Rupert's* River, with a Missionary Jesuit, a Frenchman, born of English Parents, attended by one of *Cuscudidah's* Family, a young Indian. The Frier brought a Letter to Mr. *Baily* from the Governour of *Quebec*, dated the 8th of *October*, 1673. For the Priest should have been at *Rupert's* River several Months before, but that he was stop'd by the Indians. The Governour of *Quebec* desir'd Mr. *Baily* to treat the Jesuit civilly, on account of the great Amity between the two Crowns; and Mr. *Baily* resolv'd to keep the Jesuit till Ships came from *England*.

He brought a Letter also for Capt. *Gooselier*, which gave Jealousy to the English of his corresponding with the French; his Son-in-law liv'd at *Quebec*, and had accompany'd the Priest part of his Way, with 3 other Frenchmen, who being afraid to venture far among strange Indians, return'd.

The *Tabittee* Indians being within the *Hudson's Bay* Company's Patent, 'twas an Encroachment for the French to trade with them; the Jesuit confess'd they did it. Mr. *Baily* cloath'd him, the Indians having rob'd him; and entertain'd him with great Kindness. The Priest resolving to return to *Europe* in an English Ship, did not like another Journey of 400 Miles Length, thro' many barbarous Nations, over Land, and a Country almost impassable.

The English were frequently alarm'd with Reports of Incurfions from the *Nodways* and *Moose River* Indians, whose Quarrel with him, was their selling too dear. The Governour, to prevent being surpriz'd, order'd all their Merchandize to be put aboard a Bark that was left with them, and went to fish and fowl at *Peter's River*; but got little Fowl, and their Fishing-Tackle began to want Supplies. 'Twas now the 11th of *September*, and so long had these poor Men liv'd in this Desart, holding a precarious Being by their Guns and Fishing Tackle. Their Patience was at last spent, and the Governour declar'd, if he did not hear from *England* in 3 Days time, he would return home aboard the before-mention'd Bark.

On the 17th they were all to depart for *Point Comfort*, to stay there till the 22d, and then make the best of their Way for *England*. For later than the 22d of *September*, no Ships had ever arriv'd: All the Flower and Bread they had left, did not make above 300 Pound. They had but 2 Barrels of good Pease, and 30 Geese in Pickle, to victual their Bark with for their Voyage; and having but a very little Powder in the Store-house, they despair'd of killing much more Game.

In this deplorable Condition were they, when the Jesuit, Capt. *Gooselier*, and another Papist, walking downwards to the Sea-side, at their Devotion, heard 7 great Guns fire distinctly. They came home in a Transport of Joy, told their Companions the News, and assur'd them 'twas true. Upon which they fir'd 3 great Guns from the Fort, to return the Salute, tho they could ill spare the Powder upon such an Uncertainty.

Next Day an Indian came, and gave them notice, that he had heard great Guns last Night at *Attisaw-yem*, or *Point Comfort*. Their Sloop was then at the Point, and they expected every Minute to have the News confirm'd.

One may imagine with what Impatience they waited. The Day was well nigh spent, and no Sloop come, which threw them all into Despair. In the Evening the Sloop appear'd in the River, but having no Ensign out, they concluded they were all lost

lost Men; and in this Extremity of Sorrow, they were soon reviv'd by the Sight of 5 Englishmen, whom they had not seen before, and from whom they understood, the *Prince Rupert*, Capt. *Gillam* Commander, was arriv'd, with the new Governour, *William Lyddal*, Esq;

Wil. Lyddal Esq; Governour The next Day the old Governour, and Mr. *Gorst*, sail'd for *Point Comfort*, where the *Shaftsbury*, Capt. *Shepherd* Commander, arriv'd also from *England*. And the new Governour's Commission and Instructions being read, all Hands set to work, to refit and load the Ships home as soon as possible.

On the 18th of *September* Mr. *Lyddal* landed, and took Possession of the Fort, the Colours flying, and Guns firing, to salute him. Mr. *Baily* deliver'd him the Patent, and after that he was no more call'd Governour. Mr. *Lyddal* finding the Season would be so far spent, before the Ships could be unloaden and loaden again, that it would be impracticable to return; after several Councils, 'twas resolv'd, they should Winter at *Rupert's River*; and Capt. *Gillam*, and Capt. *Shepherd's* Ships Crews were employ'd to cut Timber, to build Houses for them, as also a Brew-house and Bake-house in the Fort.

The Provisions they brought, fell very short of the Complement of Men that were to be fed by them. They had 30 Men to feed in the Fort, and in the Houses; and but 10 Months Bread for them, at 5 Pound of Flower a Head weekly, which was not enough to last them all the Winter at Land, and victual their Ships too. Mr. *Gorst*, who was their Store-keeper, soon brought them to short Allowance, to husband their Store, but the Men murmur'd; and Mr. *Lyddal* order'd they should have full Allowance, saying, *If we starve, we'll starve altogether.*

By this means they were reduc'd to great Streights, and forc'd to pinch harder than they needed have done, had they been good Husbands of their Bread at first.

Such was the State of this Infant Settlement, and it has not mended much since; for Want and Cold have every Year endanger'd the Lives of all that have been there.

Before we proceed in our History, we shall communicate to the Reader a small Dictionary of the Language of the *Indians* at the Bottom of the Bay, which is like the rest distinguish'd by several Dialects, but this is the *Cuscudidah's*.

<i>Arakana</i> , Bread.	<i>Pishshish</i> , a little thing.
<i>Aftam</i> , Come hither.	<i>Pastofigon</i> , a Gun.
<i>Affinne</i> , Shot.	<i>Pistofigon a bish</i> , a Pistol.
<i>Apit</i> , a Fire-Steel.	<i>Pibickeman</i> , a Jack-Knife.
<i>Arremitogify</i> , to speak.	<i>Petta a shum. e.</i> give me a Piece.
<i>A Notch</i> , presently.	<i>Pe quish a con Gau Mowon</i> , I eat some Pudding.
<i>Chickahigon</i> , a Hatchet.	<i>Spog. m.</i> , a Pipe.
<i>Eskon</i> , a Chissel.	<i>Stema, i.</i> , Tobacco.
<i>Manitowghigin</i> , a Red-Coat.	<i>Sorb. im. m.</i> Red-Lead.
<i>Metus</i> , Stockings.	<i>Shekahoon</i> , a Comb.
<i>Mokeman</i> , Knives,	<i>Taney</i> , Where.
<i>Mickedy</i> , or } Powder.	<i>Tinesonec. iso</i> , what do you call this?
<i>Pickow</i> ,	<i>Tequan</i> , What do you say?
<i>Mekish</i> , Beads.	<i>Tapoy</i> , that true.
<i>Moustodawbish</i> , a Flint.	
<i>No mun-nifs e to ta</i> , I do not understand you.	
<i>Owma</i> , this.	

Tho, with this, I must leave my Journal; from other good Memoirs, I shall continue the History to the present time.

Mr. Baily, who had very well discharg'd his Trust, returning to *England*, inform'd the Company fully of their Affairs; and now as they advanc'd in Reputation, so they were industrious to encrease their Trade and Settlements. They appointed a *Trader* to act under the Governour and Chiefs of the *Factories*, at other Rivers, according as they were settled.

Port *Nelson* was the next Settlement which they made, and thither they sent *John Bridger*, Esq; with the Character of Governour for the *Hudson's-Bay* Company of the *West Main*, from Cape *Henrietta Maria*, which was included in the Governour of the *East Main's* Patent.

John Nixon, Esq; Governour. Mr. *Lyddal* was succeeded by *John Nixon*, Esq; in whose time the Company thought of removing their chief Factory from *Rupert's River* to *Chickewan River*, as the Place most resorted to by the *Indians*.

Charlton Island was now frequented by the Ships bound to *Hudson's-Bay*, and made the Place of Rendezvous for all the Factors to bring their Merchandise to, and load it there aboard the Company's Ship.

John Bridger, Esq; Governour of Port Nelson. In the Year 1682. Mr. *Bridger* embark'd for *Port Nelson*, where a Factory was to be establish'd, and a Fort built; but before he arriv'd, Cap. *Benjamin Gillam*, Master of a *New-England Ship*, and Son of Cap. *Gillam*, Commander of the *Prince Rupert*, then in the Company's Service, settled at that Factory; but had not been there above 14 Days, before Mr. *Radisson* and Cap. *Gooselier*, who had deserted the *English*, arriv'd from *Canada*.

The Company having dismiss'd them their Service, these two *French-men* in Revenge procur'd some Merchants of *Canada* to undertake a Settlement there. *Gillam* was not strong enough to repel them, but he remain'd at *Port Nelson*; where 10 Days after *Radisson* and *Gooselier's* Arrival, came Mr. *Bridger*. The *French* no sooner perceiv'd he was come, but they sent aboard his Ship immediately, and commanded him to be gone, for that Mr. *Raddison* and Cap. *Gooselier* had taken Possession of the Place for the *French King* their Master.

Mr. *Bridger*, being warranted so to do by the Company's Commission, unloaded some of his Goods, and with all Hands went to Work, in order to make a Settlement.

Raddison continu'd at *Port Nelson*; and Mr. *Bridger* and he became very intimate: Which Intimacy lasted from *October*, 1682. to the *February* following, when *Raddison* seiz'd *Bridger* and *Gillam*, with all their People and Effects.

Having kept them some Months in a sort of Imprisonment, about *August* the *French* put several of the Company's and *Gillam's* People aboard a rotten Bark, and they were taken up by an *English Ship* near *Cape Henrietta Maria*. *Bridger* and *Gillam* they carry'd with

with them to *Canada*, where *Raddison* and *Gooselier* ran some of their Cargo alhoar, intending to defraud their Employers.

After which they made their Escape, and got into *France*. The Company having Notice of it, writ to him, and he to the Company, promising, if they would forgive the Injury he had done them, and employ him again, at such a Sallary, he would undertake to deliver the *French*, whom he had left there till he came again, to them, and seize all the Furs they had traded for, which would make them Satisfaction for the Wrongs he had done them. Accordingly they forgave him, employ'd him again, and he took *Port Nelson* from his Country-men. But before his Arrival *Cap. John Abraham* had been there with Supplies of Stores; and finding *Mr. Bridger* was gone, he stay'd himself, and was continu'd Governour by the Company, in 1684.

John A-
braham,
Esq; Go-
vernour of
*Port Nel-
son.*
Henry
Sergeant,
Esq; Go-
vernour of
*Albany
River.*

In the preceding Year, *Mr. Nixon*, Governour of *Rupert's River*, was recall'd, and *Henry Sergeant*, Esq; made Governour. By whose Instructions we find the chief Factory was remov'd from *Rupert's* to *Moose-Sebee*, or *Chickewan* River, which has ever since been call'd *Albany* River; where a Fort was built, a Factory settled, and the Governour made it the Place of his Residence. 'Tis at the Bottom of the Bay, below *Rupert's* River. He was order'd to come every Spring, as soon as the Trade was over, to *Charlton* Island, and bring what Goods he had with him, to wait for the Arrival of the Company's Ships: From thence he was to visit the other Factories, and see that their Merchandise was sent in due time to *Charlton* Island, to attend the Ships Arrival.

The Governour of *Canada* having given the *Hudson's-Bay* Company to understand, the *French* were very much offended at their Discoveries in these Parts, *Mr. Sergeant* was order'd to be careful that he was not surpriz'd by them.

There is an Island in the Bottom of the Bay, call'd *Hay's* Island, where a Factory had been settled. This Isle and *Rupert's* River were near the *French*, *Albany* being more to the Southward; and of these Factories the Company were most apprehensive that their Enemies would endeavour to dispossess them.

We perceive by these Instructions, that their Servants in the Bay had been very unfaithful to them, and Interlopers invaded their Privileges. They appointed Mr. *Hugh Verner* to be chief at *Rupert's River*, and Mr. *George Geyer* and Mr. *Thomas Savage* to be chief Managers at the *Isinglass River*, which had been lately discover'd; and there were great Expectations of a mighty Advantage to the Company by that Discovery, but it came to nothing, tho' there was a Factory settled there, in order to promote it.

The Company intended to plant a Colony at *Charlton Island*, and order'd Mr. *Sergeant* to build a Fort there, and always keep some Men upon it. Warehouses were also built to receive the Furs that were brought thither from the Factories, and Conveniences were made for the Reception of such as were oblig'd to winter there. The Company always enjoyn'd their Governours to endeavour to save the great Charge they were at in sending constant Supplies of Provisions, by planting Corn and other Grain there. But alas! Tho' the Climate by its Distance from the Sun, should be as warm as ours; yet for Reasons, which the Naturalists will easily give us, 'tis so cold and frosty, that it kills almost all sorts of Roots in the Ground which are sown there; and those Plantations, so often recommended by the Company, were chimerical and impracticable.

Orders were also given to dismiss Cap. *Gillam* their Service, for his Sons Offences; and Cap. *Sandford* had the same Usage, on Account of his Relation to the *Gillam's*; for there's nothing so terrible to a Monopolizer, as an Interloper. Cap. *William Bond*, who had been under Mr. *Baily*, was sent for home; and other Regulations made in the Management of Affairs: But all could not hinder the Ruin of them all by the Enemy.

The Company, by their Governours and Agents, made such Compacts with the Captains or Kings of the Rivers and Territories where they had Settlements, for the Freedom of Trade there, exclusive of all others, that the *Indians* could not pretend they had encroach'd upon them. These Compacts were render'd as firm as the *Indians* could make them, by such

such Ceremonies as were most sacred and obligatory among them.

Now were the Company in Possession of five Settlements, viz. *Albany River*, *Hayes Island*, *Rupert River*, *Port Nelson*, and *New Severn*. Their Trade at each of them was considerable. From *Albany River* they had generally 3500 Beavers a Year; and by Mr. *Sergeant's* great Care and Fidelity, their Commerce encreas'd so much, that the *French* began to be afraid all the *Upland Indians* might be drawn down to the Bay. They knew they could do any thing with King *James II.* who then reign'd in *England*, and that no Affront would make that Prince break with *Lewis* the XIVth. Wherefore they resolv'd to drive the *English* out of all their Places in the Bottom of the Bay. First, they took *Hayes Island*, and then the Fort on *Rupert's River*. The *French* Company at *Canada* procur'd a Detachment of Soldiers to be sent under the Chevalier *de Troyes*; who came over Land from *Quebec*, and in a time of profound Peace committed these Acts of Hostility.

'Tis worth observing that the *French* have so good an Opinion of their *American Colonies*, as to take not only all lawful, but even unlawful Means to preserve and enlarge them, as contemptible as they are in themselves; whereas the *English*, who, next the *Spaniards*, have the richest Plantations in that Part of the World, have been as negligent of them as if they were not worth keeping.

The 8th of *July*, 1686. the Chevalier *de Troyes* came before the Fort at *Albany River*; where the Governour, Mr. *Sergeant*, then resided. Two *Indians* had inform'd him of their having surpriz'd the Forts at *Hayes Island*, and *Rupert River*, and had brought with them the great Guns from those Places.

Two Hours after, the *English* heard them discharge their Guns, and saw some of them at a Distance. Upon which part of the Company's Servants declar'd, they would not venture their Lives unless they might be assur'd of Pay, and sent *John Parsons* and *John Garret*, two of their Number, in all their Names, to the Governour, to tell him their Re-
so-

solutions. Mr. *Sergeant*, by Promises, and giving them Cloaths, and other Necessaries, prevail'd with them to return to their Charge. But in a Day or two they mutiny'd again, and *Elias Turner* the Gunner, possess'd the People with an Apprehension, that it was impossible to hold out the Place; declaring, that for his Part he would throw himself on the *French*. Accordingly he went to the Governour, and desir'd Leave so to do; but being threatned to be shot to Death, in case he attempted it, he was at last perswaded to return to his Post.

The *English* shot at the *French* as long as they appear'd in the *Brushes*, and forc'd them to retire under the Banks, where the Guns from the Fort could not hit them. The *French* shot only at the *English* with small Shot, as any of them appear'd upon the *Flankers*. When they had retir'd under the Banks, they set to work to entrench themselves, and cast up a great Bank of Earth, which cover'd them so, that the *English* could do no Execution upon them.

The Governour all this while imagin'd, the Enemy was only raising a Bank to secure themselves from the Shot of the Fort: But afterwards he perceiv'd they were preparing a Battery; and then he commanded the Guns of the Fort to fire upon them incessantly, which however did them no hurt.

Frederic Johnson, who officiated as Gunner, on *Turner's* refusing to act, advis'd Mr. *Sergeant* not to shoot away the Remainder of the great Shot in the Fort, there being not above a Round more; and he suppos'd the *French* must have brought their Guns by Water; if so, he hop'd to sink their Boats; which would have done more Service, than firing upon their Entrenchments. But the *French* had found a Way to bring their great Guns thro' the Woods, and had planted them on their Battery before the *English* saw them.

The Governour sent out *Francis Cave* and *John Michem*, to see if they could observe the Posture of their Enemies; and the Spies brought Word, that they had finish'd their Battery, and mounted their Guns, which they saw them load. This

This so disheartned the People, that assembling themselves together, they agreed to depute the most considerable among them to go to the Governour, and in all their Names press him to make the best Terms he could, and surrender the Fort. Accordingly *Edward Coles, Philip Scovell, Hugh Mitchel, William Arrington, William Holder, John Stephens,* and others, came to Mr. *Sergeant*, and declar'd, they would stand by him no longer; alledging, 'twas in vain to think they should be able to hold out. They added, If any of them should loose a Leg or an Arm, or be kill'd, they had Reason to doubt, whether the Company would take Care of them, their Wives, or Children, instancing the Case of one *Coleburn*; wherefore they demanded of him to capitulate.

In the mean time the *French* fir'd upon the *Flankers*; and the *English*, whatever the Governour commanded them to the contrary, abandon'd their Posts. He refus'd to beat a Parley, and threatned those that would not do their Duty.

The Enemy's Shot had made a Breach in the *Flankers*; and damag'd the Houses in the Fort. Upon which, and the repeated Desires of the Men, who said, *The Year would be so far spent, that they could not hope to get home, but must be starv'd if the Factory should be taken*, the Governour consented to a Parley; Mr. *Bridger* assuring him the Enemy were *Mining* them, and they should certainly be blown up: Cap. *Outlaw* also agreed to capitulate, and the white Flag was hung out. After which a Treaty was concluded, and is as follows.

ARTICLES agreed upon between the Chevalier de Troyes, Commander in Chief of the Detachment of the North-West, for the French Company at Canada; and Henry Sergeant, Esq; Governour for the English Company of Hudson's-Bay, July 16. 1686.

Imprimis. *IT is agreed upon to deliver up the Fort, together with all the Goods belonging to the said Company, which are to be schedul'd for the mutual clearing of us the fore-nam'd, and Satisfaction of all Parties.*

II. *That all the Company's Servants at Albany River shall enjoy all Wearing Apparel belonging to themselves.*

III. *That the aforesaid Henry Sergeant, Esq; Governour, shall enjoy and possess all that belongs to himself; and that his Minister, his three Men Servants and Maid Servant, shall constantly be permitted to remain with him, and attend him.*

IV. *That the Chevalier de Troyes shall convey all the Company's Servants to Charlton Island, there to expect English Ships for their Transportation; and if English Ships should not arrive, then the aforesaid Chevalier de Troyes is to assist them with what Vessels the Country affords, for their Conveyance into England.*

V. *That the said Chevalier de Troyes shall deliver to the said Henry Sergeant, Esq; Governour, or to his Store-house-Keeper, such Provisions as shall be*

be thought fitting and necessary to carry them for England, if no Ships come from thence, and in the mean time give them such Sustenance as shall be sufficient for them.

VI. That all the Store-houses shall be lock'd up, and the Keys deliver'd to the said Chevalier de Troyes's Lieutenant; that nothing may be in the said Store-houses embezzled, till the Account be taken, according to the First Article.

Lastly, That the Governour and all the Company's Servants at Albany River, shall come out of the Fort, and deliver it up to the said Chevalier de Troyes; all Men, the Governour and his Son excepted, being without Arms, which is to be forthwith.

Accordingly the Fort was surrender'd, but the French made no Scruple to break so much of the Articles as they could get any thing by; for they plunder'd Mr. Sergeant of all his Goods, and sent him and his Family away in a very ordinary Bark, ill supply'd with Provisions: Such is the Honour of that Nation.

The Company, notwithstanding it appears very plain by the above-mention'd Account, which was sworn to before Samuel Keck, Esq; a Master in Chancery, that the Governour did all he could to defend the Fort, us'd him at his Return to England as barbarously almost as the French had done; but his Majesty was pleas'd to take him into his Service, which was the best Justification of his Conduct.

At this time, Thomas Phips, Esq; was Governour of Port Nelson, which was not then taken by the French; and the Company expected Fort Albany would have been restor'd to them in King James's time, but all their Sollicitations were in vain, and all the Settlements they had, Port Nelson excepted, were abandon'd to the French. King William, in his Declaration of War against the French King, takes this particular Notice of de Troyes's invading Hudson's-Bay, and destroying the English Factories there, as the French had done in other Places.

The History of Hudson's Bay.

But that the French King should invade our Charibbee-Islands, and possess himself of our Territories of the Province of New-York, and Hudson's-Bay, in a hostile manner, seizing our Forts, burning our Subjects Ships, and enriching his People with the Spoil of their Goods and Merchandizes, detaining some of our Subjects under the Hardship of Imprisonment, causing others to be inhumanly kill'd, and driving the rest to Sea in a small Vessel, are Actions not becoming even an Enemy; and yet he was so far from declaring himself so, that at that very time he was negotiating here in England by his Ministers a Treaty of Neutrality and good Correspondence in America. Such was King William's Judgment of his Fraud and Violence, which his Predecessor, with an unparallel'd Complacency, excus'd.

The War breaking out, as has been said, between the two Nations, the *Hudson's-Bay* Company solicited for Soldiers to be sent thither to recover their Settlements; and in the Year 1693. they retook all the Forts and Factories, which the *French* had taken from them in time of Peace.

John Knight, Esq; Governour of Fort Albany.

In which Expedition they met with no more Difficulties than the Chevalier de Troyes had met with. Cap. *Grinnington* was the Person employ'd for this Service; and *John Knight*, Esq; was appointed Governour of Fort *Albany*: But his Government was of no long Continuance; for in a little time the *French* sent such a Power against the *English*, that they again drove them from all their Settlements in the Bottom of the Bay.

The *French* Company made Monsieur de la *Fores* Governour of Fort *Albany*, and garrison'd all the Forts they had taken; which made it necessary for the Government to send a stronger Power than the Company could raise to recover them.

The King of *England*, to protect their Trade, assign'd them two Men of War for their Service, in the Year 1695. as the *Bonaventure*, Cap. *Allen* Commander, and the *Seaford*.

Cap. *Allen*, coming into the River *Hayes*, sent to summon all the Forts to surrender; and the *French* Governour finding he could not defend them

them against the *English*, capitulated, and on the 2d of *August*, 1696. surrender'd *Albany* Fort, upon certain Articles; the Chief of which were, That all those in the Fort, as well French as Indians, and one Englishman, the Governour's Servant, should have their Lives and Liberties, and that no Harm or Violence should be done to their Persons, or any thing that belong'd to them; That they should march out with their Arms, Drums beating, Colours flying, Match lighted at both ends, Ball in Mouth, and carry with them the two Guns they brought from France; That they should all embark with their Cloaths and Goods, without being visited or pillag'd in any thing; and if they met with any French Vessels, there should be a Truce between the English and them; and the said French Vessels should be permitted to take aboard the Persons that came out of the said Fort, with all that belong'd to them. These Conditions were a little too honourable to grant, but not to be comply'd with.

Cap. *Allen* took the Governour, and some of his Men, aboard his own Ship; some he put aboard the *Seaford*, and the rest aboard a Merchant-Man, call'd the *Dering*.

In his Return, he fought the *Mary Rose* Frigate, then a French Privateer of 50 Guns, and was kill'd in the Engagement, which gave the Frenchman an Opportunity to bear away.

As to the other two Forts, they follow'd the Fate of *Albany*, and Mr. *Knight* was restor'd to his Government. At which time, *John Geyer*, Esq; was Governour of Port *Nelson*. Mr. *Knight* had serv'd Mr. *Sergeant* while he was Governour of Fort *Albany*, and was well acquainted with the Trade.

In the Year 1697. the *Hampshire* Frigate, and Owners *Love* Fire-ship, two of the King's Ships, were lost in this Bay, and all the Men drown'd. Indeed the Ice renders it so dangerous, that the Commerce seems not to be worth the Risk that is run for it. Whether those two Ships ran against those frozen Mountains that float in that Sea, or founder'd, is not known; but 'tis certain, they were lost, and that all the Men perish'd.

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The Trade to this Bay has decreas'd, ever since the use of Beavers has fallen off in *England*. Peltry is not now the Commodity it was, and this Company of Consequence does not make the Figure they did 13 or 14 Years ago.

In the present War, they lost Port *Nelson* to the *French*; and have either given up, or deserted all their Settlements, except Fort *Albany*; where Mr. *Knight* manag'd their Affairs, till the Year 1706. when he was succeeded by

John Fullerton, Esq; the present Governour at *Albany River*.

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Palaeologus 41

The British Empire I N A M E R I C A;

Containing

The HISTORY of the Discovery, Settlement, Progress and present State of all the

British Colonies,

O N T H E

Continent and Islands of *America*.

The Second VOLUME.

Being an Account of the Country, Soil, Climate, Product and Trade of

Barbados,
St. Lucia,
St. Vincents,
Dominico,
Antego,
Montserrat,
Nevis,

St. Christophers,
Barbuda;
Anguilla;
Jamaica;
The Bahama } *Islands.*
and
Bermudas

With curious Maps of the several Places, done from the newest Surveys. By *Herman Moll*, Geographer.

LONDON, Printed for *John Nicholson* at the King's Arms in *Little Britain*, *Benjamin Tooke* at the *Middle-Temple-Gate*, *Fleetstreet*, and *Richard Parker* and *Ralph Smith* under the *Piazza* of the *Royal Exchange*. 1708.

The ...

A M B R I C A

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Map of the Island of
BARBADOES,
 of all y^e Parishes, and Principal
 Towns; together with y^e Forts, Lines,
 Roads, &c. By H. Mall Geographer.

y^e Plantations are marked thus \pm
 usually y^e Present Possessors names to them.

THE
HISTORY
OF
BARBADOES.

Vol. II.

CHAP. I.

Containing an Account of its Discovery, Settlement, the Progress of it, the Perfection, the Decrease and Present State.

TIS agreed by all Historians, that have made mention of this Island, as 'twas first settled by the *English*, that the Portuguese were the first who discover'd it; and it lying convenient for their stopping in their Voyages to and from the *Brasils*, they left some Hogs here, which multiply'd, according to the general Report of Writers, so prodigiously, that when the English came hither, they found the Isle over-run with them. But this, in all Probability,

B ty,

The History of Barbadoes.

ty, is a Fiction; for the Island was entirely cover'd with Woods, and those Woods affording only a few Berries, for the Nourishment of these Animals, 'tis not likely there should be such abundance of them.

About 10 Years since, there was a Person living, who came to *Barbadoes*, with the first Englishmen that settled there; and he assur'd a very worthy Gentleman, from whom the Writer of this History had this Information, that when they had liv'd there some time on Salt-Provisions, he long'd so much to tast some fresh, that he would have sold himself for a Slave to any Englishman, who would then have supply'd him with a Meal of fresh Meat. Now if there were such Plenty of Hogs, and the Flesh of them so delicious, as will be mention'd hereafter, we cannot imagine he could be in such great Want of fresh as well as salt Provisions.

The same Man confirm'd the Account we have given of the Thickness of the Woods; and from thence argu'd, as we do, that 'twas impossible for the pretended infinite Numbers of Hogs to subsist.

We cannot ascertain at what time the Portuguese discover'd it, nor when the English first found it out after them. We suppose the Former might have been there 100 Years before the English discover'd it: For *Alvarez Cabral* landed in *Brasil*, *A. D.* 1501, and 'tis not probable his Countrymen, the Portuguese, should sail by *Barbadoes* 20 Year, and not find it out; the Coast of *Brasil* being not far from the *Charibbee* Islands, of which *Barbadoes* is the chief.

As to the Time when the English first came hither, tho we cannot fix the Year, we are sure it must be in the Reign of King *James I.* For it appears by an Act of Assembly in *Barbadoes*, that 'twas settled in his Time. This Act is entitl'd, *An Act for the better ascertaining the Laws of this Island*; and pass'd, *A. D.* 1666. In which 'tis said, That all Acts confirm'd by any Governour and Counsellour, President and Council, by virtue of any Commission from King *James* or *Charles the Ist. &c.* Which is a plain Proof, that 'twas discover'd by the English before the Year 1625.

What

The History of Barbadoes.

3

What we know of the Matter, is, - About the Year 1624. a Ship of Sir *William Curteen's* returning from *Fernambock*, in *Brasil*, was driven by Strefs of Weather on this Coast; as the Portuguese had been before, it being not, as *Ligon* says, far out of the Way; for 'tis the most Windwardly Island of the *Charibbees*, *Tobago* only excepted. As indeed it is, *Tobago* lying in 11 Degrees, 16 Minutes, North Latitude; above a Degree nearer the Line than *Barbadoes*.

That this Ship touch'd here about the Year 1624. we may conclude, for these Reasons: 'Tis plain there was no sailing to *Brasil* for any Englishman, but under the Protection of the *Dutch West India Company*; the Spaniards and Portuguese making it Death for any Stranger to come among them on this Part of the Continent.

Now tho the *Dutch West India Company*, after the Expiration of the Truce with *Philip III.* King of *Spain* and *Portugal*, began, by Permission of the States General, to trade thither; yet they never sent any Fleet, till the Beginning of the Year 1624. before which time we cannot imagine the English would venture to *Brasil*, the Dutch having not made any Settlement, and King *James* dying, Anno 1625. We think 'tis prov'd plainly enough, that Sir *William Curteen's* Ship came to *Barbadoes*, Anno 1624.

It does not any where appear that Sir *William* came in Person; and who and what this Knight was, we have no very good Account of. *Ligon* tells us only, a Ship of Sir *William Curteen's* was driven upon this Coast, and anchor'd before it. The Men aboard it landed, and stay'd some time, to inform themselves of the Nature of the Place; which, as before-hinted, they found to be so over-grown with Woods, that there was no Champion Ground, no *Savanah's*, for Men to dwell in; nor were there any Beasts, but the aboye-mention'd Hogs; and those, says Mr. *Ligon*, in abundance; the Portuguese having long before put some ashoar, for Breed, in case they should at any time be driven by foul Weather upon the Island, that they might there find fresh Meat, to serve them upon such an Extremity. He adds, The Fruits and Roots that grew there, afforded

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them so great Plenty of Food, as they multiply'd abundantly.

P. 97. Wherein he is not only contradicted by the old Man we have spoken of in the foregoing Pages, but by all the Accounts that ever were written of *Barbadoes*: For they all agree, that there was no Plant, Root, or Herb found here, except Purcelain; and indeed he confesses as much himself: *I know no Herb, naturally growing in the Island, that has not been brought thither from other Parts, but Purcelain, &c.*

'Tis very certain, that the *Charibbeans* never inhabited this Island, for there were no Remains nor Signs of any of their Villages or Dwellings; and they had not been so long possess'd of the Islands, to which they give Name, as that one can suppose they might have dwelt there many Ages before.

This, 'tis probable, was one of the Islands they us'd to visit for Pleasure, of which we shall say more in the History of *St. Christophers*, where we shall speak of the *Charibbeans*, and return now to our present Subject.

Before we continue the History of *Barbadoes*, 'twill not be improper to observe, that this Name was given it by the Portuguese; and no doubt relates to the Barbarity of the Country, which they found wild to the last Degree, and consequently believ'd it to be inhabited by Barbarians. There are some weak People in this Island, who think the Word is form'd from the *Beards* of the Fig-Trees, and that it should be call'd *Beardbados*. But this Etymology is equally groundless and ridiculous. The Portuguese name it *Los Barbados*; from whence 'twas a long time call'd, *The Barbadoes*; tho we do not see what Occasion there is for the *The* in our Language. The French at first gave it the Name of *Barboude*. They now call it, *La Barbade*; and the English, all at least who have any Acquaintance with the Place or People, *Barbadoes*.

How it became to be inhabited by our Countrymen, is our next Business to relate. The English, who landed there out of Sir *William Curteen's* Ship, when they return'd to *England*, gave Advice to their Friends of the Discovery they had made;

and

and several Persons, Noblemen, and others, undertook to settle a Colony here. Ships were sent, with Men, Provisions, and working Tools, to cut down the Woods, and clear the Ground, to plant Provisions for their Subsistence; which till then they found but stragling among the Woods.

Thus says the Writer of the Book, which he calls, *the Barbadoes History*. If by Provisions, he means Corn, 'twas impossible they should find that there which never was sown. If he means the Hogs, we have often mention'd, how comes it they found them only *straglingly*? This confirms what the old Man said of their Want of fresh Meat. Ligon, p. 24.

Having clear'd some Part of the Ground, the English planted Potatoes, Plantines, and Indian Corn, with some other Fruits; *Which*, says the same Author again, *with the Hogs Flesh they found, serv'd only to keep Life and Soul together*. And the Supplies from *England* came so slow, and so uncertainly, that they were often driven to great Extremities.

William Earl of Pembroke was a great Adventurer in the first settling of this Island, of which he possess'd himself of a good Part; but we do not find he had any Grant from the King, for the whole Island was P. 23. given away afterwards.

This Lord sent over Capt. *Cannon*, to manage his Affairs there, and we may look upon *Cannon* as the first Governour, the rest of the Colony being under his Direction. These new Comers found here certain Pots, or Pans of several Sizes, made of Clay, so finely temper'd, and turn'd with such Art, that they could hardly think them to be the Workmanship of Barbarians or Savages. Yet 'twas thought they were brought thither by the *Charibbeans*, who coming thither in their Canoes and *Periagas*, hunted the Hogs, kill'd them, and boil'd their Meat in them. Which Conjecture will seem very probable, to any one that reads what is said of the *Charibbeans*, their little Voyages, and their neat Pots, in the History of *St. Christophers*. Capt. Cannon Governour.

Capt. *Cannon* told Mr. *Ligon*, that this was a gross Mistake in the Planters; and that no Indians ever came there; but those Pots were brought by the Negroes that were fetch'd from *Angola*, and some o-

ther Parts of *Africa*; and that he had seen them make of them at *Angola*, with the greatest Art that may be.

What this Author writes in Answer to *Cannon*, is not the least curious Part of his Book: *Tho I am willing to believe this Captain, who deliver'd upon his Knowledge, that the Negroes brought some Pots thither, and very finely and artificially made; yet it does not hinder any Man from believing, that the Indians brought some too: And who knows which were the most exactly made; for 'tis certain, in some Parts of the Island, you may see, in a clear Day, St. Vincents perfectly. And if we can see them, why may they not see us? and they will certainly venture to any Place they see, so far as they know they can reach before Night, setting out very early in the Morning.*

This Account of the *Charibbeans* Voyages, agrees with the French Authors, translated by Mr. *Davies* of *Kidwelly*, and made Use of by him in the Article of *St. Christophers*.

'Twas not long before all the first Adventurers were either forc'd to abandon their Settlements, or hold them of the Earl of *Carlisle*, of the Family of *Hay*; who was a great Favourite in the Reign of King *James I.* This Lord beg'd the Propriety of the Island of King *James I.* and obtain'd a Grant of it; but not of King *James*, for it seems he did not live long enough; King *Charles I.* granting it *James* Earl of *Carlisle*, in the first Year of his Reign. Upon which all that transported themselves thither to settle, were oblig'd to purchase their Lands of him; and the Rates being easy, and the Country pleasant, the Colony soon began to grow populous, no other Settlement thriving so fast.

Bridgetown

The first Comers made Choice of the Bottom of the Bay, where the Bridge-Town now stands to inhabit; and thereabouts, and all along the Leward Shore, were the first Settlements. Then the South-Eastern Coast was planted, and afterwards the Windward, and North-Western.

'Tis a very great Misfortune to us, that about the Year 1666. the Bridge-Town was burnt, and all the chief Records lost; insomuch that if we are out in our Chronology before that time, we must be excus'd,
for

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7

for this Government having been 30 Years a Proprietary's, no publick Records were kept of it in *England*; and tho we believe we are right, yet taking our Account from Tradition, and from several Passages in History, 'tis not unlikely that we may err in our Chronology.

The Inhabitants of *Barbadoes* at their first coming fell to planting Tobacco; which, whatever is said of the *Barbadoes* Tobacco now, prov'd so earthy and worthless, that it yielded little or nothing in *England*, or elsewhere; so that for a while they lost their Labour, and their Industry did not turn to account.

The Woods were so thick, and most of the Trees so large and massy, that 'twas not a few Hands could fell them; which was another Discouragement to them. When the Trees were down, their Branches were so thick and unmanageable, as requir'd more Help than could be procur'd, to lop and remove them off the Ground.

By this means, twenty Years afterwards, Mr. *Ligon* writes, he found both Potatoes, Maize, and Bonavists, planted between the Boughs; the Trees lying along upon the Ground; so far short was it then of being clear'd.

The first Governour that I can learn was sent thither with a regular Commission, was Sir *Henry Hunks*; but I cannot ascertain what Year he went.

Notwithstanding all the Discouragements the new Colony lay under, it still thriv'd; for Indigo and Cotton-Wool coming up plentifully, great Quantities of those Commodities, as also of Fustick, were ship'd off for *London*; and meeting with a good Market, other Ships were sent to *Barbadoes*, loaden with such Goods as were wanted there; Working-Tools, Iron, Steel, Cloaths, Shirts and Drawers, Stockings, Shoes, and Hats.

More People also came over; their Trade encreas'd with their Company; and about the Year 1646. 'twas look'd upon to be a flourishing Colony. Capt. *Swan*, who was then Surveyor of the Island, drew a Draught of it, and gave it to the Governour; which he carry'd with him to *England*, and so 'twas lost; but he gave Mr. *Ligon* a Copy of it

Sir Henry Hunks Governour.

acc^d to the Name of Barb. in 1630. he embarked in 1641. for

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from his Memory; and loose Papers, which was engrav'd, and is the same that he put before his *History*.

The most considerable of the first Planters, were Mr. *Hilliard*, Mr. *Holduppe*, Mr. *Silvester*, Mr. *Walron*d, Mr. *Raines*, Mr. *Kendall*, Mr. *Middleton*, Mr. *Standfast*, and Mr. *Drax*; for Mr. *Modiford* did not come over till about the Year 1647. The Planters were so neglected by the Proprietor, that they refus'd to honour him with the Name; and his Governour taking no Care to have their Grievances redress'd, nor due Provision made for the Defence of the Island, 'twas a great Baulk to these first Adventurers; who were most of them Men of moderate Fortunes, that had brought Stocks thither to be improv'd, and were uneasy, to find no Care was taken to defend what they had already got, and what they might acquire.

The Earl of *Carlisle* granted 10000 Acres of Land, in that part of the Island, which now makes the Parish of *St. George's*, to *Marmaduke Rawden*, Esq; Mr. *William Perkins*, Mr. *Alexander Banister*, Mr. *Edmund Foster*, Capt. *Wheatly*, and others, on certain Covenants and Conditions; which 'tis to be suppos'd were not comply'd with: For those Lands, a few Years afterwards, return'd to the Proprietor; who, upon Sir *Henry Hunks's* Return to *England*, appointed Capt. *Philip Bell*, who, says *Ligon*, had been Governour of the Isle of *Providence*, to have the same Character in *Barbadoes*; where there was now a Council, an Assembly, and several Laws were made; and among others, one to raise 40 Pound of Cotton a-head, on all the Inhabitants, for the Proprietary; but this Tax, and other Duties and Rents, were abolish'd, in the Government of *Francis Lord Wiloughby*.

Sugar was not as yet planted, and probably was not so soon as Sir *Dalby Thomas* makes it, in a Pamphlet he publish'd Anno 1590. About 50 Years ago, says he, during the War between the *Hollanders* and *Portuguese* in *Brazil*, a *Hollander* happen'd to arrive from thence upon our Island of *Barbadoes*, where, tho there were good *Sugar-Canes*, the *English* knew no other Use of them, than to make refreshing *Drinks* for that hot Climate,

Capt. Philip Bell
Governour

Hist. Ac. of the Rise & Growth of the W. India Colonies, &c.

intending by planting Tobacco there to have equall'd those of the Verinas; on which Ginger, Cotton, and Indigo they meant to rely.

Ligon seems to hint, that the Planters made Experiments of Sugar, before they were taught by the Dutch. His Words are these: 'At the time we P. 83.
' landed on this Island, which was in the beginning
' of September, 1647. we were inform'd partly by
' those Planters we found there, and partly by our
' own Observations, that the great Work of Sugar-
' making was but newly practis'd by the Inhabitants,
' some of the most industrious Planters having got-
' ten Plants from Fernambock, in Brasil, and made
' Trial of them at Barbadoes; and finding them to
' grow, they planted more and more as they grew
' and multiply'd on the Place, till they had such a
' considerable Number, as they were worth the while
' to set up a very small Ingenio, and so try what Su- A Cattle
' gar could be made upon that Soil: But the Secrets Mill.
' of the Work being not well understood, the Sugars
' they made were very inconsiderable, and little
' worth for two or three Years, till at last finding
' their Errors by their daily Practice, they began a
' little to mend; and by new Directions from Bra-
' sil, sometimes by Strangers, and now and then by
' their own People, who, (being covetous of the
' Knowledge of a thing which so much concern'd
' them in their Particulars, and for the General Good
' of the whole Island) were content sometimes to make
' a Voyage thither, to improve their Knowledge in
' a thing they so much desir'd; being now made
' abler to make their Queries of the Secrets of that
' Mystery, by how much their often Failings had put
' them to often Stops and Nonplusses in their Work;
' and so returning with more Plants, and better
' Knowledge, they went on upon fresh Hopes, but
' still short of what they should be more skilful in:
' For at our Arrival there, we found them ignorant
' of three main Points, that much conduc'd to the
' Work, the Manner of Planting, the Time of Ga-
' thering, and the Right placing of their Coppers in
' their Furnaces; as also, of the True way of cover-
' ing their Rollers with Plates, or Bars of Iron.
' We found many Sugar-Works set up, and at work,

' but

‘but yet the Sugars they made were but bare Musco-
 ‘vado’s, and few of them Merchantable Commodities,
 ‘so moist, and full of Molosses, and so ill cur’d, they
 ‘were hardly worth the bringing home for *England*.
 Let us compare this with what Sir *Dalby Thomas*
 said above, and what he further says on the same Sub-
 ject, which he places about the Year 1640. seven
 Years before Mr. *Ligon* arriv’d in *Barbadoes*, *This*
Hollander understanding Sugar, was, by one Mr. Drax,
and some other Inhabitants there, drawn in to make a
Discovery of the Art he had to make it. If so, how
 comes it they were such Novices 7 or 8 Years after-
 wards.

Ligon’s Account of it seems to be most natu-
 ral, and therefore we shall continuè it, being one
 of the most considerable Parts of the *Barbadoes*-Hi-
 story, to know when the Cane was first planted:
 He goes on, ‘About the time I left the Island, which
 ‘was in 1650. the Planters were much better’d, for
 ‘then they had the Skill to know when the Canes
 ‘were ripe, which was not till they were 15 Months
 ‘old, and before they gather’d them at 12; which
 ‘was a main Disadvantage to their making good Su-
 ‘gar. Besides, they were grown Proficients, both
 ‘in boyling and curing them, and had learnt the
 ‘Knowledge of making them white, such as you call
 ‘Lump-Sugars here in *England*.

One may see what an Improvement the Canes
 made of the Lands, by what the same Author says
 of Major *Hilliard’s* Plantation, which, before the
 working of Sugar began, might have been purchas’d
 for 400 *l.* tho’ twas 500 Acres; and when he came
 over, about which time also came Col. *Thomas Modi-*
ford, the latter gave 7000 *l.* for the half of it; and
 he adds, ‘Tis evident all the Land there, which has been
 employ’d to that Work, has found the like Improve-
 ment.

‘Tis not to be doubted, but that the Hopes of
 making Sugar tempted over those Gentlemen in the
 Civil War, whose Fortunes had been almost ruin’d
 by it at home: The Chief of these were Col. *Hum-*
phry Watrond, Mr. *Thomas Kendall*, and others, whose
 Names and Families are very well known in *Devon-*
shire and *Cornwall*.

The History of Barbadoes.

By the Addition of these Refugees, and other Adventurers, the Island, especially the Leward Part of it, was very well settled in Mr. *Bell's* Government; and 'twill not be improper to take Notice what Settlements there were in his Time. The most Eastern was one *Oystine's*, who was a mad Spark, and made himself talk'd of for his Extravagance and Debauchery; insomuch, that 'twas for his Infamy, and not for his Honour, the Bay was so call'd, and the Town afterwards. Next to *Oystine's* was *Webb's*, then *Place's*, then *Isham's*, then *Trott's*, then *Knott's*, then *Battyn's*, then *Thompson's*, then *Bar's*, then *Webb's*, then *Wethersoll's*, then *Scriven's*, then *Ross's*, then *Hotherfall's*, whose Posterity enjoy it at this Day: Then *Glegitt's*, then *Birch's*, then *Baldwin's*, then *Rouse*, then *Freer*, whose Plantation is now in the Possession of his Descendant Col. *Freer*. Then *Allen's*: This Gentleman was originally of *Kent*, and of a good Family. His Son, Lieutenant General *Abel Allen*, held this, and several other Estates, to his Death; and they are now enjoy'd by his Sons, the eldest of which is Col. *Thomas Allen*. More within Land was Major *Hilliard's*, where Col. *Thomas*, afterwards Sir *Thomas Modiford*, first settled; and then *Allen* again; and then Col. *James*, afterwards Sir *James Drax*: The latter from 300 *l.* acquir'd an Estate of 8 or 9000 *l.* a Year, and marry'd the Earl of *Carlisle's* Daughter. There's no Male-Issue of this Family left, and the Estate is in several Hands. Near *Drax* was *Brome's* Plantation, then *Stringer's*, of whose Posterity some still remain in this Island. Then *Mallin's*, then *Redwood*, then *Knot* again, then *Lacy*, then *Sam's*, then *May*, then *Hayes*, then *Trott*. Next to *Allen*, near the Coast, was *Boben*, then *Fawcet*, then *Warmell*, then *Kitteridge*, then *Hamond*, then *Waser*, then *Butler*, then *Jones*, then *Birch*, then *Webb* again; and then *Needham*, who gave Name to the Point, on which the Fort was afterwards built, from thence call'd *Needham's* Fort. Next to him was *Cleves*, then *Wood*, then *Sanders*, then *Moss*, and then Mr. *Bell* the Governour's, near *Indian* River, so the Stream that ran into *Carlisle* Bay was call'd; and the Town, consisting of about 100 Houses, was built on the South Side of it. 'Twas in *Ligon's* time as
big

big as *Hounslow*. More up in the Country was *Minor's*, *Marshal's*, *Coverly*, and *Lees* Plantation; and above the Governour's was *Marten*, *Dorels*, *Howard*, *Digby*, *Green*, and *Buckley's* Plantations. On the Coast, beyond the Bridge, was *Curtis's*. Higher up *Hill's*, then *Holdip's*, then *Perk's*, then *Bix's*, then *Bower's*, then *Fortescue*; of which Family there are some still remaining in the Island. Then *Chambers*, then *Rich*, whose Son, *Robert Rich*, Esq; was a Counsellor in King *William's* Reign. Then *Haw*, and then *Peter*. Nearer the Coasts was *Davies*, *Edward's*, *Belman's*, *Yrish*, *Reid's*, whose Descendant was the late *John Reid*, Esq; a Member of the Council; and then *Mills*; of which Name there was lately several in *Barbadoes*, and Col. *John Mills* is at this present time a Member of the Council, and chief Baron of the Exchequer; next to *Curtis's* was *Reid's* again, near the Shoar; then *Ashton's*, then *Lambert's*, then *Cox's*, *Wincott's*, *Ball's*, *Martyn*, *Swinow*, *Howard*, *Eastwick*, *Stone*, *Morgan*, *Stallinidge*, *Fydes*, *Andrews*, *Whitaker*, *Weeks*, *Thompson*, *Hutton*, *Brown*, and then the *Hole Town*; beyond which was *Ball's*, *Legouch*, *Woodhouse*.

Higher up, were *Alven's*, *Watt's*, and *Ball's* Plantations. The Governour had also a Plantation between the *Hole* and *Speight's*. Next to which was *Futter's*, then *Holland's*, then *Smith's*, then *Pearce's*, then *Marshall's*, then *Terrell's*, whose Grandson, the late *Michael Terrel*, Esq; was a Member of the Council. About *Speight's* were *Day's*, *Powel's*, *Russel's*, *Flech's*, *Treacle's* Settlements. More within Land beyond *Speight's*, were *Saltonstal*, *Walker*, *Senex*, *Buck's*, *Well's*, *Hale's*, *Sympson's*, *Smith's*, *Tring's*, *Wascot's*, *Rowland*, *Wright*, *Nelson*, *Ware*, *Humphrey's*, *Sandford*, *Hemingsworth*, and *Hauley's* Plantation. The latter was one of the Governours of the Island, as will be shewn hereafter. Then *Guy's*, a very considerable Name in *Barbadoes*; then *Parish*; and within Land, *Yate's*, *Duke's*, *Bushell's*, and *Biron's*. Next to *Parish's* was *Dotten's*, whose Descendant, *William Dotten*, Esq; was lately a Representative in the Assembly for the Parish of *St. Andrews*. Then *Brown's*, *Stretton's*, *Parvi's*, *Cook's*, *Hargrave's*, *Week's*, *Conyer's*, *Ogles*, *Stevens*, and *Maccock*, whose Posterity enjoy his

his Estate to this Day. Then *Patrick, Cater, Lawrence,* and *Downman's* Plantations, where now is *Lambert's Point*.

There were no Plantations on the Windward Shoar, till you come to *Chalky Mount*, and not above 10 or 12 along that Coast; yet the Island was so populous, that there were muster'd 10000 good Foot, and 1000 Horse; and the Number of Souls, of the Whites only, were computed to be 50000, when there were not $\frac{1}{4}$ Part as many Plantations as there are now.

For the Defence of the Country, a few slight Works were rais'd on the Coasts, where it was not naturally fortify'd. And one Cap. *Burroughs*, who pretended to be a Soldier and an Engineer, undertook to make the Fortifications, and furnish them with such a Store of Artillery as should be sufficient to maintain them, provided he might have the Excise paid to him, for 7 Years; which was promis'd by the Governour and Assembly. Upon which he went to Work, and made such a Fort, as when abler Engineers came upon the Island, they found to be most pernicious for commanding all the Harbour, and not being strong enough to defend it self; if it had been taken by an Enemy, it would have done much Harm to the Landward. For which Reason, in a very little time, it was pull'd down, and in its stead, Trenches, Rampiers, Pallisadoes, Hornworks, Curtains, and Counterscarps, were made. Three Forts were also built, one for a Magazine to lay their Ammunition and Powder in, the other two to make a Retreat to upon all Occasions.

And now a Form of Government was settled by a Governour and ten Counsellors. The Island was also divided into 4 Circuits, for the Administration of Justice; and into 11 Parishes, who were to send two Representatives to the Assembly. Ministers were also settled, and Churches built, but very indifferent ones.

The Inhabitants driving a considerable Trade with all Parts of the World, grew rich; and Col. *Dran* already began to boast, he would not think of home, meaning *England*, till he was worth 10000 *l.* a Year,

Year, which he acquir'd, or at least very near it.

Their Hands consisted in White Servants, Negroes, and a few *Charibbeans*. The first they had from *England*, the second from *Africa*, and the last from the Continent, or the Neighbouring Islands, by Stealth or Violence, and always with Dishonour: For the *Charibbeans* hating Slavery as much as any Nation in *America*, abhorr'd the *English* for imposing their Yoke upon them; and 'twas very few they could get into their Power by their Pyracies and Invasions. They had not such great Numbers of Slaves, Blacks and *Indians*, as they have now; fewer Hands were requir'd to cultivate the Ground, and 100 Negroes would manage the greatest Plantation in the Island, with the white Servants upon it.

However, the Negroes were more numerous than the *Europeans*, and began early to enter into Conspiracies against their Masters. The first I meet with in my Memoirs of this kind, was about 1649. when they were so exasperated by their ill Usage, that Hopes of Revenge and Liberty put those Thoughts into their Heads, which one would have thought they had not Sense enough to be Masters of. We must confess, the Planters had not yet learnt to govern their Slaves by any other ways than Severity. Besides, they were all Foreigners, and consequently had not the least Affection for the Country, or their Masters; whereas now of 50 or 70000 Negroes, which are suppos'd to be in *Barbadoes*, 40000 of them are Natives of the Island, as much *Barbadians* as the Descendants of the first Planters, and do not need such a strict Hand to be held over them as their Ancestors did, tho' their Numbers and their Condition make them still dangerous.

The Conspirators in Governour *Bell's* time, complaining to one another of the intollerable Burdens they labour'd under, the Murrmur grew general, and the Desire of Revenge universal. At last, some among them whose Spirits were not able to endure such Slavery, resolv'd to break their Chains, or perish in the Attempt. They communicated their Resolution to their Fellow-Sufferers, who were all ready

ly to join in the Enterprize, and a great Number of these Malecontents were drawn into the Conspiracy, insomuch that they were the Majority. A Day was appointed to fall upon their Masters, cut all their Throats, and by that Means not only get Possession of their Liberty, but also of the Island. This Plot was carry'd on so closely, that no Discovery was made till the Day before they were to put it in Execution; and then one of them, either by the failing of his Courage, or some new Obligations from the Love of his Master, reveal'd this Conspiracy, which had been carrying on a long while. The Negro belong'd to Judge *Hotherfall*, and to him the Discovery was made; who by sending Letters to all his Friends, and they to theirs, gave all the Planters such timely Notice of the Conspiracy, that the Conspirators were all secur'd, and the chief Contrivers of the Plot made Examples.

There were many of this kind, and none of them were sav'd; for they were so far from repenting of the Treason, that the Planters were afraid, if they had been suffer'd to live, they would have enter'd into a second Plot.

As to the *Indians*, there were not such Numbers of them as to be dangerous; yet many there were, and some Plantations had a House on purpose for them, call'd the *Indian House*.

'Tis too true, the *English* made use of indirect Practices to get them; but there was one young Fellow so very cruel and ungrateful towards a young *Indian* Woman, that 'tis a Story not easily to be parallel'd. We find it in *Ligon*. This *Indian* dwelt on the Continent, near the Shoar, where an *English* Ship happening to put into a Bay, some of the Crew landed, to try what Provisions or Water they could find, for they were in Distress: But the *Indians* perceiving them go up so far into the Country, as they were sure they could not make a safe Retreat, intercepted them in their Return, fell upon them, chasing them into a Wood; and being dispers'd there, some were taken, and some kill'd; but a young Man amongst them stragling from the rest, was met by this *Indian* Maid, who, upon the first Sight, fell in Love with him, and hid him close from her Country.

trymen in a Cave, where she kept him, and fed him, till they could safely go down to the Shoar, the Ship lying still in the Bay, expecting the Return of their Friends. When they came there, the *English* aboard the Ship, spy'd him and his beautiful Savage, for she was very handsome, sent the Long-Boat for them, took them aboard, and brought them away: But the Youth, when he came to *Barbadoes*, forgot the Kindness of the *Indian* Maid, who had ventur'd her Life to save his, and sold her for a Slave. Thus the unfortunate *Yarico*, for that was her Name, lost her Liberty for her Love. An Instance of Ingratitude hardly credible in an *Englishman*. What could a *Spaniard*, or a *Frenchman*, Nations that have distinguish'd themselves for their Cruelty and Treachery, have done more? Would not one have thought, this base young Man had been born in the Land where the Inquisition and the Gallies are the Punishments of light Offences, and sometimes the Reward of Virtue and Merit.

This *Yarico* was so true a Savage, that after she had been sometimes in *Barbadoes*, she refus'd to wear Cloaths, but went still naked. Mr. *Ligon* commends her Shape and Complexion, and her Beauty was not without Admirers, for we find she was so kind to a white Servant belonging to her Master, that she had a Child by him; and my Author tells it with this Circumstance, that when she found her Hour was come, she left the Company she was in, went to a
 P. 54, 55. Wood, was absent about three Hours, and then return'd home with her Child in her Arms, a lusty Boy, frolick and lively.

We have before observ'd, that there were 50000 Inhabitants, Men, Women, and Children, besides Negroes and *Indians*, in *Barbadoes*, in the Year 1650. Thus *Ligon* tells us; but the *French* Author of the *History of the Charibbee-Islands*, done into *English* by Mr. *Davies*, writes, that about the Year 1646. there were accounted in it about 20000 Inhabitants, not comprehending in that Number the *Negro* Slaves, who were thought to amount to a far greater.

There's such a vast Difference between those two Authors, that there's no pretending to reconcile them; and 'tis most likely, that Mr. *Ligon*, who was on the Spot,

Spot, should know better than a Foreigner, whose other part of the Account of *Barbadoes* shews it was very populous.

‘ There are many Places, says he, in this Island, which may justly be call’d Towns, as containing many fair, long, and spacious Streets, furnish’d with a great Number of noble Structures, built by the principal Officers and Inhabitants of this noble Colony. Nay indeed, taking a full Prospect of the whole Island, a Man might take it for one great City, inasmuch as the Houses are at no great Distance one from another; that many of those are very well built, according to the manner of Building in *England*; that the Shops and Store-houses are well furnish’d with all sorts of Commodities: That there are many Fairs and Markets. And lastly, that the whole Island, as great Cities are, is divided into several Parishes. The most considerable Inhabitants think themselves so well settl’d, that ’tis seldom seen they ever remove thence.

Bridgetown

Such was the State of *Barbadoes* 60 Years ago; and ’tis Matter of Astonishment, to think what Progress this Colony had made in 20 Years time. The People that went hither from *England*, could not be so mean as those that transported themselves to other Parts of *America*, because to raise a Plantation requir’d a Stock of some thousands of Pounds, which were not so common then, as they are now, tho we do not live in the most abounding Times.

As Persons went hither chiefly to raise their Fortunes, and not to enjoy the Liberty of their Consciences; so this Island was not settled by *Puritans*, as *New-England*, and some other Colonies are. The Inhabitants were for the most part Church of *England* Men, and Royalists; yet some there were who were of the Party call’d *Round-heads*, or *Parliamentarians*. However both sides, for many Years, liv’d peaceably and amicably; and by an Agreement made among themselves, every Man who call’d another Cavalier, or Round-head, was to forfeit a small Sum to the Person offended.

This good Correspondence did not last long after the King's Death; For the Royalists, who were the most powerful Party, resolv'd not to own the usurp'd Authority of the Rump; and the Parliamentarians were of another Opinion. After the King's Friends were entirely suppress'd in *England*, 'twas not likely the Barbadians could stand out against the new Republick. However Col. *Modiford*, Col. *Walrond*, and others, were very high, and the major Part of the Island, was for proclaiming King *Charles II.* Yet in the Acts pass'd by the Assembly, which sat in the Year 1648. we do not find that there was any thing done, that might give Offence to the Government in *England*, which was then in the Hands of the Parliament.

Mr. *Bell* still continu'd Governour, and having the Lord Proprietor's Commission, wanted no new one from the Rump; against whom most of the Islands in the *British West Indies* declar'd, particularly *Barbadoes*, as has been hinted.

King *Charles I.* being beheaded by his unnatural Subjects; as soon as News came of it to this Isle, the People proclaim'd his Son, *Charles II.* who having receiv'd Advice, that not only this Island, but others, and *Virginia* also, remain'd in their Obedience, his Ministers conceiv'd vain Hopes, that Men might be rais'd even in *America*, to help him against the Rebels in *England*; whereas our Colonies were all then in their Infancy, and Men could ill be spar'd from their Labour, to defend their Works against an Enemy.

However the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* was declar'd Governour of *Barbadoes*, by the King in *Holland*; and accordingly he went thither. But the Planters who were in the Interest of the Parliament, as Col. *Alleyne*, and others, remov'd to *England*, being apprehensive of the Resentment of their Enemies.

Because the Government of this Isle was above 20 Years in this Lord and his Brother's Possession, it will not be amiss to say something of him; He was one of the first who rais'd Forces against King *Charles I.* notwithstanding his Majesty. sent him positive Orders to the contrary, and generally acted in the

Eastern associated Counties, in Conjunction with the Earl of *Manchester* and *Oliver Cromwel*: But when the latter, by his Courage and Intrigues, had got the start of both of them, and the Sectarian Faction began to prevail in Parliament, the Lord *Willoughby*, who was a Presbyterian, sided with those of his own Profession, that were Malecontents, oppos'd the Army; and being one of those Peers who was accus'd of Treason by them, he fled to *Holland*, where he embrac'd the King's Interest.

The Earl of *Carlisle* had also granted a Commission to this Lord, to be Governour of *Barbadoes*. And upon his Arrival, Mr. *Bell's* was superseded. While he was here he undertook an Expedition against the King's Enemies in the *Leward Islands*; which being all reduc'd, the King appointed Major General *Pointz*, another Presbyterian Defserter, to be Governour of them.

Francis
Lord Willoughby
Governour

He summon'd an Assembly, and they pass an Act, entitl'd, *An Acknowledgment and Declaration of the Inhabitants of the Island of Barbadoes, of his Majesty's Right to the Dominion of this Island; and the Right of the Right Honourable the Earl of Carlisle, deriv'd from his said Majesty; and by the Earl of Carlisle to the Right Honourable the Lord Willoughby of Parham; and also for the unanimous Profession of the true Religion in this Island, and imposing condign Punishment upon the Opposers thereof.*

Some place the passing this Act upon his being made a second time Governour of *Barbadoes*; 'twas not to be expected, that this Government would be of any long Duration; for after that in *England* had triumph'd over all its Enemies in *Europe*, there was no Reason to hope they would leave those in *America* in Possession of any Power.

Col. *Alleyne*, and the other Gentlemen who came from *Barbadoes*, had no need to sollicite Succours; the Powers then uppermost, were too jealous of their Honour, to admit of any ones disputing their Authority; especially when they understood, that Prince *Rupert* was design'd for the *West Indies*, to confirm the Inhabitants of the Island and the Continent, in their Loyalty.

They were also provok'd against the Barbadians, for trading wholly with the Dutch, with whom they were about to make War; wherefore they resolv'd to send a stout Squadron of Men of War, and a good Body of Land-Forces aboard, to reduce not only *Barbadoes*, and the *Leward Islands*, but all the English Colonies in *America*.

The Command of this Squadron was given to Sir *George Ayscue*, and also of the Land-Troops; and with them return'd Col. *Alleyne*, and those other Barbadians who would not submit to the Lord *Wilmington*.

Sir *George* was order'd to cruize a little off *Spain* and *Portugal*, to endeavour to intercept Prince *Rupert*; which not being able to do, he set Sail for *Barbadoes*, and arriv'd in *Carlisle Bay*, the 16th of *October*, 1651. He found 14 Sail of *Hollanders* in the Road; and, to prevent their running ashore, sent in the *Amity Frigate*, Capt. *Peck* Commander, with three other Men of War, to seize them.

The Captain immediately order'd the Masters of those Ships aboard: Which Orders they obey'd, finding all Resistance would be in vain. Thus he took all those Vessels, and made them Prize, for trading with the Enemies of the Common-Wealth in that Island. Sir *George* also took 3 other *Hollanders*, as they were sailing to the other Islands.

The Governour made as if he would defend the Island to the last Extremity; the Alarm was given, and 400 Horse and Foot appear'd in Arms, to dispute the *Parliamentarians* Landing.

The Forts in *Carlisle Bay* defended that Harbour; so Sir *George* ply'd up and down the Island, seeking for a Landing-place. The Inhabitants saw him, and the Sight of such a Fleet, coming in a hostile manner, was far from being pleasant.

The Loss of the Ships, in the Harbour, the Impossibility of their being reliev'd, and their certain Expectations of Want, stagger'd the Resolutions of the most Brave: However their Loyalty remain'd firm for some time, especially among the meaner sort; who had little to lose: For the Men of Substance consider'd, that they were about a very rash Lucre, and that they endanger'd their Persons and

Estates,

Estates, without hoping to be serviceable to the King: For 'twas now very easy for the Enemy to starve them, if they did not attempt to land.

Sir *George* at last anchor'd in *Speight's Bay*, and stay'd their till *December*; when the *Virginia Merchant Fleet* arriving, he resolv'd to take that Opportunity, to land with the greater Advantage; for he made as if 'twas a Reinforcement that had been sent him, and he had only waited for them till then. Whereas the Truth was, he had not above 2000 Men; and the Sight of the little Army on Shore made him cautious of venturing his Men, till he thought the Inhabitants had conceiv'd a greater Idea of his Strength than they had done before.

The *Virginia Ships* were wellcom'd as a Supply of Men of War; and he presently order'd his Men to go ashore; 150 Scots Servants, aboard that Fleet, were added to a Regiment of 700 Men, and some Seamen to them, to make the Number look the more formidable.

The Command of them was given to the before-mention'd Col. *Alleyne*, who having a considerable Interest in the Island, 'twas suppos'd he would be the fittest Man to lead the Soldiers to gain it. The Barbadians were posted on the Shore very regularly, yet on the 17th of *December* the English landed, and beat them up to their Fort; which was on a sudden deserted by them, after the Loss of 60 Men on both sides. On Sir *George's*, was that brave Barbadian, the before-mention'd Col. *Alleyne*, who was kill'd with a Musket-Shot, as he attempted to land; and was very much lamented, being a Man of Worth and Honour; the Soldiers and Seamen who follow'd him gain'd the Fort, and 4 Pieces of Cannon in it.

The Sailors return'd to their Ships, which cruiz'd up and down, to prevent any Succours coming to the Islanders, or any Merchants trading with them. The Soldiers posted themselves in the Fort, and from thence made IncurSIONS into the Country; upon which the chief of the Inhabitants grew weary of the War; which Sir *George* understanding, by the Correspondence he had in the Island, he, by the same Means, procur'd Col. *Modiford*, who was the most

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leading Man on the Place, to enter into a Treaty with him; and this Negotiation succeeded so well, that *Modiford* declar'd publickly for a Peace, and join'd with Sir *George*, to bring the Lord *Willoughby*, the Governour, to Reason, as they phras'd it.

Sir *George's* Men were now all ashore, and made up a Body of 2000 Foot, and 100 Horse, for so many Deserters had come over to him. If Col. *Modiford* had join'd him with his Party, there was no hope of the Governour's escaping, who having before deserted the Parliament, he could expect no Mercy from them, if he was taken without a Treaty. This he knew best of any Man, and accordingly consented to treat; tho' to speak more properly, we should say, Sir *George Ayscue* consented to the Treaty; for being the Stronger, he might, if he had pleas'd, have spoken, *En Maitre*.

But to avoid the Effusion of Christian and of English Blood, both Parties appointed Commissioners to treat: Sir *George* nam'd Capt. *Peck*, Mr. *Searl*, Col. *Thomas Modiford*, and *James Colliton*, Esq; The Lord *Willoughby*, Sir *Richard Peers*, *Charles Pym*, Esq; Col. *Ellice*, and Major *Byham*; who on the 17th of *January*, agreed on Articles of Rendition, which were alike comprehensive and honourable. The Lord *Willoughby* had what he most desir'd, Indemnity, and Freedom of Estate and Person. Upon which, some time after, he return'd to *England*; and we hear no more of him till the Restoration.

— Searl
Esq; Go-
vernour.

The Rump having thus reduc'd this Island, without consulting the Earl of *Carlisle* on the Matter, made --- *Searl*, Esq; Governour of it; who call'd an Assembly, which pass'd several good Acts; as, *An Act for Weights, Numbers, and Measures*, according to the *Weights, Numbers, and Measures us'd in the Commonwealth of England*. An Act to prevent frequenting of *Taverns and Ale-houses* by Seamen. An Act for the keeping clear the *Wharfs, or Landing-Places, at the Indian Bridge, and on Speight's Bay, alias Little-Bristol*. An Act, That the bringing *Writs of Errors, and other equitable Matters, before the Governour and Council, to be by them determin'd, be, and do continue in force, according to the ancient Customs of this Island.*

An Act for prohibiting all Persons to encroach upon their Neighbours Line. An Act for the certain and constant Appointment of all Officers Fees within this Island. All which Laws are still in Force.

And here we cannot but observe a great Oversight in Mr. Rawlins's late Collection of the Body of the Laws of Barbadoes, in not taking Care to tell us, in what Year, and what Governour's Time, such Laws pass, which would have been a great Help to the Chronology of this Island; whereas few of his Statutes are dated, and the Governour's Name seldom mention'd, till about Sir Jonathan Atkins's Time.

We know certainly what Governours succeeded Mr. Searl; but the before-mention'd Accident may perhaps occasion some Error in the Succession, tho we think we are in the right, and that his immediate Successor was Col. Thomas Modiford; who had been Col. Tho. Modiford Governour very instrumental in bringing this Island into the Power of the Parliament. And 'twas after this Reduction of the Island of Barbadoes, that England began to tast some of the Sweets of the Trade thither: For the Inhabitants before traded chiefly with the Dutch, and other Nations, insomuch that if we might believe Ligon, they had Beef from Russia; P. 37. but herein he is to be suspected, and that part of his Book, as well as others, notwithstanding the Bishop of Salisbury's Epistolary Preface, favours of a Romance. That they traded with the Hollanders mostly, is not to be doubted. Sir Dalby Thomas tells us, in the Treatise we have already spoken of; P. 36. That as it was the Happiness of this Island, to learn the Art of making Sugar from a Dutchman; so the first and main Support of them in their Progress, to that Perfection they are arriv'd to, exceeding all the Nations in the World, is principally owing to that Nation; who being eternal Provers about, and Searchers for moderate Gains by Trade, did give Credit to these Islanders, as well as they did to the Portuguese in Brasil, for black Slaves, and all other Necessaries for Planting, taking, as their Crops throve, the Sugars they made.

The Dutch War happening soon after Sir *George Ayscue's* Expedition, hinder'd their trading with that Nation; and their future Traffick return'd to its proper Center, which was dealing with their Native Country. 'Tis very true, for our Advantage the proper Center of the *Barbadoes Trade* is *England*.

But let us do the Colony and our selves Justice, to confess, we consulted our own Interest more than theirs, when we ty'd them to one Market, and oblig'd them to send all their Commodities to us. Choice of Markets is the greatest Advantage of any Trade: And when about the time of Col. *Modiford's* Government, the Parliament in *England* pass'd the Act of Navigation, requiring, among other things, that the Product of all the Colonies should be ship'd for *England*, a stop was put to the flourishing State of this Island; and if it continu'd as it was, without decaying much, the Duties afterwards laid upon it, has so reduc'd it, that well may its present Solicitor General, Mr. *William Rawlins*, say of it, in the Epistle Dedicatory before his Collection of the Laws, *This once flourishing (but, alas? now withering) Isle*.

Col. Tuf-
ton Govern-
our.

As soon as *Jamaica* was conquer'd, Col. *Modiford* resolv'd to remove thither; and Col. *Tufton* was appointed Governour in his stead, we suppose by the Rump, or *Oliver*; for we are now in the dark as to Years, and the Order of Succession; but such as has been the Information, we have receiv'd from the best Tradition.

Henry
Howley,
Esq; Go-
vernour.

'Twas in this Gentleman's time that the Revolutions in *England* came about quick, and none of the Governours abroad were sure who were their Masters. In this Uncertainty, *Henry Hawley*, Esq; procur'd a Commission from the Earl of *Carlisle*, the Lord Proprietary, possess'd himself of the Government; and Col. *Tufton* making some Opposition, was taken Prisoner, try'd for high Treason, and condemn'd to be shot to Death; which Sentence was put in Execution off the Bay.

Thus *Hawley* became Governour of this Island, and solemniz'd his Inauguration with the Blood of a worthy Gentleman, of a very good Family, being a Relation of the Earl of *Thanet*. Yet we do not find,

that

That after the Restoration he was call'd to an account, for such vigorous Measures were then thought necessary, to strike an Awe into the People, and peaceable Justice was to effect that which Arms could not do before.

In his time an Assembly was holden, who pass'd an Act, for limiting the Assembly's Continuance; con-
fining their Session to one Year; the former Assembly having sat several Years, and the Islanders not approving of their Conduct.

King Charles II. to reward the good Services of Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, restor'd him to the Government of Barbadoes, with the Title of, Captain General and Governour in chief of the Island of Barbadoes, and all other the Charibbee Islands. But Francis Lord Willoughby Governour
any Lord did not think fit to remove thither then; neither did he name a Deputy-Governour, but contenting himself with the Profits arising by his Government, stay'd in England, leaving the Administration in Barbadoes to the Council, and they, of Course, devolv'd the executive Power on their President; which has been ever since observ'd, in the Absence of the Governour and Deputy Governour.

'Twas in the Year 1661. that King Charles purchas'd the Propriety of this Island of the Lord Kinowll, Heir to the Earl of Carlisle, who was to have 1000 l. a Year for it; and now it being a Royal Propriety, there was no occasion for any Commission from any one but the King himself. The President of the Council was Humphry Walrond, Esq; a Gentleman who had suffer'd for his Loyalty in England; and his Sufferings oblig'd him to leave that Kingdom, and settle in Barbadoes. And when he enter'd on the Administration, an Assembly was call'd, which pass'd several notable Laws. As an Act, entitl'd,

An Act for the Encouragement of such as shall plant or raise Provisions to sell.

An Act for the better amending, repairing, and keeping clean the common Highways, and known Broad-Paths within this Island, leading to Church and Markets; and for laying out new Ways, where it shall be needful.

An Act concerning the Conveyance of Estates.

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An Act for the good governing of Servants, and ordering the Rights between Masters and Servants.

An Act for the Encouragement of all faithful Ministers in the Pastoral Charge within this Island; as also for appointing and regulating of a convenient Maintenance for them for the future.

An Act concerning written Depositions, produc'd in Courts, and appointing how the Evidence of sick and lame Persons, and of Persons intended off this Island, shall be valid and good.

An Act establishing the Courts of Common Pleas in this Island; declaring also a Method and Manner of Proceedings, both to Judgment and Execution; which are to be observ'd in the said Courts.

An Act appointing a special Court, for the speedy deciding Controversies between Merchant and Merchant, or Mariner and Mariner, or Merchant and Mariners, about Freight, Damage, or other maritime Causes.

They also confirm'd the Act about Officers Fees, pass in Governour Searl's Time; as the King and Parliament did the Act of Navigation in England, to the great Disgust of the Colonies.

During Mr. Walrond's Administration, the Militia were often regulated by the Assembly; and a Regiment of Horse was settl'd. Care was also taken to repair and maintain the Breast-Works and Fortifications: And this Gentleman gave general Satisfaction in the Discharge of his Post. Indeed 'tis most natural to suppose, that a Person who has himself an Interest in a Country, should be more concern'd for the good Government of it, than one who looks upon it as a temporary Dwelling, whither he has procur'd himself to be sent, to raise a Fortune, or patch up one going to decay.

Mr. Walrond sign'd these Acts after the Arrival of the Lord Willoughby, which was about August, 1663. For the Act above-mention'd, concerning written Depositions, &c. is said to be by the Governour, Council, and Assembly; yet his Name is to it: Whereas in the other Acts sign'd by him, 'tis only said, by the President, Council, and Assembly.

It appears by the Act, which settles that fatal Duty of the 4 and half per Cent. that the Lord Willoughby

Willoughby took out a new Commission for Governour, when he embark'd for the *West-Indies*; which Commission was dated the 12th of *June*, 1663. and that Act pass'd the 12th of *December*.

Since in the following Chapters we shall have frequent Occasion to make mention of it, 'twill not be improper to recite the Causes which mov'd the Assembly to settle that Impost for ever on the Crown. *As nothing conduceth more, to the Peace and Prosperity of any Place, and the Protection of every single Person therein, than that the Publick Revenue thereof may be in some Measure proportion'd to the publick Charges and Expences; and also well weighing the great Charges that there must be of Necessity, in the maintaining the Honour and Dignity of his Majesty's Authority here, the publick-Meeting of the Sessions, the often Attendance of the Council, the Reparation of the Forts, the building a Session's House, and a Prison, and all other publick Charges incumbent on the Government: We do in Consideration thereof give and grant unto his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors for ever, &c. That is to say, upon all dead Commodities, of the Growth or Produce of this Island, that shall be shipp'd off the same, four and a half in Specie for every five score.*

Now if the publick Charges and Expences have been defray'd out of this Duty, if the Honour and Dignity of the Sovereign Authority there have been maintain'd, if the Charges of the meeting of the Sessions, and the often Attendance of the Council, have been paid out of it; if the Forts have been repair'd, a Sessions House and a Prison been built, and all other publick Expences, incumbent on the Government, answer'd by this Impost; what Reason have the *Barbadians* to complain? But if on the contrary, not one of those Articles were in the least comply'd with in all King *Charles* and King *James's* Reign; if the Inhabitants have themselves, by other Taxes, been oblig'd to defray all the Charges of the Government in this Island, have they not Reason to wish the Name of *Willoughby* had never been heard of here?

He shew'd he deserv'd the Post the King had given him, when for his 1200 *l.* a Year Sallary, he got a Settlement of 10000 *l.* a Year on the Crown. That King

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King took Care it should be laid out to the Service of his Privy-Purse, by assigning Pensions out of it to his Favourites, and others.

Thus was all the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. Money lost to the Barbadians, and the Lord Kinowal was the only Person, who had any Interest in the Island, that got any Benefit by it; for his 1000 l. a Year was settled to be paid out of the Monies arising by this Duty.

The Lord Willoughby's Family coming over with him, Henry Willoughby, Esq; who was his Son, Brother, or Nephew, settled on the Island; and his Plantation to this Day goes by the Name of Willoughby's Plantation.

My Lord Willoughby undertook an Expedition against the Spanish West-Indies, as some report; but there being then no Wars between the English and Spaniards, we rather suppose it might be against the Dutch Plantations, King Charles having declar'd War with the States. Be it either on a private or publick Account, he sail'd towards the Continent, and appointed Henry Willoughby, Esq; Henry Hawley, Esq; and Samuel Berwick, Esq; to be Governours in his Absence.

Henry Willoughby, Esq; Henry Hawley, Esq; and Samuel Berwick, Esq; Governours.

That they were Joint-Governours, appears by an Act, For the better ascertaining the Laws of this Island, pass'd by them; The present Governours subscribing their Names to this Act, shall be deem'd, &c.

By Virtue of this Act, Philip Bell, Esq; Constant Silvester, Esq; Robert Hooper, Esq; Simon Lambert and Richard Evans, Esqs; and Mr. Edward Bowden, Secretary of the Island, were appointed Commissioners to collect what Laws should be in Force there; and in pursuance of their Commission, they collected the following Acts from the Books of the Office, and other such Books, the Original Rolls being lost in the Hurricane or Fire; An Act for Officers putting in Security; An Act appointing Security to be given by the Clerks, &c. of the several Courts within this Island; An Act giving Power to Church-Wardens to make Sale of Lands, &c. and concerning Surplus of Land within old Bounds, &c. An Act for the Transcription and safe keeping of Records; An Act concerning Trespass done by Hogs; An Act declaring what Proofs to Bonds, Bills, Procurations, Letters of Attorney, or other Writings,

shall

shall be sufficient in Law; An Act concerning Vestries; An Act to order the Publication and Execution of the Acts concerning the Uniformity of Common Prayer; An Act concerning Morning and Evening Prayer in Families. They confirm'd the Acts in Mr. Searl's and Mr. Walrond's Time, at least all that we have mention'd to be pass'd then; as also, An Act to prevent the Prejudice that may happen to this Island, by loose and vagrant Persons, in and about the same; An Act for the disposing of several Fines, that are impos'd upon several Persons for several Misdemeanours done within this Island; An Act for regulating and appointing the Fees of the several Officers and Courts of this Island; An Act for the Relief of such Persons as lie in Prison, and others, who have not wherewith to pay their Creditors: An Addition to an Act, entitl'd, *An Act for settling the Estates and Titles of the Inhabitants of this Island to their Possessions in their several Plantations within the same*; An Act concerning the Sale of Lands by Attorneys, Executors and Administrators; An Act for the Preventions of Firing of Sugar Canes.

These Laws are very well abridg'd in the Collection of the Plantation Laws, to which we often have refer'd the Reader, and may be seen at large in Mr. Rawlins's Collection.

The Commissioners above-nam'd made the following Return to their Commission.

We, the Committee appointed for the compiling of the Laws, having caus'd them to be collected and transcrib'd, as appears by a Writing under our Hands, express'd in the Page, the first Line entred in this Book, and are therein express'd, and be comprehended in one hundred fifty three Sheets of Paper; which being now fairly engros'd in this Book, do appear to be fifty eight Laws, and are comprehended in fifty eight next preceding Pages. And to the End that our first Declaration may be rightly understood, in regard that relateth to the one hundred fifty three Sheets of Paper, wherein the Laws were first digested, we have thought good here to insert this present Explanation. Given under our Hands the 14th of Nov. 1667.

Philip Bell.

Constant Silvester.

'Tis

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'Tis well for the Inhabitants of *Barbadoes*, that those Laws are more intelligible than this Return: for we fear the Reader will find it somewhat obscure as well as the Historian.

This Collection of Laws was by an Act of Assembly ordain'd and establish'd to be in full and absolute Force and Virtue, and were duly publish'd in all the Parishes of the Island, and return'd to the Clerk of the Assembly. They were also sent to *England* for his Majesty's Approbation, and were fully approv'd and confirm'd by the King to be of full Force and Authority, as the *Standing Laws of Barbadoes*, none of which have been since repeal'd. We speak of those whose Titles are incerted in this History.

William,
Lord Wil-
loughby,
Governour

Francis Lord *Willoughby*, was cast away, and perish'd in the Expedition we have mention'd in the foregoing Pages. Upon which King *Charles* the II^d. gave his Commission of Captain General and Governour in chief of the Island of *Barbadoes*, to his Brother *William* Lord *Willoughby*, who arriv'd in that Island, *A. D.* 1667. and 'twas by the Assembly summon'd on his Arrival, that the Laws the Commissioners collected were confirm'd.

There's one thing very remarkable in their Address to the Governour, Council, and Assembly, dated the 18th of *July*, 1667. wherein, after they have declar'd that their Laws are the only Laws and Statutes which they found either originally made and enacted, or revived, collected, amended, and confirm'd, &c. they say, There are two Acts only excepted, wherein they could not determine, which of them was valid, they both importing Customs on all the Commodities of this Island, hence exported, but only one of them could be in Force. The first of which Acts, say they, is entitl'd, *An Act importing the Customs*, &c. dated the 17th Day of *January*, one thousand six hundred and fifty, which was made and enacted by Governour, Council, and the Representatives of this Island, lawfully empower'd by Commission from the Earl of *Carlisle*, thereto empower'd by Letters Patent from the King; and that Act we cannot say is repeal'd, by Reason that the other Act, dated the 12th of *September*, in the Year one thousand,

nd, six hundred, sixty and three, importing the *Cum of four and a half per Cent. and intended to repeal the former Act, is not free from Objections and Exceptions of several Persons, who conceive the Assembly, which consented to the said last Act, was an Assembly not legally continu'd at the time of the making the said Act.*

This Address or Declaration was sign'd by all the seven Commissioners before-mention'd, who were the most considerable Gentlemen of the Island, for Wisdom and Wealth. Men, whom their Country had such an Opinion of, that they thought fit to trust them with their Laws; and we see they declar'd the four and a half *per Cent.* Act was not free from *Objections and Exceptions, &c.* If so, the Gentlemen of *Barbadoes* have paid 300000*l.* out of complacency; for those *Objections and Exceptions* have not been made use of to excuse them of this duty.

The Hurricane mention'd to have been the Occasion of the Loss of some publick Rolls, happen'd the same Year that the Bridge Town was burnt, and that we are depriv'd us of several Records, which would have been useful to us in settling the Chronology of this Island.

We shall hereafter be more certain. The Hurricane was far from being so terrible as to deserve such publick Notice; and if it destroy'd the Rolls, must be more through the *Fear or Negligence* of the Keeper, than through the *Fury* of the Storm.

About the time of *William Lord Willoughby's* coming to *Barbadoes*, *Sir Tobias Bridge* arriv'd there with a Regiment of Soldiers, for an Addition of strength to the Island. The Assembly provided Accommodations for both Officers and Soldiers, as appears by several Acts now expir'd; and we make mention of none but such as are now in Force. The Assembly also impower'd the Governour of the Island, for the time being, to appoint a Provost Marshal there, and pass'd an Act, directing how the Clerks and Marshals for the several Courts of Common-Pleas, within this Island, shall be appointed, and what they shall receive; as also, *An Act concerning the Commission of the Judges and their Assistants.*

We

J. & J. are

We are now at a Loss how to reconcile the Stile of the Acts of this Assembly with the History; for in all of them before the 10th of *March*, 1667. 't express'd, *Be it ordain'd and enacted, by his Excellency William Lord Willoughby of Parham, &c.* and such Acts are sign'd *William Willoughby*: Whereas from the 10th of *March* aforesaid, to the *November* following 'tis only said in the Acts that pass'd, *Be it enacted and ordain'd by the Deputy Governour, Council and Assembly*; yet those Acts are sign'd *William Willoughby*. By which it appears there then was a Deputy Governour of the same Name with my Lord; for no Governour could sign the Act, when his Deputy's Name was in the Stile of it.

William
Willough-
by, Esq;
Deputy Go-
vernour.

We take this *William Willoughby* to be some Relation of my Lord's, whom he left Deputy Governour in his Absence, which was probably in a Voyage to the *Charibbee-Islands*, of which he was also Governour.

The several Acts sign'd by the Deputy Governour *Willoughby*, are as follow: An Act to prevent forcible and clandestine Entries into any Lands or Tenement within this Island; An Act for reducing the Interest to ten Pounds for one hundred in a Year; An Act for preventing the selling of Brandy and Rum in tipling Houses, near the Broad Paths and High-ways within this Island; An Act declaring the Negro Slaves of this Island to be real Estate; An Act for repealing a former Act, establishing Market-Days. The next Act that pass'd, was by his Excellency, *William Lord Willoughby of Parham &c.* entitled, *An Act for regulating and appointing the Fees of the several Officers in this Island, and other publick Ministers*; which is sign'd by my Lord: And I must either be right in my Conjecture, that there was a Deputy Governour nam'd *William Willoughby* also, or my Lord confirm'd the Acts which his Deputy Governour pass'd in his Absence, without being nam'd, and without signing them; which is very unreasonable to believe; for till they were sign'd, they were not Laws.

William,
Lord Wil-
loughby,
Governour

My Lord reassuming the Government after 8 Months Absence, pass'd another Act for advancing and raising the Value of Pieces of Eight, and soon after that remov'd to *England*, as we may imagine by his long Stay, for he was absent 4 Years; or to the

Charibbee-

Charibbee-Islands, to settle *Antego*; which, as we are inform'd, was his Propriety.

In the mean time, the Damage done by the late Fire at the Bridge was more than repair'd, for the Town was rebuilt and enlarg'd; the Buildings being of Stone, more beautiful, and not so much expos'd to a second Conflagration, as the former Houses.

Bridge

The Assembly, by a particular Act, appointed what Materials the Town should be built of; for the Inhabitants having begun to run up slight Houses of Timber again, a Stop was put to further Building by a former Act of Assembly, till they had taken that Matter into further Consideration.

The Lord Willoughby left Col. Christopher Codrington, his Deputy; who in Feb. 1698. pass'd an Act, prohibiting wandering Persons from carrying of Goods and Wares, in Packs or otherwise, from House to House, Esq; Deputie in this Island; and an Act for repealing a Clause in an Act, entitled, An Act reducing Interest to ten Pounds per Cent. of Sugar for one hundred Pounds of Sugar for one Year.

In May, 1669, he sign'd an Act, call'd, An Additional Act concerning the Conveyance of Estates. On the 22d of December, he pass'd two other Bills; the one, entitled, An Act appointing Bench Actions, and the manner of proceeding therein; the other, An Act concerning Spanish Money. The next Day he sign'd another Bill, call'd, An Act appointing Overseers of Plantations to officiate and act as Surveyors of the Highways, and Constables. The 11th of August, 1670: he pass'd two other Acts; one entitled, An additional Act to the Act concerning the Conveyance of Estates; the other, An Act to prevent spiriting People off this Island. In October he sign'd four other Bills: An Additional Act to the Act for establishing the Courts of Common-Pleas within this Island; An Act to prevent Abuse of Lawyers, and Multiplicity of Law-Suits; An Act for the trying of all petty Larcenies at the several Quarter-Sessions within this Island; An Act for regulating and appointing the Fees of the Secretary of this Island.

About the same time, James Beek, Esq; procur'd an Act of Assembly, empowering him to build a publick Wharf in the Town of St. Michael's; and Mr. Richard Rumney, Receiver General of the Island, having embezzled the publick Money, a Bill pass'd

to recover the publick Debt from his Estate.

In *July*. 1671. the Deputy Governour sign'd the Bill for the Prevention of firing Sugar Canes; and Mr. *William Withington* having disburs'd Money relating to the publick Affairs, the Committee of the publick Accounts were appointed to repay him as much as the Country had benefited by his Disbursements.

In *February*, An Act pass'd to prohibit the transporting of uncur'd Ginger of this Island; and two other Acts on the 5th of *May*, 1672. viz. An Act for the Annual Rating of Liquors; and An Act concerning Foresters and Ingrossers of Provisions: The last Act pass'd by the Deputy Governour, was sign'd the 9th of this Month, and was a very useful one, as has been found since by Experience; 'twas call'd, An Act concerning Persons intended to depart this Island, and the setting up their Names in the Secretary's Office, and Warrants of Arrest.

William, Lord Willoughby, Governour - Not long after this, the Lord *Willoughby* return'd to Barbadoes from England, or the Charibbee-Islands, and stay'd here till about the time that there was a new Governour nam'd in England; which was in 1674.

We have not learn'd whom this Lord appointed to be his Deputy Governour, or who was President of the Council, when he left the Island; or whether he stay'd after Sir *Jonathan Atkins*, the new Governour's Arrival, which was towards the latter End of the Year 1674. But sure we are, the Lord *Willoughby* sign'd a Bill the 29th of *January*, 1672 entitled, *A declarative Act upon the Act making Negroes real Estate*; and that we hear no more of him in this Island, where the *Willoughby's* had been long Masters.

Sir Jonathan Atkins Governour. Upon Sir *Jonathan Atkins's* Arrival at the Assembly he took up his Residence at *Fontabell*, about a Mile and an half from the Bridge, a Plantation lately belonging to Mr. *Springham*, which was rented for him at 500 *l.* a Year, and the Assembly confirm'd the Lease of it to him, enacting, that the Rent should be defray'd at the publick Charge.

The first Act pass'd by Sir *Jonathan*, was call'd, *An Act for taking off the 80 Days, after Execution for future Contracts.* At this time, Mr. *Edwyn Stede* was Deputy Secretary, and Mr. *John Higginbotham* Clerk of the Assembly. This Bill was sign'd the 25th of *March*, 1675. By which we may see the Governour came hither in the Year before. In *April*, he pass'd an Act for regulating the Gage of *Sugar*.

'Twas in this Governour's Time, that the Merchants of *London* and *Barbadoes* were severely and unjustly dealt with by a Society of Men, calling themselves the *Royal African Company of England*; who, under the Protection of the Duke of *York*, did as many arbitrary Things as Men could do, who were not Sovereigns as well as Tyrants. We shall speak of them more largely elsewhere.

Sir *Jonathan Atkins* had Orders to seize all Interlopers; so those fair Merchants were call'd, who, at the greatest Hazard, endeavour'd to supply the Plantations with Negroes, which none were to import, but such as had subscrib'd to the Monopoly.

We shall not pretend to give an Account of all the Ships taken by the Men of War, Governour, and Agents, to feed the Rapine of this Company, nor how many Families were ruin'd by them, who afterwards were ruin'd themselves, and became the most contemptible Society of Merchants in *Europe*, with the most pompous Name: We are now come to speak of one of the most dreadful Events that ever happen'd to *Barbadoes*, which Island had lately escap'd the Terrors of the War; for *de Ruyter* with a Fleet of *Dutch* Men of War came to attack it, but found the Inhabitants so well prepar'd for their Defence, that after having made a Bravo of a few Shot against the Forts at the Bridge, he drew off. 'Tis true, he had no Number of Land Forces aboard, and *Barbadoes* was never more populous than at this time, for the Island could spare 10000 Men able to bear Arms, and have as many more to follow the Business of the Field, besides *Blacks*. The Government order'd a good Body of Troops to the Coasts, and they appear'd in such Crouds on the Shoar, that the *Dutch*

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Admiral contented himself with throwing away some Powder and Ball to no purpose, and sail'd away.

The Hurricane that happen'd the 31st of *August*, 1675. was the worst Enemy this Island ever knew, except it were the *Projectors*, and Contrivers of *Taxes* in *England*.

The *Leward* part of the Country suffer'd most; for the Sugar-Works, and Dwelling-Houses were all thrown down; very few Wind-mills, except Stone-mills, stood out the Storm. The Houses and Sugar-Works to the Windward were very much shatter'd; the Canes were blown down flat, and some up by the Roots. All the Ships in the Road were brought a-shore; the Pots in the Curing-Houses were all broken. Windward the Storm was not so violent. From thence *Leward*, and all over *Scotland*, there was neither Dwelling-house, Out-work, or Wind-mill standing, except a few Stone-mills. All the Houses in the Bay were blown down, as were most of the Churches; and almost all the Corn in the Country was destroy'd.

One may guess at the Loss, when at two Plantations, belonging to Mr. *John Bowden*, and Mr. *John Spark*, the Damage came to no less than 6000*l*. Others, who could not so well bear the Loss, were totally ruin'd.

There had been a Hurricane the Year before, when the Damage done was not inconsiderable, but none of the Houses fell; and Mr. *Spark* before-mention'd, writing to his Partner Mr. *Bowden*, then living in *London*, has this Expression in his Letter; 'I have been in two Hurricanes since my last coming hither, which were nothing comparable, and but Flea-bitings to this.

'Tis somewhat out of the Way indeed, to compare a *Hurricane* to a *Flea-biting*; but considering this Man's Business was not *Metaphor* and *Simile*, one may conceive an Idea of the Terribleness of the last Tempest by the Comparison.

Sir *Jonathan Atkins* immediately summon'd the Assembly together; and when they met, they took under Consideration, how to prevent Creditors being too hasty on their Debtors after this Calamity.

For the latter would have been forc'd to desert the Island, had those they ow'd Money to come upon them at that time. Had they gone, those who remain'd would have been in great Danger of their Negroes, whom the Inhabitants were at that time very much afraid of.

The Assembly agreed to send home a Petition to the King, to take off the 4 and a half *per Cent.* Duty, as the only means to save the Colony from Destruction: For besides that their Canes in the Ground were all ruin'd, the Planters were forc'd to take off so many of their Hands, to employ them about rebuilding their Houses, that there was no likelihood of their having a Crop the next Year. At the same time they suffer'd also by Want; for the Supplies of Provisions that us'd to be sent from *New England*, were in a great measure stop'd; that Colony labouring under two severe Judgments, Pestilence and War; insomuch 'twas fear'd the Indians would over-run them: Which however did not come to pass, as we have shewn elsewhere.

The *Leward* People made very little Sugars for two Years; and the Distresses of the Planters were such, that 'twas thought, if ever the 4 and an half *per Cent.* would be taken off, 'twould be then. But there was no such good News for the *Barbadians*. King *Charles* had his Necessities for Money, as well as his Subjects, tho perhaps not for as justifiable Occasions. The 4 and an half *per Cent.* was a good Fund for 100000*l.* And who could expect such a Gift, at a time when even the Exchequer was under the Scandal of Bankrupts?

We do not find the Assembly pass'd any Act to relieve the Sufferers in the late Hurricane, nor any thing tending thereto, unless it was, An Act for Allowance of a second free Entry for the dead Production of this Island, lost or taken, relating to the 4 and an half *per Cent.* For the Commissioners of the Custom-house would not allow the Planter, if he had paid the Duty of 10000 Pound Weight of Sugar, and 'twas lost in the Harbour, to ship off a like Quantity, by virtue of the first Entry, as now he was allow'd to do by this Act.

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The Houses being levell'd with the Ground by the Hurricane, the best Planters in the Island liv'd in Hutts; and when they built again, were afraid to run up their Houses to any Height for a long time. The Terror of this Tempest stuck so upon the Inhabitants, that few Persons car'd to meddle with Estates, tho they had Money to buy them, seeing to what Accidents they were expos'd.

In *April, 1676.* we see by the Statutes of *Barbadoes*, that the Quakers were very industrious, in their Endeavours to convert the Negroes. Upon which Occasion an Act pass'd to prevent it, with a whimsical Preamble; *Whereas of late many Negroes have been suffer'd to remain at the Meeting of Quakers, as Hearers of their Doctrine; and taught in their Principles, whereby the Safety of this Island may be much hazarded, &c.*

In this Act Care was taken to bring in a Clause against any Dissenters keeping Schools: For, according to the Humour in *England*, the Governours of this Colony, as well as others, have been always careful to act.

At this time there was a wicked Practice in the *West Indies*, of which the English are accus'd; and that was their stealing and enslaving Indians, which they took on the *Continent*, or the Islands. And one *Col. Warner* being charg'd with this unlawful Traffick, if it deserves that Name, was made a Prisoner in *England*, and sent aboard the *Phoenix* Frigate to *Barbadoes*, to take his Trial there; but he found so many Friends, that he came off.

There was another unfair way of dealing in this Island, much complain'd of: Some Merchants knowing the Necessity of the Inhabitants, us'd, by Forgery, and other Deceits, to engross Beef, Pork, Fish, and Salt, into their Possessions; and the Planters not being able to live without Provisions, were forc'd to buy them of them at their own exorbitant Prices.

This Grievance became so great at last, that the Governour, Council, and Assembly, pass'd an Act to redress it, and prevent the Inconveniences upon the Inhabitants of this Island, by *Forestallers, Ingrossers, and Regrators,*

On the same Day, the 29th of *November*, 1676, an Act pass'd, to explain a Clause in the Act for establishing the Courts of Common Pleas in this Island. On the 15th of *March*, Sir *Jonathan Atkins* sign'd another Act, appointing the Sale, in open Market, of Effects attached for the Excise, the Parish Dues, and Servants Wages.

The Governour and Assembly rais'd Money to repair and finish the Fortifications and Breast Works, and build new ones, where Occasion requir'd. In the Year the Popish Plot broke out in *England*, we find the Government of *Barbadoes* providing against the Papists, by an Act, entitl'd, *An Act for the more effectual putting in Execution a Statute of England, entitl'd, An Act for preventing Dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants*: Which was sign'd the 19th of *February*, 1678.

The same Year Captain *Delaval*, in the *Constant Warwick Man of War*, convoy'd the Fleet of Merchant Ships from *Barbadoes* as far as in 20 Degrees of Latitude, the Inhabitants being apprehensive of a War with *France*, and that the Enemy might intercept them; but King *Charles* and *Lewis XIV.* understood one another too well.

The *Constant Warwick* returning to *Barbadoes*, as she came near the Island, took an Interloper, commanded by one Capt. *Golding*, and bound to this Island with Negroes. The Ship belong'd to Mr. *Richard Walter*, a Merchant there, and Mr. *John Bowden*, a Merchant in *London*.

Sir *Jonathan Atkins*, according to his Instructions, presently condemn'd the Ship and Cargo, because the Master had not the Royal *African Company's* Licence to trade; and Mr. *Walter* was forc'd to pay 1400 *l.* to get Capt. *Golding*, his Ship and Cargo discharg'd.

We might have remember'd several such Captures, but they are Events too *Mercantile* to be inserted among such as are purely Historical; of which kind are only those that relate to the Publick, as indeed this Oppression did; which *Edward Littleton*, Esq; Judge of *Speight's* or *St. Peter's Precinct*, has set forth, in a Pamphlet, call'd, the *Groans of the Plantations*, with equal Force and Reason.

‘ It cannot be imagin’d how the Company and
 ‘ their Agents lord it over us, having us in their
 ‘ Power; and if any offer at the Trade besides
 ‘ themselves, they make such Examples of them,
 ‘ that few dare follow them. If they catch us at
 ‘ *Guinea*, they use us as downright Enemies; and at
 ‘ home, we are drag’d into the Admiralty-Courts,
 ‘ and condemn’d in a trice; there is not such speedy
 ‘ Justice in the World. The Word is, that we are
 ‘ found Prize, or condemn’d as Prize, as if we were
 ‘ Foreigners, taken in open War. They have got
 ‘ a Trick of State, to bring Interlopers within the
 ‘ Acts of Navigation or Trade; which are the se-
 ‘ vere Acts about Plantations. But even in this
 ‘ Case we are brought into the Admiralty, whate-
 ‘ ver the Law says to the contrary: Nor doth it a-
 ‘ vail us to plead, that all Offences against Statutes
 ‘ must be try’d by Jury. The Forfeitures of the
 ‘ Acts before-nam’d, (which are never less than Ship
 ‘ and Goods) are given to the King, the Governour,
 ‘ and the Informer. The Governour in these Mat-
 ‘ ters sits Chief Judge of the Court, &c.

Such was the Tyranny of this *African* Monopo-
 ly; and Sir *Jonathan Atkins* not pleasing the Com-
 pany, in his Proceedings against *Interlopers*, a fright-
 ful Name given fair and honest Dealers, he was re-
 call’d, tho he had done enough to deserve the Favour
 of the Society: But they wanted a Man of more Se-
 verity, and less Honour, and procur’d one in his
 Successor, Sir *Richard Dutton*; a Man of such Prin-
 ciples, that in any other Reign he would not have
 been trusted with the Government of *Providence*.
 He was a compleat Tool of the Court, had been the
 Duke of *York*’s Creature, and was like to do any
 thing he should be commanded.

Sir *Richard* set sail for *Barbadoes* in *February*, 1680.
 touch’d at the *Maderas*, and arriv’d at *Barbadoes*
 in *April*, where he was receiv’d with great Kind-
 ness and Respect, and found the Island in a very flou-
 rishing Condition.

The Assembly confirm’d the Lease of *Fontabell* to
 him, and having pass’d an Act, for settling the Mili-
 tia, the Governour would have it inserted, that all
 the Soldiers should appear in red Coats; which put
 the

Sir Rich.
 Dutton
 Governour

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he Inhabitants to an extraordinary Charge; and, says Judge *Littleton* above-mention'd, has driven many a poor *House-keeper* from off the Island. The same Assembly pass an Act, to revive and continue an Act, entitl'd, *An Act for taking off the 80 Days after Execution, for future Contracts.*

Sir Richard, to shew his Loyalty, got the Grand Jury, at the General Sessions of the Peace, holden on the Island of *Barbadoes*, on *Tuesday*, the 16th Day of *August*, 1681. to draw up an Address to the King; which the Governour sent to *England*, and his Majesty graciously accepted of it, and was pleas'd to declare the great Satisfaction he had, in his Testimony of the Duty and Affection of those his Subjects, to his Person and Government. And his Address was one of the earliest of all those Addresses of Abhorrences, &c. which all good Men have since so much abhorr'd.

In *July*, 1682. the Governour sign'd two Bills, which the Assembly had pass. One for the better regulating the Manner of giving Tickets out of the Secretary's Office. The Preamble of this Act tells us on what Occasion it pass: 'Whereas fundry Persons have of late departed this Island, to *Jamaica*, the *Leward Islands*, and other new Settlements, and left behind them their Wives and Children, many of which are, and others may become burdensome to the Parishes they are left in; To prevent, &c.

'Tis said, the severe Proceedings of this Governour drove several off the Island, and made such an Act necessary. The other Bill he then sign'd, was an Act appointing the Sale in open Markets of Effects attached for Arrears.

In *March* following he sign'd another Bill, for the ascertaining the Bounds of the several Parishes, and enclosing the Church-Yards within this Island. And soon after he return'd to *England*: For in *April*, 1683. we find *Henry Walrond*, Esq; Lieutenant General of the Island of *Barbadoes*; and a Session of the Peace, of Oyer and Terminer, was holden before him the 2d of that Month.

The Grand Jury drew up an Address, of the same stamp with the former; which, to use their own Words,

Bounds of
Parishes
Hen. Wal-
rond Esq;
Lieut. Go-
vernour of
Barbadoes

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Words, was presented by their noble and high deserving Governour.

In it the Gentlemen were pleas'd to rejoice in King Charles the Second's known Piety, and in the Loyalty and Prudence of their Religious Governour; who had stifled and discountenanc'd Faction and Fanaticism in the very Embryo. They tell the King, ' Their Mind had been infinitely ruff'd and disturb'd, at the Notices they had of the many Attempts and Offers that had been lately made in their Native Country of England, and by the rebellious Heat of some Spirits, hatch'd in Hell, to shake his Majesty's Royal Throne, &c. They declar'd, ' their Detestation of that cursed Paper, ' the Association; and that they were hearty Lovers and Admirers of his dearest Brother.

Indeed there's something so very extraordinary in the Truth, Eloquence, Grammar, and Moderation of this excellent Address, that we are sorry we have not Room for the Entertainment of the Reader, to shew him what a noble Address Sir Richard gave himself the Trouble to carry three thousand Miles, and present as a grateful Offering to his Master; who, 'tis said, was pleas'd to receive it very graciously.

But little did these worthy Gentlemen of the Grand Jury think how soon they would have reason to turn their Addresses to Remonstrances, as will be related in its proper Place.

Sir Richard Dutton return'd to Barbadoes in the following Year, held an Assembly, and pass'd an Act, for more speedy Remedy in Distresses taken Damage feasant, and Trespasses done by Horses, Cattel, and other living Chattels. As also another, to impower Attornies to confess Judgment upon particular Warrants. And another, declaring how Piracies and Felonies done upon the Sea, shall be try'd and punish'd.

At this time a Law was made, for appointing a Treasurer for the Island, who was Col. Rich. Salter: And the Rebellion in the West happening in the next Year, the Government of Barbadoes pass'd a severe Act against those Rebels that were sent thither; whereby their Condition was render'd almost as bad as the Negroes. But 'twas then the Mode in England,

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land, to make all Merit center in an implicit Loyalty; and why should not the Barbadians be as mad as others? The Bill was call'd, An Act for the governing and retaining within this Island, all such Rebels convicted, as by His Majesty's most Sacred Order, or Permit, have been, or shall be transported from his European Dominions to this Place.

Lieutenant General *Walrond*, notwithstanding his loyal Address, and the Post Sir *Rich. Dutton* left him, fell under his Displeasure; for what, my Author does not inform us; but how severely and unjustly he was prosecuted, will appear by his Representation of the Matter.

Another remarkable Example of the Inconveniences they have been, and are liable to, is that of the before-mention'd Col. *Walrond*; who upon a bare Suggestion against him, made by a Man fairly try'd before a Court of Oyer and Terminer; wherein he was but one, tho the first in Commission, that was commanded from *Barbadoes* hither (to *England*) where he has been detain'd above three Years. And at last upon a full Trial at an Assizes in the Country, where his Adversary was powerful, and himself utterly a Stranger, there was given against him but 30*l.* Damage; and that for no other Reason, but that the Court-Judge was pleas'd to over-rule this Plea: Whereby such a Disorder, Ruin, and Distraction of his Wife, Children, Family, Plantation and Estate, has happen'd to him, that as the Calamity is not to be express'd, and for some Respects is not fit to be related; so it could never have been supported by any Man, but one of an extraordinary Fortitude and Understanding; which he has demonstrated, by his constant Endeavours under his unjust Oppressions, to serve the publick Interest of those Colonies, and rightly to represent their sad Condition at Court; especially that of *Barbadoes*, who was so kind and just to him at his coming thence, as by the Representative Body of that Island, together with his Majesty's Governour and Council, to make a Present to him of five Hundred Pounds Sterling, in Acknowledgment of his good Service he had done that Country, together with a publick Declaration

of

Sir Dalby Thomas Hist. Ac. &c.

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‘ of his just Proceedings in that Court of *Oyer and Terminer*; and especially in this Case he was brought over upon.

And this I must further observe to the Reader: That it was not the least Crime of State was so much as allerdg’d against him, for banishing him from *Barbadoes* into *England*; but meerly private Malice, supported by the partial Tyranny of some great Men, occasion’d all his Sufferings.

This Gentleman was the Son of Col. *Humphry Walrond*, once Governour of the Island; a Gentleman whose Loyalty had banish’d him his Native Country.

’Twas in this Year 1685. that the new Duty was laid upon Sugar, which has almost ruin’d this Colony: But it being in King *James’s* Reign, ’tis necessary we should take notice of the Death of King *Charles*, and his Brother’s Succession.

When Sir *Richard Dutton* receiv’d Advice from the Privy Council in *England* of King *Charles’s* Death, he immediately summon’d the Members of the Council to meet the Day following; and upon the 23d, which was *St. George’s* Day, King *James* was proclaim’d with great Solemnity and Order, in the manner following: First the Officers of two Regiments of Foot, marching from *Foytbell* to the Town of *St. Michael*, or the *Bridge*. Next the Officers of two Regiments of Horse; next the Justices of the Peace; the Reverend the Clergy; the Lawyers in their Gowns; the Masters and Registers of *Chancery* in their Gowns; the King’s Council at Law in their Gowns; the Judges in their Gowns: Next the Honourable the Council of *Barbadoes*. After which march’d several Trumpets sounding; the Marshals of the several Courts, and their Deputies, and the Provost Marshal General with his Men; next the Governour, attended by the King’s Life Guard of Horse. His Majesty’s Regiment Royal of Foot Guards was drawn up in *St. Michael’s* Town, to receive the Governour, and perform their Duty in the more solemn proclaiming his Majesty; which being done in the Place call’d *Cheapside*, the Governour march’d from thence to *James Fort*, where the Guns in that Fort, and at the same time those

hose in all other Forts, Platforms, Lines and Battelies, were fir'd three times, with great Shouts; the like being done by the *Diamond Man of War*, and all the Merchants Ships in the Bay.

But this Pomp and Parade was of no Service to the Islanders, in obtaining Relief in the heavy Duties now laid upon them; for the Duke of *Monmouth* standing, rais'd a War that was thought more dangerous than it prov'd to be. The Court laid hold of that Opportunity to get vast Sums of Money granted to the Crown; and among other Taxes they got the additional Duties on Tobacco and Sugar. The Case of the Planters, as stated by Judge *Littleton*, with reference to the Taxes on Sugar, was this;

Upon the coming of King *James* to the Crown, the Parliament being call'd, they were preparing a Complaint against the Commissioners of the Customs, who had taken a Liberty of late, to their grievous Prejudice, to call that *white* Sugar, which had never been accounted such before; and whatever they pleas'd to call *Whites*, must pay the Duty of 5 Shillings the Hundred. But they were soon oblig'd to lay aside these Thoughts, to provide against a new Storm that threaten'd: For they were told, to their great Astonishment, that a Project was set on foot, to lay more Load upon us; no less than 2 s. and 4 d. a Hundred more upon Muscovado Sugar; and seven Shillings upon Sugars fit for Use; for that was now the Word. They saw this tended plainly to their Destruction; but the thing was driven on furiously by some *Empsons* and *Dudleys* about the late King, who did not care how many People they destroy'd, so they might get Favour and Preferment themselves. Since they were put into the Herd of Foreigners, and paid Duties with them, they hop'd they should fare no worse than other Foreigners did. But that the Plantations should be singled out as the hunted Deer, and the Burden upon their Commodities should be doubled, and almost trebled, when all others was untouch'd, was Matter of Amazement and Consternation. They humbly mov'd, that if the whole Tax must be laid upon Trade, it might
{ be

Groans of
the Planta-
tions.

' be laid upon all Commodities alike; They said
 ' that a small Advance upon all the Customs might
 ' serve every Purpose, as well as a great one upon
 ' some; and that this might be born with some Ease
 ' there being so many Shoulders to bear it. But the
 ' would hearken to nothing of that kind, being re-
 ' solv'd and fix'd to lay the whole Burden upon the
 ' Plantations. The Projectors stood stoutly to it in
 ' the Parliament House, that the new Tax upon Sug-
 ' gars would not burden them; but this was esteem'd
 ' such barbarous Nonsense, that there was little Fear
 ' of their prevailing, had not King *James* been so
 ' strangely earnest for this Tax, which yet that Par-
 ' liament, who then deny'd him nothing, had never
 ' granted, but that some Privy-Counsellors assur'd
 ' them in the King's Name, and by his Order, that
 ' if the Duty prov'd grievous to the Plantations,
 ' should be taken off. So the Act pass'd, and the
 ' Plantations were ruin'd. The Planters made their
 ' humble Application several times to the late King
 ' and laid their Distresses before him, but he was
 ' not pleas'd to take off their Burthens, or any part
 ' of them, nor to give them the least Ease or Mit-
 ' gation. One time they were refer'd to the Com-
 ' missioners of the Custom; among whom, to their
 ' Comfort, they found their Friends the Projectors.
 ' Another time they were told by a great Ministe-
 ' of State, (who was a principal Projector also, and
 ' who was to give them their Answer) *That it was*
 ' *very indecent, not to say undutiful, to tax the King with*
 ' *his Promise;* when as they had only said in their
 ' submissive Petition, *That they had been encourag'd to*
 ' *address to his Majesty by the gracious Expressions he*
 ' *had been pleas'd to use in Parliament concerning his*
 ' *Plantations.*

This Tax lasted many Years, and the Wars coming
 on, when the State had Occasion for all the Money
 that could be rais'd, the Planters could not hope to
 be reliev'd; for tho' the Duty is not now the same
 'tis as high, and they are very ill able to pay it.

Governour *Dutton* was a zealous Friend to the
African Company, us'd always to sit in Court to
 judge of the Forfeitures; the Company's Agents were
 the Informers, and as soon as Sentence was given, they
 divided the Spoil.

Mr. *Edwyn Stede*, who was but Deputy Secretary, *Edwyn Stede*, because he was one of the Royal Company's Agents, *Stede*, was left Deputy Governour by him; and the same *Stede* had afterwards a Commission to be Lieutenant *Esq; Lieutenant Governour*. Governour from *England*. The Assembly presented him with 1000 *l.* and confirm'd the Lease of *Fontabell* to him.

It now became a Custom for the Country to make the Governour Presents; which, with their Sallary from the Crown, Perquisites, Fees, and Administrations, made the Place worth 4 or 5000 *l.* a Year.

In the Year 1687. the Duke of *Albemarle* put into *Barbadoes*, as he was going to *Jamaica*; the Lieutenant Governour receiv'd him with great Honours, the Life-Guard of Horse waiting upon him at his landing, and conducting him to *Fontabell*: They also did Duty during his Stay there, which was three Weeks or a Month.

About the same time, there was a Conspiracy of the Negroes to rise against their Masters, and possess themselves of the Island; all the Planters were to be kill'd, their Wives to be kept for the Chief of the Conspirators, their Children, and white Servants to be their Slaves.

The Time for putting this damnable Plot in Execution, was near come; and some of the Negroes had provided Arms, which they hid, to make use of on this Occasion; but being discover'd in time, Notice was given the Government, the Inhabitants were all arm'd, the chief Conspirators seiz'd, put to the Torure, and executed: And many of them being the best Slaves, the Loss their Masters had, were not unconsiderable. About twenty of them were put to Death.

In the same Year, Mr. *Dalby Thomas*, since knighted, Col. *Walrond*, and some others, procur'd a sort of Monopoly for the *Facture* of all Goods from the *West-Indies*; which, if it had pass'd, no Man who was not of their Company was to be allow'd to sell any Sugars or other Commodities from the Plantations.

This was oppos'd with good Reason by Sir *John Bowden*, and Mr. *John Gardner*, who had then the largest

largest Commissions from *Barbadoes* of any Merchant in *England*, and perhaps the largest that ever were lodg'd in one House in the *West-India* Trade. These Gentlemen, one would think, did this for their own Interest only; but the Author speaks of his own Knowledge, they were applauded for it by the Gentlemen who had the best Interest in *Barbadoes*: For no Planter, of any Note, was willing to be oblig'd to send his Goods to Persons he did not know; nor were others willing to expose their Wants to a Society which a private Merchant might assist them in, without Notice. And indeed this Monopoly was so unjust and chimerical, that even the Lord Chancour *Jefferies* would not hear of it. 'Tis true, King *James* was not much against it; but that unhappy Prince might perhaps like it meerly because 'twas irregular, because it put a Constraint on the Subject, and was against Law.

But because Sir *Dalby Thomas*, in the before-mention'd Tract, values himself mightily upon this Design of his, let us see what an eminent Planter *John Rede*, Esq; lately a Member of the Council of *Barbadoes*, wrote to the Merchants above-nam'd, with whom he corresponded: ' I thank you kindly for
' sending me the new Project. We look upon it
' as a most ridiculous preposterous thing; and that
' if it take Effect, (as God forbid) will certainly
' be our Ruin. If the chief Projector *Walrond* did
' but know, how his Plantation here is torn to
' Pieces, his Negroes and Cattle brought to Market,
' and sold at Outcry, it would probably hasten him
' to *Barbadoes*, (where I am sure he will not be
' welcome to many) and make him use his Endeavours
' to keep together what he left. Something
' might be said to every Particular, but it would be
' too tedious, and the Subject is hardly worth writing upon. The same Judgment did Mr. *Richard Walter*, and the most considerable Planters in *Barbadoes*, make of it.

The first Act now in Force, which we find pass'd in Mr. *Stede's* Time, was, *An additional and explanatory Act to an Act entitled, An Act for the governing of Servants, and ordaining Rights between Masters and Servants*, which he sign'd the 15th of *May*,

The Inhabitants were so allarm'd by the late Plot of the Blacks, that the Assembly pass'd a very long Act, entitled, *An Act for the governing of Negroes*, which the Lieutenant Governour sign'd the 10th of July, 1688. and the 2d of October, he pass'd another, call'd, *An Act for binding out and ordering poor Apprentices*.

The Assembly presented him with 1000 l. Sterling, and pass'd a Bill for the better regulating of Outcries in open Market; another for the securing the Possession of Negroes and Slaves; and another, to repeal an Act, entitled, *An Act to prevent Depopulation*; which Mr. Stede sign'd the 19th of December; and is the last Act he pass'd, that is not obsolete or expir'd.

Upon the Revolution in England, his late Majesty King William the III. of glorious Memory, continu'd this Commission to the Lieutenant Governour, till he appointed James Kendal, Esq; to be Captain General, and Chief Governour of Barbadoes, and other the Charibbee-Islands. This Gentleman had an Interest upon the Place, to use the Barbadoes Phrase, (for the Islanders always call an Estate an Interest) and was the more welcome to the Inhabitants.

We find the Assembly pass'd a Bill for the further Accommodation of his Excellency in his intended Voyage; which being done before his Arrival, we cannot well comprehend what they meant by it. It could not relate to Mr. Stede, for they never gave him the Title of Excellency, he being only Lieutenant Governour.

Before he left Barbadoes, or Col. Kendal arriv'd here, the People of St. Christophers, and the other inward Islands, being distress'd by the French, apply'd themselves to the Government of Barbadoes for Assistance. Mr. Stede referr'd the Matter to the Assembly; who, upon Sir Timothy Thornhill's offering to go himself at the Head of a Regiment, to their Relief, assented to it, as did also the Governour and Council.

While the Administration was in Mr. Stede's Hands, Difference happen'd between the Lieutenant Governour and Sir Timothy Thornhill: The former pro-

secuted him at Law, and Sir *Timothy* appeal'd to the King and Council; who were so far from giving him Relief, that he was condemn'd to pay 500 *l.* to the King, and 1500 *l.* to the Lieutenant Governour. The Matter, which, as I am inform'd, were Words spoken, had some small Relation to both Governments, but nothing that was worth taking Notice of.

Having this Warrant for it, Sir *Timothy* order'd the Drums to beat up for Volunteers; and in less than a Fortnight's time, he rais'd a Regiment of 700 able Men, who were all of them (the Commission Officers excepted) furnish'd with Arms, &c. for this Expedition, at the Charge of the Island of *Barbadoes*. Transport Ships were also provided to carry them to *St. Christophers*. The Soldiers embark'd the 1st of *August*, 1689. and sail'd the same Day. What Sir *Timothy* did in this Enterprize, will be spoken of in the History of these Places, where the Actions pass'd.

James
Kendal,
Esq; Go-
vernour.

Col. *Kendal* embark'd for his Government aboard a Squadron of Men of War, commanded by Com-
modore *Wright*, with whom went also the Earl of *Inchiqueen*, appointed Governour of *Jamaica*. The 3d of *May* this Fleet arriv'd at *Madera*, and at *Barbadoes* about the beginning of *June*. Aboard *Wright's* Ships was the Duke of *Bolton's* Regiment, which was for the intended Expedition against the *French* in the *Leward Islands*, where Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, now Major General of the Army, remain'd with his *Barbadoes* Regiment.

In *April*, 1690. there was an Earthquake at *Barbadoes*, but it did no manner of hurt to Men or Cattle; Two very great Comets appear'd in those Parts of the World; and in an Hour and a Quarter's time, the Sea ebb'd and flow'd, at an unusual Degree, three times.

Mr. *Stede*, the late Lieutenant Governour, remov'd to *England*, and settled in *Kent*, where his Family have long had a Seat at *Stede-hill*.

Col. *Kendal*, on his Arrival at *Barbadoes*, contributed his utmost Endeavours towards carrying on the *Leward Expedition* with great Application and Success. Several Gentlemen of *Barbadoes* went upon it.

and in a Fortnight's time the Fleet was dispatch'd at the Bridge, and sail'd to *Nevis*, as will be mention'd elsewhere.

The new Governour having summon'd an Assembly, they pass'd an Act to encourage Artificers and others to take Apprentices, which he sign'd the 1st of October, 1690. At which time *George Paine*, Esq; was Clerk of the Assembly, and Mr. *John Whetstone* Deputy Secretary; it being customary for those two Officers to sign all Bills in *Barbadoes*, as well as the Governour.

In November, an Act pass'd for the better ascertaining how the Bonds forfeited for carrying Persons off this Island without a Ticket, shall be employ'd; which the Governour sign'd the 17th of December; as also a Bill to establish and ascertain the Bushel Weight, by which all sorts of Corn, Pulse, or other the Produce of this Island, shall be bought and sold.

At this time, Freight of Sugars ran so high, and Masters of Ships were so exorbitant in their Demands, that the Government of *Barbadoes* was forc'd to intermeddle in the Matter, and an Act pass'd for regulating the exorbitant Rates demanded and receiv'd by Masters of Ships and others, for Freight of Sugars, &c. for Europe. By which no Commander of a Ship was to have more than 6 s. 6 d. a Hundred Freight for Muscovado Sugar; 7 s. 6 d. for Whites; 5 s. a Hundred for Scalded; 6 s. a Hundred for scrap'd Ginger; and 2 d. a Pound for Cotton; whereas the Prices were double before: But the Inhabitants found so many Inconveniencies in this Act, that the Assembly either repeal'd or suspended it. Indeed the Owners and Masters threatned they would not send Ships, nor go to *Barbadoes*, till Freight was left free in its Price. Sugars now sold well in *England*, and that was a great Relief to the Planters, under the Hardships of heavy Duties and high Freights.

Sir *Timothy Thornhill* continu'd with his *Barbadians* in the *Leward Islands*, and he and they signaliz'd themselves at the taking of *St. Christophers*, and in several other Enterprizes.

In January this Year a Fleet of stout Ships arriv'd from *London*, and 6 of them were immediately taken up, by Order of the Governour and Council,

and sent as Men of War to reinforce Rear Admiral *Wright*. These Ships were commanded by Capt. *Daniel*, Capt. *Leech*, Capt. *Champney*, Capt. *Harding*, Capt. *Man*, and Capt. *Willey*, and sail'd from *Barbadoes* the 11th of *February*; who Capt. *Carter* was order'd with a Packet for *England*, to give the Ministers' an Account of the Proceedings here.

King *William* having been graciously pleas'd to order Col. *Kendal* to procure the Liberty of such Men as were in Servitude in *Barbadoes*, for their Rebellion under the Duke of *Monmouth*; the Governour got an Act pass'd *Nemine contradicente*, the 17th of *March*, 1690. to that Purpose, which he sign'd the same Day: It was entitl'd, *An Act to repeal an Act for the governing and retaining within this Island all such Rebels convict, as by his Majesty's most sacred Order or Permit, have been or shall be transported from his European Dominions to this Place.*

In *August*, 1691. the Governour pass'd another Act for prohibiting the several Clerks of the Courts of *Common Pleas* within this Island, to practise as Attorneys in the Courts where they are Clerks.

The Assembly, the same Year, taking into their Consideration how necessary it was that they should have Agents at *London*, to take Care of their Affairs, and solicit for them at the Court, and elsewhere, as Occasion requir'd; they chose *Edward Littleton*, Esq; and *William Bridges*, Esq; to be their Agents, and allow'd them a Sallary of 250 *l.* a Year each. That they did very prudently in this, is not to be question'd; and had they done as honourably as they did wisely, their Wisdom would probably have succeeded better.

'Tis no News to the Inhabitants of *Barbadoes*, that Mr. *John Gardner* before-mention'd, had been their constant and indefatigable Solicitor for many Years; that 'twas, in a great measure, to him they ow'd the Ease they found in the *African* Trade after the Revolution; he having so fully prov'd the Oppressions of the Royal Company at that time, in Parliament and elsewhere, that the Interlopers were no longer afraid of being seiz'd and condemn'd; and the Company no more made use of that Part of their Prerogative.

This

This was a Piece of Service, which then they thought so considerable, that, besides the frequent Thanks that was sent him from *Barbadoes* by his own Correspondents, he had the same Acknowledgments paid him by such as he had no Commerce with; yet when it was put to the Vote, whether he should be one of the Agents of this Island, it was carry'd in the Negative, notwithstanding he had by his Agency done more for them, without that Title, than has been done since by those who have had it: For as the Ruin of the Monopoly Project, and the opening the *African* Trade was (let it be said by a Relation of his, without Vanity or Partiality) more owing to his Contrivance and Industry, than any other Person or Persons whatsoever; if the Island of *Barbadoes* has receiv'd two such Obligations from their Agents, in 17 Years, I am a Stranger to its Concerns, which however none will pretend. This is said without any other Design, but to pay Homage to Truth; and by the fair Representation I have made of all their Grievances and Pressures, the Gentlemen of *Barbadoes* will see, that no ill Usage has been able to provoke me to sacrifice my Sincerity to my Resentment.

'Tis below the Dignity of History to record private Matters; and this Digression is not perhaps of so private a Nature as may at first View be imagin'd.

Those Sages at *Barbadoes*, who, to the Prejudice of the Author, declar'd it to be their unalterable Opinion, that Business and Books, Trade and Letters were incompatible, may see, that he was not capable of injuring them; and whatever he knew as a Merchant, he knows his Duty too well as an Historian, to let Passion prevail against Justice.

These Agents have been continu'd ever since, and his Sallary paid, but with all due Respect to the Wisdom of Senators, 'tis to be doubted, whether the 15000 *l.* that has been paid them, would not have been as well laid out on the Uses the four and a half per Cent. was given for. No prudent Man can think, that a Gentleman, who is not bred up in the Business, and has no Interest in the Island, can be fit to make an Agent; nor even a Merchant, who has many

Commissions: For there is no kind of Affairs that makes a Man so busy, and keeps him in such continual Hurries, as Factorage. 'Tis, without doubt, proper the Agent should fully understand the true Interest of *Barbadoes*, that he should have full Leisure to carry on his Agency, be a Man of Sense and Honour, and one that needs not make use of a borrow'd Pen to set forth its Grievances, and petition for Redress.

I had put these few Reflections in the Chapter of *Trade*, but that as much as I have seem'd to digress, they come in more naturally here.

The Act for establishing the first Agents was to expire in two Years; but others of the same Nature have been pass'd, and 'tis probable will pass, till the *Barbadians* have no Cause of Complaints, or have Friends that will make them for nothing.

The opening of the Trade to *Africa* was not soon accomplish'd, but at last 10 per Cent. was given to the *Royal Company* towards maintaining their Forts, &c. The honourable *John Farmer*, Esq; who was afterwards President, wrote thus to his Correspondent of this Head, after a sad Representation of the then State of *Barbadoes*: 'I hope yours, and other our Friends Endeavours against the *Royal Company*, have met with the desir'd Effect, which will be a sovereign Cordial to revive our drooping Spirits &c.

The People of *England* had form'd great Expectations, as well as the *Barbadians*, of the Leward Expedition; but the Gentlemen of *Barbadoes* soon saw those Expectations would come to nothing; for notwithstanding the Accounts of it printed in *England* 'tis very certain they did nothing there, neither Admiral nor General, worth the Expences they put both *England* and *Barbadoes* to.

Col. *Farmer* was a Man of Penetration, and the Reader will not be displeas'd with his Account of our Affairs there, and his Reflections upon them, in a Letter dated the 3d of *April*, 1691. about 7 Weeks after the Fleet sail'd from *Barbadoes*, with the Reinforcements mention'd before.

'Most of our Ships Men being press'd, and gone with the Fleet for the Leward Expedition, they
'wil

will not be able to fail for want of them, and so must stay for their Return. I wish I may then be able to give you such an Account of their Proceedings there, as may be pleasing to you; but by what they have hitherto done, I much doubt I shall not: For Capt. *Wright*, with all the King's Ships, reinforc'd with 6 of our best Merchant-Men, equal to Fourth and Fifth Rates, well mann'd, has been these seven Weeks down there; and tho' great Matters were talk'd of here before he went, as of taking and destroying all the *French* Islands in a short time, yet Talking is all that has hitherto been done, except the taking a small Fisher-boat: But the *French* have been more active; for while these mighty Things were performing by our Fleet in the Roads and Bays of *St. Christophers*, *Antego*, and *Nevis*, they with Sloops and other small Vessels, are busy'd in taking (both Windward and Leeward of this Island) our Vessels inward and outward bound, of which we have Advice of 13 of all sorts already taken by them; so that in a very short time we shall be in a miserable Condition for want of Provisions.

And Mr. *Reid*, another Member of the Council, in a Letter dated the 2d of *July* following, writes:

'Our Crops this Year have been very small; in all Probability the next will be smaller, we not having had the usual Seasons to plant. We have been annoy'd extremely with a little *French* Snow, who has, notwithstanding the King's Fleets, taken by Report 28 or 30 of our small Vessels to Leeward of this Island, which has occasion'd Provisions to be scarce and dear. Our Admiral, of whom we are like to be happily rid, has been slothful in their Majesty's Service; he and General *Codrington* deserted *Guardaloup* without any Reason, only their own Jealousies and Fears of the *French* Fleet, when we had three times the Number of Men that the *French* had. They left their Mortar Piece behind, tho' the *French* at the same time deserted the Island also, concluding we were going to attack *Martinico*. This Expedition is one of the most unaccountable things I ever heard of.

The little *Care Wright* took to scour those Seas of Privateers, put the Islanders to the Expence of equipping and fitting out two Ships for its Defence ; which we find by the Title of an Act then pass'd, to *secure and reimburse the honourable Col. Richard Salter, Treasurer of this Island, all such Sums of Money together, with the Interest of the same, after the Rate of 10 per Cent. per Annum, he shall lend and accommodate towards the hiring, equipping, and fitting out two Ships, Sloops, or other Vessels of War, for the Defence of this Island.*

We perceive the Fleet and Land Forces did not secure the *Barbadians* from Fear ; for another Act pass'd for *entrenching and fortifying this Island, in such Places as his Excellency shall direct.*

This Fleet did not only do a great deal of Mischief to the *Barbadians*, by taking away their Landmen and Seamen, but the Soldiers had a pestilential Distemper among them, with which the Islanders were infected ; and the Island, which before was reckon'd to be the healthiest of all the Isles thereabouts, has ever since been very sickly, vast Numbers of Merchants, Captains of Ships, Planters, Labourers, and Negroes have been swept away by this Disease ; and 'tis to be wish'd, they may have such Supplies of Men sent them, as they want for their Defence.

Wright, for his Negligence and Cowardice, was sent home a Prisoner ; but the Affairs of the *French* in the *Charibbee-Islands* did not receive that Turn which we threatned them with.

The *Assistance* Frigate meeting with a *French* Fly-boat of 800 Tuns, and 60 Guns, loaden with 30 Masts, and all manner of Stores, for the Use of the *French* Men of War, took her, and brought her into *Barbadoes* ; one of the best things that was done by the Maritime Officers in that Expedition.

On the 16th of *January*, Capt. *Wren*, who succeeded Admiral *Wright* in the Command of the *Leward* Fleet, arriv'd with a Fleet of Merchant Ships under his Convoy, he having 8 Men of War.

On the 24th of the same Month, Col. *Kendal* having receiv'd Intimation, that 9 *French* Men of War were plying to the North-East of the Island, with the Ad-
vice

ice of the Council, order'd 2 Merchant-Men to be taken into their Majesties Service, and fitted for Men of War : Which was done accordingly ; and being join'd with their Majesties Ships, the *Norwich*, the *Mary*, the *Antelope*, the *Mordaunt*, and the *Diamond*, with 2 Sloops ; they set sail the 10th ; but having cruised several Days off the North-East of this Isle, and in the Latitude of *Martinico*, without meeting with the Enemy, they return'd to *Barbadoes* the 5th of *February*. After which it was resolv'd, that Capt. *Wren*, with the same Ships, should set sail to the *Leward Islands*, together with the Merchant Men bound thither, and to *Jamaica* ; and at his Arrival there, take into his Company the *Assistance*, the *Hampshire*, and the *St. Paul* Fireship ; and then endeavour to find out the Enemy.

In order to this he set sail on the 17th of *February*, and the 21st in the Evening, being off the *Delcadas*, he saw 16 French Men of War, and 2 Fireships commanded by the Count *de Blenac*, Governour of the French Islands. They sail'd together all Night without any Action, tho they were very near one another. About two the next Morning the French were on his Weather Quarter. At five he spread his Flag at the Fore-top Mast Head. At 6 the French Admiral made his Sign for a Council of War, and drew his Fleet into a Line of Battle. From 6 till past 7 they had little Wind, Calms, and much Rain. About 8 in the Morning the French having a Gale, bore down upon Capt. *Wren*. The *Mary* men bringing up the Rear, they first engag'd with her, and afterwards with the rest of his Squadron ; which lasted from 8 till 12 at Noon, and gave all his Merchant-men the Opportunity of getting clear. In the mean time the Enemy had got the *Mordaunt*, commanded by Capt. *Butler* ; the *Mary*, by Lieutenant *Wyat* ; and the *England* Frigate, by Capt. *Stubbs*, in the midst of them ; but they clear'd themselves with all the Conduct and Bravery imaginable.

Capt. *Wren's* Squadron consisted but of 7 Ships : against which the French had 14, from 40 to 60 Guns ; and 2 from 30 to 40 Guns, besides 2 Fire-Ships :

Ships: Which is but an ill Proof of their boasted Courage and Conduct; for, notwithstanding all this Disparity, Capt. *Wren* brought all his Squadron into *Barbadoes* on the 25th of *February*, except the *England* Frigate, who bore away to *Jamaica*. Neither did any of the Merchants Ships fall into the Enemies Hands.

This was a very brave Action of Capt. *Wren's*, and one of the best that has been done in the *West Indies* in the late Wars.

The Mortality continu'd all this Year at *Barbadoes*, especially among the Sailors; insomuch that 'twas common to bury 10, 15, and 20 a Day at the *Bridge-Town*; and the Sickness abated little the next. Most of the Ships Crews, Men of War, and Merchant Men, dy'd of it: And the Inhabitants taking the Contagion, decreas'd daily.

The King's Ships could not go out a Cruising for want of Men. Capt. *Wren* was among the Number of the Dead; and the Ships were justly said to be *Graves*.

On the Revolution in *England* several Members of the Council of *Barbadoes* were misrepresented, as disaffected to the Government: But Col. *Kendal* having inform'd himself of the Injustice that had been done them, gave such a Recommendation of them at home, that all such as desir'd it, were restor'd to their Seats at that Board.

About this time his Majesty was pleas'd to appoint certain Lords and Gentlemen, of whom Eight had Sallaries, and the other were Honourary Members or rather Members by their Places, to be a Committee for Trade and the Plantations. This Committee are since better known by the Appellation of, *The Lords of Trade*, &c. Their Stile shews what their Business was to be; and every thing relating to the Plantations, or Trade, is now brought before them.

The Island of *Barbadoes* being under their Care, and one of the most considerable Parts of it, 'twas necessary to mention the establishing this Committee; of whom we may have occasion to speak in this and other Parts of our History.

Besides the Mortality in *Barbadoes* in the Year 1692. there was very unseasonable Weather, and such Rains, that the Planters could not send their Sugars to the Ports. Most of the Masters of Ships who came to this Island at this time, were bury'd here; and the Condition of the People was truly deplorable.

The Assembly past an Act concerning Trade; which the Governour sign'd the 2d of *August*. And another to raise, arm, and accouter 1000 Men, for an Expedition against the French; tho Hands were then so scarce in *Barbadoes*, that they could ill spare them. Another Act past, and was sign'd in *October*, appointing an Oath to be taken by all such, as by the Laws of this Island are, or shall be empower'd to hear and determine Writs of Error, and Petitions of Grievances, and all other Matters of Equity whatsoever. Another very necessary Act past, and was sign'd the same Month; entitl'd, An Act for Encouragement of all Negroes and Slaves that shall discover any Conspiracy.

The Assembly earnestly press'd the Governour, and desir'd their Agents in *England*, to write to, and petition the Lords of the Committee, to permit a Regiment of Soldiers, design'd for the Leward Expedition against the French, to remain in *Barbadoes* when the Expedition was over; and past an Act for free Quarter for them: But we never understood that a Regiment was granted them while this Governour staid here.

The Assembly past an Act, for prohibiting the selling of Rum, or any strong Liquors, to any Negro, or other Slave; which the Governour sign'd: But this Act, like others in other Places, has been easily and often evaded.

The Governour had a Present from the Country this Session: and the Grand Jury sitting at the Bridge, drew up a very loyal Address to their Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*; Which was presented them by Col. *Edwyn Stede*, introduc'd by the Earl of *Rochester*. At which time his Majesty confer'd the Honour of Knighthood on Col. *Stede*, in Consideration of his faithful Services.

The Reader may have the Curiosity to know the Reason of their passing the Act concerning the Negroes above-mention'd. The Preamble to the Act for their discovering Conspiracies, tells us : *Whereas sundry of the Negroes and Slaves of this Island, have been long preparing, contriving, and designing a most horrid, bloody, damnable and detestable Rebellion, Massacre, Assassination, and Destruction, by them to be committed, &c.*

This Plot was the most general the Slaves ever hatch'd, and brought nearest to Execution. The Villains were so cunning, as to observe the Want of Inhabitants, occasion'd by the Pestilence and War, and thought they should never have a better Opportunity to accomplish their Diabolical Purposes, tho' one would think, that Wretches capable of so foolish, as well as bloody a Design, could never have much thought of the Matter : For what could they pretend to do? Could they maintain themselves there without Provisions? Would it have mended their Condition to have chang'd their Masters? and instead of serving Free-men, have been Slaves to Slaves, the French. Or did they imagine the Christians would have suffer'd them to set up a Negro Monarchy, or Republick, in the midst of their Governments, English, Dutch, and French? They wou'd rather have Leagu'd, than have suffer'd such an unnatural and dangerous Independance. Wou'd they have return'd to their original Barbarity? How could they have got to *Africa*? They would have been look'd upon as common Enemies by all Nations : And if *England* had not thought fit to have chastiz'd them, as they most certainly and severely would have done, every Christian People would have thought it fair to have attack'd them, and carry'd them into worse Slavery, than what they basely endeavour'd to free themselves from, by Treason, Murder, and Hellish Ingratitude.

Before we reflect any further upon it, the Reader will expect to know more of the Particulars, which are these.

This Design, as has been said, had been carry'd on a long time; but the Conspirators met with several Disappointments about the Execution of it.

The Conspiracy was to kill the Governour; and at the same time those who were chiefly trusted in each Plantation, were to fall upon their Masters and Overseers; and afterwards to rendezvous with what Arms, Ammunition, and Horses they could seize, at the *Bridge Town*; where they were to form themselves into several Regiments of Horse and Foot; of which they had agreed who were to be the principal Officers. They were to have been further supply'd with Arms and Ammunition out of the publick Magazine, by a Negro employ'd there under the Store-keeper, who was to have been murder'd by his Slave. They design'd also to surprize the Fort, and from thence to batter the Ships in the Harbour. But their wicked Contrivances were happily brought to light by two of the chiefest of the Conspirators, who were over-heard as they were discoursing of it; and being immediately seiz'd, were condemn'd to hang'd in Chains, till they were starv'd to Death; which they endur'd four Days, and then finding they were not reliev'd by the Succour they hop'd for from their Accomplices, they promis'd to declare the whole Design; and accordingly did it, making full Confession, and discovering the principal Conspirators; who were secur'd, put to the Torture, and several of them executed.

The Laws made on this Occasion are in the Abridgement of the Laws of the Plantations, and in the Statutes at large of the Island of *Barbadoes*. When we consider that above half of the Blacks are *Creolians*, or natives of the Isle, their Folly and Madness appear the more unaccountable; that they should be willing to change their natural Lords for foreign. If they imagin'd they could get to *Guinea*, or could maintain themselves at *Barbadoes*, they must be Fellows of the poorest Capacities upon Earth, and their Understanding be as vile as their Condition.

This was the greatest Danger the Barbadians were ever expos'd to from their Slaves: And the good Laws that were made for preventing the like Conspiracies for the future, have in a great measure answer'd the End.

As for the Dispute that happen'd in this Governour's Time, between him and Col. *Hallet*; and the

the Process there upon, having no sufficient Memoir to make a just Report of the Matter, we can only mention it, and proceed with our History.

The thousand Men, of which we have spoken were rais'd, according to the Act of the Assembly and form'd two Regiments; one commanded by Col. *Richard Salter*; the other by Col. *John Boteler* both Planters in this Island; and were intended to join with some Forces expected from *England*, in order to undertake an Expedition against *Martinico*. A good Squadron of Men of War were equip'd in *England*, and sail'd for *Barbadoes*, about the latter End of the Year 1692. having on Board Col. *Foulk* and Col. *Goodwin's* Regiments of Foot, and 200 Recruits of Col. *Lloyd's*.

Sir *Francis Wheeler* was Commander of the Men of War; and Col. *Foulks* of the Land-Forces, who arriving at *Barbadoes*, was join'd by Col. *Salter*, and Col. *Boteler*.

The Fleet sail'd from that Island the 30th of *March*, 1693. and on the 1st of *April* arriv'd at *Martinico*, where they anchor'd in the *Cul de Sac Marine*. We must observe, that the two *Barbadoes* Regiments, when rais'd, the Gentlemen and other Volunteers, that went from thence with them made the whole Number of Barbadians 13 or 140 Men, above half of the Land-Forces.

The Place where Sir *Francis* anchor'd was the South-East part of the Island, about a Mile and half from the Shore. Himself, Col. *Foulk*, and Col. *Lloyd*, went in a Sloop, to see for a convenient Place, in order to land their Men.

The French had several small Guards along the Shore; from one of which a Musket Shot struck Sir *Francis* under the Right Pap, and fell down at his Feet, having only made a great Contusion. Orders were given for landing of the Forces, but the Wind blowing very fresh, 'twas defer'd till next Day when, about 9 in the Morning, Col. *Foulk* land'd with 1500 Men, without any Opposition. The Boats were immediately sent back, and towards Evening the rest of the Forces also land'd. On the 3d of *April* they continu'd a-shore, and destroy'd all the Houses and Plantations about *Cul de Sac Marine*

most of which were good Sugar-Works; the Inhabitants and Negroes flying into the Woods.

The 4th the Forces return'd on Board. The 5th *Francis Wheeler* went a-shore, with a Detachment of 500 Men, in the Bay towards the *Diamond*, burnt several Houses and Plantations; and at Night came on Board again. The same Day a Lieutenant of one of the *Barbadoes* Regiments going a-shore without Orders, with 6 or 7 Soldiers, besides the Boat's Crew, fell into an Ambuscade: Two of them were kill'd, and the rest taken Prisoners.

The 6th Lieutenant Colonel *Lillifston* was sent a-shore with a strong Party, to destroy the Country on the side of the Bay towards the *Diamond*; and having perform'd the same, return'd on Board with his Men towards Night.

The 9th Col. *Codrington* join'd them with Col. *Lloyd's* Regiment, and the Leward Forces. But Col. *Foulk* remain'd without Action till the 12th, when he was resolv'd in a Council of War, to sail to *St. Pierre*, where the Fleet arriv'd the 15th, and anchor'd within Musket Shot of the Shore.

On the 17th the English landed, and their advanced Parties had some Skirmishes with the Enemy. Col. *Foulk* commanded an Eminence to be possess'd, and sent out several Parties, who advancing into the Country, destroy'd all before them.

On the 18th the English posted themselves on a Hill, within Cannon Shot of the Town of *St. Pierre*; and several Field-pieces were brought a-shore; which play'd upon the Enemy, who lay behind their Entrenchments.

The 19th the French made a Sally upon *Foulk's* out-guards, but were repuls'd by part of Col. *Foulk's* Regiment, led by Captain *Sproston*, who pursued them to their Trenches; where the Officer that commanded them was kill'd. Col. *Blackstone* supported Capt. *Sproston* with a Leward Regiment; and the Enemy was so discourag'd, that they ventur'd out of their Lines no more.

Such was the End of this *Martinico* Expedition, wherein the Barbadians were rather too forward, than otherwise; and had the Officers who came from *England* done their Duty, as well as these that came from

from *Barbadoes*, we might probably have given better Account of it. For a Council of War being held, 'twas resolv'd that the Men and Artillery should be re-imbark'd; which was done: And the only Reason I ever heard of, was, because the Fort was a regular Work; and that, 'tis to be suppos'd was known before the English landed there. 'Tis said, the Men were sickly: If so, the keeping them aboard, and carrying them to the Leward, was no the way to cure them.

The Forces made altogether 4 or 5000 Men, and were enough to have dispossest the French of all their Sugar-Islands. Col. *Salter*, and Col. *Boteles* return'd to *Barbadoes*; which Island had only lost more Hands, and no Soldiers were left to supply their Places.

Col. *Foulk*, Col. *Goodwin*, Major *Abraham*, and other Officers, dy'd a Ship-board, and met with an inglorious Death, in avoiding a glorious one. 'Tis true, the *French* at *Martinico* were enough frighten'd and most of the richest Inhabitants ship'd themselves and their valuable Effects for *France*; some of whom were intercepted by the English.

Col. Fran.
Ruffel Go-
vernour.

His Majesty King *William* having recall'd Col. *Kendal*, appointed Col. *Francis Ruffel*, Brother to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Orford*, to be Governour of *Barbadoes*, and gave him a Commission for a Regiment of Soldiers, which were to be transported to that Island, and there to remain. Accordingly the Assembly took Care for their Accommodation against their Arrival, which was in the Year 1694. And Col. *Kendal* being return'd to *England* His Majesty was pleas'd to make him one of the Lords of the Admiralty.

Tho' some Accounts brought Advice, that the Sickness in *Barbadoes* was abated, yet 'tis certain that the Men, both a-shore and a-board, dy'd as fast as ever; and the 2 Men of War in *Carlisle-Bay*, the *Tyger* and *Mermaid*, wanted Hands so much, that the Assembly were forc'd to pass an Act, for speedily supplying them with Men.

With Col. *Ruffel* went his Lady, the Lady *North* and *Grey*, and her Daughter, Sister to the present Lord *North*, who both dy'd there.

The first Act now in Force, which the new Governour Mr. *Russel* pass'd, was, to prevent the breaking up or taking away of any Rocks or Stones in any Part of the Sea, or Sea-Shoars before this Island; which Act is sign'd by Mr. *Thomas Brewster*, who, 'tis said, acted as Deputy Secretary, by the Governour's Order; and *George Pain*, Esq; Clerk of the Assembly. The latter being some time after made Deputy Secretary, the present Solicitor General was chosen Clerk of the Assembly in his stead.

The Government here thought fit to set forth the Brigantine *Marygold* to go to Leward, and fetch up the Remainder of the Men that were left there, after the *Martinico* Expedition.

The Assembly advanc'd 700 *l.* to victual the *Bristol* Man of War, and *Play Prize*; and added Mr. *Francis Styles*, a worthy Merchant of *London*, to the two Agents before-mention'd, ordering by an Act, that 500 *l.* should be remitted to him for the Service of the Island. They presented the Governour with 1000 *l.* and maintain'd his Regiment. The Governour, Council, and Assembly, transmitted a very Royal Address of Condolance to his Majesty King *William*, on the never enough lamented Death of his Royal Consort, our Sovereign Queen *Mary*, Sister in all things to our present Gracious and Glorious Queen *Anne*; which the King was pleas'd to receive very graciously, and some time after Knighted Col. *Willoughby Chamberlayne*, for his good and faithful Services in this Island; who being since dead, his Widow marry'd Mr. *Mitford Crow*, a Merchant of *London*, of whom more hereafter.

The *Child's Play* Man of War convoy'd a Fleet of Merchant Ships from *Barbadoes* to *England*; and 'tis observable, that the Islanders were in a great measure at the Expence of it: For without they had victual'd her, she could not have sail'd.

Besides these Charges, the Governours began now to be a sort of Grievance, by their exacting Presents from the Country, and looking upon those Gifts to be their Right, which were only extraordinary Benevolences of the Inhabitants.

Col. *Russel* had 2000 *l.* more, *A. D.* 1695. tho, if Report is true, he did not deserve it; for we have

been credibly inform'd, there were not 7 Rounds of Powder in the Forts when Monsieur Pointy came in Sight of *Barbadoes*, as he was sailing to *Carthagena*; and had he known what Circumstances the *Barbadians* were in, perhaps he had ended his Expedition before he reach'd the Continent. There was Powder enough in *Barbadoes* not long before; but the Pyrate had their Agents in this Island as well as other Places and some how or other Means were made use of to supply those at *Madagascar* with it. 'Tis not to be question'd, but they paid a good Price for it, and if the Gentlemen of *Barbadoes* had any Jealousy of such an infamous Traffick, we wonder they did not, by their Agents in *England*, take Care to complain of it.

Francis Bond, Esq; Governour
 Col. *Russel* dying, just as this Matter began to make a Noise, *Francis Bond*, Esq; President of the Council, undertook the Administration, till a Governour arriv'd from *England*: And the President, Council, and General Assembly, having Advice of the damnable Assassination Plot, sent over a Hearty and Loyal Address to his Majesty, to congratulate his Majesty's wonderful and happy Deliverance from the most barbarous and bloody Assassination lately design'd against his Royal Person by execrable Villains, and Monster of Mankind, who are the Dishonour of the present and will be the Horror and Detestation of future Ages.

A very Loyal Address was also presented to his Majesty on the same Occasion, from the Grand-Jury of the Island of *Barbadoes*.

In this President's Time, several good Laws were made, which remain still in Force; and which we shall particularize in the Order of Time, as they pass'd. The first is an Act declaring the Decision of all controverted Elections of Members to serve in the General Assembly, to be legally and rightfully in the Representatives of his Majesty's Liege People of the Island; which was sign'd the 10th of February, 1696. And on the 16th of the same Month, another Bill pass'd, being A supplemental and explanatory Act to an Act, entitled, An Act for binding and ordering poor Apprentices. And the 3d of March following another, entitled, An Act that the solemn Affirmation
 and

and Declaration of the People call'd Quakers, shall be accepted instead of an Oath in the usual Form.

About this time, Vice-Admiral *Nevil* arriv'd at *Barbadoes*, with a Squadron of Men of War; and the 28th of *April*, 1697. sail'd from this Island, to look after *Monfieur Pointy*.

The Assembly still fitting, an Act pass'd the 18th of *May*, to disable the Judges from pleading and practising in any of the Courts of this Island; as also, another to repeal an Act, entitled, *An Act for laying a Duty on Shipping, for the Publick Building of Peers, and clearing the Bar in Carlisle Road.*

Two Ships, the *Providence* and *Benjamin*, were fitted out, employ'd and paid by the Country, according to an Act pass'd for that Purpose: And in *June* 1697. a Bill was read, and pass'd the President and Council, to keep inviolate and preserve the Freedom of Elections, and appointing who shall be deem'd Freeholders, and be capable of electing, or being elected Representatives, Vestry Men, or to serve as Jurors to try real Actions within this Island: A Law of very great Importance in the present Constitution of the Government of *Barbadoes*; as is that for the Settlement of the Militia of this Island.

The *Barbadians* had not then heard of the Conclusion of the Peace at *Reswyck*, and this Bill was enacted for their Security against Invasions. Guns were to be plac'd on *Lestey's Hill*, *Ramsay's Hill*, the Mount, *Brigg's Hill*, and other convenient Places, for the speedy carrying on of an Alarum.

About the Beginning of *January*, the Earl of *Bellomont* arriv'd at *Barbadoes*, in the *Deptford* Man of War. He was bound for his Government of *New-England* and *New-York*, and driven hither by Stress of Weather.

News coming to this Island of the Peace, one may imagine by their Losses, that the Inhabitants, in whose Name, as well as their own, the President, Council, and Assembly, address'd King *William*, were heartily glad of the Security he had given them, by bringing *France* to Reason.

The last Act now in Force, pass'd in Mr. *Bond's* Presidency, was an Act for the better securing the

Liberty of his Majesty's Subjects within this Island, and preventing long Imprisonment.

The Honourable
Ralph Grey, Esq;
Governour

In 1698. his Majesty was pleas'd to appoint the Honourable *Ralph Grey, Esq;* Brother to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Tankerville*, to be Governour of *Barbadoes*, and he sail'd from *St. Hellens* on board the *Soldados Prize*, the 1st of *June*. He arriv'd at *Madera* the 24th of *June*, and having been nobly entertain'd by the Governour, during his Stay, sail'd thence the 1st of *July*, and on the 26th arriv'd at *Barbadoes*.

The *Spedewell*, Capt. *Coulsea*, came thither in Company with the *Soldados*; aboard which Ship, in their Passage from *Madera*, a villanous Design was discover'd, carry'd on by one *Fonathan Bear*, a Midship Man, to surprize and murder the Captain, and afterwards to run away with the Ship. Upon which *Bear*, and 2 other Seamen, who were chiefly concern'd in the Plot, were secur'd; and when they came to *Barbadoes*, were put aboard the *Sheerness* and sent in Chains to *England*.

The new Governour, Mr. *Grey*, upon his Arrival near the Shoar, was saluted by the Cannon from the Castles and Forts; and coming to an Anchor, was complimented by the Council and Assembly. The next Day he came ashoar, the Men of War and the Forts firing all the while. Major *Garth's* independant Company of Regular Soldiers, and some Militia Horse, were drawn up to receive him; and upon his Landing, the Council waited upon him, and conducted him to the Council-Chamber, where his Commission was read, and the usual Oaths administered to him, and to the Members of the Council after which they entertain'd him at Dinner. In the Evening the Governour, attended by several of the Council, went to Mr. *Bond's* House, two Miles from the *Bridge Town*; where he continu'd till Mr. *Hothersfall's* Plantation was taken for him, and the House fitted up for his Reception.

On *Tuesday* the 2d of *August*, the Assembly met and attended him in the Council Chamber; and their Speaker, *Thomas Maxwell, Esq;* made a Speech, expressing great Loyalty and Duty to his Majesty, and congratulating the Governour's safe Arrival.

The

The History of Barbadoes.

The Reader will not be displeas'd with a List of this Council and Assembly; by which he will have a clearer View of the Form of Government in *Barbadoes*, and the Governour's Stile.

The N A M E S of the Governour, Council, and Assembly of *Barbadoes*, as they were in the Year 1698.

His Excellency *Ralpb Grey*, Esq;

Captain General and Chief Governour of the Island of *Barbadoes*, *Sancta Lucia*, *St. Vincent's*, *Dominico*, and the rest of his Majesty's Islands, Colonies, and Plantations in *America*, known by the Name of the *Charibbee-Islands*, lying and being to Windward of *Guardaloup*.

The Honourable the Members of his Majesty's COUNCIL, at that Time.

Francis Bond, Esq; late President.

John Gibbs,
John Farmer,
George Lillington,
George Andrews,
William Sharp,
Tobias Frere,

} Esquires.

Michael Terrill,
David Ramsay,
Richard Scot,
Benjamin Cryer,
Richard Walter,
Thomas Merrick,

} Esquires.

The Members of the then General ASSEMBLY,
viz.

For the Precincts of

t. <i>Michael</i> .	} <i>George Peers</i> , Esq;
	} <i>William Wheeler</i> , Esq;
brist-Church.	} <i>Thomas Maxwell</i> , Esq; Speaker,
	} <i>Daniel Hooper</i> , Esq;
t. <i>Philips</i> .	} <i>William Fortescue</i> , Esq;
	} <i>Henry Markland</i> , Esq;
t. <i>John</i> .	} <i>John Leslie</i> , Esq;
	} <i>James Colliton</i> , Esq;

St. George.	} Peter Flewellin, Esq;
	} Miles Toppin, Esq;
St. Joseph.	} John Holder, Esq;
	} Henry Gallop, Esq;
St. Andrew.	} William Cleeland, Esq;
	} William Deten, Esq;
St. James.	} Abel Alleyne, Esq;
	} William Holder, Esq;
St. Thomas.	} Thomas Sadleir, Esq;
	} Jonathan Downes, Esq;
St. Peter.	} Samuel Maynard, Esq;
	} Robert Harrifon, Esq;
St. Lucy's.	} John Gibbs, Esq;
	} Thomas English, Esq;

Upon the Governour's Arrival, the Assembly fell presently to Business, were unanimous and speedy in their Debates, and in a Week's Time had two Bills ready; as an Act to declare and ascertain the Rights and Powers of the General Assembly of this Island: and an Act to settle five hundred Pounds per Annum on his Excellency, for his Habitation. At which time we find Mr. William Hart was Deputy Secretary. The Preamble to the last Act gives us the Reasons why the Governour did not think fit to take up his Residence at Fontabell: *Whereas it is necessary and expedient for the Inhabitants of this Island to find and provide an Habitation for his Majesty's Governour of this Island: and by Reason of the Decay, and want of Repairs at Fontabell, the late Habitation of the Governour, and the Danger he will be expos'd to in Case of War, so that it is no ways fit for his Excellency's Reception, &c.* But since it had done in time of War, that Argument in time of Peace might have been left out of the Preamble.

The 500 l. a Year was paid for *Hothersall's House* and Plantation, which 'tis probable, the Governour lik'd better, and thought to be a better Bargain than the other.

'Tis very certain, this Gentleman was much in the good Graces of the People of Barbadoes; never any Governour was so well belov'd. He was a Man of Honour; his Soul noble as well as his Birth, and he was not capable of doing an ill thing by them for his own

own Interest. Such Men will soon gain the Affections of a Colony, and they will in the main find their Advantage by it too; for People give more when they see Governours are not greedy, than when they are always begging, or doing worse.

On the 7th of September an Act pass'd for two thousand Pounds for his Excellency's Charges of his Voyage, towards the better Support for the Government; the Title of which is not very grammatical. Mr. George Payne sign'd it, acting as Deputy Secretary *pro hac vice*: And Mr. Rawlins, Clerk of the Assembly, the same Day procur'd an Act to appoint him to collect the Body of the Laws, and for printing the Laws of the Island of Barbadoes, contain'd in the ensuing Volume: The Volume he publish'd, from which the Writer of this History took some of his Matter, as the Titles of the Acts, &c. and that Collection going down no farther than the above-mention'd 7th of September, 1698. we have no further Helps from him. The same Day, the Governour, Council, and Assembly, pass'd the Act concerning the General Sessions.

Laws of Barbadoes

This being a time of Peace, few Events happen'd here worth recording. The Mortality continu'd till the Year 1698. but grew less and less from the Year 1694. In the first of Mr. Grey's Government it ceas'd, and the Island grew healthful again, but not in such a Degree as it was twenty or thirty Years before; for two Years afterwards, A. D. 1700. the Sicknes return'd: And at the same time there was a great Scarcity of Corn and Provisions; but as the Mortality did not last long, so the Scarcity was supply'd by Imports from *New-England*.

About this time, *William Welby*, Esq; was made Secretary of the Island; a very worthy Gentleman, who serv'd the late Duke of *Devonshire*, and his Grace the present Duke, in the same Capacity. This Office was afterwards made over to *Alexander Skeyne*, Esq; the present Secretary of *Barbadoes*.

The same Year, 1700. Sugars were scarce and dear; and there happen'd also a Hurricane, which did much Damage, threw down several Warehouses, and drove two Ships and two Sloops ashoar.

AL.

In the following Year, 1701. the Governour being indispos'd in his Health, remov'd to *England*, leaving

the Administration in the Hands of the then President of the Council, *John Farmer*, Esq; In whose Time his Majesty King *William* dying, the Privy-Council in *England* notify'd her present Majesty's Accession to the Throne, to the President and Council in *Barbadoes*. Upon which Col. *Farmer* immediately gave Directions for proclaiming the Queen; and on the 18th of *May*, 1702. the President and Council, being accompany'd by Mr. *Skeyne* the Secretary, Mr. *George Hannah* the Provost-Marshal, and other publick Officers, the Clergy, and Gentlemen of the *Bridge Town*, and other Parts of the Island, attended by several Troops of Horse, and the Regiment of Foot-Guards, went in a solemn Procession from *James Fort* to the common Parade, where the Proclamation was made. After which the Forts and Ships discharg'd their Guns three times, and the People gave all publick Demonstrations of their Joy on this Occasion. The President and Council, together with the principal Officers and Inhabitants of the Island, drew up a very handsome Address of Congratulation to the Queen, and condol'd heartily with her on the Death of his late Majesty: Which was presented by the Right Honourable *Ralph Lord Grey of Werk*, their late Governour; for the Earl of *Tankerville* being dead, his Brother, Mr. *Grey*, succeeded him in the Barony, but not in the Earldom.

The War was no sooner proclaim'd between *France* and *England*, but the Gentlemen and Merchants of *Barbadoes* fitted out a good Number of Privateers, to act against the *French*. Sixteen of them meeting together near *Guardaloup*, the Men landed on the Island, burnt a great Part of the West End of it, and brought off a good Number of Negroes. In the same Year an Earthquake was felt at *Barbadoes*, which lasted a Minute and a half, but did no considerable Damage. The Inhabitants were at this time more healthy than they had been for several Years before.

'Tis said the Blacks then form'd another Design to burn the *Bridge Town*, and seize the Forts; but the Plot was timely discover'd, and the cheif Conspirators executed.

The History of Barbadoes.

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Sir Bevill
Greenvill
Governour

In the following Year, 1703. her Majesty was pleas'd to appoint Sir *Bevill Greenvill* to be Governour of *Barbadoes*; and it having been found burthensome to the Country to make Presents of 2000*l.* and other large Sums to the Governours, Orders were sent to put a Stop to that Custom; and as a Compensation for this, the Governour's Sallary was encreas'd from 1200 to 2000*l.* a Year.

This Government in King *William's* Time had been promis'd to Mr. *Mitford Crow*, a Merchant of *London*, who had serv'd an Apprenticeship to a *Barbadoes* Merchant, one Mr. *Abraham Tillard*, and marry'd the Lady *Chamberlayne* of this Island. He kiss'd the King's Hand for it, and prepar'd his Equipage; but when his Majesty was dead, Sir *Bevill Greenvill* put in for it, and obtain'd it.

The Assembly, to compliment the new Governour, appointed Sir *John Stanly*, Secretary to the Lord Chamberlain, and Sir *Bevill's* Brother in Law, to be one of their Agents; in which their Conduct was Courtly indeed, but not very Politick; for how is it possible any Man should be able to serve the Island as an Agent ought, who is not fully appriz'd of her Concerns, who does not perfectly understand her true Interest, and has other Avocations of more Importance, to him at least, than his Agency.

Sir *Bevill* arriving at *Barbadoes*, a House was built for him and his Successors, on *Pilgrim's* Plantation, where he resided.

There was a Novelty in the Ministry here, which was a little extraordinary; the Sex was shifted, and the fair Favourite did not lose her Time nor her Market.

On the 27th of *September*, her Majesty's Ship the *Blackwall*, Capt. *Samuel Martin* Commander, brought into *Carlisle Bay* a French Privateer of 12 Guns, and 120 Men, which he took in that Latitude; as also, an Irish Ship bound for *Barbadoes*, which had been taken the Day before by the same Privateer.

On the 2d of *February*, her Majesty's Ship the *Dreadnought*, having on board Col. *Seymour*, Governour of *Maryland*, arriv'd there; where he stay'd a few

few Days, and then proceeded in his Voyage, having been driven thither by Strefs of Weather.

The Island of *Barbadoes* was at this time miserably divided into Factions; one was for the Governour, and the other against him. The latter sent Complaints to *England*, which were contradicted by those of the other Interest, tho'twas generally reported, that Sir *Bevill Greenwill* had done several unfair things; the Particulars of which not being come to our Hands, they are like to be forgotten.

In his Time one *Chilton*, who made the References to *Cook's Reports*, was Attorney General of *Barbadoes*. He had the Misfortune to kill a Man there, and being guilty of many Male Practices, was suspended: When he came to *England*, he also join'd with the Complainants against the Governour, and succeeded almost as well as if he had been innocent.

The Faction in *Barbadoes* ran so high, that one Gentleman was accus'd of Designs against the Governour's Life; but though he was find'd 2000 *l.* yet 'twas generally thought, there was more Malice than Reason in the Accusation. The Gentleman was one of the Council, and had we believ'd he had been guilty, we should have nam'd him.

In the Year 1705. the Assembly taking into Consideration the great Want of Money in the Island, occasion'd by the sending away all the Silver from thence, upon the Proclamation for reducing Pieces to a certain Standard in the *West-Indies*, pass'd an Act to allow 65000 *l.* Paper Credit, empowering the Treasurer to give out Bills for such a Sum, and lend them to the Planters, on Security of Land and Negroes. *Jehn Holder*, Esq; Speaker of this Assembly was appointed Treasurer, and was to have 5 per Cent. for managing these Bills. The Money'd Men were generally against this Project; for they found their Debtors were glad of an Opportunity to pay them in Paper.

The Assembly who pass'd the Act being dissolv'd, the next that sat proceeded vigorously against those who were concern'd in it, and sent an Address to *England* to complain of it.

On the 4th of July, 1706. the Squadron of her Majesty's Ships, under the Command of Captain *Kerr*, arriv'd at *Barbadoes*; from whence they sail'd to the *Leward Islands*, having on board Colonel *Park*, who was appointed Governour of those Islands.

Sir Bevill Greenwill being either recall'd, or having obtain'd Leave to come for *England*, her Majesty was pleas'd, in Consideration of *Mr. Crow's* eminent Services at *Barcelona*, to let him succeed *Sir Bevill* in the Government. The latter embark'd aboard the *Kingsfale Man of War*, bound for *England*, and dy'd in his Voyage homewards, as the late President, Colonel *Farmer*, had done some time before.

Mr. Crow arriv'd in *Barbadoes*, in the Year 1707. and, according to his Instructions, remov'd those Gentlemen that had been concern'd in the Paper Credit Act from their Places at the Council Board, and from all other that were in the Governour's Power. This bred Discontents, and has occasion'd more Remonstrances to be sent to *England*. Mitford
Crow,
Esq; Go-
vernour. }

The late Treasurer, *Mr. Holder*, was oblig'd to refund the 5 per Cent. he had receiv'd for managing the Paper Credit; and he appealing, the Matter depends at this time.

Some Months before *Mr. Crow's* Arrival, a very odd Accident happen'd here to one *Mr. Samuel Frazon*, a Merchant, who coming from on board a Man of War, a Storm arose, and drove him in his Boat out to Sea; so that 'twas fear'd he was lost. At last News came of him, that after having driven upon the Ocean 6 Days, without any Subsistence, not so much as Bread and Water, he fell upon *St. Vincents*; where, as soon as he landed with his Sailors and Negro, the Indians stripp'd them stark naked. The two Sailors ty'd in a little time of the Fatigue, but the Merchant and his Black surviv'd it. *Mr. Frazon* continu'd in that Condition 3 Months; at the end of which the Indians carry'd him over to *Martinico*; where he paid 17 or 18 Pistoles for his Ransom, but they would not let him redeem his Negro. From *Martinico*
the

the *French* sent him to *Nevis*; from whence he return'd to *Barbadoes*.

Another Boat at the same time, with two Negroes, drove off to Sea, and they landed the same Day at *St. Vincents*; where the *Charibbeans* do not always deal so civilly by the English, who are driven thither by Storms, as they did by Mr. *Frazon*, tho they us'd him ill.

Thus I have faithfully related the Events that concern this once flourishing Island, with all the Impartiality that becomes an Historian. If this History is not larger, it has been for Want of Memoirs on which I could trust. Others I might have had, but would not make use of them. The Inhabitants had seen more of their Affairs here, had I had suitable Helps. I did my Endeavours to obtain them, by applying to the Agency more than once: From which however I could not procure one Event towards contributing to my Design.

My own Acquaintance with these Matters, private Letters, and authentick Records, have furnish'd me with what I here present to the Reader; desiring he would consider, that a Man who was never in a Country, and writes of it at 2 or 3000 Miles distance, must have been careful, or he would have committed more Errors than will be found here.

C H A P. II.

A Geographical Description of the Island, with its Towns, Forts, Fortifications, Ports, Harbours, Rivers, Publick and Private Buildings.

THE various Accounts that are given us of the Situation of *Barbadoes*, oblig'd us to be very exact in examining it by the latest Surveys that have been taken of the Island, and comparing them with the Informations we receiv'd from the Inhabitants of the Place.

Ligon says in his History, it lies in 13 Degrees, 30 Minutes, Northern Latitude; and where 'tis longest, is somewhat above 28 Miles in Length; and where 'tis broadest, 17 Miles in breadth: Which Description agrees exactly with the Map that was printed with his Book.

An anonymous Author, who pretends to have been on the Spot, says, it lies in 13 Degrees, 20 Minutes, Northern Latitude, is 24 Miles long, and in some Places 15 Miles over.

Monfieur Robbe, the famous French Geographer, says, 'tis situated in 17 Degrees, North. Lat. and is above 30 Leagues in Circumference.

The last printed Survey of this Island, makes it to be situated between the 13th and 14th Degrees of North Latitude. The South part lying in 13 Degrees, 10 Minutes; and the North part in 13 Degrees, 27 Minutes; being in Length from the Point, below *Carew's* Plantation in the South South-East, to the Spout below *Dowden's* in the North North-West, 21 Miles: And from *Needham's* Point to *Conger* Rock, 12 Miles over, and about 75 Miles in Circumference.

The Latitude is right, and so is the Breadth of the Island; but we are assur'd by Gentlemen who have often travell'd from *Oistin's* in the South East, to *Cluff's* Bay in *St. Lucy's* Parish in the North-West, that

that 'tis full 28 Miles long; which, reckoning the Breadth at 12, and multiplying the one by the other, makes 336 Square Acres of Land; in all 215040 Acres:

But this Calculation, however just it may be found to be according to the Rules of Arithmetick, will certainly deceive any one that shall survey it; for the Island does not contain in all above 100000 Acres: And this vast Diminution proceeds from the Inequality of the Breadth; in the North-Western, where it is narrowest; and that in the South-Eastern part of the Island, where it is broadest.

Barbadoes is the most Windwardly Island of all the *Charibbee* Islands, *Tobago* excepted, as some will have it; of an Oval Form, broad towards the South End, growing narrow to the North, with a bending in on the East side.

The nearest Islands to it, are *St. Vincent* and *St. Lucia*. At *St. Vincents* the English had formerly a small Settlement. This Island may be seen from *Barbadoes* in a clear Day. The nearest Part of the *Continent* to it is *Surrinam*, about a Day and a half's Sail off of it. The English were once in Possession of that Country, but the Dutch disposs'd them; and the former have not thought fit to require to be restor'd to their Plantation.

The Country in general is gradually rising, level in some Parts; and in others, some high Hills, affording most lovely Prospects all over the Island, with a continual Verdure.

In the Description of *Barbadoes*, we shall begin with the Capital, the *Bridge Town*; and from thence proceed from one Parish to another, over the whole Island.

The *Bridge Town* was at first call'd *St. Michaels*, from the Name of the Parish-Church, which is dedicated to *St. Michael* the Arch-Angel. 'Tis situated in the Latitude of 12 Degrees, 55 Minutes, in the inmost part of the Bay, commonly call'd *Carlisle Bay*; and the Choice of the Place to build this Town upon, seems to have been directed more by Convenience than Health: For the Ground thereabouts being a little lower within Land than the Sea-Banks, the Spring-Tides flow over, and make a great part of the

the Flat a Bog, or Marsh: From which there us'd formerly to ascend noxious Vapours, that contributed very much to the Unhealthiness of the Place; but the Inhabitants have since drain'd the Flats, and defended it so well from the Influxes of the Sea, that they are not much troubled with those unwholsome Fumes, which before corrupted the Air, and bred Diseases.

The Bog or Morass that is now on the East-side of the Town, is occasion'd by the Freshes or Floods that sometimes overflow the whole Town; which lies at the Entrance of a Valley, that runs several Miles into the Country, and is call'd, the Valley of *St. Georges*.

There was a small River, that some Years ago fell into *Carlisle Bay*, at the Bridge. It was very commodious for the Planters and Merchants, being deep enough for Sloops to go up about a Mile into the Country: But now 'tis quite choak'd up; and without the Inhabitants be forc'd to get it clear'd, is like to remain so; no body thinking it their Business or Interest to set about so necessary a Work, unless the Government gave them due Encouragement.

The *Bridge Town*, or rather City, is certainly the finest and largest in all the Islands, if not in all the English Colonies abroad. It contains 1200 Houses, built of Stone; the Windows glass'd, many of them sash'd; the Streets broad, the Houses high, and the Rents as dear in *Cheapside*, in the *Bridge*, as in *Cheapside* in *London*.

The Wharfs and Keys are very neat and convenient; and the Forts to the Sea so strong, that there would be no taking it by Force, if they were as well mann'd and furnish'd with Ammunition as they ought to be.

The first of these Forts Westward, is *James Fort*, near *Stewart's Wharf*. 'Tis mounted with 18 Guns. In this Fort the Lord *Grey*, when he was Governour of the Island, built a very fine Council-house. Next to this is *Willoughby's Fort*, built on a small Neck of Land, that runs out into the Sea. 'Tis mounted with 12 Guns. The Coasts of *Carlisle Bay*, from this Fort to *Needham's*, is fortify'd by three Batteries. *Needham's Fort* is mounted with 20 Guns. Above

Above this Fort, and more within Land, the late Governour, Sir *Bevill Granvill*, began the Royal Cittadel, in Honour of our Sovereign Queen *Anne* call'd *St. Anne's Fort*. This will be the strongest in the whole Island, and stand the Country in above 30000 *l.* Sterling.

The Assembly were frighten'd into such a vast Expence, by Advice that Monsieur *Herbeville* was making vast Preparations at *Martinico* to attack *Barbadoes*; as he intended, but durst not venture to make any Attempt upon it: So the Storm fell on *St. Christophers* and *Nevis*; the latter of which Settlements he entirely destroy'd, as will be related elsewhere.

There is a small Fort of eight Guns to the Eastward of the Town; which is thus secur'd from any Foreign Invasion, or home Insurrection; and 'tis this Security which makes it the richest Town of the *Charibbees*. The Merchants Store-houses are here safe; and both those, and the Tradesmens Shops, as well furnish'd as the Shops and Ware-houses in *London*.

The Church in the *Bridge Town* is as large as many of our Cathedrals. There's an Organ in it, as fine, and as big, as most in *England*. And there belongs to it a very good Ring of Bells, and a fine Clock; but through Negligence they were never put up.

Here are several large Taverns and Eating-Houses; and a Post-house for receipt of Letters from all Parts. There have been, in this War, Packet-boats employ'd Monthly by the Government, to carry Letters to and from the *West Indies*.

Carlisle Bay, at the Bottom of which the *Bridge* stands, is a very spacious one, and capable of containing 500 Sail of Ships. There was a Mole in it before the late dreadful Hurricane: It ran out from *James Fort* into the Sea; but that terrible Tempest entirely ruin'd it, in the Year 1694.

One may judge of the Populoufness and Strength of this Place by the Number of its Militia, which are no less than 1200 Men, for the Town, and *St. Michael's Precinct*: They are call'd, the Royal Regiment, or, the Regiment of Foot-Guards. Here the

the Governour, Council, and Assembly, hold their Sessions, the Court of Chancery is kept, and all the publick Affairs of this Island generally transacted.

In short, if this Town stood in as healthy a Place, as it does in a safe and advantageous one, 'twould be the best of the Bigness in her Majesty's Dominions, as it is the wealthiest.

On the East-side of the Town is a Magazine-house, built of Stone, where the Stores of Powder for the whole Island are always kept under a good Guard. From the *Bridge*, about four Miles up in the Country, stands the Parish-Church of *St. George*, in a delightful Valley.

And, in the Way about a Mile from the Town, the Assembly has order'd a stately House to be built for the Governour's Residence. 'Tis call'd *Pilgrim's*, from the Name of the Proprietor of the Land on which it stands. And a Mile and an half from the *Bridge*, to the Southward, is *Fontabell*, which was usually the Seat of the Governours; the Island renting the House for that purpose of the Owner Mr. *Walrond*.

From the *Bridge* to *Fontabell*, along the Shore, there's a Line fortify'd with a Parapet; and at *Fontabell* a Battery of 10 Guns. From *Maxwel*, near the *Chaces*, there runs along a Ridge of Hills to *Harrison's*, the farthermost Westward Plantation. The Line is continu'd from *Fontabell* to *Chace's* Plantation: Under which there's a Battery of twelve Guns; and from thence, along *Mellows's* Bay, are great Rocks and steep Cliffs, which have naturally fortify'd the Island against any Invader.

On *Mellows's* Bay is a Battery of 12 Guns, and from thence Entrenchments, till you come to the *Hole-Town*, vulgarly call'd the *Hole*.

The *Hole* lies 8 Miles from *St. George's*, and 7 from the *Bridge*. This is a pretty Town, and consists of a Street which comes down to the Water-side, and thence leads up into a long one, that forms the Town. There are about 100 Houses in it. The Road is good, and lies commodious for the Planters to *St. Thomas's* Parish, to ship off their Goods. It has a regular and handsome Church, dedicated to

St. James; from whence it is sometimes call'd *James Town*. Every Month the Sessions is held there for St. James's Precinct; and, for the Defence of the Port, there is a Fort, mounted with 28 Guns, and a Battery of 8 Guns at *Church-Point*, near St. James Church.

From the *Hole* to St. Thomas's Parish to the East is a Mile and an half; and from St. Thomas's to *Speight's Town* on the Coast, about 6 Miles.

The Line is still continu'd along the Shore, from *Church Point* to Col. *Allen's* Plantation; under which there is a Fort of 12 Guns, that goes by the Name of *Queens Fort*. From whence the Line and Parapet are carry'd on to *Reid's Bay*, where there is a Fort mounted with 14 Guns. The Entrenchment is thence continu'd to *Scot's* Plantation; under which there's a Fort of 8 Guns. And from thence to *Baily's*; by whose Plantation there's a Battery. From *Baily's* 'tis carry'd on to *Benson's* Battery of Guns. From *Benson's* 'tis continu'd to *Heathcote Bay*: Upon which stands a Fort, mounted with 11 Guns, near *Speight's Town*; for the Security of which 'twas erected.

Speight's Town lies about 3 Miles and an half from the *Hole*, and was at first call'd *Little Bristol*. 'Tis the most considerable Place in the Island next to the *Bridge*. It consists of one long Street, call'd *John Street*; and three others, that lead down to the Water-side; the whole making above 300 Houses. It was much frequented by the *Bristol Men* when 'twas first built. The Planters in *Scotland* us'd to send their Goods thither, to be ship'd off for *England*; which occasion'd the building of Store-houses, and a Concourse of People; and that in time rais'd the Town to a flourishing Condition; but the *Bridge* has lately drawn most part of the Trade thence, and the Place is falling to Decay.

There is a fair Church in it, dedicated to St. Peter, which gave Name to one of the 5 Precincts of the Island; and here the Monthly Sessions are kept for this Division. The Town is defended by two Forts, besides that to the Southward on *Heathcote Bay*. One of them stands in the middle of the Town, and is mounted with 11 Guns: The other at the North End, mounted with 28 Guns. N

Near this Town one Mr. *Hancock* built or gave a House for a Free-School. Whether it was endow'd or not we cannot tell; but we are better inform'd of its present Condition, which is going to decay, if not already a Heap of Ruins.

The Parish of *St. Peters* is so large, that there's a Chappel of Ease built, and nam'd *All-Saints*, two Miles and an half up in the Country, near that which was *Holloway's* Plantation. This Chappel is so large and beautiful, that 'tis dignify'd with the Name of a Church, by the Modern Surveyors, but it belongs to *St. Peter's* Parish; the Minister there serving both the Cures.

From *Speight's Town* the Line and Parapet are continu'd to *Macock's Bay*, in Length 3 Miles and an half. There is a Fort lately built on that Bay; and from thence about 2 Miles up in the Country, is *St. Lucy's* Parish. The Church dedicated to *St. Lucy* is new built of saw'd Stone, very handsome and regular.

From hence to the Northern Shore is a fine Champaign Country; and along the Coasts, from *Macock's Bay* to *Lambert's Point*, there are several little Bays, each fortify'd by a Fort, for the Length of about 4 Miles, from *Lambert's Point* all round the Northern Shore to *Deeble's Point*.

And thence, To *Ostin's Town* in the East, the Island is fortify'd naturally by very high Rocks and steep Cliffs, which make it impracticable to land there; from *Conset Point* to *South Point* the Cliffs are very high and contiguous. The Sea also is so deep under the Shore, that there's scarce any Ships Cable can reach the Bottom, at least so as to ride the Vessel; indeed 'tis all so rocky that there's no approaching it.

We must now survey the Inland Parts of the Windward Shoar; where, 5 Miles from *St. Lucy's*, we find the Parish-Church and Precinct of *St. Andrews*, situate in that part of the Country call'd *Isotland*. *St. Andrews* Church is a regular, beautiful Edifice; and the Altar-piece was painted by *Monieur Birchet*, one of the best Masters in *London*, but is not yet put up.

There's a Ridge of Hills in *Scotland*, the highest part of which is call'd *Mount Helleby*, and is esteem'd the highest Ground in the Island. From the Top of this Place the Sea is to be seen all round it; and out of these Hills rises the River, that is thence call'd *Scotland River*, which falls into the Sea near *Chaunoky Mount*, forming a sort of a Lake, about a Mile from the Shore.

In this part of the Island there's a running Soil which sometimes runs away with a Foot of the Surface of the Earth after 'tis planted, to the great Loss of the Planter.

From *St. Andrew's* Parish to *St. Joseph's*, along the same Shore, is about 3 Miles and a Quarter. In this Parish rises *Joseph River*, the chief in the Island. Its Source is in the Cliff near *Davis's* Plantation; and it falls into the Sea below *Holder's*, after it has had a Course of about 2 Miles from its Head. Some pretend, that both this and *Scotland River*, by the soaking of the salt Water in Spring-Tides thro' the Sands are sometimes a little brackish, which is not true. But at other times the Floods overflow the Pasture and Plantations about them, so much, that it has been very difficult for Travellers to pass.

Besides these two Rivers, there are Springs of fresh Water in almost every Plantation: For wherever you will, to any depth, you are sure to meet with a Spring; from *St. Joseph's*, along the same Coast to *St. John's*, is about 3 Miles and a Quarter. In this Parish is that part of the Island call'd, *The Top of the Cliff*. Near which stands *Drax-Hall*, one of the first Spots of Ground that was planted: And the Owner Col. *James Drax*, from a Stock of 3000 rais'd the greatest Estate of any Planter of his time or since; except Mr *Richard Walter*, who was a Merchant, as well as a Planter.

About 3 Miles and a Quarter to the Southward of *St. John's*, lies *St. Philip's* and *St. Andrew's*. A Ridge of Hills runs from *Walrond's* to *Middleton's Mount* and thence to *Harding's* in *St. George's*. This part of the Island was the last inhabited of any, except *Scotland*. For thirty Years after the English first settled upon it, there was no Plantation from *Codrington's Bay*, all along the Coast, and several Miles

up in the Country, till you come to *Cotton-house* Bay near *Ostin's*. Indeed most part of the Windward Parishes were not then clear'd of the Woods. *Scotland* was the first planted; and now 'tis as rare to meet a Wood from *St. Lucy's* to *St. Osthine's*, except in *Scotland*, as it was then to meet with a House.

From *St. Philip's* to *Christ-Church* is about 7 Miles. This Church is at *Osthine's* Town, which deriv'd its Name from one *Osthine*; whose Plantation was near the Shore, and being a mad extravagant Fellow, the Place became famous on his account, and so was call'd *Osthine's*, together with the Bay. This Town sometimes goes by the Name of *Charles Town*; but *Osthine's* is that by which 'tis best known.

The Town Bay is flank'd by two good Forts; one towards the Sea, and the other towards the Land; a Platform being carry'd from the one to the other, for the Benefit of Communication. That towards the Sea is on the North-side of the Town; and before *St. Anne's Fort*, or the *Royal Cittadel* was built at the *Bridge*, this was the best in the Island, being mounted with above 40 Guns. The other Fort stands at the South End of the Town, is mounted with 16 or 18 Guns; and both of them are a sure Defence to the Place, which is about the Bigness of the *Hole*, and is built in the same Form; one long Street and a Lane in the middle. 'Tis one of the five Precincts of the Island, is a Market-Town as well as the other three Towns, and has, like the rest, a Monthly Sessions held in it. It lies about six Miles from the *Bridge*, and four and an half from *St. George's*. From the Southward Fort the Line and Parapet reach as far as the *Royal Cittadel*.

Little Island is a Mile and an half from it, near a Quarter of a Mile from the Shore. It lies off *Allen* and *Carter's* Plantation: And about a Mile in the Road, from *Osthine's* to the *Bridge*, stands the late Mr. *Piers's* Seat and Plantation, famous for having the best Gardens in the Island, adorn'd with Variety of Orange-Walks, Citron Groves, Water-works, and all the lovely and pleasant Fruits and Flowers of that delicious Country, as well as with the most curious of our own.

The History of Barbadoes.

Thus we have gone over the whole Island, and there remains now only to mention some remarkable Places and Things, which we forbore taking Notice of in our way, because we were loath to interrupt the compleat Survey we were making of the Country, as 'tis divided into Parishes.

Besides the Bays we have nam'd, there are *River Bay*, *Tent Bay*, *Baker's Bay*, on the Windward Coast: *Skull Bay*, *Foul Bay*, *Mill's Bay*, *Long Bay* and *Womens Bay*, in the East: between *Deeble's Point* and *Ostine's*, *Six Mens Bay*, to the South-West and *Cliff's Bay* the most Westerly in the Island. There are many more little Bays, which either have no Name, or bear that of the Owners of the Plantations next to them.

There are also some large Brooks that are honour'd with the Names of Rivers, as that at *Hockleton Clif* in *St. Joseph's* Parish, which runs into the Sea, about a Mile from the Mouth of *Joseph's* River; *Hatche* River near *Haynes's*, in *St. John's* Parish. There's another River in the Thickets, in *St. Philip's* Parish; but the Stream is so weak, it can't reach the Sea. There are several Pools besides, by which the Inhabitants are supply'd with Water, as also by Ponds and Draw-wells. These are on the Windward or North Coast. The only Water that is allow'd to usurp the Title of River, on the Leward, or South Coast, is the *Indie* River, between the *Bridge Town* and *Fontabell*, and this looks much more like a Pond than a River, but in great Floods it falls into the Sea, and that is enough for it to pretend to that Honour. The Fortifications of which we have given so particular Description, as to their Length, consist of a Line and a Parapet, which goes from Fort to Fort. The Parapet is ten Foot high, made of Sand; before it is a deep Ditch, and for the Security of it a Hedge of Thorns, of a prickly Plant, whose Prickles are very long, and if they get into the Flesh, make a very dangerous Wound.

The Strength of this Island and its Situation, being the Windwardmost Island of the *Charibbees*, gives it many Advantages; by which it has, in all times of War, been the Means of preserving the rest of the English Leward Settlements from the Insults of the

Enem

Enemy, till the last fatal Blow given by Monsieur *Herberville*.

The Inhabitants of this Island, as they have taken a great deal of Pains to fortify it, so they had a great deal of Reason to do it; for if 'tis not the richest Spot of Ground in the World, 'tis only because the Industry of the People is not enough encourag'd.

To return to our Description of the Country: There are several vast Caves in it; some of them so large, as that in Col. *Allen's* Plantation, that they will hold above three hundred Men. Others are passable half a Mile or more, under the Ground; and there's one in Col. *Sharp's* Plantation, that has a Stream of Water running in it above a Quarter of a Mile from its Mouth, like that in *Okey-Hole* near *Wells* in *Somersetshire*. To these Caves the Negroes often fly from the Fury of their Masters, when they are conscious to themselves, that their Guilt deserves a severe Punishment. They hide themselves there sometimes for Weeks together, and never stir out but at Night. These Cavities are very unwholsome, because of the Damps. 'Tis thought the *Charibbeans* liv'd in them, when they inhabited this Island; but 'tis a Question whether any *Charibbeans* ever liv'd there or not.

There are few publick Buildings in *Barbadoes*. The Churches, Council House, and the Governour's Seat, are all that can properly be so term'd. The Churches are all handsome, regular Buildings of Stone, the Pews and Pulpits are of Cedar, and all the Ornaments as decent as any where in the *British* Empire.

The private Buildings are not so stately as one would expect from the Riches of the Planters. There are many high Houses, and some low ones; for such as built immediately after the Great Storm in 1676. were so apprehensive of another, that they lower'd their Buildings; but those who have built since them, not having those Apprehensions, have rais'd their Houses to three and four Stories high, and the Rooms are as lofty as in *England*. Hung Rooms are very scarce here; for the Walls are so damp, occasion'd by the Moistness of the Air,

that the Hangings would soon rot. The Planters study Convenience more than Magnificence in their Buildings, which are generally neat, and fit for the Habitations of Gentlemen : They are til'd with Pantiles ; and the Out-houses and Negroes Huts are cover'd with Shingles.

What other things relating to it, are worth Observation, will fall under other Heads ; and we shall close this with the several Divisions of the Country, as 'tis divided into 5 Precincts, containing 11 Parish Churches, and one Chappel of Ease.

In the South Part of the Island. { In St. Michael's, or Bridge Precinct, are,
St. Michael's, }
St. George's, and } Parishes.
St. John's, }

In St. James's, or the Hole Precinct,
St. James's, and } Parishes.
St. Thomas's, }

In St. Peter's, or Speight's Precinct,
St. Peter's, with }
All Saints Chappel, and } Parishes.
In the West.] St. Lucy's }

In St. Andrew Overhill's, or Scotland Precinct,

In the North. { St. Andrew's, and } Parishes.
St. Joseph's, }

In Ostine's Precinct.

In the East. { Christ Church, and } Parishes.
St. Philip's, }

C H A P. III.

Of the Climate, Soil, and its Productions.

HAVING thus given a Geographical Account of the Island in its present State, we come now to treat of the Soil, and its Productions.

We may imagine, that this must be one of the most fruitful Soils in the World, since at the first using it with Sugar Canes, it brought forth a considerable Crop yearly, from 3 Years to nine, without further planting, but only weeding, and keeping it clean. Tho' tis not now quite so fertile as before, (and how can it be expected after it has been so much worn?) tis yet so apt to produce, that with a little cultivating, it still brings forth a Treasure that seems scarce credible to such as are not acquainted with the Trade of the Island, every Acre, one with another, yielding 60 s. a Year Profit to the National Stock of *England*, besides what the Planter gets, and the many thousand Mouths that are maintain'd there and here out of it. 'Tis bless'd with such a productive Faculty, that few Soils, if any, exceed it. Some Parts of it are however poorer than others; as about the Bridge, the Earth is sandy and light; and in *Scotland* and *St. George's* Parish, near Mount *Helleby*, and *Middleton* Mount, the Mould is rich. In most Places 'tis a light spungy Mould, yet so fertile, that it bears Crops all the Year long. The Trees, Plants, and Feilds are always green; some of its Productions always in Blossom, and Fruit on others always hanging on the Trees; there being at once to be seen in this Island the verdant Beauties of the Spring, and the mature Glories of the Summer.

The Inhabitants are always planting or sowing, but chiefly in *May* and *November*, which are the Seasons for sowing and planting Indian Corn, Potatoes, Yams, &c.

There was at first no particular Season for Sugar Canes, all were thought to be alike favourable to them; and indeed they thriv'd wonderfully; but since

since the Ground has wanted cultivating, by being so much worn for so long time, the Season for planting Sugar Canes is from *August* to the latter end of *January*, as will be shewn in another Chapter.

This Commodity is the chief of its Productions the others are Indigo, Cotton, and Ginger. There was formerly Logwood, Fustick, *Lignum Vita*, and there are still Variety of Trees, Plants, Fruits and Herbs.

Of Trees. The Physick Nut is much talk'd of being, says *Ligon*, of so poysonous a Nature, that no Animal will approach it, and therefore 'tis made use of in Fences. He adds, it grows 18 Foot high which is not true, for rarely it grows above 8 or 9 Foot high, and is generally reckon'd a Shrub, not a Tree. There's nothing poisonous in it, but the Leaf in the Nut; which, like other Physick, if taken to Excess, might be mortal; but if us'd moderately, is only a gentle Purge. This Nut is often eaten, Leaf and all, and Beasts browse often near it tho' not upon it.

The *Poison Tree* is as big as the *Locust*, and looks very beautiful. Its Juice, 'tis said, will strike a Man blind, if it happens to get into his Eyes: and 'tis reckon'd very unhealthy to stand under its Shade yet of this Tree the Inhabitants first us'd to make their Sugar Pots, afterwards of Cedar, and now of Earth.

Tho' the Sap of the *Cassavia Tree* is Poyson, yet the Planters make Bread of the Root of it for their Negroes: They grate it, and press the Liquor out of it as clean as possible, then bruise it, bolt it, and bake it, for the use we have before mention'd; and this *Cassavia Bread* is reckon'd one of the most nourishing Foods they give their Slaves.

Coloquintada bears a beautiful Fruit. The Ring smooth, of several Colours, as the green, murrey yellow, and Carnation in streaks. This is not very common now.

Cassia Fistula, a Tree of the quickest Growth of any, it having been known to rise 8 Foot high in a Year's time. The Pulp of the Fruit of it is Physical, and made use of by the Apothecaries in *England* for its purgative Faculty. The Leaves in Form are like a Beach Tree.

The Tamarine Tree was first planted in *Barbadoes*, about three score Years since, being then brought from the *Indies*; as was also the Palm Tree, famous for the Wine and Oyl it produces.

Dr. *Stubs* writes, that he was credibly inform'd, Lowth. here was a Palm Tree in this Island 300 Foot high; Abrig. but I am as credibly inform'd there never was any Vol. 3. such thing. P. 554.

The Fig Tree bears a small Fruit, little regarded by the Inhabitants. Its Trunk is as large as an ordinary Elm. The Cherry is less; its Fruit useles and insipid. These Fig Trees shoot Beards or Fibres out of the main Trunk, which root in the Ground again; and so continuing to grow on, would make a Grove of it self, if suffer'd; this is what Monsieur *Legat*, in his Description of the Island of *Diego Ruys*, by Mistake calls the *Pavillion* or Tent Tree; or that Island being a Desert, it had Room there to grow to what Bigness it could. The same are to be met with in *Guinea*.

The Citron is a small Tree, but bears a large Fruit, the Weight of which often pulls it down to the Ground; the Stalk is of a darkish Colour, the Leaf like that of a Lemon, of a dark green Colour. With the Rind of this Fruit the Ladies of *Barbadoes* make the finest Cordial in the World; that which is imported for Sale is not so good as what they keep for their Closets; which, they taking Care to have all the Ingredients good, is infinitely above the choicest Waters at *Philips's*; and the *L'eau de Barbade*, as the nice People affect to call their Citron Water, would without doubt be esteem'd more than any of his costly Cordials, did it not come from our own Plantations.

This Tree also, by the Peel of its Fruit, furnishes the Planters with another valuable Commodity, their Succats, or Sweatmeats; which are extraordinary good, and excel any the Confectioners make in *London*, when they are well prepar'd: Indeed, in the Art of conserving and preserving, the *Barbadoes* Ladies outdo the best in *England*; for which they have the Advantage of the finest Sugar, and the finest Fruits that Nature produces, and Abundance of excellent

cellent Leaves, Roots, &c. to pickle, which are equally wholesome and picquant.

Orange Trees thrive wonderfully in *Barbadoes* and the Planters there may as easily have Walks of Orange, Lemon, or Citron Trees, for Avenues to their Seats, as the Country Gentlemen, in the Counties about *London*, have Rows of Lime; or of Elm Trees, at a greater Distance from the City. And when we consider that these Trees are almost always either cover'd with Blossoms, or loaden with Fruit; we cannot but envy the Inhabitants the Pleasure of these delightful Walks and fragrant Shades, where the Evening Breezes scatter thousand Sweets, and perfume the Groves with Variety of odorous Smells. The Description of the *Elisian* Fields, the Garden of the *Hesperides*, and all that is lovely and charming in the Fictions of the ancient Poets, are but faint Images of this real Paradise; and 'tis impossible to keep within the Bounds of the Gravity of an Historical Style, when we treat of such a tempting Solitude.

They have all sorts of Oranges and Lemons, sweet, sour, and *Sevil*, in Abundance; the Fruit of which is large, and the Juice delicious; the *China* is not so apt to surfeit, as those that come from *Spain*; the Fragrancy of the Lemon Juice is as remarkable, as the Beauty and Bigness of the Fruit.

The Lime Tree in *Barbadoes* is like a Holly Bush in *England*. Fifty Years ago the Planters made Hedges of them about their Houses; and their Prickles serv'd for a Fortification against the naked Negroes. It grows 7 or 8 Foot high, full of Leaves and Fruit; the former like those of a Lemon Tree and the Fruit resembles a Lemon so much, that at 3 Yards Distance they can't be distinguish'd one from another. The Juice of this Fruit, since Punch has been such a fashionable Drink in *England*, has sold in great Quantities at good Rates, and is now a staple Commodity, some Tuns of it having been imported at *London*, and other Ports of *England* and *Ireland*, in a Year.

The Prickled Apple bears a Fruit in Form like an Ox's Heart. Its Leaf like that of a Walnut-tree; 'tis of a pale green Colour, and tastes like a musty Lemon.

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The Prickled Pear is of a better Taste and Form ; it resembles a *Greenfeild* Pear ; the Rind of it, near the Stalk, is of a pale green Colour, streak'd with yellow ; 'tis larger at the End than in the Middle ; the Body of it is of a fine Red, strip'd with prickled Spots of yellow ; 'twill thrive if planted on a Wall, and the Fruit is as pleasant as a Strawberry.

The Pomegranate is a handsome Tree, the Leaves small, of a green Colour, mixt with Olive ; the Fruit not so large as the Spanish. Here are also the Sourlop, which is spoken of in *Jamaica* ; the Sugar Apple, and Haddock, which is a sort of Orange ; the Fruit is as big as a Mellon, or rather bigger. *China*, or Sweet Lemons, are frequent here, and *China* Limes ; but not of so much Use or Profit as the other.

There are several other Trees and Shrubs that bear Fruit also, of which the most valuable are the *Papa*, so soft, that when the Trunk of it is as big as a Man's Leg, it may be cut down with a Knife ; the Fruit is boil'd, and serv'd instead of Turnips with Salt Pork.

The *Guaver*, according to Mr. *Ligon*, resembles a Cherry-tree ; the Fruit of it is as big as a small Lemon ; the Rind as thick as a Lemon's, but soft, and of a delicate Taste. It encloses a pulpy Substance, full of small Seeds like a Fig, some white, and some of a stammel Colour within ; the Fruits have different Tastes ; and we are told, that if the Seeds are eaten, where-ever they are evacuated again, they grow, which in the Infancy of the Settlement did Mischiefe to the Plantations ; for the Cattle eating them, dropt them again every where, to the great Incumbrance of the Pasture-Ground.

This Fruit is like a Quince, and the Tree has been known to bear at half a Foot high, as well as at 18 Foot high. It makes the best Gelly and Marmalade in the World, both much beyond that of the Quince.

We must not omit the *Coco* Tree, which grows 20, 30, or 40 Foot high ; the Branches shoot forth in several parts of the Trunk, with Spaces between them. It bushes pretty much at the Top, and the greatest Quantity of Boughs growing there, occasionally

on the Coco Tree's always stooping. The Nuts grow where the lower Branches sprout out, and are of several Sizes, most of them as big as a large Football; the Skin of them is green without; they have a pulpy Substance between that and the Shell, which when it is dry, is like *Hempburds*, or the Rind of the Mangrove-tree, whose Bark being well order'd makes strong Ropes; the Shell of the Coco is near half an Inch thick; those that gather them cut a hole at the End, as big as a Crown-piece; 'tis full of a clear delicious Liquor, which has been reckon'd not very wholesome, but lately 'tis found otherwise; the Shell is lin'd with a Substance as thick as itself; 'tis white, and as sweet and soft as a French Walnut; this Shell serves sometimes instead of Cup to drink out of, and in *England* are adorn'd for that purpose with a Rim of Silver.

The Reader must distinguish between this Tree the Coco and the Cacao Tree, of whose Nuts Chocolate is made; which Tree is of late cultivated very much in *Barbadoes*; and the best Chocolate I ever drank in my Life was made of the Nut, that grew in *Apeshill* Plantation.

The Planters of this Island finding it thrives as well there as in *Jamaica*, or *Hispaniola*, will no doubt take Pains to raise it. The Fruit being one of the most valuable Commodities that comes from *America*, we shall treat more particularly of it in the History of *Jamaica*.

The Custard Apple bears a Fruit as big as the largest *Pomewater*; 'tis of the Colour of a Warden. It must be kept a Day after 'tis gather'd, before it should be eaten; then those who eat it, cut a Hole big enough for a Spoon to enter at the End, and the Pulp of it is so like a Custard, that thence it took its Name.

This is *Ligon's* Description; but he is not always to be depended on: For the Colour of this Tree is fine, clear red; and the Fruit is so ordinary, that none but the Servants and Negroes eat it.

The *Macow* Tree, remarkable only for its Figure being stuck all over with Prickles: 'Tis about the size of an ordinary Willow; neither Man nor Beasts dares touch it. Here *Ligon* draws us into an Error again

again, for 'tis as high as a *Coco* Tree, some of which are about 40 Foot high.

The *Mangrove* Tree is a Shrub, but spreads it self to a great Width. It drops a sort of Gum, which hangs together like *Isicles*, one drop after another, till it touches the Ground, where it takes Root, and increases the Bulk of the Tree. If all this may be reckon'd to be one Tree, the *Mangrove* will hide a Troop of Horse; which however may be better said of the *Fig-tree* before-mention'd. The *Indians* make Ropes of the Bark, and Threads as fine as Flax, to weave *Hammocks*.

The *Calibash* Tree bears a Fruit as big as a *Coco*, round as a Ball, and of a fine green Colour. It grows so close to the Trunk, that till 'tis pull'd or cut off, one can perceive no Stalk that it has. The Shells are employ'd for several Uses, according to their several Sizes; some for Dishes, some for Cups, some for Basons, and the largest for Pitchers and Pails; there being many of them that hold 2 or 3 Gallons.

There are other Trees that bear Fruit, as the *Anchovie* Apple, the *Date* Tree, the *Poisonous* Cane, and the *Bay* Tree, &c. But not designing this for a Natural History, we shall tire the Reader no further about the Fruit Trees and Shrubs.

Of all the Trees in the Island, the *Cotton* Shrub might be made to turn to most Advantage, as will be seen in the Chapter of its Trade. It grows up to the height of a *Peach* Tree; the Bark is of a brownish Colour, the Leaves small, divided into three Parts: It bears a Flower about the Bigness of a *Rose*, under which there are three little Green sharp-pointed Leaves that encompass it round. This Flower consists of 5 Leaves, of a bright yellow Colour, that have several Purple Streaks towards the Stem, and a yellow Button or Crown, surrounded with Fibres of the same Colour. The Flowers are succeeded by a Fruit of the same Colour, as big as a *Walnut* Shell; when 'tis ripe 'tis black on the Out-side. In these Pods the *Cotton* is contain'd; and as soon as they are ripe they will open of themselves, the Sun cracking them.

The Cotton Tree is of no Use ; it grows vast big, and very tall, bearing Pods 5 Inches thick, when they are ripe ; and the Sun cracking them, they open, and out flies the Cotton ; 'tis very fine. People wait for it, or gather it before the Cracking, or 'twould be lost : 'tis excellent for Quilting.

The Timber Trees in *Barbadoes* are as follows The first and fairest of the Forrest is very common there, and that is the Cedar Tree ; 'tis the most useful Timber in the Island, strong, lasting, light, and proper for Building. There have been great Quantities of it sent to *England*, for Wainscoting Stair Cases, Drawers, Chairs, and other Household-Furniture ; but the Smell, which is so pleasing to some being offensive to others, added to the Cost, has hinder'd its coming so much in Fashion, as otherwise it would.

The Leaves of this Tree are like those of an Ash it grows sometimes to a prodigious Bigness, and the Timber has sold so well, that Col. *Alleyne* made 400 *l.* of one Tree, a Sum hardly credible to an English Reader ; but the Truth of it is not to be questioned, the Author having receiv'd the Information from a Gentleman of Worth and Honour, and nearly related to Mr. *Alleyne*.

The Mastick Tree grows to a vast Height, some 60 Foot high, and in Bigness proportionable. The Timber of it is us'd for Wind-mill Work ; as is also that of the Bulley Tree, which is something less, and bears a Fruit like Bullace in *England*, whence it takes its Name ; and the Locust Tree, growing in Form like a Tuscan Pillar, thickening at the Foot and lessening by degrees to the Top of it. The Timber of it is lasting, and serves for many Uses in building.

There's the Bastard Locust, the Iron Wood, so call'd from its Weight and Hardness ; it grows very tall, blossoms twice a Year, in *March* and *September* ; the Wood is of a dark red Colour : The *Lignum vitæ* Tree, Red Wood, Prickled Yellow Wood, and the Palmetos, the Less and the Royal Palmeto ; the Less Palmeto grows about 50 Foot ; the Royal Palmeto from 100 to 300, and is one of the most stately Trees in the Universe. At 12 Years Growth

tis about 17 Foot high. At 40 Years Growth 180 Foot; and at an 100 Years Growth, when in Perfection, 300 Foot high, and but three Foot Diameter; the Bush or Head 80 Foot round; the Leaves are 8 Foot long; and yet the Roots are no bigger than Swans Quills, nor the Fruit than French Grapes.

The Plants that grow in *Barbadoes*, are Ginger, whose Root shoots forth Blades, in Shape not unlike those of Wheat when 'tis ripe. The Roots are dug up and scrap'd by the Negroes, to clear it of the outward Skin, and kill the Spirit, otherwise 'twould be always growing. Those that have not Hands enough to scrape it, are forc'd to scald it; which Ginger will prove nothing near so good as the other, 'twill be as hard as Wood; whereas the scrap'd Ginger is white and soft: And accordingly scalded Ginger is sold 40 *per Cent.* cheaper than scrap'd.

Red Pepper, of which there are two sorts; one of them so-like a Child's Coral, as not to be discern'd from it at two Yards Distance. The Colour of it is Crimson and Scarlet mix'd; the Fruit about two Inches long. The other, or the Bonnet-Pepper, is of the same Colour, and shines as much, but 'tis scrap'd like an old fashion'd Cloak Button. The Quality of both the one and the other is the same, and both are so strong, that when they are broken, there comes forth such a Vapour, as will set all who are near it a Coughing, after the Pepper is remov'd. The *Spaniards* love it to season their Sawces, and has such a violent Houghgoe with it, that Garlick faint and cool to it.

There are also Cucumbers, Mellons, 16 Inches long, Water Mellons, like an Apple for Colour, Cooling, and good for the Stone. There are Grapes, but not so good, and in such Quantities, as in the Northern Colonies.

The Plantine Tree, or Shrub, bears a Fruit, which tho' 'tis not very delicious, yet is of as great Use as any in the Island, being the most nourishing Food that the Negroes eat. 'Tis of a swift Growth, and the manner of it extraordinary; three or four Sprouts come out of one Root, and one of them getting the start of the rest, keeps its Superiority,

and is always uppermost. This Sprout shoots up from the interiour Part of the Stem, and as it grows, the Out-Leaves hang down and rot, but new ones come forth in their places; they rise up like Pike, as the Palmetos do; and as the Sun opens them they become Leaves.

When the Plantine Tree is 8 or 10 Foot high 'tis at its full Bigness, and then the Leaves are full too; after which they shed no more. The Fruit grows much like a Long-Boat's Grapling-Iron; 'tis yellow when 'tis ripe. The Negroes don't love it full well then, as while 'tis green; they then boil it, and eat it: The English eat it only when 'tis ripe, first peeling it. 'Tis a pleasant, wholesome, nourishing Fruit. The wild Plantine resembles the other, only 'tis of a Scarlet Colour, the Leaves not so broad, and the Fruit good for nothing.

The Banana is like the Plantine in the Body and Leaves, excepting that the Leaves are something less and the Body has here and there some blackish Spots; 'tis of a faint Colour, with a Mixture of the Ash; the Fruit stands out-right, like a Bunch of Puddings, each 4 or 5 Inches long; 'tis sweeter than the Plantine, eats well stew'd or preserv'd, both in Look and Taste not unlike a Quince. The Negroes don't like it so well as the Plantine, because 'tis sweet they having an Aversion to sweet things, if my Author is not mistaken, for I am inform'd they are very far from hating Sugar.

In the Fruit, when 'tis cut as you do the Root of Fern, to find a spread Eagle, you see the lively Representation of Christ upon the Cross, the Head hanging down, the Arms extended to a full Length with some little Elevation, and the Feet cross one upon another.

Thus several Authors have written; but I have been told by several Gentlemen, that there is no manner of Representation of a humane Figure; 'tis true, there's a sort of a Cross, and Fancy may supply the Want of the Representation.

The last and best of all the excellent Fruits we have nam'd, is the *Pine*, the most beautiful and pleasant of all Nature's Productions. The Fruit almost of the Colour of an Abricot not full ripe,

eats crisp and short as that does, is full of Pores, and those of such Forms and Colours, as render a lovely Sight to the Eye; and are tempting to the Taste. It would never endure bringing to *England*, tho frequent Trials have been made to do it. The Smell of this Fruit is extremely fragrant; the Tree never grows to be above 4 Foot high, and the Fruit is sometimes 14 Inches long, and 6 Diameter. There are two sorts, the King and Queen Pine, and both painted with so many different glorious Colours, that it makes a most charming Prospect to the Eye.

The Taste of it is wonderfully picquant, sharp and sweet alternatively, and both in a very high degree. The Pleasure it gives is so delicious, and at the same time so refreshing, that it transports the Person who tastes it.

There are many other Plants proper for Physick or Food; as *Aloes*, which is a beautiful Plant; the Leaves are four Inches broad, and a Quarter of an Inch thick, and a Foot and an half long, with Prickles on each side. Out of these leaves, when they are cut, the Aloes issue. The Trees in this Island continue green all the Year; and at whatever time they are lop'd and cut, they sprout out again.

The Sensible Plant is common in *Barbadoes*, which when you touch it, closes its Leaves, and in a little time will open again. The Humble Plant, and the Stump Cane are frequently met with here; also most sorts of English Pot-herbs and Roots thrive. Beek-feed will not come up, nor Rose-trees bear flowers.

Mr. *Ligon* tells us this, which is however a Mistake; for there are as good *Leeks* in *Barbadoes*, as in *England*, and fine Damask and Provins Roses all the year round.

These Herbs were all carry'd thither; for when the first Planters landed, they found nothing of that kind but Purcelain; with which the Place was then so over-run, that 'twas thrown away as a Weed. They have Potatoes in abundance, and *Yams*, which is part of their Slaves Food.

Tho there are few Flowers in the Island, there are some very lovely ones; such as the White Lily which grows spontaneously, and is a fairer Flower than the English; the Red Lily is of the same Bigness, neither of them sweet. The *St. Jago Flower* is very beautiful, but of a nauseous Smell.

The Passion Flower takes its Name from the Picture of some of the Instruments of our Saviour's Passion there represented; they creep along the Ground like Ivy, if they have no Tree to grow upon by. This Flower in *Barbadoes*, is known by the Name of, the Vinegar Pear Flower, and is us'd to run over Arbours, as we do Honey Suckles here; the Water Lemon Flower is put to the same Use. And as to other Flowers, there are few or none, the Heat of the Soil being too fierce for the cultivating things of so delicate a Constitution.

The Four a Clock Flower, so nam'd, because it always opens at Sun-set; it is in *England* call'd the *Merveille de Peru*. It grows in Tufts, the Leaves in the Form of a Heart, the Point turning back; the Flower bigger than a Primrose, and of the finest purple Colour that ever Eye beheld. The Seed black, with an Eye of Purple, shap'd like a Button, and so hard, that it might serve for the same Use.

There is a Root in the Island, the Name of which I cannot learn, but suppose it to be the *Yam*. The Seeds were brought thither by the *Negroes*, and planted there in little Hills as big as Mole-Hills. When it shoots forth its Stalks, they turn down to the Ground on each side, and then there grows up a Stem, not unlike *Asparagus*, of a purple Colour, which being gather'd, and eaten as a Sallet, with Oil, Vinegar, and Salt, is a tolerable Sauce, where no better is to be had. The Root is also good, boiled with powder'd Beef and Pork, eaten with Butter and Vinegar; the Cabbage which they call the *Seven Year Cabbage*, and is much sweeter than ours, when it is ripe, shoots forth many Slips, which being transplanted, produce others, that grow to be as fair and as large, as if they rose from the Seed. But the Common Cabbage is not so much minded, as otherwise it would be, on account of the Cabbage tree.

tree, which grows 20 or 30 Foot high, and bears a Flower of proportionable Bigness, resembling a Cabbage in Form and Taft.

Eddoes is a Plant, the Pulp of whose Stalk they eat, as we do Artichoke Bottoms, and it is every whit as good.

We must not close this Chapter, without taking notice of the *Withies*, which formerly crept among Bushes, and fasten'd on the Trees, but now are quite rooted up: they bear a beautiful and odoriferous Flower; but if they got into a Plantation, they crept about the Ground like Horse-Radish; and if not taken up, which was very difficult, ruin'd the Growth of the Canes.

There are all sorts of Pulse in *Barbadoes*, in very great Plenty, and excellent in their Kind. Apples and Pears never thriv'd there, nor many of our Shrub Fruits, as Gooseberries, Currants, nor Cherries.

As for Corn, the Planters never sow any English Wheat; and the poorer sort of People, who spare most of their Ground for Corn, plant only *Indian* or *Guinea* Corn, which they sell to the richer, but at so great Rates, that they are forc'd to send to the Northern Colonies for Indian Corn.

That Part of the Island call'd the *Champaign*, and that call'd the *Thickets*, are entirely planted with Corn. There's many thousand Acres of Land lies waste for want of Hands to cultivate it. The English Corn is generally sent thither from *England* in Flower. Indian Corn is sometimes sold for 2 s. 6 d. and sometimes 10 s. a Bushel, but commonly 5 s. a Bushel.

There's no English Grain cultivated here; if there was, there's no doubt but all the Summer Corn would thrive; as Oats, &c. have done, when, for an Experiment, some Grains have been thrown into the Ground.

The Seasons for Planting Indian Corn are chiefly in *May* and *November*; but 'tis also planted all the Year, from *May* to *January*.

Orchards and Gardens are rare in this Island, and they are at very little Labour to cultivate any thing besides Sugar-Canes, and the Commodities

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that are fit for a home Market. Nature has done, and continues to do so much for them, that they take the less Pains to do for themselves; and depending on Her Bounty, and Supplies from *England*, and the Northern Colonies, they content themselves with what she produces, which is enough to satisfy the Desire of the most luxurious Taste in the World; so delicate, and so rich are the Fruits of this little, but lovely Island.

As to the Climate, one would think, by its Situation, that 'tis intollerably hot; and indeed for 8 Months in the Year, the Heats would be insupportable, were it not for the fresh Breezes which rise with the Sun, and blow fresher as the Sun gets higher.

The Place is sensibly cooler since 'twas clear'd of the thick Woods, we have before spoken of. The Breezes blow from the East, with a Point or two to the North, except in the Months of *July*, *August*, *September*, and *October*; which is their Mid-summer, and then the Weather is excessively hot: But yet the Sea Breezes, the Groves and Shades, and their cool Houses, render it very tollerable; and 'twas reckon'd the healthiest Island in *America*, till about the Year 1691. when some Forces were ship'd at *Cadix*, to go upon the Expedition against *Martinico*.

These Regiments carry'd with them a pestilential Fever, with which the whole Island was so infected, that in the Course of 12 or 13 Year, it carry'd off above a third part of its Inhabitants, and destroy'd most of the Seamen, as well in the Merchant Men, as Men of War, that came thither.

The dreadful Turnado's, or Hurricanes, that us'd to threaten this Island with a general Ruin, are not so frequent as formerly; and the Distemper which was call'd, the *Sickness*, is so much decreas'd, that the Island begins to recover its former Reputation for Health.

From the Situation of the Place, it follows of Consequence, that the Length of the Days must be very near equal; and the Sun rises at Six, and sets at Six, or in less than half an Hour before

er after, which continues so all the Year round. Three Quarters of an Hour after Sun-set 'tis dark, the Twilights being no longer in these Parts.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Beasts, Birds, Fish, Insects, and other Animals in Barbadoes.

There were several Beasts found on the other *Charibbee* Islands, but few or none at *Barbadoes*; which, as has been said, was almost over-run with Hogs. Afterwards Beasts of Burthen were brought thither, and Cattle for Food.

Those that were either some Years ago, or are still to be met with there, are Camels, of which there were several imported at the first Settlement of the Island. They did not thrive, and for that Reason no more were brought over. Captain *Higginbotham* of *St. Philips*, had four or five; each of them would carry 15 or 1600 Pound Weight of Sugar to the *Bridge*, and bring as good a Load to his Plantation, 3 Miles from it.

Horses the Inhabitants have from *England* for their Coaches; and for their own Riding, and the Militia, from *New-England*. For Carts, and common Uses, they had some from *Bonavista*, *Cape Verd Islands*, and *Curassau*.

When they first settl'd there, *Virginia* also us'd to furnish them with Horses, but now they have almost all from *Old and New-England*. Their own Breed are mettlesome, swift, and hardy, but small and not very handsome.

Oxen, Bulls, and Cows, were brought from the Isle of *May* and *Bonavista*, to the first Planters. Their Posterity and Successors breed all now; for it has been found, that the black Cattle brought from foreign Parts, lick off the Pitch and Tar with their own Hair, which never passes thro' them, but

occasions their Death, few of them living when they come ashore.

The *Barbadoes Cattle* is a midling Breed; and they seldom cut their Bulls, but yoke them, and put them to the Cart; as they do also Cows, and work them there, and in their Cattle-Mills, of which there are not many now; the meaner sort, who want Negroes, only making use of them. The Bulls are so well taught, that they will work very orderly.

Assnegoes, or Asses, are extraordinary useful, in carrying Sugar to the *Bridge*. These Beasts will run along with their Burthen, in Ways where Horses cannot pass. The former will pick and choose their Way; and if any one of them fall, two Negroes can help him up; they will carry from one hundred and an half, to two hundred Weight. The *Assnegoes* were brought thither, as well as other Cattle.

This Island having no living Creature in it bigger than a Hog, till the English settled there; Hogs were in such extraordinary Plenty, that the English were more pester'd than serv'd by them at their first landing. 'Tis thought they were left there by the Portuguese, to breed, and supply them with Provisions, in their Passage to and from the *Brasils*.

The Hogs the Portuguese landed there, multiply'd, in a few Years, so fast, that the whole Island could hardly maintain them; the *Europeans* and *Charibbeans* came from the other Islands to hunt them, and the English thought to have given it the Name of, *The Isle of Hogs*.

The Flesh of these Hogs, as the Inhabitants have mended the Breed, is extremely delicious, and surpasses the best Pork in *Europe*; they are some large and some little, but all good.

Sheep don't thrive well in *Barbadoes*; yet there are some whose Meat is not so kindly as ours in *England*. There is greater Plenty of Goats, much of the same Nature with the *Welsh*, the Flesh tasting like that of the *Welsh* Goats. Monkeys and Racoons are there in abundance.

The Birds of this Place, says an Author, who liv'd in the Island, are hardly worth the pains of describing. The biggest they have there is a Buffard, less than the English Grey-Buffard, swifter of Wing, and serviceable to the Planter, by destroying the Rats, which otherwise would destroy his Canes; for there are great Numbers of them.

There's great store of the larger Turtle-Dove; a much handsomer Bird in Shape and Colour than the English Turtle, and much better to eat. The lesser Turtle is a finer Bird than the larger, shap'd like a Partridge, her Feathers grey and red, brown under her Wings.

There's a Bird in this Island like a Thrush, which is so call'd; her Feathers always ruff'd, and her Head hanging down, as if her Neck was broke: She has 3 or 4 Notes, loud and sweet. Another they have like a Wren, they call it the Quaking-thrush, a very merry Bird by her Motion, but she seldom or never sings; she has a long Bill. There's a Black-Bird, so call'd, with white Eyes; her Voice harsh like a Jay; a great Devourer of Corn and Blossoms. They fly in Flocks of many thousands; they walk, and don't hop. Another in Colour like a *Feldefare*: 'Tis, says *Ligon*, call'd a Counsellour, because her Head seems too big for her Body; but her true Name is a Loggerhead. She is extremely wanton in her Flight, and so strange in her Note, that no Voice or Instrument can imitate it; 'tis a Quarter Note, which is a Discovery in Musick that no Master has yet been able to make.

There are Sparrows, Haystacks, Finches, Yellow-Hamers, Titmice, and such like Birds; for which the English have not thought fit to be at the trouble to invent Names, they are so little and worthless, either for Flesh, Feather, or Note.

The most famous of all the feather'd Nation in America, is the *Colibry*, or *Humming-Bird*, which, according to an ingenious Author, is admirable for her Beauty, Shape, Smell, which is like Musk, and way of Life; 'tis much less than a Wren; yet tho she's the least, she is the most glorious of all Birds. Some of these Birds are no bigger than the greater
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sort of Flies, the biggest scarce exceeding an Humble Bee in Bulk; the Colours of the Feathers of her Neck and Wings represent those of the Rain-bow: Some of them have such a bright Red under their Necks, that at a Distance one would think it were a Carbuncle; the Belly and under the Wings are of a gilt yellow, the Thighs as green as an Emerald, the Feet and Beak as black as polish'd Ebony, the two little Eyes shine like two Diamonds, the Head is of a Grass-green; the Plumage of the Male is finer than the Female's, and on his Head he has a Crown of Feathers, as it were to distinguish his Superiority. 'Tis so strong in its Flight, that it makes a louder Noise, by the Agitation of its Wings, than the greatest Birds. It loves to fly near those that pass, and surprizes them like a little Whirlwind. It lives on the Dew, which it sucks with its Tongue from the Blossoms. Its Tongue is much longer than its Beak, hollow like a Reed, and about the Bigness of a small Needle. 'Tis seldom seen on the Ground, nor standing on the Trees, but hovering in the Air, near the Tree from whence it takes its Nourishment. Humming-Birds covet the Blossoms of Cotton Trees most; roost in that or the Orange Tree, and are very curious in building their little Houses in the Branches. The only way of taking the *Colibry*; is by shooting it with Sand, which stuns it for the present: When you have it, you cannot keep it, for no body can furnish it with the Food 'tis us'd to feed upon.

This Description of the *Colibry* suits in most things with the Humming-Birds of *Barbadoes*, which have no Smell, unless 'tis what is given them after they are dead; when they are perfum'd, and sent for Presents to *England*. The bright Red under the Neck was never seen in *Barbadoes*; the Belly and under the Wings of a dark Colour; the Thighs, as well as the Feet and Beak, black: Its Neck is about the Bigness of half a Walnut Shell, split in two Parts.

As for Wild Fowl, the Inhabitants of *Barbadoes* do not often see any: They sometimes take Teal near their Ponds, and a sort of Fowl they call *Oxen ana Kine*. They have a Bird which goes by the Name of the *Man of War*, because it flies out to Sea for Discoveries:

toveries; and 'tis said, these Men of War are so much to be depended on, that whenever they return, the People cry out a *Sail*, and are never deceiv'd in it. These Birds will meet Ships 20 Leagues from Land: Mr. *Ligon*, who gives this Account of the Wild Fowl of *Barbadoes*, must not here also be trusted; for when the Winds change to the South and South-West, there are great Quantities of Wild Fowl, that come in Flocks from the Continent, as Plovers, Curlews, Snipes, Wild Pidgeons, a few Wild Ducks, and Teal. The Wild Pidgeons are so fat, that when they are shot in the Trees, they sometimes fall down and burst; they are bigger than our Pidgeons, and of a very dark Colour; some of them with a Ring of white about their Necks; 50 of these Wild Fowl have been kill'd at a Shot.

Their tame Fowl is of the same Kind with ours in *England*, only the Meat of the several sorts are better. Their Ducks, which they call *Muscovy*, are excellent Food; so are their Pigeons, Pullets, and all their Poultry.

They have some Rabbits, but no Hares, nor Venison. The Rabbits are good and scarce, so that they are generally 5 s. a Couple.

The Insects that are most frequently met with in this Island, are Snakes, some of which are a Yard long, they kill the Planters Pidgeons, do the same Mischiefs as they do in *England*, and suck up their Milk; they will climb up a Wall, six or seven Foot high, come in at a Window, get down in the Room, where the Milk Pans are, skim them, and return back the same way they came; they never sting any body.

The Scorpions in *Barbadoes* are as big as Rats; they will combat the Snakes that attack them to eat them, but they always have the worst on't; they never hurt Man or Beast. There are no Toads or Frogs. Lizards were more common in the Island than they are lately, the Cats having almost destroy'd all of them; they lov'd to be where Men were, to gaze in their Faces, and hearken to their Discourse; they are not like those in *Europe*, their Bodies are about 4 Inches long, their Tails near as much, their heads resembling a Snake's, their Backs are of a
Grass-

Grass-green Colour, blewish towards the Side, their Bellies yellow; they have four Leggs, and are very nimble.

Musketoes sting and bite People in the Night, and are indeed the most troublesome Creature the *English* meet with in *America*; they are like Gnats in *England*, and are not so frequent in *Barbadoes* as in the Colonies upon the Continent, where there are large Fens and low Places.

Cock-roaches are about the Bigness of a Beetle; if they happen upon sound Sleepers, they bite them; they fetch Blood; and if they awake, and hunt them, they are so nimble, that 'tis not easy to catch them. The Negroes, who have thick Skins, and by Reason of their hard Labour, are not easy to be wak'd when they are asleep, are sometimes bitten so, that for the Breadth of both your Hands together, their Skin are raz'd, as if 'twas done with a Curry-comb. This it might be in Mr. *Ligon's* time, but now, 'tis certain they are not so very mischievous: 'Tis true where-ever they touch, they leave a Sting; and Children go to Bed with greazy Fingers, will nibble them unmercifully; they are the most offensive thing in *Barbadoes*.

Merriwings are of so small a Size, and so thin an Aerial, they can hardly be discern'd, but by the Noise of their Wings, which is like a small Bugle Horn at a great Distance: Where they sting, they raise a Nob as big as a Pease, which lasts a whole Day. These Merriwings, so pompously describ'd by Mr. *Ligon*, are nothing but what we call Gnats in *London* and Stouts in the West-Country. All Land that lie low will be troubled with them in Summer time.

Caterpillars eat the Potatoes, and are eaten by Turkeys. The Chegoes are another little mischievous kind of Insect; and there are various sorts of smaller ones, as Ants, Pismires, &c. but none that are peculiar to the Country, and therefore not proper to be inserted in this Place, unless it be the Wood Ant and Mastick Fly; the former of which destroys the Timber in the Houses Upon a Deal Beam they will build Nest as big as a Barrel; and within 'tis like a Honey Comb, but without any Honey; they will eat up and

destroy a Piece of *English* Oak in a very little time ; their Colour is white, and if they are squeez'd, there comes out a soft Substance of the same Colour ; they build upon Trees in the Woods, or in Houses.

The *Mastick Fly*, which is so call'd from its destroying the Mastick Trees ; the Smell of it is so fragrant, that it perfumes the Air as it flies by you. 'Tis suppos'd to destroy the Tree by a sort of a Rasp in the Bill, with which it makes thousands of Holes in the Tree, so that there will be Pecks of Dust, like Saw-Dust, under it.

The Sea of *Barbadoes*, if that Part of the Ocean which surrounds it, may be so call'd, yields almost all sorts of Fish that are caught elsewhere ; those that are rarely to be seen in other Parts of the World, are, the Parrat Fish, Snappers, red and grey Cavallos, *Terbums*, Coney-fish.

The Mulletts are reckon'd extraordinary good of their kind, and so are their Lobsters and Crabs.

There's a sort of Land Crab, which lives almost always on the Shoar ; they hide themselves in Holes and in Houses, and sometimes in Hollow Trees : they are often met upon the Stairs, in Parlours, and Gardens, where they eat Herbs. In *March*, they all come out of their Holes, and march down to the Sea in such Multitudes, that they cover a great Part of the Ground where they go. Several Years ago the Planters us'd to ride over them in the Roads ; they never eat them, but the Negroes love them, and frequently feast upon them.

The Parrat Fish is about 20 Pound Weight, and well tasted. It has Scales like a Carp, of a green Colour ; it has no Teeth, but sharp strong Jaws, and feeds chiefly on Shell-fish.

As to the Description of the other kinds of Fish we have mention'd above, we must be forc'd to leave it as we found it in general, and therefore can't descend into Particulars : We are told they are all excellent Meat, and are often serv'd up to the Gentlemen's Tables of the Island.

As for the Tortoise, we shall speak of it more at large in the History of *Jamaica*, and shall in this Place
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only correct an Error of Mr. *Ligon's*, who writes, Tortoise has three Hearts, which Dr. *Stubs* says he found to be false; for though the Resemblance of the two Auricles be such, as also their Bodies or Flesh as to deceive the unwary Observer, yet is there but one Heart triangular and fleshy, &c.

In all the Rivers are Craw-fish, Maid-Fish, Griggs not Eels, about 9 Inches long, Prawns, and several Fish that come out of the Sea, and live in the fresh Water, as Cophmirs, Snooks, Place, and some Eels.

C H A P. V.

Of the Inhabitants, Masters, Servants, and Negroes: Their Numbers, Strength, Manner of Living, Diet, Exercises, and Diversions.

THIS Island was the soonest peopled of all our Colonies; the Riches of the Planters produc'd by that of the Soil, tempted Gentlemen of good Families and moderate Estates, to transport themselves thither to improve them. And tho' it seems trivial to relate Particulars of the Honours bestow'd on private Persons; yet for the Credit of *Barbadoe*. there have been more of that Island Knighted by the Kings of *England*, than of all the rest of the English Plantations in *America*, for since the Settlement of the Island 13 Baronets and Knights were made, for the Incouragement of the Industry of the Inhabitants.

Created Baronets the same Day, *Feb. 18. 1661.*

Sir *John Colliton,*
Sir *James Modiford,*
Sir *James Drax,*
Sir *Robert Davers,*
Sir *Robert Hacket,*
Sir *John Yeomans,*
Sir *Timothy Thornahill,*

} Baronets.

Sir John Witham.
 Sir Robert Legard.
 Sir John Worsum.
 Sir John Bawdon.
 Sir Edwyn Stede.
 Sir Willoughby Chamberlayne.

And indeed whoever will look over the Map of Barbadoes, will find the Country is not possess'd by such a set of Men as inhabit the other Plantations; the *Walronds*, the *Fortescues*, the *Collitons*, the *Thornhills*, the *Farmers*, the *Pickerings*, the *Littletons*, the *Codringtons*, the *Willoughbys*, the *Chesters*, the *Kenals*, the *Dimocks*, the *Hawleys*, the *Stedes*, the *Prieauxs*, the *Alleyns*, the *Quintines*, the *Bromleys*, and others, whose Families are of the most ancient and honourable in *England*; nor must we omit one, which is indeed a mighty Name, *Palæologus*, who had a small Plantation near the Top of the Cliff. How he came by that Imperial Name, we have not heard fairly made out; neither can we believe the Tradition of the Family, of whom one attested to be the Author, that his Ancestors were originally *Greek* fugitives, and descended from the Emperors of *Constantinople* of that Name, who reign'd in the East upon the driving out of the *French* by *Michael Palæologus*, in the thirteenth Century, to the Dissolution of that Empire under *Constantine Palæologus*, in the fifteenth Century, by *Mahomet the Great*.

Enough of this Digression, which is only design'd to shew, that the common Reflection made upon the Plantations, as to the Meanness of the Planters Origins, is groundless as to *Barbadoes*, where there are as many good Families as are in any of the Counties of *England*, where Commerce and Trade flourish. But were that Reflection true, it would be far from lessening the Reputation of the present Inhabitants; the vast Estates which many of them enjoy, the *Draxes*, the *Guyes*, the *Walters*, and the *Halls*, are glorious Proofs of the Industry and Wisdom of their Ancestors; and a fair Invitation for other Merchants in *England* to remove thither, and endeavour to acquire the same Possessions, equal to many.

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many of our Nobility and Gentry, of the first Rank in *England*. Indeed, the Pleasantsness of the Country is such, that it might tempt over the most prosperous; and the Profit would be great enough, were it duly encourag'd, to invite the most covetous to live there. Wealth and Pleasure, which are generally Strangers, dwell there together; and an industrious prudent Man may grow rich with much Delight, as a Prodigal grows poor in *England*.

The Character of this Island was such, as drew over Multitudes to see and inhabit it; insomuch that twenty Years after the first Settlement was made there, the Militia of the Country were more in Number than that of *Virginia* is now, tho the Place is not a fiftieth Part so big. They muster'd the 11000 Horse and Foot, as good Men, and as resolute as any in the World: This Number was considerably encreas'd afterwards, and in the Year 1677 when the Island was in its most flourishing Condition during Sir *Jonathan Atkins's* Government, there were 20000 Men, and 50000 Souls, all Europeans by Birth or Descent, and 80000 Negroes; in all above 150000 Souls; in an Island not much bigger than the Isle *Wight*.

By this we may see how much this little Isle has flourish'd in about 50 Years. There are few Counties in *England* that have 150000 Souls in 'em; and the Kingdom its self, taken altogether, fell infinitely short of the Populoufness of *Barbadoes* at that time for granting there are 100000 Acres of Land in *Barbadoes*, and 40 Millions in *England*, as there are by the best Computations, as *Chamberlain's*, *Houghton's*, &c. *England* contains 400 times as much Ground as that Island, and in proportion, should have above 50 Millions of Inhabitants, whereas it has not Eight Millions by Sir *William Petty's*, at the largest Calculations.

The Number of Souls is since considerably decreased in *Barbadoes*, as well by the Removal of several of the most eminent Planters to *England*, where they have purchas'd Estates, and live in great Affluence and Splendour, as by a fatal Disease, which infected the whole Island. It was, as we have hinted

brought

brought thither in the Year 1691. and swept away so many of the Inhabitants, Masters, Servants, and Slaves, that there are not above 7000 fighting Men, and 25000 English Souls in the Place, nor above 60 or 70000 Negroes, Men, Women, and Children.

The Distemper is lately abated, and the Colony encreases in People daily, in which the present Health of the Place will, if it lasts, advance it in two or three Years to the happy State it was in formerly, if they are not too much discourag'd from Home.

Every Freeholder, and White Servant, able to bear Arms, is list'd in the Militia of the Island, which consists now of about 3500 Foot, and 1200 stout Horse; and these are as good, or better, than any regular Forces; for besides that the *Creolems* are such English Men as any in the World, they would certainly fight resolutely for so rich and so pleasant a Country.

We have shewn in our Geographical Account of the Island, how 'tis fortify'd by Nature and Art, and that the Reader might not be at a loss, to know how a Line of such Length, above 30 Miles on the Coast, is mann'd, he must understand, that in Case of an Alarm, the Government can arm 10000 stout Negroes, dextrous at handling a Pike, who could defend those Entrenchments against any Invader.

The Inhabitants are rank'd in these three Orders; Masters, who are either *English*, *Scots*, or *Irish*, with some few *Dutch*, *French*, and *Portuguese* Jews; White Servants, and Slaves: The White Servants are either by Covenant or Purchase; there are two sorts, such as sell themselves in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, for 4 Years, or more; and such as are transported by the Government from those three Kingdoms, for Capital Crimes.

The Gentlemen of *Barbadoes* scorn'd to employ any of the latter sort, till the late Sicknes and War had reduc'd them to great Want of Hands: And of the former, several poor Mens Children have been given thither, by Necessity or Discontent; who being themselves honestly and laboriously, have freed themselves, after their Servitude was expir'd,

to be Masters of good Plantations, and been the making of their Relations at home.

The Masters, Merchants, and Planters, live each like little Sovereigns in their Plantations; they have their Servants of their Household, and those of the Field; their Tables are spread every Day with Variety of nice Dishes, and their Attendants are more numerous than many of the Nobility's in *England*; their Equipages are rich, their Liveries fine, their Coaches and Horses answerable; their Chairs, Chaises, and all the Conveniences for their travelling, magnificent.

The most wealthy of them, besides this Land-train, have their Pleasure-Boats, to make the Tour of the Island in, and Sloops to convey their Goods to and from the *Bridge*.

Their Dress, and that of their Ladies, is fashionable and courtly; and being generally bred at *London*, their Behaviour is genteel and polite; in which they have the Advantage of most of our Country Gentlemen, who living at great Distances from *London*, frequent the World very little; and from conversing always with their Dogs, Horses, and rude Peasants, acquire an Air suitable to their Society.

The Gentlemen of *Barbadoes* are civil, generous, hospitable, and very sociable. They were not, till lately, troubled with Factions and Parties; and, to prevent the growing of Divisions among them, in the time of the Distractions in *England*, they made Law among themselves, that whoever nam'd the word, *Round-head*, or *Cavalier*, should give the Company, at his own House, a Pig and a Turkey, and sometimes they would make Forfeitures, on purpose to have an Opportunity to entertain their Neighbours. But this Hospitality is now almost lost, the Gentlemen learning in *England* to keep the good things to themselves, and to part with the very sparingly: Yet some there are, whose Houses are still free to Strangers, and who receive all with a chearful Look, and open Heart.

Their Diet is the same with ours in *England*; they have Beef, Pork, Veal, Mutton, and Lamb, their own breeding, or at their Markets, for 7 half-penny a Pound, which is cheap there.

Their second Courses are their Poultry, as Turkeys, Geese, Ducks, Fowl, Chickens, and Fish, which they have in abundance, by the Convenience of their Situation.

All sort of Sawces, as Pickles, Olives, &c. they have from *England*, as also Tongues, Hamms, Anchovies, Caviare, &c. Their Pastry, and their Bread, are made of English Flower; and their Kitchen Servants are as good Cooks as any in *England*.

Their Deserts are all admirable, and the very Idea of a Table spread with their Mellons, Succats and Pines, is transporting.

Their Drink is chiefly *Madera* Wine and Water: Of that Wine there are two sorts, *Malmsey* and *Vinonia*; the former as rich, and not so luscious as *Canary*; and the latter as dry, and as vigorous as *Sherry*; 'tis red, being colour'd with *Tinto*; they also drink cool Tankards of Wine, excellent Lemons, fine Sugar and Spring-Water, Lemonades made of all the last Ingredients but Wine.

The more sanguine People entertain one another with Punch, made of the best Ingredients, Lemons, double refin'd Sugar, Spring-Water, and right French Brandy.

The good Husbands use their own Manufacture of Brandy, instead of French Brandy. They have also all sorts of other Wines, Malt Drinks, and Cyder, from *England*. In short, the Inhabitants of *Barbadoes* live as plentifully, and some of them as luxuriously as any in the World. They have every thing that is requisite for Pomp or Luxury; they are absolute Lords of all things, Life and Limb of their Servants excepted, within their own Territories; and none of them have no less than 7 or 800 Negroes, who are themselves; and their Posterity, their Slaves for ever.

Mr. *Walter* has himself above a Thousand of Negroes, which he feeds every Day: And as he has the greatest Interest in the Island, so he is equally careful to preserve it, by providing well for them, and commanding his Overseers to deal humanely and prudently by them.

Every Dwelling-house, and other Out-housing, looks like a handsome Town, most being new built with Stone, and cover'd with Pantile or Slate brought hither in the Ballasts of Ships, as is also Sea-Coal for Forges; and the Freight being by that means made cheap, there's Plenty enough of those Necessaries.

The White Servants are sold for about 20 *l.* a piece; but if they are Mechanicks, for much more. Women, if they are handsome, 10 *l.* As soon as the time, for which they covenanted to serve, or at the End of which they are free by Law, is expir'd, they are entirely their own Masters; and, during their Servitude, are treated more gently than the *Blacks*.

Their Cloathing is made of Ozinbrig Jackets and Drawers, and sometimes of course Cloth. The Male Servants have thick Drawers, Shoes, Stockings, Caps, and Canvas Waistcoats allow'd them. And the Females have Shifts, Petticoats, Waistcoats, Shoes, and Stockings, made neat and serviceable.

We must add to Mr. *Ligon's* Account, that the Servants, when they are out of their Time, have 5 *l.* for those that are British Servants. All others have but 40 *s.* And as for Female Servants there are now none, unless they are Natives of the Country, and hir'd as Servant-Maids are in *England*. 'Tis by chance that any come from *England* to be hir'd, and no Women have been sold this 30 Years.

Their Labour is not very hard; much less than our Day-Labourers in *England*, and their Encouragement much more; for if they are good for anything when they come out of their Times, there are enough will employ them on their own Terms.

Their Diet is not so good, as those who have been us'd to rich Farmers Tables in *England* would desire, because they cannot be fed every Day with Beef and Mutton; however they cannot complain of any Want; and the Planters distinguish them from the Negroes, by providing them Bisket from *England*. The chief of them are supply'd from the Masters Tables. The Overseers have Tables

their own in the House, when the Owner is in *England*.

The Variety of Fruits, Roots, and Herbs, that grow there, is a great Help to the Servants Diet, in furnishing them with Sawce and Change, when they are weary of the salt Beef, Pork and Fish, which is brought them from *New-England*, and other Places.

The Condition of the *Blacks* is only worse, because their Servitude is perpetual. There is as much care taken of them, and rather more, because if a Negro dies, the Owner loses 40 or 50 *l.* Whereas by the Death of a White-Man, he is at the Loss only of 2 or 3 Years Wages to another.

The Blacks Business lies most in the Field, unless 'tis those that are taken into the Boiling-House, the Curing-House, the Still-House, the Mills, the Store-House, or Dwelling-House; where the handsomest, cleanliest Maidens are bred to Menial Services, and the properest, cleanest limb'd Fellows, to be Coachmen, Footmen, Grooms, and Lacquies. Others often are employ'd in handicraft Trades, as Coopers, Joiners, Carpenters, Smiths, Masons, and the like.

A Slave that is excellent in any of these Mechanick Employments, is worth 150 or 200 *l.* and I have known 400 *l.* bid for a Boiler, belonging to Sir *John Bawdon's* Plantation in *Scotland*. They are all of them worth from 40 to 50 *l.* a Head, Males; and answerable for Females at this time, occasion'd by several Accidents, which will be mention'd in our Article of Trade.

The Slaves are purchas'd by Lots, out of the *Guinea* Ships. They are all view'd stark naked, and the strongest and handsomest bear the best Prizes. They are allow'd to have two or three Wives, that they may encrease the Planter's Stock by Multiplication: For their Posterity to all Generations are Slaves, unless their Liberties are given them: But 'tis question'd, whether their Poligamy does not rather hinder than promote their multiplying. The immoderate Use of such Pleasures enervates and delays Men, and no vigorous Issue can be expected from them.

If their Female-Slaves were treated more gently, their Burdens and Labour lessen'd, the Planters would in all Probability find their Account by it, in the Encrease of the Number of their Servants, if every Negro was oblig'd to keep to one Woman, more than now they are suffer'd to have two, or more.

These Women are very constant to the Man that passes for their Husband. Adultery is reckon'd the most abominable of Crimes, even by those Barbarians, who are as jealous as the Italians.

As to the Scandal some People take at the Masters denying their Negroes the Benefit of Baptism, 'tis as groundless as the Notion, that their Conversion to Christianity sets them free. They and theirs are as much Slaves as before, only some more scrupulous Overseers might not be willing to handle the Cat-a-nine-tails so often against their Fellow-Christians, as they would against Infidels.

The Truth is, few of these poor Wretches show any disposition to hearken to the Doctrine of the Christians. They are so fond of their own Idolatry, that unless the Government of *Barbadoes* was impower'd to set up an Inquisition, they would never be converted. But such of them as desire to receive the Sacrament of Baptism, are suffer'd and encourag'd so far, that they are us'd more favourably afterwards. 'Tis true, the Planters are not over forward in promoting such Conversion; for their Slaves, in hopes of better Usage, wou'd all profess Christianity with their Lips, while their Hearts retain'd their old Diabolical Idolatry: Wherefore due Care is taken to enquire into the Reality of their Conversion, before they are admitted to the Holy Sacrament of Baptism; and 'twou'd be well if the same Care was taken elsewhere, to prevent others receiving unworthily that of the Lord's Supper, which is too often prostituted to temporal Concerns.

The Negroes are generally false and treacherous. Some Instances of great Fidelity have been found among them, which have been related in the Historical Account of the Island; but for the most part they are faithless, and Dissemblers. They are apt to swell with a good Opinion of themselves, on the least oc-
casior

caſion for it, to be very ſtubborn, are ſullen and cruel, and their Maſters are almoſt under a fatal Neceſſity to treat them inhumanely, or they would be un-governable.

Their Numbers render them very dangerous, they being three to one to the Whites; and by their frequent Attempts to get the Maſtery, one may ſee that the Planters are forc'd to carry a ſtrict Hand over them.

The Stories that are told of the Severities they ſuffer from the Overſeers, are aggravated; and few Engliſh have been ſo barbarous, as they are all repreſented to be, by the Enemies of the Plantations; who according to the Nature or Underſtanding of the Maſters, the Slaves are us'd the better or the worſe. Their Whipping them with Thongs, till they are all-gore of Blood; their tying them up by their Hands or Feet, to endure ſuch Stripes, and the picking afterwards with Brine, are Bugbears to frighten Children with, like Tales of *Raw-head, and Bloody-ones*. And yet when we conſider how lazy they are apt to be, and how careleſs, and that the Fortune of their Maſters depends almoſt entirely on their Care and Labour, one can't blame the Overſeers, for puniſhing the Idle and Remiſs ſeverely. Some of them have been ſo negligent, as by laying Fire too near the Canes, to ſet whole Lands of Canes, and Houſes too, in a Flame; the knocking out a Tobacco Pipe againſt a dry Stump of a Tree, by others of them, has ſet it on Fire, and the Wind fanning it, and a Land of Canes being near it, has caught and burnt down all that were before the Wind. Mr. *James Holduppe*, and Mr. *Conſtantine Silver*, ſeveral Years ago, loſt 10000*l.* by ſuch an Accident.

Their Diet is very coarſe, and yet they are very well contented, being perhaps better than any they had in their own Country. Their choiceſt Fare is Plantines, which they boil or roaſt, and then eat. They have now, twice or thrice in a Week, ſalt iſh, Mackrell, or ſalt Pork.

They have ſome Bread made of Indian Corn, of the Produce of the Country, or fetch'd from *Carolina*. But of this there is not too great Plenty amongſt

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them; each Family has a Cabbin belonging to it for the Men, his Wives, and Children. They are built with Sticks, Withs, and Plantine-Leave which makes every Plantation look like a little African City, and the Planter's House like the Sovereign's in the midst of it.

To each Hut there is a little Plot of Garden set out, where the Negroes plant Potatoes, Yam, Cassavia-Roots, &c. They have also another sort of Food, call'd *Loblolly*, made of Maize, the Ear of which they roast, and then eat it.

The White Servants are sometimes dieted with this Maize, which is thus dress'd for them; 'Tis pounded in a Mortar, and boil'd in Water, to the Thickness of Frumenty, then mess'd out to them with some Salt. This is a poor kind of Food and seldom us'd of late, unless in a time of great Scarcity.

If an Ox, Bull, or Cow, or any sort of Cattle die accidentally, the Negroes feast upon it, and the White Servants have often not disdain'd to come in for a Share.

All the Inhabitants of the Island run so much upon making of Sugar, that they will not spare Ground for Pastures, which renders Flesh-Meat very scarce, and fit only for the Masters Table.

The White Servants and Negroes make Cassavy and Potatoe-Bread. The Latter many ordinary Planters were contented with at their first Settlement on the Island; but now Meal, Flower, and Bisket, are plentier, few Masters will deign to eat any thing but Wheat-bread.

The Servants and Slaves Drinks are Mobbie brew'd with Potatoes, Water, and Sugar; *Kowwow* of Melasses-Water, and Ginger; *Perino* of the Cassavy-Root; after the old Women had chaw'd the Juice they us'd to spit it out into the Water, where in 3 or 4 Hours it wou'd work, and purge its self of the poisonous Quality. The Root is put in with the Juice, and this Drink is the most like the English Beer of any 'Tis a very beastly Preparation, and one would think by its fine Taste that it had been some more delicate Drink.

Plantine Drink is made of Plantines mash'd in Water, and well boyl'd, strain'd the next Day, and bottled; 'twill be fit to be drunk in a Week's time, is pleasant and stronger than Sack.

There's another Liquor, call'd *Kill-Devil*, made of the Skimmings of Sugar, 'tis strong, but not very palatable, and seldom falls to the Servants Lot.

Pine Drink is made by pressing the Fruit, and straining the Liquor; it should be bottled: This is one of the best Drinks that the Island affords; the Planters themselves will often drink of this pleasant Liquor, and when 'twas first made, 'twas compar'd to *Nectar*.

The Negroes have often large Drams of Rum given them to hearten them at their Work; and a Pipe of Tobacco and a Dram is the most acceptable Present that can be made them.

They are rung up every Morning at 6 a Clock, and at eleven are set to Dinner; at one they are rung out again to the Field, and must work till 4.

Their Mens Cloathing is coarse Woollen Jackets, *Ozinburgh* Waist-coats and Drawers. The Women have Petticoats and Waist-coats of the same; the Men *Monmouth* Caps, and the Women the same. They had formerly also in some Plantations Rug-browns to wrap over them when they were hot; which Custom was introduc'd by Col. *Walrond*, and is much better than burning out their Lungs with Steam.

Sundays are the only Days of Pleasure to the Negroes; and the most industrious of them, instead of diverting themselves, or resting, as 'twas intended they should, spend it in making Ropes of the Rind of certain Trees fit for that use, which they sell to their Servants, Whites or Blacks, for what Necessaries they can furnish them with.

There's a great deal of Difference between the Negroes; those that are born in *Barbadoes* are much more useful Men, than those that are brought from *Guinea*. Mr. *Ligon* could not make this Observation, the Colony was too young; but the *Creolian* Negroes are every way preferable to the new Comers, (which they

they call *Salt-Water* Negroes) whom they despise and value themselves much on being born in *Barbadoes*. The Children that come over young from *Africa* are also better Servants, when they are grown up, than those that come thence Men or Women.

As for their Living: By the Allowance of Ground which the Master allows them, they have Opportunities to sow several Roots and Plants, to breed Goats, Hogs, and Fowl, which they either sell or eat themselves; and some of them, by their Industry especially if they are Mechanicks, come to be worth 40 or 50 *l.* and sometimes more, which they are cunning enough to keep from their Masters. Such of them as can afford it, buy Cloaths finer than the Master allows them; as the Men, white Hollander Waist-coats, and Breeches; a Shirt, and Silver-Clasp. The Women also will make their rich Husbands purchase them a Shift, a fine Waist-coat and Petticoat, and Lace for their Heads, to set themselves off for a Holiday. They often buy part of the Share of the White Mens Provisions, who are such Sots to part with it for Money to purchase Rum, which the Kill Devil mention'd by *Ligon*; and a mean Spirit that no Planter of any Note will now deign to drink. His Cellars are better furnish'd.

If the Negroes could come at a dead Bull, Cow or Horse, 'tis likely they would dispatch it; but the Planters are careful to keep them out of their way by burying them immediately, or otherwise disposing of them, that they may not come at them, for fear of their eating them, and being infected by it with some contagious Distemper. Thus 'tis plain, no Gentleman admits of his Servants being fed with Carrion, whatever Inclination they may have to it; for it must be own'd the new Comers are very greedy for such a Repast, when they come first to *Barbadoes*. An Instance of which is told us in an Accident that happen'd to Col. *Helms*, who having some Years ago bought a Lot of Negroes, sent them to his Plantation; where it happen'd that a Cow had lately dy'd by some ill Hap: He order'd it to be flung into a Well 40 Fathom deep, not thinking any of the Slaves would have ventur'd down after her; but the Negro

negroes not having fathom'd the Well, and thinking they might get up as easily as the Cow got down, one of them leapt first into the Well, and was follow'd by another, then by a third, a fourth follow'd him, and him the fifth, at several times, till at last the Owner mistrusting what had happen'd, discover'd his Misfortune in the Death of his Slaves, and prevented the sixth going after the other. The Notice *Ligon* takes of the Planters eating Potatoe Bread is so true, that several have affirm'd to me they prefer'd it to Wheaten Bread.

As for the old Womens chawing the Cassavy Root, is a Falsity, or at least has not been practis'd in *Barbadoes* in the Memory of Man, the Perino being made of the Cassavy, work'd up with Sugar, after its bak'd. There's now no Drink made of Plantines. The Drink, something of the Colour of Mead, tastes sharp like the Pine, is a cooling Drink, and too good to fall to the Servants or Slaves, who would perhaps prefer a strong Spirit to it.

As for the Rug-Gowns, mention'd by Mr. *Ligon*, they are now quite out of Use ; whether the Reason of them is not as good in our times, as in his, let the Gentlemen of *Barbadoes* determine.

In the Plat of Ground allow'd them, besides their little Gardens to each Cottage, which is now built of Plaster, and cover'd with Thatch, having several Parterres round about it, they set Plantine Trees, so that their Houses are not to be seen ; they are not contiguous, but at a little Distance from each other, for fear of Fire.

As for their Diversions on Sundays, the Generality of them dance, or wrestle all Day, the Men and Women together. In Mr. *Ligon's* time, the Men danc'd by themselves, and the Women by themselves, but not so in ours. They have two Musical Instruments, like Kettle-Drums, for each Company of Officers, with which they make a very barbarous Melody. They have other Musical Instruments, as a *Bangil*, not much unlike our Lute in any thing, but not the Musick ; the *Rookaw*, which is two Sticks beat together ; and a *Jinkgoving*, which is a way of clapping their Hands on the Mouth of two Jars. These are all play'd together, and accompany'd with Voices

Voices, in a most terribly harmonious manner.

They are so far superiour in Number to the White that one would think it should be unsafe for the *English* to dwell among them; and yet the Danger by that Superiority is very little, especially since the Government there has taken Care to build such strong Forts as are lately built.

The Reasons of the Planters Security are these. The Slaves are brought from several Places in *Guinea*, which are different from one another in Language, and consequently they can't converse freely in *Barbadoes*; or if they could, they hate one another so mortally, that some of them would rather dye by the Hands of the *English*, than join with other *Africans*, in an Attempt to shake off the Yoke. None of them are allow'd to touch at Arms, unless 'tis by their Master's Command: they are kept in such awe, that they are afraid even to think of Liberty; and when they see the *English* muster and exercise, there can be no Terror in the World greater than what they lie under at that time. 'Tis true, the *Creolian* Negroes are not in this Number; they all speak English, and are so far from fearing a Muster, that they are very familiar with it, and can exercise very well.

The Way of the *English* Merchants traffickin for them was, till lately, by sending Ships with Beads, Pewter, Jars, Cloath, Hats, Copper Bars, Knives, and Toys, to *Africa*; but now the Trade is by Perpetuanoes, Guns, Powder, Flints, Talloes, and Spirits. They trade from *Sierra Leona* to *Camero*, a vast Territory on the Coasts, near five hundred Miles in Length; in which are many petty Kingdoms, where the Kings sell their Subjects and Prisoners of War; some mean Men their Servants, their Children, and sometimes their Wives. They are all Idolaters, and the Object of their abominable Worship is the Devil, if it has any Object, or that any Worship at all. The *Creolian* Negroes are free from such a Diabolical Religion; and if they have any at all, it must be the *English*, for they have no Opportunity to learn any other. The Foreign Slaves believe they return to their own Country; which Belief

They brought from thence with them. Some of these Wretches are very ingenious, and others of them are stupid. Indeed such of them as are dull, are so brutish; and such as are ingenious are as apt to earn as any People. They make good Mechanicks when they take to it, and such are the Treasure of a Planter; for the chief Riches of the Island consists in the Slaves, of whom some have so great a Multitude, that their Stocks in that one Article would amount to above 20000 *l.* When a Mortality seizes them, the Planter is undone, unless he is a Money'd Man, and can renew his Stock; which must be replenish'd every Year, or he would soon want Hands for his Work, for there must be great Numbers of them, almost half a half dye in Seasoning, the Poligamy of his Negroes serving little to the Stocking his Plantation. Every *Wickaninny*, or Infant Negro, is valu'd at 6 *l.* at a Month old; and the Commodity in general rises or falls, like any other of the Market.

The Blood of the Negroes is almost as black as their Skins. Doctor *Towns* says, I have seen Lowth. the Blood of at least twenty drawn forth, both in Health and in Sickness, and the Superficies of it is as dark as the Bottom of any *European* Blood, after standing a while in a Dish; which is an Argument that the Blackness of Negroes is likely to be inherent in them, and not caus'd by the parching of the Sun, especially seeing that other Creatures that live in the same Clime and Heat with them, have as florid Blood as those that are in *England*.

Whatever this Doctor has been pleas'd to communicate to the *Royal Society*, I have been inform'd by several Gentlemen, who have seen the Blood of a thousand of them, that there is no manner of Difference between the Colour of the Blood of a Negro and that of an *European*; as an Instance of which he told me; Col. *Titcomb* had a Negro scalded with Sugar on several Parts of his Body, which left in it white Spots; and these white Spots wore into one another till the Negro was perfectly white; and his Skin grew so tender, that it blister'd and freckled with the Sun, which, had his Blood been black, would never have been so. This Change of the *Aethiopian's* Skin,

both

both in the Colour and Nature of it, oblig'd the Owner to cloath him as a white Servant. Besides, the Physicians that liv'd on the Place, and have dissected several, assur'd the same Gentleman, there was no Blackness in the Blood of the Negroes, nor any other Difference between the Bodies of them and the Whites.

One may imagine, that the Charge of a Plantation where often there are 2 or 300 Mouths to be fed must be very great; and this is manag'd under the Master by a Head Overseer, at 100 or 150 *l.* a Year Sallary and Maintainance, 2 or 3 Under-Overseers, Accountants, and other Officers; who have all enough to do to keep things in Order.

What has been said of *Barbadoes*, with Relation to Servants and Slaves, may serve for *Jamaica*, the being the Riches of that Island as well as of this, their Work and their Manner of Living the same.

Before we conclude this Chapter, we should take some Notice of the Diversions of the Whites, as well Masters as Servants, who have their times of Recreation; the Servants on Holidays and Festivals, the Masters when they please, as in other Places.

Gaming, as Cards, Dice, Tables, was much more frequent and extravagant in *Barbadoes* than 'tis now but they are oblig'd to use sedentary Diversions more than active, on Account of the Disposition of the Country, which is not fit for Hunting or Hawking. Some have attempted to hunt Hogs, which have been left wild in the Woods, or Goats with Mongrells, but it may properly be call'd a Mongrel Sport without the Offence of a Pun.

The Turf, according to *Ligon*, will never be fine enough, nor the Ground soft enough to make a Bowling Green in *Barbadoes*. But my Lord *Grey*, when he was Governour of the Island, quite ruin'd this Author's Reasons, for he made one at Mr. *Hethersall's* Plantation, which he rented; and there was another long before to the Windward, upon the Cliff.

Bares they might have, but there has as yet been no Trial made of one; wherefore the Diversions of the Gentlemen in this Island are mostly within Doors.

The Gallant People delight most in Balls and
concerts; the good Fellows, in Drink and good
company; and though one would imagine, that Men
could be afraid to drink such a hot Wine as *Madera*,
in such a hot Country, yet it has been known that
some of them have drank their 5 and 6 Bottles a
day, and held it on for several Years. Sweating is
an admirable Relief to them in this Case, and has
often practis'd by many with Success.

Madera Wine, white and red, which is drunk
here, is in Nature contrary to all other, for 'twill
not endure a cool Cellar. *French* and *Rhenish* Wines
do not either keep in *Barbadoes*, nor agree well with the
Stomachs of the Inhabitants, if so constantly drunk
as in *England*. Few care for *Canary* Wine.

There was once a Company of Poppet Strowlers
in this Island; they came from *England*, and set up
their Fairy Drama at the *Bridge*, where, for the No-
tivity of the Matter, they found a good Market:
From thence they went to the *Leward* Islands, and
thence home. We wonder their Example has not
been follow'd by some of the young Fry of Poppet
Players at *London*, who would do better to go over,
and either play or work at *Barbadoes* voluntarily,
than rake at home till they are sent thither by the
Magistracy against their Wills.

The Servants in *Barbadoes* follow the Sports and
Exercises of the common People in *England*, as far
as consists with the Heat of the Climate; and be-
cause all *Englishmen* like our selves, the Reader is
not to expect much Difference in their way of
Living, Exercises, or Diversions, from our own.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Government of the Island, Civil and Military: Of the Laws, Courts Judicature, Publick Offices, Revenue and Church-Affairs.

THE Government of *Barbadoes* is like that of the other Colonies, by a Governour and Council who are nam'd by the King or Queen of *England*, and an Assembly, chosen by the Freeholders of each Parish, two for each.

The Governour is the King or Queen's Representative in this, as in the other Plantations. He is Captain General, Admiral, and Chancellour of the Island, and has Power to issue out all sorts of Commissions under that of a General; to summon and dissolve Assemblies, to make Counsellours, to pardon all Crimes, but Treason and Murder; and even in those Cases to grant Reprieves; to place and displace all Officers, who are not by Patent. In short, to act with Sovereign Authority, taking Advice of his Council, under the King or Queen of *England*, according to the Laws of this Island, and he has a Negative Voice in the passing of Acts of the Assembly: As he is Chancellour of *Barbadoes*, he is impower'd to grant Administrations and Executorships of Estates, of Persons dying testate, to whom he pleases; which has been a profitable Branch of the Prerogative in some ill Governments.

The present Governour is *Mitford Crow*, Esq; whose Sallary is 2000 *l.* a Year. It formerly was but 1200 *l.* but then the Island us'd to make large Presents to each Governour on his Arrival, and so much every Year, to engage his Favour, which in time grew to a sort of a Prescription, and was expected by the Governours as their Right.

Her present Majesty put an end to this Grievance, by forbidding any such Benevolences for the future; and, to make amends for it, encreas'd the Sallary to 2000 l. Year. There are however some lawful Perquisites and Advantages, which renders the Government worth near 4000 l. per Annum, besides the 100 l. a Year for the Rent of the House, which is built for his Residence, at the publick Charge, on *Wilgrim's* Plantation; which is also for his Use.

The Council are Twelve in Number, and are generally Men of the best Estates and Quality in the Country. They are appointed by Letters of *Mandamus* from the King or Queen: And on the Death or Dismission of any of the Members, the Governour has Power to fill up their vacant Places with others.

Their Business is to advise and assist the Governour in all Matters relating to the Government; and to be a Check upon him if he exceeds the Bounds of his Commission. In the Assembly they make the Upper House, and claim an intire Negative Voice, like the House of Lords in *England*. The President of the Council, in the Absence of the Governour, and his Deputy, supplies his Place; and every Counsellor sits in the Court of *Chancery* with the Governour, and is stil'd, Honourable, by Virtue of his Place.

The present Members of the Council are,

<i>J. Lillington</i> , Esq;	<i>Alex. Walker</i> , Esq;
<i>W. Sharp</i> , Esq;	<i>Middleton Chamberlain</i> , Esq;
<i>Patrick Meine</i> , Esq;	<i>Tho. Alleyne</i> , Esq;
<i>Richard Scot</i> , Esq;	The Reverend Mr. <i>Sam. Beresford</i> .
<i>Samuel Cox</i> , Esq;	
<i>John Mills</i> , Esq;	

These following are lately put in by Mr. *Crom.*

<i>Viam Wheeler</i> , Esq;	<i>John Colliton</i> , Esq;
<i>Thomas Salter</i> , Esq;	

Clerk to the Council, Mr. *Coffin*.

The Manner of Electing Assemblies, of their Sitting, Voting, and Passing of Laws, is as near possible, like that of the House of Commons in *England*.

As to their Power and Privileges, they are large set down in the Laws of the Plantations; which we refer the Reader, and also for an Account of such as are now in Force and Use in this Island, where the Laws of *England* are always valid, as far as consists with the Custom of the Colony.

For the easier Distribution of Justice the Island is divided into Five Precincts: Over which there are as many Judges, who preside one in each, and hold their Courts of Common-Pleas, for Trial of Causes, according to the Laws of *England*, and Customs of *Barbadoes*.

The First of these Courts is kept at *Ostine's*, the last *Munday* and *Tuesday* in *January*.

The present Judge of it is ——— *Brewster*, Esq;

The Second at the *Bridge*, on the *Wednesday*, *Thursday*, and *Friday* following.

The present Judge, *John Sandford*, Esq;

The Third at the *Hole*, on the *Munday* and *Tuesday* next ensuing.

The present Judge, *Tho. Warren*, Esq;

The Fourth at *Speight's*, on the *Wednesday* and *Thursday* following.

The present Judge, *Alexander Anderton*, Esq;

The Fifth in the Parish of *St. Andrews*, on the *Friday* and *Saturday* next ensuing.

The present Judge, *Reinold Allen*, Esq;

They continue their respective Sittings from four Weeks to four Weeks, till the 26th of *September* yearly, and then adjourn to the last *Munday* in *January*.

From these Courts there lies an Appeal, in Causes above 10 *l.* Value, to the Governour and Council: And from them, in all above 500 *l.* Value

to the King, or Queen, and Council in England.
Besides these Courts, they have

A Court of Estreats,

A Court of Exchequer, the present Chief Baron,
John Mills, Esq;

Court of Admiralty, the present Judge, *Dudley
Woodbridge*, Esq;

Two Masters in Chancery, *Robert Stillingfleet*,
Esq; and *Gyles Thyer*, Esq;

Clerk of the Crown, *Norman Maccaffall*, Esq;

Attorney General, *Hodges*, Esq;

Sollicitor General, *Wil. Rawlins*, Esq;

This Gentleman, in the Year 1698. collected the
body of the Laws of *Barbadoes*, into one Book;
which was printed by Order of the Assembly: And
that Book of Laws, by an Act past by them, is to be
rem'd and held a good lawful Statute-Book of this
Island of Barbadoes. These Laws are all abridg'd,
the Treatise we have had frequent Occasion
to speak of.

Clerk of the Assembly, *James Cowes*, Esq;

Register in Chancery, *Wil. Walker*, Esq;

Provost Marshal, *Geo. Gordon*, Esq;

Which are the Chief Officers in the Law, and in
the State; the first next to the Governour, and
those we have before-mention'd, is,

The Treasurer of the Island, *John Holder*, Esq;

The Secretary, *Alexander Skeyne*, Esq;

The Governour's Secretary, *Merchant*, Esq;

Besides these the People of the Island have Agents
in England, to take Care of their Affairs, to whom
they allow 250 l. a Year; a very handsome Sallary:
and one would expect, from such an Allowance, that
the Planters should have no reason to be at so much
trouble, to sollicite the Business of the Island them-
selves. There are three of these Agents, who are at
this time,

William Bridges, Esq;
Rowland Tryon, Merchant; and,
Sir John Stanley; Brother-in-law to *Sir Bevil
 Granville*, the late Governour.

As to the Military Affairs of the Colony, they are under the Governour, manag'd by Colonels, in the several Parts of the Island, where are 5 Regiments of Foot, and two of Horse, besides the Regiment and Troop of Guards, each consisting, when 'tis full, of above 1200 Men.

In the time of War the Governour makes General Officers, for the better Conduct of the Forces as, A Lieutenant General, and Major General. The last Gentlemen who had these Commissions were,

Abel Alleyne, Esq; Lieut. General.
John Holder, Esq; Major General.

F O O T.

The *Bridge* Regiment is the biggest, and is call'd the Royal Regiment, or the Regiment of Foot Guards. It consists, when 'tis full, of 1400 Men, and is commanded by Col. *Hallet*.

Leward Regiment, 1200, commanded by Col. *Tho. Maycock*.

St. Joseph Regiment, 1200, commanded by Col. *Rob. Yeamans*.

St. Thomas and *St. James* Regiment, 1200, commanded by the Honourable *Tho. Alleyne*, Esq;

Ostine Regiment, 1200, commanded by Col.

Windward Regiment, 1200, commanded by Col. *Hen. Pierce*.

H O R S E.

Leward Regiment of Horse, 1000, commanded by Col. *Tho. Sandiford*.

Windward Regiment, 1000, commanded by Col. *John Freer*.

The *Gard de Corps*, or Troop of Guards, consist of 130 Gentlemen; and on all publick Occasions attend the Governour's Person.

Their present Captain is Col. *Salmon*.

Keeper of the Stores in the Magazine, Mr. *William Moor*. His Sallery 110 *l.* a Year.

Surveyor and Engineer General, Col. *Lilly*.

Commissioners of the Customs, *Wil. Sharp*, Esq; and *Sam. Cox*, Esq;

Naval Officer, Mr. *Cox*.

Receiver of the Casual Revenues, Mr. *Yeamans*.

Collector of the *Hole-Town*, *Hugh Howel*, Esq;

Collector at *Speight's*, *Wil. Denny*, Esq;

Clerk of the Markets, *Norman Maccaascal*, Esq;

Receiver of the 4 and an half *per Cent.* *Thomas Edwards*, Esq;

Commissioner of the Prizes, *William Cleland*, Esq;

Agent for the Ordnance, *John Merring*, Esq;

The Way of Lifting, Raifing, and Paying the Militia, comes under that Article in the *Laws of Barbadoes*; and therefore we shall say nothing of it this Place, but proceed to the Revenues; which such as are rais'd for the King or Queen's Use, and such as are rais'd for the Use of the Island. As first, 4 and an half *per Cent.* upon all Goods ship'd off; which is settl'd on the Crown, and amounts to, *annuibus Annis*, 10000 *l.* *per An.*

The next Duty is 4 Pound of Gun-powder for each Ton, of every Ship that unlades there, and is always paid in Specie, amounting to about 600 *l.*

There is also a Duty on *Madera Wines*, 4 *l.* 10 *s.* per Pipe, which amounts yearly to about 7000 *l.*

And on all other Liquors, which does not bring in above 2000 *l.*

These are settled Duties; the other are such as are rais'd by the Assembly for the Service of the Colony; that is generally done by a Pound-Tax, or Poll-tax, and some Years have amounted to 20000 *l.* there is nothing settled on the King or Queen, or their Heirs, except the 4 and an half *per Cent.* the other two Duties are appropriated to the Use

The History of Barbadoes.

of the Stores and Forts: And the *Barbadians* say the same of the $\frac{1}{4}$ and an half *per Cent.* Duty: With what Reason, will be seen hereafter.

The Parish-Taxes are rais'd by the Vestry, for the Maintenance of the Minister, and the Poor, and keeping the Churches in due Repair. And this brings us naturally to the Church-Affairs of the Island, which are under the Government of a Surrogate, appointed by the Bishop of *London*, who is the Ordinary of all the *English Colonies* in *America*: Where, in Imitation of His Lordship's Zeal for the Church of *England*, its Faith and Worship are, for the most part, strictly profess'd. The Laws of *Barbadoes*, charge and command, that the Persons inhabiting that Island, conform themselves to the Government and Discipline of the Church of *England*.

There are so few Dissenters in this Island, that there has been no publick Meeting establish'd, without a Pastor, since the Year 1690. The last Presbyterian Minister there, was Mr. *Vaughan*: And notwithstanding his Opinion, since his Death, have thought worth their while to go so far to propagate it.

The Ministers have good Allowances, the least Benefice being worth 150 or 200*l.* a Year; and that of the *Bridge-Town* 5 or 700*l.* The present Minister of that Place, or,

St. *Michaels*, is Mr. *Berisford*.

Of St. *Georges*, Vacant.

Of St. *James*, or the *Hole*, Mr. *Gordon*.

Of St. *Thomas*, Mr. *Hargrove*.

Of St. *Peters*, or *Speight's Town*, Mr. *Ball*.

Of *All-Saints-Chappel*, Mr. *Ball*.

Of St. *Lucys*, Mr. *Tuckerman*.

Of St. *Andrews*, Mr. *Justice*.

Of St. *Josephs*, Mr. *Fullwood*.

Of St. *Johns*, Mr. *Wharton*.

Of St. *Philips*, Mr. *Irvine*.

Of *Christ-Church*, or *Ostines*, Mr. *Ramsay*.

The present Surrogate is the Reverend Mr. *Berisford*, who succeeded the pious and learned Mr. *Cryer*; as he did the Reverend Mr. *William Walk*

Minister of *St. Peters*, and a Member of the Council; the first on whom the Bishop of *London* was pleas'd to confer this Reverend and Honourable Office.

The Assembly have lately had it under Consideration, to erect a College, and endow it; towards which great Legacies have been left, for the Education of their Youth: For 'tis not every Planter who can be at the Charge of sending his Sons to *England* to be educated; which the most wealthy of them have found inconvenient, by the Distance from their Parents and Guardians, and the Indulgence of their Correspondents here: Who, to flatter these young Gentlemen, in hopes of their Consignations, when they come to their Estates, or to engage them to write kindly of them to their Friends, give them what Money they ask for; and by this they often get a Habit of Extravagance, which ends in their Ruin: This wou'd be prevented, if there were fitting Schools in *Barbadoes*; which they might easily have.

Mr. *Tho. Tryon*, who understood the Interest of that Island as well as any Man, affirms, that this sending their Children to *England* has been a very great Hindrance to the Redress of their Grievances; for who can think they are under such heavy Loads as they complain of, when they can afford 2, 3, 4, and 500 *l.* Year to their Sons in *England*, most of them proving Beaus of the first Rate, and distinguishing themselves by the Gaiety of their Dress and Equipage: From whence, says he, it is inferr'd, they are grown wonderful rich; insomuch that it can't be thought amiss, for any Oppression, to lay Impositions upon their Produce or Commodities; but the wiser sort are Men of other Sentiments as well as my self. And again, *The loose and extravagant Education of your Youth*, (writing to a Planter) *is a sure Indication of Calamity and Misery to your Country, for in a few Years they come to govern the publick Affairs.*

All these Expences and Inconveniences would, in great measure, be prevented by the erecting a College and Library at the Bridge, with learned and ingenious Professors in the Sciences, to breed up young Gentlemen, without exposing them to the Hazards of the Sea, and the more fatal Dangers of Temptation

tion and ill Company in *England*; where, having Money at Will, when they are not of Years to know how to make use of it, they frequently continue in their Profusion and Prodigality, till they have none left to spend.

As the Gentlemen of *Barbadoes* may suppose the Author is very well acquainted with this Truth, if they cannot but know, that he can give a great many Exceptions to this bad Custom, but not enough to argue against its being abolish'd.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Sugar Canes, and the way of making and refining Sugar, as it is now practis'd in Barbadoes; together with an Account of the Nature and Use of that Commodity, Rum, and Melasses.

WE have, in the first Chapter, shew'd at what time Sugar Canes began to be first planted in *Barbadoes*; we shall now shew as well how those Plants were then cultivated, as how they are manag'd at present.

'Tis for the Sake of this Plant, that many thousands of *Englishmen* have transported themselves, their Families, and Estates, to the *West-Indies*; by this they have been rais'd from mean Conditions to a State of Affluence and Grandeur. By this many thousands of Families have subsisted, and been enrich'd in *England*; the publick Revenues, Trade, and Navigation, have been advanc'd, and the National Stock has increas'd above three Millions. In short, the Grain produc'd by this Plant has been said, by very good Judges, to contain a Substance, was it altogether, as big as the whole Island.

Sugar grows in a long Stalk, which we call Cane, full of Joints, two, three, four, or five Inches

under, and about six Foot high; the Sprouts and leaves at the Top rising up so high, as may make it near 8 Foot in all. The Body of the Cane is about an Inch Diameter, seldom more. The Colour of the Cane Tops is a pure Grass-green; of the Cane it is yellowish, when ripe: 'Tis cover'd with a thin Skin or Bark, somewhat hard on the Inside, being of a white spongy Substance, full of Juice, which the Servants and others suck, and eat great Quantities of, without injuring their Health; nothing is pleasanter than this Sap, when the Cane is ripe; 'tis also very nourishing and wholesome, if taken with Moderation. Their way of eating it is thus: They cut the Skin or Rind off, and put the Pith or spongy parts into their Mouths, when the Juice will come out more freely than Honey out of the Comb; and this Sweetness as far exceeds that of Honey, as *Pepin does a Crab*. 'Tis not surfeiting, but the plainest and best Sweet in the Universe. The Nature of this Juice is much like to that of Apples, but something thicker, 'tis yellow when the Cane is ripe, clean, and without any ill Taste or Hogo, and goes to the Pallat as sweetly as it came on. Of this Juice Sugar, Rum, and Melasses are made.

The Season for planting of Sugar Canes, is from August to the Beginning of *December* sometimes; such Canes don't arrive to Maturity, till they have been a Year and a Quarter, or a Year and a half in the Ground.

Their manner of growing is in Sprouts, three, four, or five, from one Root. They are not all of the same size, either in Bigness or Length, according to the Goodness of the Soil, and the Seasons. Some Canes will not rise above 3 Foot high, and others 6, and the Flags or Cane Tops of them exceed 9 Foot high, Stalk and all, and sometimes are under 6. These Cane Tops make very good Food for Horses and black Cattle; but the solid Canes are carry'd to the Mill, for the Uses we shall mention here.

The Manner of planting them, is by digging long Trenches in the Earth, about 6 Inches deep, and as many broad, and laying a double Row of Canes along the Trench one by another, from one End of the Trench

Trench to the other ; then the Earth is throw in, and another Trench dug, and so another, at about two Foot Distance, till all the Land is planted by laying the Canes along. Thus they produce a greater Number of Sprouts ; for this way a Branch shoots out of every Joint of the Cane, whereas the first Planters us'd to thrust a Piece of Cane perpendicularly into a Hole at certain Distances, which yielded no Shoot but from the Top ; and having three or four Sprouts, whose whole Weight depended on one Root, when they grew tall and heavy, the Storms loosen'd the Roots, and so they rotted, and became good for nothing. By this new way of Planting, the Root is secur'd, and the Produce increases'd. They come up in a little while after they are planted ; in about 12 Weeks they will be 2 Feet high.

The next Care of the Planter is to keep the Canes well weeded, Weeds being very apt to grow among them, and formerly the *Withies* in particular, a Creeper that runs along the Ground, and fastens to the Canes, by which they hinder the Growth.

The Roots must also be examin'd to see if any have fail'd, that they may be supply'd in time with others, lest the Ground should yield something hurtful to the Plant.

If the *With* had over-run a Plantation, or the Planter had neglected to fill up the Vacancies of the Roots that fail'd in time, by which Means the Crop was some ripe and some green, and could never be separated but by much more Labour than they were worth, the Planter burnt the Canes on the Ground. By this tho he lost so much time as his Canes had grown, yet he did not lose his Planting, for the Fire did not touch the Root, which shoots out again presently ; and it better'd the Soil, and destroyed the Rats. They did this by kindling the Fire on the Outsides of the Field, in a Circle quite round the Piece of Ground ; the Rats retir'd from the Borders to the Centre, and the Flames reaching at last to that, consum'd a Swarm of them together.

These Vermine were brought thither by the *English* Ships, and will so gnaw and suck the Canes, that they rot after it. In the time of the Turnado, in *November* and *December*, the Rats flew to the Houses, where they would have done as much Michief, but that they were more easily destroy'd.

The Practice now is to dung the Canes, which is done either when they are planted, or when they come up, and are two Foot high, and this is the greatest Trouble and Expence the Planter is at; for it was not for this dunging, a third Part of the Negroes would do.

When the Canes are ripe, which is known by their colour, they are cut up by Hand with a Bill, or other Tool, by one at a time, (for they are too big to be mow'd with a Scyth, or cut with a Hook) as they cut them, they trim them, chop off the Top, and cut or strip off the Leaves or Flags on the Sides, which are sav'd for the Uses we have already spoken of.

The Canes thus cut were bundled up in Faggots, and ty'd up with the Withs that grew among them, but are now only ty'd with the Tops of the Canes. Then they are carry'd to the Mill by Ass-goes, in Carts, or drawn by Horses.

The Mills that were at first in use there, were Cattle-Mills; but lately every substantial Planter has one or two Wind-Mills, and some three, as at *Sir Richard Hacket's*, *Sir Samuel Husband's*, and *Col. Brax's* Plantations.

Their Cattle-Mills and Wind-Mills are made after the same Manner as ours in *England*, and they grind the Canes thus in the Cattle-Mills: The Horses and Cattle being put to their Tackle, go about, and turn by *Sweeps* the Middle Roller; which being engag'd to turn others at the upper End, turn them about. They all three turn upon the same Centres, which are of Brass and Steel, going so easily of themselves, that a Man taking hold of one of the Sweeps with his Hand, may turn all the Rollers about; but when the Canes are put in between the Rollers, 'tis a good Draught for five Oxen or Horses. A Negro Woman puts in the Canes on one Side, and the Rollers draw them through on the other Side, where

another Negro Woman stands, receives them, and returns them back on the other Side of the Middle Rowler, which draws the other way.

This Operation presses out the Juice, and the *English* do no more to the Canes: But the *Spaniards* have a Press to squeeze out the Remainder of the Liquor, after both the former Grindings. The Works are small, and they are willing to make the most of them.

Mr. *Ligon*, from whom some Part of this Account of the Cattle-Mill is taken, speaks more largely of it; but these Cattle-Mills are almost quite out of use, there being 40 Wind-Mills to one Cattle-Mill. The Rollers are of Wood, cas'd with Iron, and they press out the Juice so thoroughly, that there's no Occasion of a Press to squeeze them; for in an Hour time the Sun dries the Canes so much, they are fit to burn.

Under the Rollers there's a hollow Place, into which all the Juice that runs from the Canes is received, and by Pipes of Lead, or Leaden Gutters conveyed over close, convey'd into a Cistern, near the Stairs, as you go down from the Mill-House into the Boyling-House.

The bruised Canes, which are call'd *Trash* in Barbadoes, are dry'd in the Sun; and since Wood grown scarce, become the principal Fuel there. *See his Letters.* *makes, says Mr. Tryon, a weak and uncertain Fire much inferior either to Wood or Coals, in the boyling of Sugars.*

When Sugar was first planted in this Island, one Acre of Canes yielded more than now, for four, five, six, or seven Years together, without any further planting or dunging; the same Root would shoot forth new Branches, and those be fuller of Sap than the Canes are at this time; when the Sugar being of so great a Substance, and containing such a Quantity of rich Juices, and the Planters being limited to a small Proportion of Land, pressing it so often with the same Plant, and never letting it lie still, the Soil is so impoverish'd, that they are now forc'd to dung and plant every Year; insomuch that 100 Acres of Cane require almost double the Number of Hands they did formerly, while the Land retain'd it

natural Vigour, which also then did not only bring forth certain Crops, but fewer Weeds too, the Weeds having been increas'd by frequent Dung.

Most of the Sugar Islands, *Barbadoes* especially, have a kind of white chalky Gravel, call'd *Marle*, about three Foot deep, which of it self is of so hot a Temper, and that is increas'd so much by dunging, that their Crops in all dry Seasons are sure to fail; but on the other Hand, in a wet Year the Canes grow low rank, and never come to Maturity.

Some Objections will certainly be made to this at *Barbadoes*; for what is said of the Uncertainty of the Growth of the dry'd Canes, can only relate to the Negligence of Servants, in feeding it, for if there's no Negligence, 'twill always be a constant and vigorous Growth.

As to the *Marle*, said to be frequent here, 'tis so scarce, that I have been told by an Inhabitant of the Island, he rarely or never saw any, nor met with any Soil too hot, or a Season too rank for his Canes.

We have before treated of the Growth of the Canes, and the squeezing out the Juice in a Cattle-drum; the Practice is much the same in a Water-drum; but this relates to *Jamaica*, and those Islands, where Rivers are more common than here. The chief Difference between the one and the other consists only in the way of turning the Rollers, either by Draught or Wind.

When the Liquor is in the Cistern, it must not remain there above one Day, lest it grow sour: From thence it is convey'd through a Gutter, fix'd to the Walls of the Boyling-House, to the Clarifying-Copper, or Boyler, and there boyl'd, till all the thin or gross Matter rising on the Top, is skimm'd off. This is the largest Copper in the Boyling-House; and as the Liquor is refin'd, 'tis taken out of the Copper, and carry'd into the second, and so into a third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh. The second is call'd the *Tach*, where it boyls longest. 'Tis continually kept stirring and boyling, till it comes to Consistency; and yet all this Boyling would reduce it only to a thick clammy Substance, without

out kerning or turning to a Grain, were it not for the *Temper* that is thrown into it. This *Lye* or *Temper* was many Years ago made of the Ashes of the *With*, which in the Field was so destructive to the *Cane*, steep'd and boil'd in Water to a certain Strength; and of this a small Quantity was thrown into the Boiler, when the Sugar was boiling, upon which it would presently kern, and grow hard.

The Quality of the *Temper* is sharp, and this Acid causes the clammy Substance to part, curdle and kern; and so it candies, and becomes Sugar. A Drop of this thrown into the Copper when the Liquor was first boiling, would have quite spoil'd it, and 'twould never have made Sugar.

The *Temper* now us'd is made of Lime infus'd in common Water. The Boyler makes his Liquor stronger or weaker according to the Goodness of the Canes; and there is never any brown nor white Sugar made without this Lime Water, or its Equivalent, Pot-Ashes, which yet is very rarely us'd, being neither so good, nor so cheap, as Lime-Water is found to be.

Muscovado Sugar, a Term borrow'd from the *Portuguese* of *Brazil*, which is the brownest sort, requires sometimes stronger Lime-Water than ordinary Sugar-bakers or Refiners use, in Refining white Sugar: And without this Operation, as has been said, the Juice of the Canes cou'd never be made into a firm substantial Body, nor acquire a sparkling Grain, but would remain a dull flat *Syrup*, of a heavy gross Nature, neither wholesome nor pleasant. For as the Juice of the Cane is a compleat Sweet, wherein there is a saltish, astringent, bitter, and sharp Qualities, and is weak and impotent; so without their Assistance cannot obtain a Body: Wherefore Lime-Water, which includes them all, is thrown into it, when the Sugar begins to rise up with a turbulent unmanageable Fury, occasion'd by the Fermentation of the Liquor of the Lime-Water, and the vehement Heat of the Fire.

To prevent its running over the Copper, they throw in a Piece of Butter no bigger than a small Nut. This, tho there are two or three hundred Gallons of Liquor in it, will presently make it fall down with

Circle in the Boyler; which proceeds from a kind of Antipathy between the salt nitral Property of the Juice of the Cane, and the animal Sulphur of the Butter. From the *Boiler*, when 'tis reduc'd to a proper Substance, the Liquor is carry'd to the Cooling-Cistern, call'd the *Cooler*; where it remains till 'tis fit to be put in Pots, which are now made of Earthen-ware, and the Form of them known to every body, they being daily to be seen in the Sugar-Houses in London, and elsewhere. They are wide at Top, and taper downwards; where a Hole is left for the Melasses to run out: A Commodity which always is in Demand in *England* among the Distillers.

Of the Skimmings of all the Coppers the Planters distil the famous Spirit known by the Name of *Rum*; which by some Persons is prefer'd to Brandy. 'Tis a hot Spirit, and has an offensive Smell and Taste with it; 'tis said to be very wholesome, and therefore it has lately supply'd the Place of Brandy in London. Indeed 'tis much better than Malt-spirits, and the sad Liquors sold by our Distillers. But a Spirit extracted from Melasses, or Raisins, will certainly have the Preference of *Rum* by all nice Distillers.

We must remember, that the Liquor of the Cane, when put into the Pots, would run out; but they stop'd with a Cane-top, till they are set upon the *Dripps*, hereafter mention'd.

The Sugar remains in these Pots two Days, and two Nights; at the End of which it will be thoroughly cold; and then, if 'tis good, knock upon the Pot with your Finger, and it will give a Sound. If the Sugar be bad, it will neither be hard, nor give any Sound.

The Pots-afterwards are remov'd to the Curing-house, and set upon Earthen-pans, call'd *Dripps*, about a Foot from the Ground, and the Melasses runs into them, which is afterwards either carry'd to the Distil-house, or put into a Cistern, where it remains till it rises to a good Quantity; which is sometimes boil'd again, and a sort of Sugar made of it, call'd *Paneels*, worse than *Muscovado*, and ship'd off in Casks for *England*.

In a Month's time the Planters reckon the Sugar is sufficiently cur'd. If the Melasses did not run from any of the Pots, as it ought to do, they former bor'd a Hole in their wooden Jarrs with an Auger to open the Passages.

From the Curing-Room the Pots are remov'd to the *Knocking-Room*; so call'd, because the Pots are there turn'd up-side down, and the Sugar knock'd out of them: Which will appear of three different Colours and Qualities, the Top brown, and a frothy light Substance for the Depth of an Inch or two; the Bottom black, heavy, moist, and full of Melasses for about a Foot; and the Middle white, dry, and good; and this is generally three Quarters of the whole. The Top is pack'd up with the Bottom; about half of the whole are boil'd, and further refin'd with the *Panels*. The Middle is carry'd to the Store-house, as fit for the Market; yet the finest of this sort will have a Foot; this is, a Sediment at Bottom, after 'tis in the Hogshead, which will be blacker than the rest, moister and fouler, occasion'd by the Melasses that remain in it.

This is the Sugar that is commonly imported, and is fit for both the Grocer and Sugar-baker. Nine Pound of the Juice of the Cane, which is a Gallon, makes but one Pound of Muscovado, and one of Melasses; the rest is Skimmings and Dregs.

If the Canes be not good, then Nine Pounds make but three Quarters of a Pound of Muscovado Sugar, and the like Quantity of Melasses.

The Badness of the Canes was, in times past, caus'd either by their being planted too thick, which intercepted the Heat from penetrating thro' them to the Roots, or a wet Season, by which some will be ripe and some not; and what are of them, will not be so much in Quantity, nor so good in Quality.

There was as much Difference between the Sugar made of such sort of Canes, and of such as were ripe, as there is between Cyder made of Apples growing on the Out-side of the Trees, and of those that grow under the shady Boughs, where the Sun cannot influence them with its warming Beams. This was when the Soil was too rich; but now there's

such Fault, and the Canes all ripen well, if plant-
ed in time.

There are also other Causes of Goodness of the Co-
our and Grain of some Muscovado Sugar, and the
Badness of others: As the Goodness and Badness of
the Lands the Canes grow on; the good or bad
times of the Year the Sugar is made in; and the
Art and Experience of the chief Boyler. The best
sort is that which is of a lively, whitish and bright
yellow, with a sparkling Grain. I have seen some
of this sort made at Mr. *Walter's* Plantation at
Peeshill, so fine and white, that when there was a
heavy Duty on first and second Whites, and another
on Sugars fit for Use, besides that on Muscovado,
which continues to this Day, was pass'd by the Sur-
eyors at the Custom-house for first Whites, and his
Correspondent Sir *John Bawdon* was forc'd to
make a great deal of Sollicitation to get them off
the *Fitts*, a Term the Merchants call'd the sort
next above Muscovado by, and was the lowest
degree of Clay'd or Purg'd Sugars. Other sorts I
have seen as bad as *Antego-Sugar*, and fit only for a
Dutch Market.

The next Operation with Sugar, is refining the
Muscovado by the same *Lime-Water*, as the Juice of
the Cane is refin'd with; and these Sugars are
call'd *Whites*, or Purg'd Sugar. Clay'd Sugars are
made white by claying the Pots of Muscovado:
which is done thus; They take a kind of whitish
Clay, somewhat like Tobacco Pipe-clay, and tem-
per it with Water for that purpose, to about the
thickness of Pancake-batter; they pour it with a
Spade on the Sugar in the Pots, near an Inch thick;
which Clay has a wonderful Power over the Sugar,
to purge the grosser, flatulent, or treachy Part down-
ward, and to cause the Pot of Sugar, which general-
ly contains about half an hundred of Brown-sugar, to
become less in Quantity, and of several Colours and
Goodness. For the first three or four Inches on the
Top of the Pot, the Sugar, after it has stood four
Months, is very white, near the Whiteness of our
Sugar-bakers Sugar; and the next four or five In-
ches is not so white; and so the whole Pot is in de-
grees, till you come to the Bottom; every Degree
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downwards growing worse and worse. For this Reason the Sugar-bakers and Clayers divide the several sorts into *Firsts*, *Seconds*, *Thirds*, and *Fourths* each of which sorts is pack'd in separate Casks from the other, and sold at different Prices, very far short of what they bore in the Infancy of the Colony White Sugar selling then for 10*l.* a Hundred, and now not for 3*l.*

This Account is given us by Mr. Tryon, who was not so well acquainted with the Claying of Sugar as he was with Muscovado: For the true Way of Claying of Sugars is this; When the Liquor is brought from the *Clarifiers*, it is strain'd, and then carry'd into the *Taches*, and made as other Sugars are: But when it comes to be put into Pots, it is kept stir'd till it begins to cool. When it has been kept ten Days, it is dug up for 5 or 6 Inches deep and then levell'd again, and cover'd with the Clay which lies on it, for 10 Days; then 'tis dug up and levell'd as before, and a new Clay put on, which lies on it till 'tis thoroughly purg'd: After which 'tis knock'd out, and divided into *Firsts* and *Seconds*, and the Bottom sometimes makes a *Third* sort. There is at least 30 or 35 *per Cent.* waste; but this is made up by the *Melasses*, which makes a very good *Paneel* Sugar; and the *Melasses* of those *Paneels* is distill'd into Rum, which of late has been rarely made, because of the excessive Duty. The vast Quantities of Purg'd Sugar that are made here and there, occasion its Cheapness, tho' the Planters have lately been forc'd to lay down the Claying of Sugars, on account of the high Duties, and low Rates in *England*.

Clay'd Sugar not being refin'd, that is, boil'd over again, is not free from various, gross, Treacherous Qualities; which Refining only will purge away, and separate. None of our Sugar-Islands can make this sort to any Advantage, except *Barbadoes*. And 'tis not all Plantations there, that yield Canes whose Juice kern to a Muscovado Sugar, fit for claying, so want of Strength.

If a 100 Weight of *Firsts* and *Seconds* should be refin'd, 'twou'd not make above half that Quantity the rest being, as we have said, *Course-Sugar*, *Melasses* and *Skimmings*, of a dirty black Substance which

which gross excrementitious Matter, while the Sugar remain'd entire, was unknown and imperceptible to the most curious Eye; and 'tis the like in Muscovado, to a larger degree, as to the gross Matter.

The finest Purg'd Sugar that ever came from Barbadoes, was, till within these 18 or 20 Years, made by the Growth of Sir Timothy Thornhill's Plantation, Sir John Bawdon's, and Mr. Walter's. The former had a Negro who was allow'd to communicate his Art to one of Sir John Bawdon's, a Boyler; and he came so excellent, that I have heard that Gentleman say, he would not sell him for 500*l.* This Black instructed Mr. Walter's Servant, and others who since made excellent Whites, but none so good as came from those Plantations.

Mr. Walter's and Sir John Bawdon's Plantations lye in Scotland; and one may thence imagine, that that part of the Island produces a Sugar fittest for the use; tho' 'tis to be suppos'd, that the Skill of their Servants contributed most to the Goodness of their Sugars.

There are other Ways of distinguishing good Sugar from bad, particularly Muscovado Sugar, that is only gone through the Operation of Boyling, which is by its keeping; Muscovado being fouler and grosser than either clay'd or refin'd, will not keep so long. It may be kept several Years, and be good for Use, tho' not so good the second Year as it was the first; and if it is a Year and an half old, it grows soft yielding Temper, and a small weak Grain or Crumbly. The Refiner will find out its bad Qualities upon as 'tis in his Pan, and it will neither yield much, nor what it makes be so good, as if it had been work'd sooner.

Clay'd Sugar, if well order'd, will keep longer, and not much; for which reason Brasil Sugar is generally moist; and Barbadoes Clay'd-Sugar will also turn into the same Clamminess, and not keep so long as that is refin'd.

We have so often mention'd refin'd Sugars, the Reader will expect an Account of them, and in what they differ from Clay'd.

The Clay'd, as is before-mention'd, has no Limestone put into it, neither is it boil'd again, but only

ly Pots of Muscovado Sugar clay'd down; which Clay, by its Coldness, condenses, and forces the Moisture downwards; yet enough is left behind, to make it fouler and grosser than Refin'd Sugar; which is Muscovado boil'd over again, and clarify'd with Lime-Water, potted and strein'd; and this Sugar will be drier, and of a more sparkling White than the brightest of the Clay'd.

Double and treble Refin'd is only the same Sugar clarify'd twice or thrice over. By which means we have seen some Sugar whiter than the falling Snow and of a Grain as fine as Flower; yet of a Sweetness that nothing could equal, which was not of the Juice of the Cane; and this sold after the rate of Ten Pound a Hundred; when first Whites fetch'd but three Pound, or three Pound ten Shillings.

There are no great Quantities of this sort exported from *Barbadoes*, the Duty on Refin'd Sugar being no less than 30 s. a Hundred in *England*.

The Sugar refin'd in *Barbadoes* is infinitely finer and whiter than the Sugar-Bakers Sugar here in *England*; who are a sort of Men that have adulterated this Commodity, and brew it as much when in Liquor, as Hedge-Vintners sophisticate their Wines.

The Grain of the *Barbadoes* Refin'd Sugar is very fine, and the Colour a true white, comparable to the best of that Kind in Nature. Whereas the Sugar-Bakers Refin'd Sugar is a blewish sickly white, which looks glaring to the Eye, but will not bear Examination like the *Barbadoes*. One Reason of this, among many others, may be the Whitening the Sugar in *Barbadoes* in the Sun. Some Planters use *Barbic* for this Purpose; a Machine made about 3 or 4 Feet high, with Drawers to hold the Sugar; and these are drawn out when the Sugar is expos'd, and shut on the Likelihood of wet or misty Weather, which would melt that Commodity.

Sugar dry'd and whiten'd by the Sun-beams, in a serene Climate, must of consequence be a purer White, than what is dry'd in smoaky Rooms, or Coal-Fires, or in Stoves, where the Dampness prejudices the true Brightness of the Sugar, though the Bakers have a way to make it sparkle even more than

at of *Barbadoes*. Since both they and the Planters work up all their Sugar with the salt Nitre of Stones, us'd in Water; which is better understood by Lime-Water; as we have hitherto call'd it; and that this Ingredient is reckon'd unwholsome by several Men and Women, Doctors, Apothecaries, and others, that the dusty, stony Quality of the Lime remains in the Sugar, especially the Refin'd; and will rather use brown, dirty, or clay'd Sugar, will not be improper to answer this Objection, that many thousands of Persons, who have not given themselves the Trouble of studying this Matter, may be convinc'd of their Error: In which I shall make use of the Argument of the late Mr. *Thomas Tryon*, an eminent and an ingenious *Barbadoes* Merchant at *London*, who reconcil'd Business and Letters, and shew'd, that a Man might at once improve his Understanding and his Fortune. His words are these;

The Brown or Clay'd Sugars are good in their kind; they are not to be compar'd with our White refin'd Sugars, this being a general and sure Rule, that the whiter any Sugar is, the cleaner, finer, and wholsomer it is, and is the more purg'd from all Grossness and Impurity. On the other Side, the blacker, duller, and moister any Sugar is, the fouler and grosser it must be, and consequently the more unwholsome and unhealthy; for the most, if not all the Operations of Boyling, Skimming, Clarifying, and Straining, perform'd in making the gross crude Juices of the Sugar Cane into *Muscovado* Sugar, is done by the Refiners, even to a higher Degree, and with great Charge, Skill, and Cleanliness, in working brown Sugar into white; and certainly the more Sugar is freed from its Grossness and Melasses, the more compact and harder is its Body, and the more Spirits and Life is in it. It will perform all the Uses in Housewifery to a greater Perfection, is of a finer Taste, of a more excellent Complexion, and causes all things, wherein 'tis mix'd, to be more wholsome and pleasant; so that these scrupulous Persons may assure themselves, that the sparkling Grain, and Hardness of white Sugar, are not at all occasion'd by

Tryon's
Letters.

any Mixture of Lime, but by its own Fineness
 as being freed from the grosser Part, or Melasses,
 treacly Quality, which is soft, gross, and of a black
 or dull Complexion: Besides, the *Sal Nitr*
 Powers and Virtues that imbibe and give themselves
 forth, and incorporate with the Water, are invisible
 and spirituous Qualities, as much unseen, and
 unknown to Mankind, as the Powers and Virtues
 that dwell in the Center of all Vegetative and Animal
 Creatures. And though we know each Creature
 encreases, grows, and multiplies; yet the inward
 Power from whence this proceeds, remains a
 Mystery, and wholly invisible to us. Now for the
 Satisfaction and better Information of such as persevere
 in a Belief, that there is some Trick of the Workman
 in preparing a Compost or Mixture of Lime, or some
 such thing in white refin'd Sugar, let them take
 common Water, as that of the *Thames*, or *New-River*
 which for the most part is not very fine nor clear,
 into which let them infuse such a Quantity of slack
 Lime as Refiners do, in a short time the dusty Bottom
 of the said Lime will sink to the Bottom, and the
 Water will become, as it were, purg'd or rarify'd
 from all its Impurities, and thereby be rendered
 much finer and clearer than other Water that
 comes from the same Spring: Besides, the Limed
 Water will keep sweet, and free from all kind of
 stinking Foulness, a considerable time longer than
 any other common Water that is entire, or without
 this Ingredient of Lime. 'Tis with this clear and
 fine Water, that both brown and white Sugars are
 boil'd up, and that which endues both sorts with
 its sparkling lively Grain, and brisk spirituous
 Body, and without which no Art could raise it to
 such a compleat and useful Body, and become so
 lively and vigorous in Operation; unto which
 most or all the best exhilarating Cordials, made
 by Physicians, Apothecaries, and Housewives, owe
 their Original: So that let them believe or not
 'tis manifest there's no such Mixture of Lime, Alum,
 or any thing like it in the Refiners white
 Sugar.

There is another white Sugar of several Colours
 exceeding our Muscovado, call'd *Lisbon Sugar*, be
 caut

use it came first from *Brazil* to *Lisbon*, but particular Planters have made as good Sugar of that sort *Barbadoes*, as ever was made at *Brazil*; an Instance which I have given in this Chapter; and the finest *Barbadoes* Sugar is often sold by our Grocers at *Lisbon*, which the good Women call a *Fat Sugar*, supposing 'twill sweeten better, but our Refiners white Sugar is much whiter, dryer, and cleaner than the *Brazil* white Sugar.

The best *Muscovado* is whitish, with a sparkling Grain. The next is that which tends towards an Ash Colour, having a large sandy Grain or Body; this is 3 or 4 s. a hundred cheaper than the first sort, and is generally bought up by the Refiners, as the first by the Grocers. The third is of a darkish sad Colour, somewhat inferior to the other two, and proper for refining. The worst sort of all is of a deep red Ash Colour, has a soft weak Grain and Body, and makes the poorest Work in refining, both in Quality, Colour, and Quantity. The Value of all *Muscovado* Sugar, is always in Proportion to its Colour and Strength; of white Sugar, to its Whiteness and Dryness; and the same of refin'd Sugar; the former of which has always a *Foot*, or Sediment, and the latter very little or none at all.

We have been the larger in our Account of this profitable Plant, because 'tis the main Article of the *British* Commerce in *America*; we have seen how it rises from a Root to a Plant, and have follow'd it in all its Operations, till 'tis fit for the Table, or the *Lady's Conservatory*; by which we may see how industriously and chargeably the Planters work up this Commodity, which we in *England* don't set so great a Value upon as we ought: We have seen how the Juice is carry'd to the Mill, Cattle-Mill or Wind Mill, how the Juice is convey'd to the Cistern, thence to six or seven Boylers, thence to the Cooler; how it is then put into Pots, then set in the Boiling-Room, thence remov'd to the Knocking-Room: All these Rooms are built conveniently, one after another, to ease as much as possible the Labour of the Servants; who from *Monday* Morning, when they begin to work, to *Saturday* Night, when they always leave off, are kept constantly at it; but

being too hard Work for the same Men to hold it so long, they are reliev'd twice a Day, and take their Turns in the Field. And the like do the Horses in the Mill, which requires 5 or 6 Horses at a time to draw it.

Since Wind-mills came up, the Planters have ne us'd, nor wanted so much Cattle as before. Assne goes us'd to carry the Canes, as Carts do now, to the Mill, and the Sugar from the Store-house to the Water-side; where 'tis ship'd or sold.

What remains now to be treated of, are the Dregs of the Juice, the Skimmings of the Copper, and the Droppings of the Pots, which are all capable of Improvement. They are carry'd to Cisterns and Backs, where they ferment; and are then drawn by Pipes into the Stills, in a House adjoining to the former, which is call'd the *Distilling-House*. Here they are first distill'd, and then rectify'd into the Spirit we have spoken of, call'd *Rum*.

The ways of managing it is much improv'd, since the first Settlement of the Island. 'Tis brought to such Perfection, that were it not for a certain Tweak or Hogo that it receives from the Juice of the Canes, 'twould take place next to French Brandy; for 'tis certainly more wholesome, at least in the Sugar-Islands; where it has been observ'd, that such as drink of the latter freely, do not live long, whereas the Rum-Drinkers hold it to a good old Age.

Rum does not so soon destroy the radical Moisture and Digestion of the Stomach, as French Brandy does; whose thin, hungry Leanness is prov'd by putting a raw Piece of Flesh into it, where it will be eaten, and perish much sooner than a like Piece put at the same time into *Barbadoes Brandy* or *Rum*.

The *Melasses*, which is the Runnings from the Sugar, is either distill'd at home, or ship'd to *England*, and sold to our Distillers, who make a noble, clean Brandy with it, much better than the Spirit of Malt, or any other Spirit, except what is extracted from the Productions of the Vine.

The Runnings from the Sugar-Pots in the Finers Curing-Houses in *England*, are call'd Treacle

and this is much cleaner than the Melasses of *Barbadoes*, but not than the *Barbadoes* Treacle; which is also the Runnings of the Sugar-Pots, after the Sugar is refin'd there.

Treacle makes admirable Brandy, and brown Sugar a finer Spirit still than that. This exceeds all other Brandy, as much as Light does Darknes, being the highest and noblest Cordial that can be made of any Fruit or Vegetable.

Melasses and Treacle are of excellent Use in Medicines, and other Things, particularly in Fermented Liquors or Drinks; in which they are to be preferr'd, by many degrees, to the Sweets of Salt; and there is no Use which they are put to, but that Sugar, and its Syrrup, will serve much better in its stead.

We must confess, that this excellent Production of the Cane in *Barbadoes*, is one of the most pleasant and useful things in the World, in many Cases: For besides the Advantages of it in Trade, which will be discours'd of in another Chapter, Physicians and Apothecaries cannot be without it, there being near three Hundred Medicines made up with Sugar; almost all Confectionary Wares receive their Sweetness and Preservation from it. Most Fruits wou'd be pernicious without it; the best Pastries cou'd not be made, nor the rich Cordials that are in the Ladies Closets, nor their Conerves; neither could the Dairy furnish us with such Variety of Dishes, as it does, but by the Assistance of this noble Juice.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Trade of Barbadoes to and from England, to Africa, and the other Part of America; And of their Running Cash, or Coin.

THE Trade of *Barbadoes* is more general than great many People imagine; who seeing no thing come from thence but Sugar, and a few other Commodities, think all the Merchants there are wholly employ'd in buying of Sugar, and shipping it home.

This, 'tis true, is the main Article, and 'tis this draws so many Trades after it, as to *England*, for Necessaries for the Subsistence and Cloathing of the Planters, and their Families; to *New-England* and *Carolina* for Provisions; to *New-York* and *Virginia* for Bread, Pork, Flower, Indian-Corn, and Tobacco; to *Guinea* for Negroes; to *Madera* for Wine; to *Terceiras* and *Fyall* for Wine and Brandy; to the Isles of *May* and *Curassau* for Salt; and to *Ireland* for Beef and Pork; but that Trade is somewhat lessen'd lately.

'Tis amazing to think what a prodigious Number of Hands this little Spot of Ground employs, which we shall treat of elsewhere, and what great Commerce it occasions in those Parts of the World.

As to its Trade with *England*, it formerly loaded 400 Sail of Ships, most of them of considerable Burthen, with Sugar, Cotton, Ginger, &c. Since the War that Number is decreas'd to 250; and even that is much more than all the other Sugar-Island put together ever loaded home.

The Inhabitants at first planted Tobacco, and sent it to *England*, but 'twas found to be so bad, that Necessity, as well as Profit, oblig'd them to look out for some other Trade, tho' as good Tobacco as any in the World has grown there.

Indigo was ship'd thence some Years since, but here is now little or none made in the Island. Of Ginger scrap'd and scalded they make great Quantities, and have abundance of Cotton-Shrubs; a Commodity that turns very well to account.

They also ship *Lignum Vita*, Succats, Citron-Water, Melasses, Rum, and Lime-juice, for *England*. The two last Commodities, about 20 Years ago, us'd to come in Kegs for Presents, so did the Succats; and the Citron-Water in Bottles: But now French Wine and Brandy are dear, and Lemons scarce, Rum-Punch has been much us'd, and Lime-juice supply'd the place of Lemons. These Goods they consign to their Factors or Correspondents in *England*; who have 2 and an half *per Cent.* Commission for Sales, and as much *per Cent.* Returns; and one half *per Cent.* Commission, for paying and receiving Money by Bills of Exchange.

The Merchants in *Barbadoes* have 5 *per Cent.* Commission for Sales, and 5 *per Cent.* for Returns; which, together with other Advantages, make their Business very advantagious; but they are apt to impose upon the Planters in the Prices of what they buy and sell, obliging them to take their Necessaries, which they know they must have, at what Rates they please; and giving them the same for their Sugar, which they know they must sell.

Most of the Merchants there are a sort of Shopkeepers, and retail their Goods in their Warehouses. Of late there are several Shop-Keepers, who buy whole Cargoes of them at so much *per Cent.* Advance upon the prime Cost in the Invoice, and retail out the Goods afterwards. These Goods, which are all brought from *England*, or *Ireland*, are,

Ozinbrigs, which is a chief Commodity, vast Quantities being consum'd by the Servants and Slaves, whose Cloathing is made of this sort of Linnen.

Linnen of all sorts, for the Planters and their Families.

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Broad Cloth and Kerfies, for the Planters own Use, or their Overseers.

Silks and Stuffs, for their Ladies and Houshold Servants.

Red Caps, for Slaves, Male and Female.

Stockings and Shoes of all sorts, for Masters and Servants.

Gloves and Hats, of all Sorts and Sizes.

Millenary-Ware and Periwigs.

Laces for Linnen, Woollen and Silks.

Beef from *Ireland*.

Pork from *England* or *Ireland*.

Pease, Beans, Oats, and Bisket. The three former from the *West* Country; the latter from *London*, the Bread being better there than any other part of *England*; and will keep better; which is a great Convenience now, the good Bisket is bought for 3 s. a Hundred. In that time it gets to *Barbadoes*, perhaps it will be half Worm-eaten, or at least by that time 'tis half spent, the rest will be good for nothing. This Damage is in some measure prevented, by the Goodness of the Bread, which the *London* Bakers understand best; and tho' they may come cheaper in the Country, yet by the time 'tis sold at the *Bridge*, or in the Store House, at the Planter's Habitation, there will be so much waste, that the Price is general double; and 'tis often so with *London* Bisket also.

Wine of all sorts; strong Beer, and Pale-Ale Pickles, Candles, Butter and Cheese, Iron Ware for Mills and Sugar-Works; as Whip-saws, Hand-saws, Files, Axes, Hatchets, Chiswels, Adze Howes, Pick-Axes, Mat-hooks, Plains, Gouge Augurs, Hand-bills, Drawing-Knives, Nails, and all sorts of *Birmingham* Ware, Leaden-Ware, Powder and Shot, and Brasary Ware. As to Brasary or *Birmingham* Ware, tho' they are good Commodities, yet they are such as agree the least with the Climate of any. They rust, canker, and are eaten up in a few Years.

The Air there is so moist, that if any Instrument of Steel is never so clean, let it lie one Night expos'd to the Air; it will be rusty by next Morning; which, tho' things do not rust so soon now, occasions the Necessity of frequent Supplies of such sort of Goods. Copper Ware for the Sugars is a very good Commodity.

Clocks and Watches seldom go right there; but believe the Watch-makers are as often in the Fault, or the Owners at least, in not looking well after them, as the Air, the Dampness of which is said to affect the Springs and Movements so as to render the Motion uncertain. I know a Gentleman who carry'd over a Watch to *Barbadoes*, of *Waters's* making, ten Years ago, after he had had it four in *England*; and that Watch went well for seven Years here, without wanting to be clean'd or righted: Whereas a Watch made at the same time by the same Man, of the same Price, and with equal keeping, was spoil'd in a much less time in *England*, without any Accident coming to it; and yet for several Years it went as well, or better, than the other, which has been since another Voyage to *Barbadoes*, and goes still well without mending. And this is a plain Proof, that the Climate is not such an enemy to the noble Machine, a Watch, as some ignorant *Voyagers* pretend; who either carry'd over Trash, or did not know how to use them.

All sorts of *India* Goods and Toyes, Coals, Panels, Hearth-stones, Hoops; and, in a word, every thing that's proper for an English Market, or Fair, will sell there, the Difference of the Climates always consider'd.

Servants will go off well, especially such as are not transported for Crimes, but go voluntarily. Of these many Companies have been sent from *Scotland*; and since the Union has succeeded, 'tis to be hop'd many more will be transported thither. But upon the Disputes between the Two Nations, about the *West-India* Trade, at *Darien* and elsewhere, the Scots deny'd the English the Advantage which their Colonies drew from their Plenty of Servants, occasion'd the Number of the Poor in that Kingdom.

Mechanicks, as Carpenters, Joyners, Masons, Smiths, Paviers, Coopers, Taylors, go off best; and if very good ones, are worth 25 or 30 *l.* a piece for their five Years Service.

This and the other Islands in King *Charles's* Reign, lay under the Scandal of kidnapping Young Men and Boys, that is, forcing or enticing them aboard Ship without their own or Friends Consents; some great Merchants were charg'd with it, and Sir *W. Hayman*, a *Bristol* Merchant, actually try'd for it by Judge *Jefferies*. but the Fact was never fairly prov'd upon them, and since the Laws against it have been so well put in Execution in the Colonies, as well as in *England*, that wicked Traffick is quite destroy'd. There are some Cautions necessary to be observ'd by such as would send a Cargo of wasting or perishable Goods to *Barbadoes*, which are, that they ship their Butter, Oil, Candles, Liquors, and Provisions, as near as they can about the latter end of *September*, and then the Ship on which they are loaden, may arrive about the Middle of *November*, the Length of the Voyage being commonly six Weeks, if the Vessel sails directly thither. I have known a Ship, as particularly the *Richard* and *Michael*, Captain *John William* Commander, belonging to Mr. *Rich. Walter* and Col. *Michael Terrill*, to make the Voyage homewards in 22 Days, the shortest Passage that was ever heard of from that Island to *England*, which is generally a six or seven Weeks Voyage homeward bound, and a five or six Weeks Voyage outward bound. The Packets generally make it in twenty six or twenty eight Days.

Care also should be taken in the Choice of the Goods that are bought to be sent thither; for if the Factor or Merchant trusts to the Tradesmen in *London*, or other Places, he will often find his Merchandize come out very ill in the Country, where he should have a good Correspondent to give him constant Advice of the Demand of all sorts of Commodities, some of those we have mention'd always going off better than others, according to their Scarcity, and the Necessity of the Planter. He must be sure to be mindful of their being well pack'd, especially Millenary Ware, Glasses, and all Goods that
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easily broken, or he will unload Rubbish instead of Merchandize, when he comes to Barbadoes.

The Frieght of Goods homeward before the late war was 5 or 6 *l.* a Tun, and since it has been 12 *s.* hundred, which is as good as thirty Pounds a Tun; many Hogshheads of Sugar weigh 12 and 13 hundred Weight, of which four make 56 hundred, almost three Tun, of 20 hundred to the Tun; and I have seen Barrels of 8 hundred Weight a piece, at which Weight there was 64 hundred Weight to the Tun; which at 12 *s. per Cent.* Freight, from Barbadoes to London, amounts to near 40 *l.* a Tun freight. Outward bound us'd be 20 *s.* and is now 4 or 5 *l.* a Tun. These are grievous Burdens to Planters, which they have no way to prevent; but of this we must treat more largely elsewhere.

Sugars in King *James* Reign sold for 20 and 21 *s.* Hundred; the coursest of all for 17 and 18 *s.* and the same sorts sell now at 30 and 32 *s.* They sold in King *William's* Reign for near 3 *l.* and Whites proportionably; which Rates being occasion'd by bad Winds, Storms, or Captures, the Planters must not expect to see again in their Accounts of Sales, unless the same Accidents happen.

We shall not enter into the Detail of the Prices of all the Commodities that come from Barbadoes, should not have said so much of this, but that 'tis a Capital one, and there's something in the Account is Historical.

The next Trade to the *English* in Barbadoes is the *African*, which is manag'd chiefly by the *Royal African Company's* Agents there, who are at present Col. *W.* *Bates*, and Mr. *Steward*, Merchants at *St. John's* *Bridge*; but that Company do not engross the Trade as they did formerly, to the great Loss of the *London* Merchants, who paid them 40 *per Cent.* Advance Money on their Cargoes to *Guinea*, for Liberty of Trade; and besides that, were oblig'd to let the Company buy their Merchandize, and charge them their own Rates; which, with other Advantages, is as good to that Society as 60 *per Cent.* on all the Merchants Invoices, that dealt to *Africa* for Slaves.

Slaves. That Trade is now open, and 10 per Cent only paid by all Merchants, trading to *Guinea* Negroes, to the *Royal Company*, towards maintaining their Forts and Castles.

The Commodities sent from *England* thither, Guns, Powder and Arms, Perpetuanoes, Tobacco &c. as elsewhere mention'd; some Hats, and other wearing Apparel.

The Price of a Negro in *Guinea* 30 Years ago was 50 s. or 3 l. and now the *Barbarians* understand their Advantage, and our Necessities so well, that they hold up their Slaves at 9, 10, and 12 l. a Head, which occasions their Dearness at the Plantations, where 20 Years ago they were sometimes sold at the same Rates.

The Planters having been a long time impos'd on by the Company's Agents, and private Factors in the Price of their Negroes, have lately fallen very much into this Trade themselves. They send to *England* for what Cargoes they want for the Voyage and dispatch away small Vessels, either alone, or in Partnership, to *Guinea*, to bring them Slaves to supply their Plantations; which must every Year be recruited with 20 or 30 Negroes, for every 4 or 5 Acres, or their Stock will soon come to nothing. For Hands are the Life of all Business in *Barbadoes*, and 'tis the want of them that keeps the Planters poor when they fall into those unhappy Circumstances.

The other considerable Trade that remains to be treated of, is that to *Madera* for Wines, which is the chief Drink of the Island that the Gentlemen make use of, either by it self, or mix'd with Water. Of these there are about 3000 Pipes, *Malmsey* and *Vidonia*, imported in a Year, either by the *London* Merchants, or the *Barbadians* themselves. The Cost at *Madera* is from 20 to 25 Milrees a Pipe, each Milree worth 6 s. 8 d. of our Money, that is from 7 to 9 l. a Pipe, besides Charges; the Value at *Barbadoes*, from 18 to 20 l. a Pipe, according to the Plenty or Scarcity of the Commodity. This is a noble Wine, and has a peculiar Quality, that it keeps the better for being kept hot. That Wine which comes directly from *Madera* to *England* drinks pall'd, in Comparison

of that which comes round by *Barbadoes*, and so home; which, in time of War, is the most usual way of importing it here.

Tho *Barbadoes* could never boast of equal Advantages with *Jamaica*, as to the Trade to the *Spanish West-Indies*, and had never such Resort of Pyrates, who are the Men that make Silver plenty, yet 4 or 5 Years ago there was a great running Cash in the Island, thought to amount to no less than 100000 *l.* Sterling in Value, many Merchants at the *Bridge* having paid 10000 *l.* ready Money upon Occasion; but that Plenty is now so abated, that 'tis well if there's a fourth Part of that Sum at this time *Barbadoes*. This was occasion'd chiefly by the good Weight of their Peices of Eight; and the Proclamation put forth in *England* in 1702. to reduce 'em to a certain Value by Weight, which tempted many of the Traders to buy up the Silver, and export to the other Islands, or to *England*, to save the Premium of Bills of *Exchange*; which, on the calling in the Pieces of Eight, and establishing Paper Credit, rose to 60, and is now 35 *per Cent.* and in time of Peace, when Trade flourish'd, was but 10 or 12 *per Cent.* By the Laws of the Country, all Pieces of Eight, *Sevill*, *Mexico*, and *Pillars*, were to pass for 5 *s.* and all half and quarter Pieces in the like Proportion. The eight-Pieces, or seven Pence Halfpennys, are call'd *Light Pieces*, and is generally the Money that passes in the Markets or Ordinaries. Light Pieces, and those of Silver Alloy, were forbidden to be imported from *England*, where 'twas a common thing to buy up such Pieces, and send them to *Barbadoes*. Tho the Currency of this Money was thus settled, yet there was not enough of it to answer all the Necessities of Trade, and the Merchants barter'd the Commodities they imported for Sugar, Cotton, Ginger, and the Product of the Island; Muscovado Sugar being the general Medium of Commerce there, as well as in the other Islands.

The only thing that remains to be treated of under this Head, is the Insurance, which Merchants and Planters make for the Security of their Trade, and this is so extravagant in Time of War, that the Insurers will have 30 *per Cent.* out and home, when

before the War they would have been glad with or 8. The Uncertainty of such Insurances, most of the Insurers having been ruin'd by it, insomuch that of 2000 *l.* in one Pollicy, I have known 1500 before the Loss happen'd, makes the Planters run their own Risk, and some of them have lost ten thousand Pound in a Year too by the venture, which leads to the next Article.

C H A P. IX.

Of the Riches of the Island, in the Time of its Prosperity; the Advantage it has been to England; the Disadvantages it lies under; and how it may be reliev'd and improv'd.

WHEN we examine the Riches that have been rais'd by the Produce of this little Spot of Ground, we shall find that it has been as good as a Mine of Silver or Gold to the Crown of *England*. By the vast Number of Mouths it feeds in this Island and the Fleet of Ships it us'd to employ, the Numbers of Marines it bred, and the Addition it has made to the National Stock, as well as the great Estates that particular Men have got by it; (to say nothing of Men worth 100000 or 150000 *l.* in the Island) how many Merchants have in a little time acquir'd Lands, Honours, and Offices, the Credit and Profit of this once thriving Trade, which in the Reign of King *Charles* the II. us'd to employ 400 Sail of Ships, of 150 *l.* Tuns each, with another, in all 60000 Tuns, which could be manag'd by less than 2000 Seamen, nor the Families that subsisted at Home, by building and fitting out so many Ships, contain less than 8 or 10000 Souls. The Import from the Island us'd to come to 30000 Hogshheads of Sugar, of which half was for a Home and half for a Foreign Consumption; and

he 15000 Hogshheads spent at home, no less than 10000 Souls more were maintain'd, and some of them enrich'd. The Neat Proceed of these Sugars might amount to about 250000 *l.* and that of the other Commodities, as Ginger, Cotton, Melasses, &c. to 100000 *l.* more, in all to 350000 *l.* half of which was return'd in Manufactures and Goods from hence; for they eat, drink, and wear all of the Product of *England*, and by this Means 20000 Mouths more were provided for. Besides as many that subsisted by working or retailing these Commodities. In all, by a modest Computation, one may venture to affirm, that the *Barbadoes* Trade did not subsist less than 10000 Persons in *England*; and there being then 50000 *Barbadoes*, this Island maintain'd 100000 Souls, 1 *English* or *Europeans*, a 50th Part of the Inhabitants of the *British* Empire; tho' calculating by the Number of Acres, it is not a thousandth Part as big, reckoning the three Kingdoms only. By the 15000 Hogshheads exported to *Holland*, *Hamburgh*, and the *Streights*, were considerable Quantities of Clay'd Sugar were sent to *Alicant*, *Genoa*, *Leghorn*, and *Naples*, the National Stock was encreas'd 150000 *l.* besides what was rais'd by it in the Exportation of Ginger, *Indigo*, &c. which altogether was a yearly Advantage to the Nation of 200000 *l.* and this for 20 Years together makes 4 Millions; and allowing but half that Sum for the last 20 Years, 2 Millions, it will amount to 6 Millions, which the Publick has encreas'd its Stock by this Trade in 40 Years time: Besides that, it brings in 30 or 40000 *l.* yearly to the Exchequer, by Customs and Imposts, and has drawn little or nothing out of it for its Defence. On the contrary, for 7000 *l.* yearly has been remitted thence to the Treasury here, for the 4 and a half *per Cent.* Duty; and what Charge the Inhabitants have been at for their Security, has all come out of their own Pockets, excepting some few Guns, and some Ammunition, that have been sent them very sparingly from *England*.

This has occasion'd great Complaints in that Plantation, and frequent Petitions for Redress from their Agents here. In the late War they were oblig'd to go thro' all without the least Assistance, excepting in

one or two Expeditions against the *French*, which put them to more Charge than the Government receiv'd Benefit by it.

In this War they have far'd better, which they owe to the present prudent Administration: For Care has been taken to have Supplies of Warlike Stores sent them. But they are still under an unspeakable Want of Hands, which not only occasions their neglecting to manure many Thousands of Acres, but also the high Price of Servants and Slaves. This would be in some measure prevented, by sending them 5 or 600 Men, to man the Forts, that they might not fear a Surprize, and be able to employ their own Hands on their Plantations.

Several Regiments have been sent to the *Leward Islands* and *Jamaica*, but it has not been the good Fortune of the Barbadians yet to have any sufficient Number of Men left among them. On the contrary, they have drain'd their own Island, to defend the others.

They sent down 1500 Men with *Sir Timothy Thornhill*, &c. against *Martinico*, in *King William's* Reign, and 1000 with *Col. Codrington* against *Guardaloupe* in Her present Majesty's, of whom many Hundreds never return'd; yet there never were any Recruits sent in their Places.

The War at home takes up all those spare Men, that would otherwise transport themselves, or be transported thither; and the Scots, since their hard Usage at *Darien*, will not furnish our Colonies with Servants, as they us'd to do, at reasonable Rates; which altogether has reduc'd the Island to such a small Strength, that perhaps her greatest Security is, that her Enemies do not know of her Weakness.

The Act for the 4 and an half *per Cent.* says in the Preamble of it, that 'twas given towards the raising and maintaining the Forts, building a State-house, &c.

This Revenue brings in some Thousands Yearly; and from the time it was first given, may have amounted to above 300000 *l.* yet there was not a thousand Pound laid out by the Government for the

Use of the Island, in all King *Charles*, King *James*, or King *William's* Reigns. Pensions were granted out of it; and what the *Barbadians* wanted, they were forc'd to raise themselves by other Taxes. Neither in all this time have the Agents, tho they have good Gallaries for minding their Affairs, done them any considerable Service, in getting this Revenue, or part of it, appropriated to the Uses it was given for. Convoys, 'tis true, have been sent thither, and Ships have lain there some time for the security of the Commerce; but they have not been able to hinder the French Privateers from surrounding the Island, and taking all Ships that come that way, homeward or Outward bound. Twelve Privateers have rov'd off the Island at a time, and a Man of War lain all the while in the Harbour; the Captain of which pretending want of Hands, has refus'd to stir out, tho he has been desir'd to do it in very pressing Terms. For when those Officers get there, and out of the hearing of the Admiralty-Board, they act over-privately, and think their Power should be directed by their Pleasure.

The Loss of their *Barbadoes* Ships in the Wars with *France* has been a dreadful Blow to the Planters, Merchants, and all that have any Concerns in that Island. They have suffer'd more than any other Trade whatsoever. Their Loss by Captures, within the Compass of one Year, of the last War, being computed at 380000*l.* And in the Year 1704. out of a Fleet of 33 Ships, 27 were taken. Out of another of 6 Ships 4 were taken: And out of a Fleet of 40 Ships the greatest Number were lost to the *French*.

How to remedy this Evil is apparent enough, but does not become us to direct our Superiours, whose Wisdoms may have those Reasons for acting otherwise, which we may not be able to answer.

Some light Frigats to cruize off the Island there, and some others in the Chops of the Channels, would perhaps prevent the Loss of so many of our *West India* Ships; and the Trade is so profitable, would very well answer the Charge.

Insurances are so high, the Planters cannot afford to pay the Premio's. If they do, the Insurance Money

sometimes will not pay the first Cost. But supposing the Insurers stand, the Deductions of 18 and 20 *per Cent.* for no manner of reason, the Expence Meetings, Commission and other Charges, rise high, that if the Planter has one Hoghead in trade come safe, without Insurance, he had better run the risk.

This is only prevented by the Security of our Trade. And that is a general Article, which would be too tedious to treat of here.

The *Barbadoes* Trade has nothing particular in this from the others, but that it has been more unfortunate. Another main Disadvantage which they lie under, is the Discouragement that is given in their Claying and Refining their Sugars, by the heavy Duty that is laid on all First and Seconds, no less than 12 *s.* a Hundred. By which means they are forced to send home their Sugars unpurg'd, to their very great Damage; for they could refine their Sugars more easily, and at a cheaper Rate than the Sugar Bakers in *England*.

The low Prices of that Commodity in this War-time, have been another Calamity to the *Barbadoes*. During the last War they had terrible Losses but then their Sugars sold well, from 50 *s.* to 3 *l.* a Hundred; but now they sell for 30 or 32 *s.* a Hundred: And this is occasion'd chiefly by the very thing that one would think should keep up the Price, to wit, the Number of the Ships taken by the French. For as we have said, half of the Sugars imported from *Barbadoes* is for a Foreign Market; and when they were in demand abroad, they were always sold at home: Whereas now the French sell them cheaper than the English, and glut the Foreign Markets, to the great Quantity they export of the Product of our own Plantations.

The Price of Sugars has lately been very much affected, by the Dutch bringing some Thousands of Chests from the *East-Indies*. They can afford to do this in time of War, when the Commodity bears an answerable Price: But in peaceable Times 'twill not turn to account. In the meanwhile, the Barbadians feel the Damage of it to their Trade; and the only way to prevent it, is, by lessening the Duty upon

White Sugars, that they may be able to under-sell them abroad; for all Nations have a Right to plant what they please in their own Soils, and sell the Product of it where they can find a Market, and the cheapest will always have the Preference.

The excessive Freights, 20 and 25 *l.* a Tun, is another vast Disadvantage to the Barbadians; and the only way to remedy it, is to take such Care here of sending them Convoys and Fleets, and furnishing their Ships with Seaman, that Owners may be encourag'd to let their Ships out for that Voyage; and if they had Ships enough, Freight would return to its old Rate.

The Exchange of Money which has been 50, 60, and 70 *l.* per Cent. is a great Balk to the Trade; and the protesting the Planters Bills in *England*, of the same ill Consequence to both the Planter and the Merchant. The Planter draws upon his Bill of Lading, and if his Sugar is lost, his Bill comes back, where he is immediately run up 20 per Cent. for Interest and Charges; and often brings a Debt on himself, and his Plantation, which he can never clear.

The Want of Provisions is also a great Inconvenience to the Inhabitants of this Island. Fifty or sixty Sail of Ships formerly went every Year from *England* and *Ireland*, loaden with Bear, Ale, Bread, Flower, Butter, Cheese, Beef and Fish, and now half that Number is not sent thither yearly, with those Carriages; neither can they get sufficient Supplies from the Colonies on the Continent, for want of Hands to man Ships for that Trade.

The Act of Navigation prohibiting Foreigners to trade with them, is another severe Discouragement; and tho' some of these are temporary, and may be stop'd will end with the War, yet others will be lasting, unless it shall please the Great Council of the Nation to look into the Hardships they suffer, and take care to procure them Redress; in which her Majesty, tho' she is always ready to relieve her Subjects, cannot give them Ease in some Cases, without an Act of Parliament.

And when we consider the vast Charge they are at, that a Man must be in Disburse there 2 or 3000 *l.*

before he can make 100 Pound Weight of Sugar which is not worth above 12 or 14 s. in time of Peace; and must have a living Stock of 5000 to make 100 Hogheads of Sugar; one can but believe 'tis reasonable they should be encouraged as much as the State of Affairs at home will permit.

The Prices of their Sugar might be advanced by their own Management, if they could be persuaded to turn their wast Ground to Planting of Cotton, and would improve that Manufacture. They might do as the *East Indians* do, cloath themselves with the Product of their own Country: Their Cotton being good, and the Stuff made of it a proper Covering for the Climate. By this means they would save themselves a vast Charge, which they are at for Cloaths from *England*, would manage their Plantations with less Hands; and making fewer Sugars, would consequently keep up the Price of them; besides having a considerable part of their Land to spare, they might manure it, for Provisions to supply their Families and Servants and would not be obliged to buy such great Quantities of salt Fish and Flesh, which are found, by Experience, to prove injurious to the Health of their People. The Produce of their own Plantations would better support Health and Strength and are by many degrees wholesomer than the other.

If they could once bring their Sugars to bear a good Price, all the other Occasions of Constraint would be much more supportable; and there seems to be no other way for it; but their making less, and our selling and shipping more: Which, when the Dutch are weary of importing it from the *East-Indies*, and the French have none to sell, as will be the Case in peaceable Times, we shall again have the Market in our Hands; and 'twill be the Barbadians Fault if they make too much Sugar, and plant too little Corn, and other Necessaries.

Whether the Government will think fit at any time to dispense with, or repeal the Act of Navigation, or whether the Barbadians themselves can reasonably desire it, I shall not pretend to decide
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but 'tis certain that it cannot do too much for a People, who have improv'd a Spot of Ground, that Fourscore Years ago was worth nothing, to be now worth five Millions Sterling, Stock and all; and with due Encouragement, by Peace and Favour, in a few Years might be made to be worth as many more.

Of St. LUCIA.

ST. Lucia, or St. Lucyes, being one of the *Charibbee* Islands, within the Governour of *Barbadoes's* Commission, ought to be reckon'd part of the English Acquisitions in *America*, tho no Englishmen ever settl'd there.

It lies in 13 Degrees, 40 Minutes, and may easily be seen from *Barbadoes*. It is not above 20 or 30 Miles from one Island to the other. The *Charibbees* us'd to come thither from the other Islands to fish, in a particular Season. But since the French settl'd at *Martinico*, and have sometimes disturb'd their Sport, they have seldom or never come to it.

There are two high Mountains in the Island, which are very cold. They are seen at a great Distance, and are call'd by the French, *Les Pitons de St. Alouise*. At the Foot of these Mountains are pleasant Valleys, cover'd with great Trees, and water'd with Springs.

The Air is reckon'd healthy, and the Soil thought to be fruitful; but I do not understand that any one can say this by his own, or others Experience.

'Tis not yet thoroughly discover'd, tho several have been driven upon it, going to, or coming from *Barbadoes*, and the other *Charibbee* Islands; and the Barbadians have sometimes gone thither for pleasure.

St. VINCENTS,

IS the next Island to St. *Lucia*, and in sight also *Barbadoes*. It lies in 16 Degrees North Latitude and was the most populous of the *Charibbee* Islands before the Europeans settl'd upon them: But the Indians are now almost quite destroy'd, by War with the English, or others their Enemies.

Those who have seen the Island *Ferro*, or *Fertro*, one of the *Canaries*, affirm this is much of the same Figure. 'Tis about 24 Miles in Length and 18 in Breadth, much of the same Bigness with *Barbadoes*.

There are several high Mountains in it, between which are fruitful Plains, as 'tis said; but they want Cultivation, to be prais'd with, and certainty for their Fruitfulness.

The Charibbeans had formerly many fair Villages; some there are now, but far from being populous.

There are now some Negroes, who having risen on the English, and master'd them, and their Ships coming from *Africa*, were driven upon, and made to this Island; where is a sort of Settlement of them, and there being of both Sexes, their Number is encreas'd.

They live after their own Fashion, and separately from the Indians, with whom they have no Correspondence, but are too strong to be subdu'd by them; and they cannot be expell'd, having no Ship to convey them off, and no Place to go to, unless they sell themselves for Slaves.

DOMINICO,

IS in the Governour of *Barbadoes's* Commission; it lies in 50 Degrees, 30 Minutes, North Latitude, and is about 40 Miles long, and 40 Miles over, where it is broadest.

There are several high Mountains in the midst of it, which encompass an inaccessible Bottom; where from the Tops of certain Rocks may be seen an infinite Number of Reptiles of dreadful Bulk and Length.

Tho the *English* pretend to be Lords of this Island, they never durst attempt to make any Settlement upon it, the *Charibbeans* are so numerous; and we should have treated of that barbarous Nation under his Head, if we had thought the Place belong'd to the *English*: We have therefore spoken of them at large in the History of *St. Christophers*, the most considerable of the *Charibbee* Islands, at least of those in Possession of the *English*, to which the Reader is refer'd. There's none of them so populous as *Dominico*. The Natives tell all Strangers, who come to visit it, a strange Tale of a vast monstrous Serpent, that had its Abode in the beforemention'd Bottom. They affirm'd, there was in the Head of it a very sparkling Stone, like a Carbuncle, of inestimable Price; that the Monster commonly veil'd that rich Jewel with a thin moving Skin, like that of a Man's Eye-lid, and when it went to drink, or sported itself in the deep Bottom, it fully discover'd it, and the Rocks all about receiv'd a wonderful Lustre from the Fire issuing out of that precious Gem.

This Story is so Romantick, we wonder the *French* have not found out a *St. George* to kill this fiery Dragon; and no doubt they would have added abundance of fine Stories of the Amours of these gallant *Cannibals*.

They had formerly a King here, or rather Captain, who in all the Wars the Natives had with their Enemies on the Continent, led the Vanguard of their Army, and was distinguish'd by a particular Mark that he had about him. The

The *French* have frequented this Island more than the *English*, tho' the latter say it belongs to them; but whatever is the Matter, the *Charibbeans* have always lov'd the former better; perhaps there more Agreement between the Disposition of the *French* and these *Barbarians*, than between the *English* and them. Hither retreated the *Charibbeans* when the *Europeans* drove them out of the other Islands.

The *French* made Peace with all these Islanders in the Year 1640. but we do not understand the *English* ever gave themselves the Trouble of treating with them, in which perhaps they have been neither just nor prudent; for the *Dominicans* have conceiv'd such an Aversion for them, that they hate them the most of any Nation, except the *Ariovagues*. This was occasion'd by the Treachery of our Country-men, who formerly, under Pretence of Friendship, and treating them, got them aboard their Ships, and when their Vessels were full of them, carry'd away Men, Women, and Children into Captivity. 'Tis dangerous for any *Englishmen* to be seen upon this Island and several whom Storms have driven ashore, have paid severely for the Treason of their Countrymen.

There is one remarkable Passage in the History of the *Charibbee* Islands, written in *French*, and done into *English* by Mr. *Davyes of Kidwelly*; where we may perceive, what Right Princes and States have to the Countries they seize in *America*; and if his Assertion is true, the Title of the *English* to *Dominico* will not appear very plain: 'Tis a general Rule (says the Author) that a Country destitute of Inhabitants belongs to him who first possesses himself of it; so that neither the King of France's Grant, nor yet that of the Company, does any thing more than secure these Gentlemen against the Pretensions of such of their own Nation as might oppose their Designs.

Which Observation may be made use of in all Cases, wherein the Nations of *Europe* contend for any part of *America*; and since all Countries must be destitute of Inhabitants, to give any People a Right to possess 'em, such as are inhabited should be bought of the Possessor. 'Tis likely the *Charibbeans* will never

part with the Possession of this Isle; and it may as well be left out of the Governour of *Barbadoes's* Commission, as the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* out of the King of *Spain's* Titles.

About the Time that this Island was discover'd, a Charibbean, whom the French call'd Capt. *Baron*, liv'd in it, and from hence made Incurfions upon the English in the other Islands: But the Indians have lately been afraid of disturbing their powerful Neighbours, who might easily extirpate them if they pleas'd.

We shall say more of the Island of *Dominico*, and the Charibbeans, when we treat of the Dominions in *America*, subject to the Spaniards, Dutch, French, and Portuguesse.

T H E

THE
HISTORY
 OF THE
Leward-Islands.

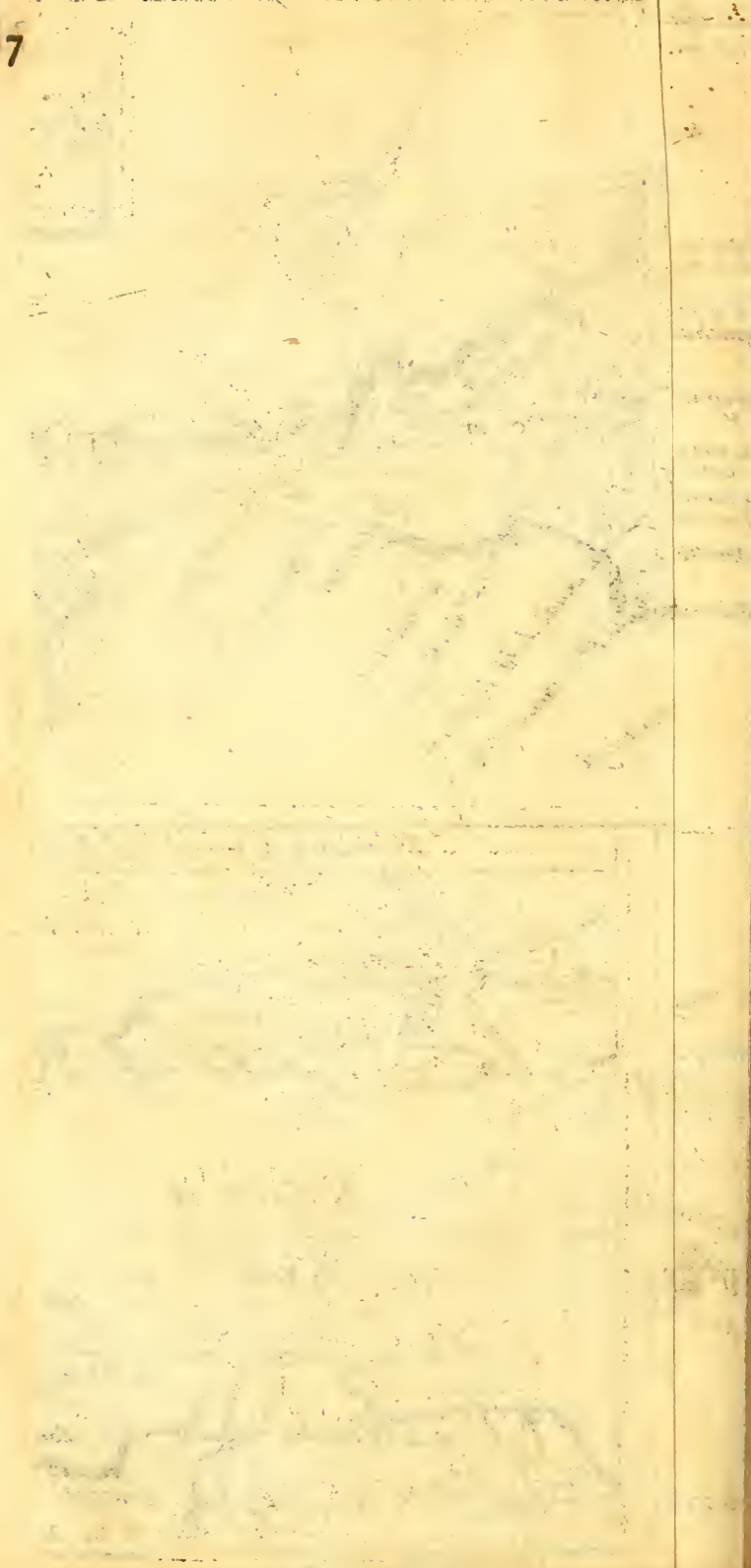
ANTEGO.

ANTEGO lies between *Barbadoes* and *Desire* do; in 16 Degrees, and 11 Minutes, North Latitude. 'Tis about 20 Miles long, and as many broad, in several Places. The Access of it is dangerous for Shipping, by reason of the Rocks that encompass it.

There are few or no Springs of fresh Water in this Island; on which account 'twas for a long time thought to be uninhabitable: But the Lord *Francis Willoughby*, about the Year 1663. procur'd a Grant of this Island of King *Charles* the Second; and about the Year 1666. planted a Colony here.

'Tis true, the English, in Sir *Thomas Warner's* time, discover'd this Island, and some Families settled upon it, 30 Years before the Propriety was granted to the Lord *Willoughby*. But so uncertain was their Settlement, that the French intended to have possess'd themselves of this Island, after the Spaniards had driven them out of *St. Christophers*, had they not afterwards recover'd their part of that Isle.

The



The Island is divided into 5 Parishes, three of which are little Towns; as *St John's-Town* to the Northward; and *Falmouth* and *Bridge-Town* to the Southward. The other two Parishes are, *St. —* and

St. John's Harbour is the most commodious. Besides which there are several other good Harbours; as *Five Island* Harbour; so call'd, from 5 little Islands to the Westward of the Isle. *Carlisle* Bay, *English* Harbour, at the Bottom of which is *Falmouth* Town, defended by *Charles* Fort. Next to it is *Willoughby-Bay*. On the *East* Shore is *Bridge-Town*; then *Green* Bay, off of which is *Green* Island, then *Nonsuch* Harbour, a spacious Bay.

Off this Coast, on the North-East Shore, are several little Islands, call'd *Polecat* Island, and *Goat* Land; and more to the Northward, *Guana* Island, *Bird* Island, *Long* Island, *Maiden* Island, and *Prickle-ear* Island.

The Capital of the Island is *St. John's Town*, which consists of about 100 Houses; and the Number of Souls in all this Colony are computed to be about 600 Whites, besides the Blacks, which were thrice the Number, but are not now 18000.

This Computation is the largest that I have heard, and some have inform'd me, there are not 1000 fighting Men in *Antego*; which is scarce credible, since the Island 15 Years ago rais'd and maintain'd a very good Regiment of 400 Men; and one cannot suppose they spar'd above a third Part of their Number for the War.

As difficult of Access as this Island is, there are so many Landing-places in it, that we wonder the French have not attack'd *Antego*, as well as the others, where Landing was more difficult; the Ports that are there not being so strong as those in the other Islands were, nor the People so numerous; the Country however is rich, yet the French have not disturb'd it more than by Threats.

The Want of fresh Springs in this Isle is supply'd by Cisterns, in which the Inhabitants catch Rain-Water, and save it when they have done. There are some Springs, but no River in the whole Island.

Some Creeks are to be met with here, as two at the Bottom of *Five Island* Harbour, and one call'd *Indian Creek*, between *English* Harbour and *Willowby* Bay.

We cannot at most say very much of the *Leward* Islands, there having few memorable Events happen'd in them; and they being all of them separate Governments, under one Governour, or Captain General, the Succession of the Deputy Governours, appointed by the Governours in Chief, is so uncertain, that we cannot pretend to put them in a true Order; and therefore shall only name them, as we have occasion to mention any Facts wherein they were concern'd.

But before we proceed in our Account of *Antego*, we think it not improper to finish what we have say of the Climate, Soil, Animals, Productions, and Trade.

The Situation of this Island shews it must be hot, and the Heats are indeed more excessive here than even in *Barbadoes*, tho' further from the *Equator*, the Soil being more inclining to Sand, and the Ground not so well clear'd of Woods, may be the occasion of it.

Turnados, or Hurricanes, us'd to be very frequent and troublesome here; and they are but too much so still, as the Inhabitants have experienc'd this last Year, to their great Loss.

The Animals that may be said to be most peculiar to this Island are first, among the Fish, the *Dorado*, or Sea-bream, of which Mr. *Davyes* of *Kidwiler* in his Version of the History of the *Charibbee* Islands, says 'tis call'd, *Dorado*, because in the Water the Head of it seems to be a green, gilt, clear Skie Colour. It takes a Pleasure in following the Ships, but swims so swift, that he must be very dextrous who shall take it, either with the Iron-hook, or Long-staff with the Casting-net at the End of it. No Man can imagine Fish better furnish'd for Swimming than this; for it has the Fore-part of the Head sharp; the Back bristled with Prickles, reaching to the Tail, which is fork'd; two Finns on each side of the Head, and as many under the Belly, small Scals, and the whole Body of a Figure rather broad than
bi

big: All which give it a strange Command of the Waters. Some of them are about 5 Foot in Length. The Meat of this Fish is a little dry, yet no less pleasant to the Taft than Trout or Salmon, in the Opinion of many.

The Shark-Fish abounds in the Charibbean Seas, and is observ'd to be as common near *Antego*, as any of the other Islands; wherefore we shall speak of it in this Place. 'Tis otherwise call'd the *Requiem*, and is a kind of Sea-Dog, or Sea-Wolf, the most devouring of all Fish, and the most greedy of Man's flesh. He is dreaded very much by such as go swimming; and that with very good Reason, for he feeds by Prey, and commonly follows Ships, to feed on the Filth cast out of them into the Sea.

These Monsters seem to be of a yellowish Colour in the Water. Some of them are of an unmeasurable Length and Bigness, and such as are able to cut a Man in two at a Bite. Their Skin is rough, and the Files were formerly made of it, to polish Wood. Their Heads are flat, and the Opening of their Mouth is not just before the Snout, but under it, whence it comes, that to fasten on their Prey, they are forc'd to turn their Bellies almost upwards. Their Teeth are very sharp, and very broad, being set all about like a Saw. Some of them have three or four Ranks of these Teeth in each Jaw-bone. They lie within the Gums, but they make them sufficiently appear when there's occasion.

The Shark-fish is commonly attended by two or three Fishes, that go before him with a swift and regular Motion, and either halt, or advance more or less, as they perceive the *Requiem* does. Some call them *Rambos* and *Pilgrims*; and the French Mariners, the *Requiem's* Pilots, because those small Fishes seem to be their Guides. They are not much above a Foot long, and of a proportionable Bigness. But their Scales are beautify'd with so many pretty live-Colours, that, says my Author, it might be said, they are encompass'd with Chains of Pearl, Coral, Emerald, and other Precious Stones.

The Meat of the *Requiem* is not good, at least when it is not very young. The Brains of the young ones are thought to be a Remedy for the Stone

or Gravel. The French and Portuguese call this Fish *Requiem*, or Rest, because 'tis wont to appear in fair Weather. Its Liver, when boil'd, yields a great Quantity of Oil, good for Lamps.

We might with as much Reason perhaps have treated of these Fishes, when we wrote of any other Part of the *Charibbee Islands*; but we have plac'd them here, for that we find others have done before us.

The *Bucane* found on this Coast, is, like the Indian Inhabitants, greedy of Man's Flesh. It resembles a Pike in Figure; but 'tis 7 or 8 Foot long, and proportionably big. It lives by Prey like the Shark, and furiously fastens on the Man it can reach in the Water. Whatever it seizes, it carries off; and if it did not, its Teeth are so venomous, that the least touch of them becomes mortal, if some sovereign Antidote be not immediately apply'd.

There's another Kind of Bucanes, by some call'd Sea-Woodcocks, from the Figure of the Beak, which is somewhat like a Woodcocks Bill, excepting that the upper part is much longer than the lower; that this Fish moves both Jaws with like Facility. Some of them are so big and long, that there is above 4 Foot between the Head and the Tail, and they are 12 Inches broad near the Head, reaching side-ways.

The Head is somewhat like that of a Hog's, but illuminated by two large Eyes, which are extremely shining. It has 2 Fins on the Sides, and under the Belly a great Plume, rising higher and higher by degrees, like a Cock's Comb, reaching from the Head almost to the Tail, which is divided into two parts. Besides this long and solid Beak, it has two short Horns, hard, black, and about a Foot and a half in Length, which hang down under its Throat, and are particular to this kind of Fish. These it can easily hide in a hollow Place under its Belly, which serves them for a Sheath. It has no Scales, but is covered with a rough Skin, which on the Back is black, on the Sides greenish, and under the Belly white. 'Tis safe, but not pleasant, to eat the Meat of it.

Ib. p. 106.

Another Fish found on these Coasts, is call'd the *Ibid.*
Sea-Urchin, and well deserves that Name. 'Tis as
 round as a Ball, and full of sharp Prickles. Some
 Europeans who have taken them, have dry'd them,
 and sent them as Presents to the Curious for Rarities
 to hang up in their Closets.

The *Sea Parrots*, common in these Seas, are call'd *Ib. p. 98.*
 like *Carps*; but as to Colour, are as green as Parrots,
 whence they got their Name. They have beautiful
 and sparkling Eyes; the Balls clear as Chrystal, en-
 compass'd by a Circle lugent, enclos'd with another
 green as an Emerald; of which Colour are the
 scales of their Backs, and those under the Belly of a
 yellowish Green. They have no Teeth, but Jaws
 above and below of solid Bone, which is very strong,
 and of the same Colour as their Scales, divided into
 little Compartments, very beautiful to the Eye.
 They live on Shell-fish; and with those hard Jaw-
 bones they crush, as between two Mill-stones, Oy-
 sters, Muscles, and other Shell-fish, to get out the
 Meat. The Meat of them is excellent; and some of
 them are so big they weigh 20 Pound.

The *Espadon*, or *Sword-Fish*, is observ'd to fre- *Ib. p. 101.*
 quent the Seas off these Coasts. It has at the End of
 the Upper-Jaw a defensive Weapon, about the
 breadth of a great Courtelas, which has hard and
 sharp Teeth on both sides. This Weapon in some of
 them is about 5 Foot in Length, about 6 Inches
 broad at the lower End; and *palisado'd*, to use my
 Author's Words, with 27 white and solid Teeth,
 each Rank; to which the Bulk of their Bodies
 bears a Proportion.

The Head of these *Sea-Monsters* is flat, and hide-
 ous to behold, being of the Figure of a Heart. They
 have near their Eyes two Vents, at which they cast
 out the Water they swallow. They have no Scales,
 but a greyish Skin on the Back, and a white under
 the Belly, which is rough like a File. They have 5
 Fins, two of each side, two on the Back, and that
 which serves them for a Tail. Some call them *Saw-*
fishes, some *Emperors*, because there is an Hostility
 between them and the Whale, which they many
 times wound to Death.

These Fish, and several others mention'd in other Parts of this Treatise, are common also in other parts of the *Charibbean* Seas. But the Inhabitants are apt to give them other more vulgar Names; and perhaps they will not be known to the meaner sort of them by these; no more than some of the Fowls which we find treated of by Mr. *Davyes* in the above mention'd History: As the *Canides*, about the Bigness of a Pheasant, of a most beautiful Plumage. This Bird is more frequent at *Curassau*, and therefore we shall say no more of it here.

Ib. p. 90.

The *Flammans* are great and beautiful Birds; but we should not have mention'd it in this Article, because it delights in Fenny-Places and Ponds, that are not common in this Island, which abounds in all sorts of Fowl, wild and tame.

It has more Plenty of Cattle, and other Beasts especially Venison, than any other of our *Charibbean* Islands; the Animals of which are much the same, as also their Productions.

Sugar, Indigo, Ginger, and Tobacco, were the chief Growths and Commodities of *Antego*, when 'twas first planted; but now Indigo and Ginger are very rarely cultivated there. The Sugar and Tobacco were both bad of the sort; the former so black and coarse, that one would scarce have thought an Art could have refin'd it; and as if our English Sugar-bakers scorn'd to put such Dirt into their Coppers, 'twas generally ship'd off for *Holland* and *Hamburg*, being sold for 16 s. a Hundred, whereas other *Muscovado* Sugar fetch'd 18 or 19 s. a Hundred.

The Planters of *Antego* have since improv'd the Art, and as good *Muscovado* Sugar is now made there as in any of our Sugar Islands. They have so clay'd some Sugar, which was not known to have been done in *Antego* 20 Years ago.

Tho' there is not much Tobacco planted in this Island, what there is, is not so bad as it was formerly when 'twas sold for no Uses, but to make Snuff. The wild Cinamon Tree is said to grow in the *Lowlands*, or *Savanna* Woods in *Antego*.

Lowth.
Vol. 2. p.
665.

We know of no other Productions here, which has not in common with the other Islands; and here

ving treated of them elfewhere, we fhall proceed in our History, which is indeed but fhort: Our Memoirs for the Leward Iflands did not, and perhaps the Facts themfelves would not enable us to enlarge upon it much more.

The History of the *Charibbee Iflands*, tranflated by Mr. *Davyes*, mentions, that *Antego* was inhabited by the *Engliſh* almoſt as ſoon as *St. Chriſtophers*; but we cannot get any other Proof of it, and it does not appear that it was planted till after it became the Lord *Willoughby's* Propriety: It has ſince reverted to the Crown, and is made a part of the general Government of the Leward Iflands, and did not make any conſiderable Figure among them, till about the year 1680. It has ow'd moſt of its flouriſhing Condition ſince to the Care and Intereſt of Col. *Chriſtopher Codrington*; who removing from *Barbadoes*, where he had been Deputy Governour, to *Antego*, planted here, and in other Leward Iflands, and bringing a great Knowledge and Experience in the Sugar Plantations, and a great Stock to ſupport it, purchas'd as good an Eſtate as any Planter had got at *Barbadoes* or *Jamaica*. Others following his Example, *Antego* thrive; and he making it the Seat of his Government, when he was Captain General, and General Governour of all the Leward Iflands, his Iſle flouriſh'd equally at leaſt with the reſt, and became wealthy and populous.

Among others who came with the Lord *Willoughby* from *Barbadoes*, was Major *Byam*, whoſe Family ſtill remains on the Place. He was one of the Commiſſioners appointed by that Lord, to treat with Sir *George Aſſcues*, about the Surrender of *Barbadoes* to the Parliament. His Son Col. *Willoughby Byam* was one of the moſt conſiderable Planters in the Leward Iflands.

We have not been able to procure an exact Liſt of the Governours of theſe Iflands, from their firſt Settlement, and much leſs of the particular Governours, or rather Deputy Governours of the particular Iflands, and ſhall therefore not pretend to give any. Sir *Nathaniel Johnson* was Governour of all of them at the *Revolution*, and not conforming to the Government, was remov'd: Upon which, Col. *Codrington*

Codrington succeeded him in his Government, and *Codrington* *Williams* was made Deputy Governour of *Antego*.

In *March*, 1689. there happen'd a terrible Earthquake in the *Leward Islands*, *Montserrat*, *Nevis*, and *Antego*. In *Nevis* and *Montserrat*, no considerable Hurt was done, most of the Buildings being of Timber; but where there were Stone-Buildings, they were generally thrown down, which fell very hard on *Antego*; most of the Houses, Buildings, Sugar-Works, and Wind-Mills being of Stone. Several Sloops felt the Violence of the Shake at Sea.

On the breaking out of the War between *England* and *France*, after the *Revolution*, the Inhabitants of *Antego*, as well as those of the other *Leward Islands*, desir'd Assistance of the Governour and Government of *Barbadoes*; and when Sir *Timothy Thornhill* had rais'd his Regiment, he sail'd with them to *Antego*, where he arriv'd on the 5th of *August*, and receiv'd the unwelcome News, that the Fort at *Christopher's* was surrender'd to the *French*, on *Monday* the 29th of *July*, 1689. upon Articles. *Timothy* knowing his Strength to be too inconside- rable, to attack an Island so well fortify'd as *St. Christopher's*, and the Government of *Antego* sollicit- ing him to continue with them till the Arrival of an *English* Fleet, which was daily expected; he agre- ed to their Proposals, and landed his Regiment there, which he quarter'd in the Town of *Falmouth*, about the same Bigness as that of *St. John's* Town.

After a Months Continuance in this Island, Lieut- enant General *Codrington* sent three Sloops, man'd with 80 Men of Sir *Timothy's* Regiment, under the Command of Capt. *Edward Thorn*, from *Falmouth* to fetch the *English*, with their Goods and Stock from the Island of *Anguilla*, where they had been miserably abus'd and destroy'd by some *Irish*, whom the *French* had landed there for that Purpose.

Before Sir *Timothy Thornhill's* Arrival, and during his Stay at *Antego*, the *Indians* of the neighbour- ing Islands, who were in League with the *French*, land- ed several Times upon that Island, killing the In-

Inhabitants who liv'd near the Sea, (to the Number of 10) and then making their Escape in their swift Periagas. These Pyritical Excursions were all the People of *Antego* suffer'd by the Enemy. General *Codrington* order'd several Sloops that were good Sailers to pursue them, but the Periagas were too nimble for them: To prevent the like Damage for the future, strict Guard was kept on the Coasts.

About the Middle of *September*, a *French* Privateer landed his Men at *Five Islands*, near *Antego*, and took off some Negroes: As he was going away with his Booty, he met with two *English* Sloops, one of which, after some Resistance, he took; the other making her Escape, came in, and gave an Account of the Action: Upon which Sir *Timothy* sent out 2 Sloops, mann'd, with a Company of Granadiers, under the Command of Capt. *Walter Hamilton*, who next Day caught her in with her Prize. On board the Privateer were 30 *French* and 6 *Irish* Men; the latter were try'd by a Court Marshal, and 4 of them hang'd. In *November*, Sir *Timothy Thornhill* remov'd to *Nevis*, at the Desire of the People of that Island.

The Inhabitants of *Antego* rais'd 300 Men, who were commanded by Col. *Hewetson*; and landing on an Island belonging to the *French*, call'd *Mary-Galant*, they beat the Inhabitants into the Woods, burnt their Town, nail'd down their Guns, demolish'd their Fort, and return'd back to *Antego* with the plunder of the Island.

Lieutenant General *Codrington* (for as yet he had not receiv'd his Commission of Captain General) remain'd at *Antego*, while Sir *Timothy Thornhill* went from *Nevis* against *St. Bartholomews* and *St. Martins*: While he was upon the latter, Monsieur *Decasse* came down with 700 Men from *St. Christophers*, to the Assistance of the *French*; the Major General (or such was Sir *Timothy's* Commission) dispatch'd away a Sloop, with an Express to the Lieutenant General at *Antego*, to acquaint him with his Condition, and desire him to send some Ships to his Assistance. Accordingly General *Codrington* order'd Col. *Hewetson*, with about 200 Men from *Antego*, aboard three Sloops, under Convoy of 3 Men of War, one of

40 Guns, and 2 of 20, fitted out for that Purpose to sail to *St. Martins*, where he arriv'd the 30th *January*. The *French* Ships, who were at Anchor near the Island, attack'd the *English* Frigats; and after four Hours Dispute, with little or no Damage to *Col. Hewetson's* Side, they bore away.

In the following Year, General *Codrington* received a Commission from King *William* and Queen *Mary* to be Captain General, and Commander in Chief of all their *Leward Charibbee Islands*; and Admiral *Wright* arriving from *England*, with a strong Squadron of Men of War, all the *Leward Islands* raised Forces for the Recovery of *St. Christophers*; among which that of *Antego* furnish'd a whole Regiment of 400 Men, who were commanded by the Deputy Governour, *Col. Rowland Williams*, whose Son, *Mr. Samuel Williams*, was some time after a Gentleman Commoner of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, and a great Lover of the Studies of Humanity; in which he made a good Proficiency in a short time. The Author owes this Justice to the Memory of his Friend, and the Reader will therefore excuse this Digression.

Nor must we omit doing Justice to *Christopher Codrington*, Jun' Esq; the Governour's Son, who distinguished himself in the same illustrious Academy by his Genius and Judgment in Poetry and Eloquence; wherein he perform'd several things with equal Merit and Success: He was a Gentleman Commoner of *All-Souls* College; and when King *William* paid his Visit of Kindness, as his Majesty was graciously pleas'd to call it, to the University of *Oxford*, *Mr. Codrington* express'd the publick Thanks of the Learned Body, in a very elegant Oration. He was a Patron of the famous *Mr. Creech*, who dedicated his *Latin* Edition of *Lucretius* to him. When this Gentleman left the Study of the Arts, he took to the Practice of Arms, signaliz'd himself at the Siege of *Namur*, was made a Colonel of his Majesty's Foot Guards: And more might be said of his Actions and Worth, only we remember we are writing the History of Countries, and not of Persons; but the high Post he afterwards enjoy'd in this Island, where he is now an Inhabitant, will excuse us for what we might otherwise be thought to digress in.

The Success of the Expedition of *St. Christophers*, and other Enterprizes in the *Leward Island*, will be related in the proper Places, where those Actions were perform'd; only we must correct an Error in the *Gazette*, which on the 18th of *September*, 1690. told us, *Eight hundred Men were rais'd at Antego, for the Expedition against the French at St. Christophers*; whereas, by an exact and faithful Account of *Antego*, written by *Mr. Thomas Spencer*, Jun. Secretary to the Honourable *Sir Tim. Thornhill*, Muster-Master of his Regiment; and Deputy Commissary, we find, the *Antego* Regiment consisted of 400 only; and indeed if this Island could raise 800 Men, and spare them for such an Enterprize, we may very well compute the Number of Souls at this time to be 14 or 15000. which none pretend there ever was in *Antego*. This Island sent their Quota to all the Forces that were rais'd against the *French* in the last War.

In the Year 1696. the *Hastings* Frigate was here, and sail'd for *London*, Convoy to a small Fleet of Ships, which were above eleven Weeks in their Voyage.

General *Codrington* dying in the Year 1698. his Son *Christopher Codrington*, Esq; of whom we have spoken already, was appointed Captain General, and Governour in Chief of the *Leward Islands*; and in pursuance of this Commission, he remov'd from *England* to this Island, where he mostly resided during his Government, being one of the greatest Protectors in it.

In *January*, 1699. Admiral *Bembow* arriv'd at the *Leward Islands*, having Col. *Collingwood's* Regiment on board, part of which was quarter'd in *Antego*, and part in the other Islands. The Governour having receiv'd some more Forces from *England*, to make up the Loss of these, most of them having died in the Islands, resolv'd, on the breaking out of the present War, to attack the *French* at *Guaroupe*.

The Merchants of *Antego* had equip'd several Privateers; which, in Conjunction with some Privateers of the other Islands, and a Squadron of Men of War, made a Strength at Sea too mighty for the *French*.

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He rais'd a Regiment of Soldiers in *Antego*, of which Colonel *Byam* was Colonel; and the other *Leward* Islands furnish'd Men also for this Enterprize.

On the 7th of *March*, 1702. the General came to the Island of *Guardaloup*, with the Land and Sea Forces. The *French* shot at them from the Shore but did no other Mischief than killing one Man, and wounding a Boy aboard the Commodore. The Fleet stood off and on till the 10th, waiting the coming up of the *Maidstone* Man of War, and some other small Ships, which lay off of *Mary Galant*. When they arriv'd, the Governour came to an Anchor, to the North-West of the Island, and order'd a Party of Men to land, and destroy some scattering Plantations on the Coast, which they did.

On the 12th, Col. *Byam* with his Regiment, and a Detachment of 200 Men of Col. *Whetham's* Regiment, landed by Break of Day, at a Place call'd *Les Petits Habitans*; where they met with some Opposition, but soon oblig'd the Enemy to retire.

About 9 in the Morning, Col. *Whetham*, with about 800 Men more, landed in a Bay to the Northward of a Town call'd the *Bayliffe*; where he met with vigorous Resistance from all the Enemy's Forces posted in a very good and advantagious Breast-Work. These ply'd the *English* continually with great and small Shot, while they were landing, particularly in a more furious Manner at the Flank yet notwithstanding all their Fire, the *English* bravely march'd up to their Entrenchment with their Muskets shoulder'd, without firing one Shot, till they could come up to lay the Muzzels of their Pieces upon the Top of the Enemies Breast-Works. The *English* had 3 Captains kill'd at the Head of their Granadiers, before they could make themselves Masters of the first Breast-Work. Col. *Willis* signaliz'd himself in this Action, by his great Bravery; and all the Officers and Soldiers behaved themselves, on this Occasion, like *Englishmen* fighting with *French*, we mean, like Men born to conquer.

By Noon they had master'd all the Enemies Ordnance Works. In an Hour after, the Town call'd the *Bayliffe* was taken; as also the *Jacobines* Church which

which the *French* had fortify'd, and ten Pieces of Cannon.

About 2 in the Afternoon, they took a Platform, where the *French* had planted three Pieces of Cannon, and a Redoubt with one.

At Night, 400 Men, and the Regiment of *Machines*, attack'd the *Jacobine* Plantation, and the Breast-Work along the *Jacobines* River; which was the strongest and most advantageous of any the *French* had in the *West-Indies*, yet they quitted it after the *English* had fir'd but two Volleys of Small-Shot at them.

The next Day the General march'd without any other Opposition, than that of the Enemies Cannon laying upon him, and possess'd himself of the great Town, call'd *Basseterre*, where the *English* stay'd about a Week, sending out Parties to burn and destroy the Inhabitants Houses, Works, Sugar Canes, and Provisions. They laid Seige to the Fort and Castle of *Basseterre*, and advanc'd within Pistol-Shot of the Fort, and within Musket-Shot of the Castle, having 15 Pieces of Cannon mounted for Battery: two to these Forts, and another call'd the *Dadaw Peck*, the Inhabitants retir'd with their Families and best Effects, leaving all the open Country at the Mercy of the *English*, who had been taught by the *French* to shew little enough on such Occasions.

But all these Successes were render'd fruitless by some unhappy Differences among the Commanders, and something must be imputed to the vigorous Defence of the *French*, and the Sickness of the *English* Soldiers, which oblig'd the General to reimbarck his Men, after they were so near making a Conquest of this Island.

In the Year 1704. Sir *William Matthews* was made Governour of the *Leward-Islands*; who dying soon after, Col. *Park* of *Virginia*, who brought the Queen the Glorious News of the Victory the Duke of *Marlborough* obtain'd over the *French* at *Blenheim*, and was his *Aid de Camp*, had the Government of these Islands conferr'd on him. He arriv'd at *Antego* the 14th of July, 1706. and made this the Place of his Residence: *Nevis* had been destroy'd by the *French* some Months before. *St. Christophers* had

The History of Antego.

had also suffer'd extremely by an Invasion, but *Antego* was not attempted by them.

About the time that Colonel *Park* arriv'd, an *Irish* Vessel from *Belfast*, having on board near 100 Men and six Boys, was attack'd in Sight of this Isle by an open Sloop with 50 *French* Men aboard, and made so good a Defence, that 40 of the Enemy were wounded, and the Sloop was taken and brought into *Antego*.

In the following Year, 1707. there happen'd the most terrible Hurricane or Turnado, that ever was known in these Islands. It damag'd them all, but *Nevis* and *Antego* more than the rest. It blew down Houses, Works, Trees, tore up Plants, Sugar Canes, and made almost a general Destruction; which for the heavier, because the Inhabitants had had so many Losses by the Enemy in their Trade otherwise, that they could ill undergo it: But this Blow coming from Providence, ought to be born more patiently by them.

We shall conclude what we have to say of *Antego*, with the List of the Officers, Civil and Military, as far as we could perfect it.

Governour and Captain General of all the *Leward* Islands, *Daniel Park*, Esq;

Lieut. Governour of *Antego*, *John Yeamans*, Esq;

Edward Byam, Esq; President of the Council.

Col. <i>John Hamilton</i> ,	}	Counsellors.
Col. <i>Rowland Williams</i> ,		
Col. <i>William Thomas</i> ,		
Col. <i>George Gambell</i> ,		
Col. <i>Lacy Blackmore</i> ,		
Major <i>Henry Lyons</i> ,		
Major <i>Thomas Morris</i> ,	}	

We have seen another List of the Counsellors wherein the following were added.

Christopher Codrington, Esq;

Charles Mathew, Esq;

William Codrington, Esq;

Barry Tankard, Esq;

Lawrence Crab, Esq;

Chief-Justice, *Samuel Watkins*, Esq;

Secretary, *Rhodes*, Esq;

Judge of the Admiralty, *George Gambell*, Esq;

Commissioner of the Customs, *Edward Pirry*, Esq;

Collector of the Customs, *Rich. Buckeridge*, Esq;

Colonel of the Regiment of Foot, Col. *Edward Byam*.

Colonel of the Regiment of Horse, Col. *Lucy Blackmore*.

Ministers of the 3 Parishes supply'd with Incumbents, Mr. *James Feild*, Mr. *John Buxton*, and Mr. *John Powel*.

Commissary of the Bishop of *London* for all the *Leward Islands*, the Reverend Mr. *James Feild*.

MONTSERRAT.

THE Spaniards gave this Island its Name, and call'd it so for the Resemblance it has to a Mountain in *Catalonia*, not far from *Barcelona*, famous for a Chappel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin; in great Reputation with the Roman Catholicks of any, except that of *Loretto*.

The English have not thought fit to give it another Name, since they were Masters of it. It lies in 17 Degrees, North Latitude; is about 3 Leagues in Length, and almost as much in Breadth, so that it seems to be of a round Figure.

It was discover'd by the Europeans, at the same time with *St. Christophers*, but no Settlement was made

made upon it till the Year 1632. At which time *Thomas Warner*, first Governour of *St. Christophers* procur'd a small Colony to settle there, of the Subjects of *England*; for we cannot assure our selves they were Englishmen, this Island being generally look'd on as an *Irish* Colony.

It had the same Governours as *St. Christophers*; but we suppose they put in Deputy Governours, as has been the Practice since. We could not get a good Account of either the general or particular Governours, and a bad one we would not impose upon the Reader.

This Island flourish'd at first more than *Antego* but since the Lord *Willoughby's* Time, the latter has got and kept the start of it. There were 700 Men in *Montserrat* 60 Years ago, which was 16 Years after 'twas first inhabited.

As to the Climate, Soil, Animals, Trade, and Productions of this Isle, they are much the same with those of the other *Charibbee Islands*, only this is fuller of Mountains, which are cover'd with Cedars and other Trees, that make it a lovely Prospect from the Sea. The Valleys are fruitful, and better stor'd with fresh Water than those of *Antego*.

The Reader will not think it tedious to see a further Account of the strange Animals in all the Elements peculiar to the *Charibbees*, and other Places of *America*. We range these in the Article of *Montserrat* for that they are said to be most common here.

Davyes of
Kid.
P. 105.

On this Coast, as we find in the *History* of the *Charibbees* before-mention'd, are taken a very hideous sort of Monsters, from thence call'd *Sea-Devils* by my Author and others. This Monster is about 10 Foot long, and proportionably big. On its Back has a great Bunch of Prickles, like those of a Hedgehog. The Skin of it is black, hard and rugged, like that of the *Sea-Dog*. Its Head is flat, and on the upper part has many little Risings; among which is to be seen two very little black Eyes. Its Mouth, which is extremely wide, is arm'd with several very sharp Teeth, of which two are crooked, and bent in like those of a Wild-Boar. It has four Fins, and a broad Tail, fork'd at the End.

at all this would not have got it the Name of *Sea-devil*, was it not for its having above the Eyes two little black sharp Horns, which turn towards its Back, like those of a Ram. Besides that this Monster is as ugly as any thing can be imagin'd, the Meat of it, which is soft, and full of Strings, is absolute Poison.

There's another Kind of *Sea-Devil*, no less hideous than the other, tho' of another Figure. The largest of this kind are not above a Foot long from Head to Tail, and the Breadth is almost equal to the length; but when they please they swell themselves up so, that they seem to be as round as a Bowl. Their wide Mouths are arm'd with many little, but very sharp Teeth; and instead of a Tongue, they have only a little Bone, which is extremely hard. Their Eyes are very sparkling, and so small, and deep set in the Head, that the Ball can hardly be discern'd. Between the Eyes they have a little Horn, which turns up, and before it a large String, that has a little Button at the End of it. Besides, their Tail, which is like the broad End of an Oar, they have two Plumes, one on the Back, which stands almost upright, and the other under the Belly. They have also two Finns, one of each side, over against the Midst of the Belly, having at the Extremities something like little Paws, each of which is divided into eight Claws, arm'd with sharp Nails. Their Skin is rough and prickly, like that of a *Wark's*, except under the Belly, which is of a dark red Colour, and mark'd with red Spots.

The Meat of it is not to be eaten; they may be easily dead, and the Skin being fill'd with Cotton, or dry'd Leaves, is preserv'd by some of the Curious, as a Rarity.

The *Lamantine* is often caught in these Seas. This is the best Fish to eat of all the *Sea-Monsters*, and is kept for Provision, as Salmon and Cod in *Europe*. The *Spaniards* call it, *Namantin*, and *Manaty*, from Ibid. 103. It has two little Paws, like Hands. 'Tis a Monster that, at its full Growth, is 18 Foot long, and 7 in thickness. Its Head has some Resemblance to that of a *Wark*; from whence 'tis sometimes call'd the *Sea-wark*. It has small Eyes, and a thick Skin, of a dark red

red Colour, wrinkled in some Places, and stuck with small Hairs. Being dry'd, it grows so hard, it might serve for a Buckler against the Arrows of the *Charibbeans*; and some of the Savages use it to ward off the Blows of their Enemies, when they go to Battle. It has no Finns, but instead of them the two little Paws, or Hands above-mention'd, under its Belly, each of which has four Fingers, very weak to support the Weight of so heavy a Body. It has no other defensive Weapon. It lives on the Grass and Herbage that grow about the Rocks, and on the shallow Places, that have not much above a Fathom Water.

The Females are disburthen'd of their young On much after the same manner as Cows are, and have two Teats, with which they suckle them. They bring forth two at a time, which never leave the mother, till they have no longer need of Milk, and can feed on the Grass as she does.

Two or three of these *Lamantines* load a Cannon. The Meat or Flesh is of a Vermilion Colour; eats short, and does not cloy or surfeit. The most wholesome way of eating it, is after it has lain in Salt two or three Days.

These Fish are more commonly taken at the Entrance into fresh Water Rivers, than in the Sea. Some highly value certain small Stones found in the Heads of these Monsters, as having the Virtue when reduc'd to Powder, to cure the Gravel, and dissolve the Stone bred in the Kidnies. But the Remedy is violent, and not much to be depended on. I say my Author, who perhaps has led me into an Error, in treating of the *Lamantine* in this Place. However his Account of this Fish pleas'd my Curiosity, and I hope will have the same Effect on the Readers.

This Isle produces every thing that grows on the other *Leward Islands*: As Sugar, Indigo, Ginger, Cotton, &c. especially Indigo; of which great Quantities us'd to be exported from hence to *England*. The Sugar was not so coarse and black as the *Antego*, nor so fine as the *Barbadoes* and *Jamaica*.

The Trade of this Place is the same with that of the other *Charibbee Islands*. 'Twas so much resorted

60 Years ago, that the Inhabitants had built a very fair Church, by the Contribution of the Governour, Merchants, and Planters. The Pulpit, the Seats, and all the Joiners and Carpenters Work within it were of the most precious and sweet-scented Wood that grew in the Country.

There were then also 3 or 4000 Souls, *English*, *Scotts*, and *Irish*; and since that the Number has rather increas'd than decreas'd: For another good Church has been built, and the Island is now divided into two Parishes, one of which only is supply'd by a Minister at this time.

In King *Charles II.* especially King *James the II.*'s Reign, the *Irish* Papists drove a considerable Commerce to this Place; where Mr. *Terrence Dermot*, afterwards Sir *Terrence Dermot*, and Lord Mayor of *London* when King *James* was at *Dublin*, liv'd, and got an Estate; as did also Mr. *Thomas Nugent*, and other Roman Catholicks, that were originally of *Ireland*. When Col. *Codrington* was made Governour of the *Leward Islands*, Col. *Blackstone* was Governour of *Montserrat*.

In the Year 1692. there was a dreadful Earthquake at this, and indeed almost all the *Leward Islands*. The Inhabitants rais'd a Regiment of 300 Men, to assist General *Codrington* in his Expedition against *St. Christophers*: Which Regiment was commanded by Col. *Blackstone*. What they and the other Soldiers did on this Occasion will be found in the Histories of *Antego*, *St. Christophers*, and *Nevis*.

To Col. *Blackstone* succeeded Col. *Hill* in the Government of this Island, who being sickly, remov'd to *England* in the *Mary Yatch*, in the Year 1697. and landing at *Milford-Haven*, dy'd at *Pembroke*, the 24th of *August*; who was his Successor we have not learn'd.

A Part of Col. *Collingwood's* Regiment of Foot, that was sent from *England* in the following Year, was quarter'd in this Island, of which we can give no further Account.

It was not so sickly, as the other *Charibbee Islands*, and has increas'd its People and Trade equally with any of them. The French did not attack it when

NEVIS.

THE next Island to *Montserrat*, following the Distance from the *Equator*, which is the Method we have taken, is *Nevis*, anciently, and now vulgarly, call'd *Mavis*.

It must have been discover'd at the same time with *Christophers*, because 'tis not above half a League from it. It lies in 17 Degrees, 19 Minutes, North Latitude, and is not above 6 Leagues in Circumference.

There's but one Mountain, and that is in the midst of it, very high, and cover'd with great Trees to the Top. The Plantations are all round the Mountain, beginning from the Sea-side, and ending by at the Summit of the Mountain, the Ascent being commodious enough.

There are several Springs of fresh Water in it, of which some are strong enough to make their way to Sea, and may deserve the Name of Rivers. One of them here is a Mineral, and the Waters hot. Baths were made not far from the Source, and frequented with good Success, for the Cure of those tempers that the Baths at the Bath in *England*, *Bourbon* in *France*, are famous for curing.

Before we enter farther into the Geographical Natural Account of *Nevis*, we must let the Reader a little into the Historical.

Mr *Thomas Warner*, who made the first Settlement at *St. Christophers*, made also the first at *Nevis*, in the Year 1628. But in the following Year *Don Frederick Toledo*, who drove the English and French out of the former Island, seiz'd all the Ships, to the Number 15, that were at *Nevis*. 'Twas aboard these Ships the *Spaniards* put the *English*, whom they forc'd to leave *St. Christophers*.

The English Settlement at *Nevis* went on so profusely, that in 20 Years time there were between 4000 Men there, who subsisted, and liv'd handiely by the Trade they drove in Sugar.

After Sir *Thomas Warner's* Death, we find men on made of one Mr. *Lake*, who was Governour this Island, and is remember'd as a Man of great Piety and Prudence; insomuch that *Nevis* was said to be the best govern'd of any of the *Charibbee Islands*. All manner of Profaneness, Impiety and Debauchery, were severely punish'd. There were even three Churches in the *Island*; not very fine indeed but convenient and decent for performing Divine Service.

Charles-Town was built, and the Houses were large, the Shops well stor'd, and Forts were erected to defend the Place against all Invaders. The Governour and Council at first set a Price upon Goods, and assign'd times of Payment for them, but that was too great an Imposition on the Liberty of the Market, to be of any long Continuance.

Sir *George Ayscue* reduc'd *Nevis* with the other *Charibbee Islands*; and having no certain List of the Dependent Governours, nor indeed of the Governours General, we shall not pretend to give any to the Publick, but take some further notice of the Climate, Soil, Animals, Trade and Productions.

The Climate is hot, and I have been inform'd of People who have frequented both Islands, that it is rather hotter than *Barbadoes*, tho' the latter is much nearer the Line.

The Soil is fertile, especially in the Valleys. The rising Ground is stony, and the Plantations grow worse and worse in Fertility, the higher the Plants are settl'd on the Mountain. Land was much cheaper there than in the Vale, being courser, and not so easily cultivated. 'Tis the same with us in *England*, and for the same Reasons: So this Observation might have been spar'd.

The Rains here are violent, and the Turnaces so in a very high degree, as we shall observe hereafter.

As to the Product of the Country, and its Trade, what has been said of *Barbadoes*, *Antego*, and the other *Charibbee Islands*, will also serve for this. Sugar is the staple Commodity here, as well as there, and serves for all the Uses of Money: For all the Trade of the Island is manag'd by Sugar. Pounds of Sugar;

not Pounds Sterling, is the Ballance of all their Accounts; and, exchanging that Commodity for others, did the Inhabitants Business as well as if they had had Silver.

This Sugar was, generally speaking, Muscovado, of a little finer Grain than that of *Antego*: But they have lately endeavour'd to clay. Sir *John Bawdon* order'd his Overseers to attempt it, two or three and twenty Years since, in that Plantation, in this Island, which is now Mr. *Richard Merrimweather's*. He sent Mr. *Hacket*, Brother to Sir *Richard Hacket of Barbadoes*, and an excellent Refiner, from that Isle to this. But, thro' Negligence in those that were employ'd, the Project fail'd, and no white Sugar was made in *Nevis*, but what was for a some Consumption, Presents, or Experiments, till within a very few Years.

Tobacco was at first much cultivated; there's now little or none planted, nor has there been any considerable Quantity this 30 or 40 Years.

Cotton and Ginger have been also planted here; but of late Years those two Commodities have been neglected, and Sugar only taken Care of; of which great Quantities have been made, and 50 or 60 Ships laden in a Year from this Island to *Europe*.

As to the Animals here, 'tis a hard Matter to say there are any peculiar to it; however, since we find some taken notice of as such, we shall give the Reader an Account of them.

Lizzards are said to be more frequent here than in any of our other Sugar-Islands. There are several kinds of them; the greatest of them are those which the *Charibbeans* call *Ouaymaca*. They are 5 Foot long at their full Growth, measuring from the Head to the extremity of the Tail, which is as long as all the rest of their Body.

As for their Bigness, they are a Foot about. Dav.p.74.
 Their Skins are of several Colours, according to the different Soils they are bred in. The *Portuguese* call them *Cameleons*, thinking they were a Species of that creature. In some Places the Females are of a light green, checker'd with black and white Spots; and the Males are green. In others the Males are black, and the Females of a light grey, intermixt with black

and green. And others, both Males and Femal, have all the little Scales of their Skin so glittering, and as it were studded, that at a Distance one would think them cloath'd in rich Cloth of Gold and Silver. On their Backs they have Prickles like Combs, which they force up, and set down as they please, and appear less from the Head to the End of the Tail. They go on four Feet, each of which has 5 Claws, with very sharp Nails. They run swiftly, and are excellent at Climbing of Trees. But whether it is that they love to look on Men, or are of a stupid, unapprehensive Nature, when they perceive the Hunter they patiently expect him, without stirring till they are shot. When they are angry, their Crag under their Throat swells, and makes them seem much more formidable. Their Jaws are very wide, their Tongues thick, and they have some very sharp Teeth, which when once they have fasten'd on any thing, they will hardly let it go. Their Teeth are not at all venomous. The Females lay Eggs, about the Bigness of Woodquits; but the Shell is soft. They lay them deep on the Sea-side, under the Sand, and leave them to be hatch'd by the Sun. From whence some Authors have rank'd them among the amphibious Creatures.

The Savages taught the *Europeans* the way to take these *Lizzards*, and by their Example encouraged those that came first among them, to eat them. They are very hard to kill, insomuch that some having receiv'd three Shots of a Gun, and by it lost some part of their Entrails, would not fall. Yet if a small Stick be thrust into their Noses, or a Pin be put between their Eyes, where there's a little Hole, into which the Pin easily enters, they presently die. Their Flesh is luscious, but not safe to eat often. Their Eggs have no White, but are all Yolk.

Ib. 75.]

The *Anclis* is another sort of *Lizzard*, and at the first settling this Island they were very common in all the Plantations. This Reptile is about the Bigness of an European Lizzard, but its Head is longer, its Skin yellowish, and on its Back it has certain blew, green, and grey Streaks, drawn from the Top of the Head to the End of the Tail. Its Abode is in Holes under Ground, whence in the Night it makes a loud Noise.

In

In the Day-time, 'tis in perpetual Exercise, and wanders about Cottages, to get somewhat to subsist on.

The *Land Pike* is another strange Reptile, which has been met with in this Island; 'tis so call'd from its Likeness to that Fish: But instead of Finns it has four Feet, so weak, that it only crawls on the Ground, and winds its Body, as a Pike newly taken out of the Water. The longest of these Creatures are about 16 Inches, and proportionably big. Their Skins are cover'd with little Scales, which shine extremely, and are of a Silver grey Colour. Some of the Curious us'd to have young ones in their Closets, and took them for Salamanders. In the Night-time they make a hideous Noise from under the Rocks; 'tis more sharp and grating to the Ear than that of Frogs and Toads; and they change their Notes according to the Variety of the Places where they lurk. They are seldom seen but a little before Night; and when any of them are met in the Day-time, those that meet them are apt to be frightened with their Motion.

There have been many curious Insects seen in this Island, and none more so than that call'd the *Soldier*, P. 78. a kind of Snail. The Name given it is taken from the *French*; and the Reason of it is so whimsical, we are glad it did not come from an *Englishman*. These Insects have no Shells proper to themselves; but to secure the Weakness of their little Bodies from the Injuries of the Air, and the Attempts of other Animals, they take Possession of a Shell, commonly that of Perriwinkles; within which they accommodate themselves, as Soldiers, who having no settled Habitation, take up their Quarters in other Mens Houses; wherefore they are term'd *Soldats* or *Soldiers*. As they grow bigger, they shift their Shells, and get into larger, as they find them on the Sea Shoar, and some have taken up their Quarters in the Claws of great dead Crabs. They are of several Forms and Figures, according to the Diversity of the Shells they possess themselves of. Their Bodies are very tender, except their Heads and Claws. For a defensive Weapon, and instead of a Foot, they have a Claw, like that of a great Crab, wherewith they

P. 79.

close the Entrance of their Shells, and secure their whole Body. 'Tis all jagg'd within, and holds fast whatever it fastens on, that it takes away the Peice with it. This Insect marches faster than the common Snail, and does not with its Foam or Slimy fowl the Place over which it passes. When the *Soldier* is taken, it grows angry, and makes a Noise. When 'tis put near the Fire, it forsakes its Quarters; if its Shell is presented to it, to enter it a again, it goes in backwards. My Author adds, (I will give it in his own Words, because there's something extraordinary in them) *When there are many of them met together with an Intention at the same time to quit their former Lodgings, and to take up new ones, which they are all much inclin'd to do, they enter into a great Contestation, there happens a serious Engagement, which is managed with their Claws, till at length the weaker forc'd to submit to the victorious, who presently possess themselves of the Shells of the vanquish'd, which afterwards they peaceably enjoy as a precious Conquest.*

The Reader must be inform'd, that the History of the *Charibbee* Islands, an Edition of which Mr. *Davies* put out in *English*, is look'd upon to be very authentic; and, as far as we have compar'd it with things within our own Knowledge, the Account is very just, allowing for the Distance of Time; and if the modern Inhabitants should happen not to meet with these Creatures in the *Charibbee* Islands, they are not therefore to conclude there never were any of them, but rather that they are clear'd by the Industry of their Predecessors. There are two other sorts of small Snails, which are very beautiful; one is flat and of a dark Colour, the other is sharp, and has small, red, yellow, or blew Streaks or Lines.

P. 84.

There's another Insect, call'd the *Flying Tyger*, because its Body is chequer'd with Spots of several Colours, as the Tyger is. 'Tis about the Bigness of the Horn'd Beetle. Its Head is sharp, and it has two great Eyes, as green and sparkling as an Emerald. Its Mouth is arm'd with two hard Hooks, extremely sharp, with which it holds fast its Prey, while it gets out the Substance of it. Its whole Body is cover'd with a hard and swarthy Crust, which serves it for Armour. Under its Wings, which are also of a solid

Matter

Matter, there are four lesser Wings, which are as thin as any Silk. It has 6 Legs, each of which has three Joints, and they are bristled with certain little rickles. In the Day time 'tis continually catching other Insects, and in the Night it sits singing on the Trees.

The *Horn Fly* is a Reptile that has two Snouts, like an Elephant, one turning upward, and the other downward; its Head is blew, like a Grasshopper; its two Eyes green; the upper Side of its Wings of bright Violet, damask'd with Carnation, with a small Thread of Silver; the Colour so lively and shining, that Art can never imitate it.

The same Author, with what Reason I cannot tell, *Ibid. p. 83.* says, there's a certain monstrous Spider in these Islands, so big, that when its Legs are spread abroad, takes up a larger Place than the Palm of a Man's hand. Its whole Body consists of two Parts, one of which is flat, and the other round; smaller at one end, like a Pidgeon's Egg. It has a Hole on its back, not unlike a Navel. Its Mouth cannot easily be discern'd, because 'tis in a manner cover'd over with Hair, which commonly is of a light grey, but sometimes intermix'd with red. It has two Weapons like Tusks, of a solid Matter, and black, so smooth and shining, that some curious Persons have set them in Gold for Tooth-picks; and Experience, the Fable, says, they have a Virtue to preserve *p. 84.* from Pain, and all Corruption, those Parts that have been rubb'd with them. When these Spiders are grown old, they are cover'd all over with a swarthy Down, which is as soft and close as Velvet. Their Body is supported by ten Feet, that are a little hairy on the Sides, and have below certain small points or Bristles, that help them to fasten more easily on those Places on which they climb: All these Feet issue out of the Fore-Part of the Insect, having each of them four Joints, and at the Ends they are arm'd with a black and hard Horn, which is divided into two Parts, like a Fork. They every Year shift their old Skins, as the Serpents do; as also the two Tusks which serve them for Teeth, and are their defensive Weapons. Their Eyes are very little, and lie deep in their Heads, that they seem to be only two small

small Points. They feed on Flies; and it has been observ'd, that in some Places their Webs are so strong that the little Birds caught in them, have had much ado to get away.

P. 83.

The Worm call'd by the *French Millepede*, (tho' sand-footed) and *Palmer Worm* by the *English*, has been met with here: The Number of its Feet is almost infinite, from whence it takes its *French* Name. They are like Bristles under its Body, and help to run along the Ground with incredible Swiftneſs eſpecially when it finds it ſelf purſu'd. 'Tis about 6 Inches long. The upper Part of its Body is cover'd all over with ſwarthy Scales, which are hard, and jointed one within another, like the Tiles of a Houſe. It has a kind of Claws both in its Head and Tail, thiſting cruelly, and with ſo much Venom, that the Pain remains 24 Hours, or more, after the Patient has receiv'd the Hurt.

We muſt take ſome Notice of the rare Birds theſe Iſlands; and many Years ſince there was brought from thence a Bird like a Swallow, on the two great Feathers of the Tail was a little ſhorter, the Beak turn'd down like a Parrot, the Feet were like a Duck's; 'twas black only under the Bell with a little white like our Swallows.

The *Fly Catcher* is a very pretty Creature, of ſmall Size, and with four Legs. Some ſeem cover'd with fine Gold or Silver Brocade; others with Mixture of green Gold, and other charming Colour. Theſe Birds are familiar, coming boldly into Room which they clear from Flies, and ſuch Vermin, and do it with ſuch Art and Speed, that the Huntsman's Dexterity is not comparable to it; for they lie down on a Plank, where they hope the Flies will come, and have their Eyes fix'd upon them, putting their Heads into as many different Poſtures as the Flies ſhift Place. They ſtand alſo on their Fore-Feet, and gape after their Prey with their Mouths half open. Tho' a Noiſe be made, and one ſhould come near them, nothing diſturbs them. When they have at laſt found their Advantage, they ſtart directly on their Prey, and rarely miſs it. They are ſo tame, that they will come upon the Table while Perſons are eating at it, and attempt to catch Flies there, or upon their Hand.

or Cloaths. They are very neat clean things. They lay small Eggs as big as Pease ; which, having cover'd with the Earth, they leave to be hatch'd by the Sun. When they are kill'd, all their Beauty vanishes, and they become paler. This Animal has something of the Nature of the Camelion ; for it assumes the Colour of those things on which it resides ; for being about Palm-Trees, 'tis green ; about Orange-Trees, yellow ; and the like by other Trees.

If these Animals are particular to this, or common to all the *Charibbee* Islands, they are so rare, that the Curious cannot but be pleas'd with our Description of them ; and will not look upon this as a Digression from our History, which we shall now continue.

After the Restauration, when Trade flourish'd with Peace, this Isle enjoy'd its Share of the Benefit of it with others, and increas'd in Inhabitants and Riches. The only Enemy they had to struggle with, was the Hurricane, which generally visited them once a Year. On the 19th of *August*, 1667. there was a terrible one in this Island ; at which Lowth. Vol. 2. Sir *John Berry*, Captain of the *Coronation Man* War, was in the Harbour, with that and several p. 106. other Ships ; of which one was commanded by Capt. *Langford*, who having learnt some of the Prognosticks of a Turnado from a *Charibbean*, perceiving them, told Sir *John*, and the other Commanders of it ; who depending on his Intelligence, made their Ships ready for the Sea, and in the Morning about 4 of the Clock, the Wind coming very hard Northerly, they put to Sea, and came all back within 4 or 5 Days time safe to the Road again. Capt. *Langford* was ashoar, and being confident of the Hurricane's coming, took such Care before-hand to secure his Sugars, and Goods in the Store-house, that when the Hurricane had carry'd away the Roof of the House, all, except one Hoghead of Sugar, remain'd safe.

When Sir *William Stapleton* was Governour of these Islands, he usually made this the Place of his Residence. Here the Courts were kept ; and the Governour living upon it, most of the Affairs of this Government were transacted.

Every

Every one of these Islands have a particular Lieutenant Governour, Council, and Assembly; and the general Government centers only in the Authority of the Captain General.

We find a wonderful Loyal Address handed to the Court in King *Charles* the II^d's Reign, to congratulate that Prince on his escaping the bloody Effects of the famous *Rye-house Plot*. 'Twas deliver'd by *Col. Netheway* and *Col. Jefferson*; the latter descended from that *Jefferson* mention'd in the History of *St. Christophers*.

On the 28th of *March*, 1685. *Sir William Stapleton* proclaim'd King *James* the II^d. at *Nevis*, with great Solemnity. The Provost Marshal officiated as Sheriff, Drums beating, and Trumpets sounding, attended by Vollies of all the Ordnance in the Forts, of the Horse and Foot, and the Ships in the Road.

Sir William Stapleton made *Sir James Russel* Lieutenant Governour of this Island, and he enjoy'd that Place till his Commission was superseded by that of *Capt. General*, granted to *Sir Nathaniel Johnson*, who also resided at *Nevis*; and at this time none of the *Leward Islands* flourish'd so much as this. *Nevis* supply'd the others with almost all their *Wine* and *Negroes*; and 'tis computed to have contain'd at that time near 2000 fighting Men; which will make the Number of Souls, by common Computation, to be above 10000, besides *Negroes*, of which Number there were not less than 20000; a prodigious Improvement of an Island scarce 6 Miles long to maintain between 30 and 40000 Men, Women and Children. This may seem incredidle at the first View, but we shall give further Proof of it in the Course of this Relation.

A dreadful Mortality rag'd in *Nevis*, in the Year 1689. especially among the Men, which reduc'd the Sex to the Moity of its usual Number, and forc'd the Inhabitants to make their Addresses to *Sir Timothy Thornhill*, who then lay at *Antego* with his *Barbadoes* Regiment, to come down to *Nevis* for the Defence; for the *French* being then Masters of *St. Christophers*, they expected every Day to be attack'd. *Sir Timothy* was loath to venture his Men, during the

Violence of the Distemper ; but hearing 'twas abated, he remov'd thither with his Regiment in *November*, landed, and encamped them on a commodious Plain, close adjoining to a little River.

In the Beginning of *December* a Council of War was call'd, at which assisted,

Christopher Codrington, Esq; Lieutenant General.

Sir Timothy Thornhill, Major General.

Col. Charles Pym, } Colonels of the two *Nevis*
Col. Earl, } Regiments.

Col. John Thomas, Lieutenant Col. to *Sir Timothy Thornhill*.

Major *John Stanley*, and other Field Officers.

By whom it was resolv'd, that the Major General, with 300 Barbadians, and 200 Nevisians, to use the Term of my Author, should go down and attack *St. Martins*, and *St. Bartholomews*, two of the *Charibbee Islands* belonging to the Enemy, where they rais'd a stock, for the Support of their Sugar Islands.

On the 15th of *December* *Sir Timothy* embark'd his Forces on Board a *Brigantine*, and 9 Sloops, and went aboard himself the next Day, when he also set sail for those Islands.

On the 18th they pass by *St. Bartholomews*, and about 4 in the Afternoon, being within 4 or 5 Leagues of *St. Martins*, they spy'd a small Sloop standing up towards them ; but upon sight of the English she tack'd, and put into one of the Bays. When they came up with the Bay where she lay, *Sir Timothy Thornhill* sent Lieutenant *Dowden* with 3 Files of Musketeers, in a Boat, to go up to her to board her, and if she were floating, to bring her out. When the Boat was got near the Sloop's side, the Enemy, who lay hid in the Bushes on each side, (the Bay being *landlocked*) fir'd very thick upon the English, and forc'd them to retreat, two of them being wounded. The Major General being very desirous to have the Sloop, after it was dark, sent 30 Men in 4 Boats and Canoos, under the Command of Capt. *Walter Hamilton*, again to attempt the bringing her out ; but the French discover'd them, and fir'd hotly upon them. The Canoo which Capt. *Hamilton* was in,
row'd

row'd up close to the Sloop, and found her run ground, the Men being all gone out of her; so he was oblig'd to leave her, and return to the Vessel. Capt. *Hamilton* receiv'd 2 Shots in one of his Legs, 4 Persons more were wounded, but none kill'd. The Night the English stood off and on, as tho they design'd to land the next Morning.

Sir Timothy on the 19th call'd a Council of War on Board the *Brigantine*, by whom it was determin'd first to attack *St. Bartholomews*, to which Island the Sloops stood up in the Night. The next Morning before Day, Major *Stanly* landed with 80 Men, notwithstanding the Opposition of the Enemy, beat them out of their Breast-Works, and by Break of Day he had planted his Colours on a Battery of Guns, which he had taken from them. Not long after, the Major General went ashore with all the Forces, which he divided into three Bodies, himself leading his own Guard of Gentlemen Volunteers and 2 Companies of Foot, thro' the Middle of the Island.

After a Miles March, the English discover'd a large Fortification, which appear'd to be well man'd. But *Sir Timothy*, with his Men, charging the Enemy resolutely, they quitted it, after 2 or 3 Volleys and fled into the Woods. The Fortification was Quadrangular, consisting of about two Acres of Land encompass'd with double Rows of Stakes 6 Foot high and 4 Foot distant; the Intervals being fill'd with Earth, and a wide deep Trench without it. On each Corner there was a Flanker, in one of which were planted four great Guns. The Entrance into it was a Lock, admitting but one at a time. In the Middle of it was the Governour's House, and a Guard-house for the Soldiers, also a large Cistern, with Store of fresh Water, seven or eight Barrels of dry'd Fish, bread proportionable, and 2 Barrels of Powder. It was situate in a Bottom, by the side of a Lake, thro' which the English were to pass to come at it; and on the other side was a very high Hill. After *Sir Timothy Thornhill* had enter'd it, he sent his Secretary, Mr. *Spencer*, my Author, with 4 Files of Men, to gain the Top of the Hill, which he did, finding it fortify'd with two great Guns, loaden and prim'd,

rim'd, with the Match lighted, and several Bags of
 artridge-shot lying by them; but the French
 ere in so much hast they did not stay to fire upon
 im.

About 4 Miles distance from the Fortification, on
 e side of a Hill, there appear'd a large white Buil-
 ng, resembling a Fort, to which the Major Gene-
 l sent 300 Men, under the Command of Col.
Charles Pym, with Orders, if he found it strong, to
 down before it, and wait his Coming. According-
 a few Hours afterwards he follow'd Col. *Pym*,
 th the rest of the Forces, having left a sufficient
 ard in the Fortification.

When Sir *Timothy Thornhill* came up to it, he found
 o be only a Stone-Platform, laid shelving, for the
 nveyance of Rain-Water into a Cistern. The
 ader should know the Occasion of these Cisterns,
 ich is, the Islands being destitute of Rivers, Wells,
 other Conveniences of fresh Water, it forces
 Inhabitants to make use of all Opportunities to
 ch the Rain, each House being furnish'd with one
 more of these Cisterns, some of them capable of
 ding 14 or 18 Tuns of Water. Here the Major
 neral encamp'd that Night, and the next Day
 rch'd back to the Fortification.

On the 22d Day of *December* two French Captains
 e in with a Flag of Truce, bringing Articles
 n their Governour, upon which they offer'd
 urrender themselves. Sir *Timothy* return'd an
 swer in Writing, and sent it by two Gentlemen,
 o spoke French, amounting to a Denial of his
 oposals: For he reply'd, if he and the Inhabitants
 e in with their Arms in two Days, he shou'd find
 Major General was a Gentleman: But if he stood
 longer he was to expect no Quarter.

The two Englishmen who went to the Gover-
 r return'd the same Day, and brought his An-
 r, That in 4 Days time he would come in, but
 ould not be sooner, because some of the Inhabi-
 ts were hid in the Woods, to whom before that
 e he could not communicate his Design.

The two following Days the English march'd
 nd the Island, burning all the Houses as they pass'd
 g. The French fir'd upon them from the Woods,
 in

in some Places, but did no Damage. On the Day appointed the English spy'd a Flag of Truce coming towards them, with the Governour, and a great Company of the Inhabitants. Upon which the Major General leaving his own Company of Guards in the Fortification, and the rest of his Forces drawn round it, sent the two Gentlemen who had before been with the Governour, to meet him. At the Entrance into the Fortification he was received by Lieutenant Colonel *John Thomas*, who conducted him to the Major General, who sat in the House; a poor one indeed, but it serv'd the French Governour's Turn: It rather resembled a Pidgeon-House, than the Pavilion (as the French term it) of a Governour, it consisting only of one Room, about 12 Foot Square below, and another above.

The Governour was accompany'd by a Frier, and some of his Officers, who were all very civilly receiv'd by Sir *Timothy*. The Prisoners were between 6 and 700 Men, Women, and Children. The Men were sent as Prisoners to *Nevis*, with the Live-Stock, Negroes, and Merchandize. The Women and Children were transported to *St. Christophers*. *Timothy* restor'd the Governour his Horse, Arms, Apparel, and some of his Negroes, and permitted him to send them also to *St. Christophers*. There were but 10 Men of all the English kill'd and wounded in the Enterprize.

While Sir *Timothy Thornhill* staid upon *St. Bartholomews*, 8 or 9 Sloops came to him from some of the neighbouring Islands, with about 50 Men, to reinforce him. Upon this he sent the *Brigantine*, with 9 Sloops, under the Command of Captain *Walter Hamilton*, to allarm the Island of *St. Martins*, and make a false Attack on the Windward-side. Captain *Hamilton* sail'd on the 19th of *January*; and the same Day the Major General embark'd all his Men, and sail'd at Night for the same Island, where he and his Forces landed the next Morning on the Leward Side, without any Opposition, the Enemy having drawn all their Forces to the other side of the Island.

About 20 of the French that were posted in a Breast-Work on that side, fir'd once, and then quitted it. When Sir *Timothy's* Men were all landed, they march'd entirely through the Body of the Country, and, after two Miles March, were drawn up in a convenient Plain, the Enemy being in sight; and, as they thought, advancing towards them.

After they had continu'd an Hour in this Posture, the French retir'd, and burnt a great Building upon a Hill, about a Mile distant, which seem'd to be a Fortification. Upon which the Major General march'd up to it, with all his Forces, but found it only to be a large House; which they burnt, because it should not serve the English for Shelter. However, the Stone-Walls that remain'd standing, prov'd serviceable to them, in covering them from their Shot.

There was a large Cistern of Water here, but the French had render'd it unfit for Drinking, by throwing Salt into it. They also poison'd an adjacent Pond with Tobacco.

The English had not been long here, before the French began to fire upon them from a Breast-Work, where they had two great Guns planted a quarter of a Mile off, there being a Valley between them; on the Left-Hand low and bushy ground; and on the Right a Ridge of Mountains, with a very thick Wood.

Sir *Timothy Thornhill* sent Captain *Burt* with a company of Men, to gain the Top of the Mountain, which had the Command of the Fort he was in.

That being done, he left 100 Men there, under the Command of Capt. *Geoffery Gibbs*, to maintain that Post, and march'd back into the Plain with the rest of his Forces, to secure the Approaches, and hinder the Enemy from coming upon the Backs of the English.

Being come into the Plain, himself, with several Officers, and about 100 Soldiers, went to drink at a Well; where when they were drinking, they receiv'd a Volley of about 30 Shot from the Enemy, who lay hid in the Woods; yet there was but one Man hurt, tho they all stood close together.

ther. After which Major *John Stanley* was sent with a Party, to scour the Woods; which he did, beating them from two strong Breast-Works they had upon a *Saddle*, between two Hills (opposite to those the English had before gain'd). In which Works Major *Stanley* posted himself. The Passages being both Ways secur'd, Sir *Timothy Thornhill* encamp'd that Night with the main Body of his Forces in the Middle of a Plain; and the next Morning his two Brass Field Pieces with Carriages, and two Iron ones without, were brought ashore. The Iron ones were planted in the Plain, but the Brass ones were drawn up to the burnt House; whither Sir *Timothy Thornhill* remov'd his Camp: And about three in the Afternoon, on the 21st of *January*, they began to play on the Enemy.

In the Evening Captain *Bartholomew Sharp* was sent with one Company of Men, to cut a Path thro' the Wood, that the English might make an Attack on the Enemy that way: For in the Valley they had 4 great Guns planted directly in the Road; but being without Carriages, they could not bring them to bear upon the English, as they lay encamp'd.

Captain *Sharp* was discover'd before he had made any Progress in his Work, and so hotly dealt with that he was forc'd to retreat. The French kept firing all Day upon the English from their Breast-Work, both with their great Guns, and small Arms; but in the Night they silently quitted it.

The next Morning Sir *Timothy* left Lieutenant *James Smith*, with 30 Men, at the burnt House, march'd to the Breast-Work, and demolish'd it, as also their Line, which ran down to a Well in the Valley, near their 4 great Guns.

A Mile off of this he came to a fine Plain, encompass'd with Orange and other Fruit-Trees, where he encamp'd. - Here was Store of Cattle grazing, and some Houses, where the English took some Prisoners; from whom they understood, the Enemy had had near 20 Men kill'd and wounded.

The Major General left Mr. *Spencer* in the Plain with a Guard, to take Care of the Plunder, and march

march'd with the Main Body of his Forces against the Enemy's Chief Fort, about two Miles distant; which he took without any Loss, having but one Man wounded in the Action. Indeed the Enemy quitted it after one or two Volleys. It consisted of 6 great Guns mounted on a Platform, without Carriages, with Banks of Earth thrown up.

After he had nail'd down the Guns, he proceeded in his March about four Miles further, and then encamp'd in a pleasant Valley, where were a House and Garden, belonging to a Friar. There he found the Governour's Horse, saddled and bridled, he having left him, and fled into the Mountains with the Inhabitants.

The same Day, being the 23d of *January*, Major *Stanley* march'd over the Hills, on the other side of the Island, and engag'd a Party of the Enemy, beating them out of a Breast-Work, and demolishing it. At Night he return'd to his Post on the *Saddle*.

The 24th Sir *Timothy Thornhill* continu'd his March round the Island, without Opposition; and at Night return'd to the Burnt-House, where he again encamp'd, and order'd the Plunder to be remov'd thither.

On the 25th the English saw three great Ships, Brigantine and a Sloop, standing in with the Land, and he understood by some Prisoners, that Monsieur *Du Casse* was come down from *St. Christophers*, with 700 Men, commanded by the Governour of that Island.

The Major General immediately commanded away Guards to all those Bays where he thought the Enemy would land; but they seeing the English Sloops, perceiv'd he was already upon the Island, and came not to an Anchor, but gave chase to those Sloops, which made the best of their Way to get clear. One of them being in great Danger, ran ashore, to prevent being taken, but was hal'd off again by the Enemy, who found no Men in her, for they had all got off.

The Master of one of the Sloops being at the Camp when the Prisoners were brought in, who gave this Account, Sir *Timothy* dispatch'd him with

an Express to the Lieutenant General, then at *Ango*, to acquaint him with the Condition the English were in, and desire him to send Ships to their Assistance.

Du Casse stood off and on all Night; and in the Morning coming close in with the Shore, fir'd several Guns, to give the Inhabitants Notice of his Arrival. About Noon he came to an Anchor, before the Windward part of the Island, hanging out bloody Colours.

The Inhabitants, encourag'd by the coming of these Ships, came down out of the Mountains, and finding their Fort unman'd, they again took Possession of it, replanting and drilling their Guns. In the Night *Du Casse* landed his Soldiers. Of which the Major General having Advice, he brought his Field-Pieces from the Burnt-House, into the Plain and planted them on the Right and Left Wing of the Body, which was there encamp'd; the Iron Pieces being planted before towards each Road. He placed strong Guards upon the *Saddle* at the Burnt-House and the Mountain which commanded it.

In this Posture of Defence he continu'd the 27th, 28th, and 29th of *January*; the Enemy not daring to attack him, tho' they had receiv'd a further Reinforcement of 3 Ships, and more Men, from *St. Christophers*.

On the 30th of *January*, in the Morning, *Commodore Hewetson* arriv'd from *Antego* with 3 Ships, which the Lieutenant General had sent to Sir *Timothy Thornhill's* Assistance.

The French Ships at Anchor perceiving English Colours, weigh'd, and stood out to meet them. About Noon they engag'd, and after four Hours Debate, with little Damage on the Side of the English the French bore away; the English Ships also standing off all Night; but in the Morning, on the 31st of *January*, they return'd. The French Ships appear'd in Sight, but kept off at a Distance. The Major General having sent the Plunder and Field Pieces on board, order'd all his Out-Guards to quit their Posts, and march down into the Plain, in order to embark, which the Enemy perceiving, they march'd down also, and both Parties engag'd to the great Lo-

of the *French*, who were beaten into the Woods, and fled in Confusion.

Sir *Timothy Thornhill* afterwards made an honourable Retreat, and embark'd safe with all his Men, except about 10, who were kill'd in the whole Action; and 3 who were taken Prisoners, by being sleep in one of the Breast-Works, when the *English* quitted them. One of them made his Escape, got down to the Sea-side, and a Boat went and brought him off clear. The other two were afterwards exchange'd. There were about 20 Men wounded, who with the rest arriv'd safely at *Nevis*, on the 2d of February.

After the Major General's Regiment return'd to *Nevis*, the Inhabitants considering the Service they had done, and their Willingness to continue there in their Defence against the expected Invasion of the *French* at *St. Christophers*, in the Month of *April*, 1700. allow'd that Regiment Pay 6 Months, except the *English* Fleet should arrive; and if it did arrive, allow'd them one Months Pay, after their arrival.

The Inhabitants of this Island could not have done more prudently, for their Danger was very great from the Neighbourhood of *St. Christophers*, where Men of War more were arriv'd from *Europe*; and was reported, the Enemies were drawing their Forces together to attack *Nevis*; but the Lieutenant General had, with Sir *Timothy Thornhill's* Regiment, 1200 Men, very well arm'd, to defend the Island; there being two *Nevis* Regiments then on Foot, Col. *Pym's* and Col. *Earl's*, of 300 Men each. The Forts, Lines, and Breast-Works, were also in very good Repair, and the Men in such Heart, that nothing was talk'd of, but putting the *French* Interest out of these Parts of the World, soon as the Fleet arriv'd that was expected from *England*, which happen'd in *June* following: then Preparations were made with all possible Dispatch, for an Expedition against *St. Christophers*, in which all the *Leward* Islands, belonging to the Crown of *England*, were concern'd. They all sent their Quotas of Men to *Nevis*, which was appointed to be the Place of general Rendezvous, it lying most convenient for that Purpose.

The History of Nevis.

On *Monday* the 16th of *June*, 1690. Col. *Codrington*, who had now receiv'd a Commission from King *William* and Queen *Mary*, to be Captain General and Commander in Chief of all their *Leward* Islands order'd a general Muster in the Island of *Nevis* of all the Forces rais'd for the Expedition against *St. Christophers*, and there were found to be 3000 Men, according to the Muster Rolls then given in, *viz.*

In the Duke of *Bolton's* Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant General *Holt*, } 700 Men

In Major General *Thornhill's*, commanded by Sir *Timothy Thornhill* himself, } 500 Men

In the *Antego* Regiment, commanded by Col. *Williams*, Governour of that Island, } 400 Men

In the *Montserrat* Regiment, commanded by Col. *Blackstone*, Governour of that Island, } 300 Men

In the two *Nevis* Regiments, commanded by Col. *Pym* and Col. *Earl*, } 600 Men

In the *Marine* Regiment, being a Detachment out of the Men of War, under the Command of Col. *Kegwin*, Captain of the *Assistance*, } 400 Men

In the Captain General's Life-Guard, under the Command of Col. *Byam*, } 100 Men

3000 Men

On the 17th and 18th of *June*, the Forces were embark'd, and on the 19th sail'd from *Nevis*, under Convoy of Capt. *Wright*, Commodore of the Squadron of Men of War that was arriv'd from *England*. We shall give a further Account of this Expedition when we treat of *St. Christophers*.

Some time before the Forces and Fleet arriv'd from *England*, *viz.* on *Sunday* the 6th of *April*, abo

a Clock in the Evening, a strange hollow Noise was heard for some few Minutes, which was thought to proceed from the great Mountain in the Middle of this Island. The Inhabitants were surpriz'd and amaz'd at it; and immediately after, to their greater Amazement, began a mighty Earthquake, with so much Violence, that almost all the Houses in *Charles Town*, which were of Brick or Stone, were in an Instant levell'd with the Ground, and those built of Timber shook: Every Body made what Haste they could to get out of them. In the Streets, the Ground in several Places clove about a Foot asunder, and hot stinking Water spouted out of the Earth a great height. The *Sea* left its usual Bounds for more than the third part of a Mile, insomuch that very large Fish lay bare upon the Shoar; but the Water presently return'd again; and afterwards the same strange Motion happen'd several times, but the Water rec'd not so far as at first. The Earth in many Places was thrown up in great Quantities, and thousands of large Trees went with it, which were bury'd, and no more seen. 'Tis usual almost at every House in this Island, to have a large Cistern, to contain the Rain Water, of about 9 or 10 Foot deep, and 15 or 20 Foot Diameter; several of which, with the Violence of the Earthquake, threw out the Water 8 or 10 Foot high; and the Motion of the Earth all over the Land was such, that nothing could be more terrible. Several Sloops that pass'd from this Island to *Ango*, felt it at Sea, between *St. Lucia* and *Martinico*, on their way to *Barbadoes*, the Agitation of the Water being so violent, that they thought themselves on Rocks and Shelves, the Vessels shaking, as if they would break in Pieces.

Others passing the uninhabited Island, or rather Rock, call'd *Redunda*, found the Earthquake so violent there, that a great Part of that Rocky Isle split and tumbled into the Sea where it was sunk, making as loud a Noise, as if several Cannon had been fired. A very great Cloud of Dust ascended into the Air at the Fall. Two very great Comets appear'd in these Parts of the World; and in an Hour and a Quarter's time the Sea ebb'd and flow'd thrice to an unusual Degree. There happen'd nothing remark-

able here from this time to the Peace of *Reswic*, which restor'd Peace also to the *Europeans* in *America*.

The Reader may observe, that the Island of *Nevis* rais'd 600 Men for the Publick Service against *St. Christophers*, and we cannot suppose they were above one third of all the fighting Men; if there must be 1800 Men in the Island, after many had been swept away by a Mortality among them: And 'tis very probable, the Number might be 2500, when the Island was in its most flourishing Condition; in such case, the Number of Fighting Men, old Men, Women and Children, must be 11000, which will make this little Isle very populous.

The War and Sicknes having depopulated it, King *William*, for its Security, order'd Col. *Collingwood*'s Regiment of Foot to embark aboard the Ships under the Command of Rear-Admiral *Bembow*, who arriv'd at *Nevis* the 12th of *January*, 1698. and Part of that Regiment was quarter'd here. The Seamen, the Soldiers, and the Inhabitants were then in good Health.

In the same Year, Col. *Christopher Codrington*, Junr succeeded his Father (who was lately dead) in the Government of these Islands; who, on the Death of King *William*, having receiv'd Orders for proclaiming her present Majesty Queen *Anne*, he commanded the Forces that were in *Nevis* to be drawn upon the Shoar, towards the French Part of *St. Christophers*: and the Forces in that Island to draw out facing their Fort also. Himself went on board the Frigats attending this Government, waited on by 12 Sloops and Brigantines, and held in pretty near the French Town of *Basse Terre*, to proclaim the Queen aboard, he being Vice-Admiral of these Seas. Upon a Signal given, her Majesty was proclaim'd first at *Nevis*: The Fire of the Cannon began at the Windermost Part of the Island, pass'd on through the several Forts and Platforms along the Shoar, 15 stout Merchant Ships in the Road took it from them, and the Frigats succeeded being between the two Islands, and the Artillery at *St. Christophers* took it from the Frigats. This was done thrice; and her Majesty's Companies of Foot, with the Militia of both Islands, in two Lines, made as many running Fires.

As soon as the War broke out, this Island and *Antigua* fitted out several Privateers to cruize on the *French* Coast, and they were very successful in securing their own Trade, and endamaging the *French*: But the Inhabitants of this Island paid severely afterwards for this Success. The *French*, in the Year 1705. made great Preparations to attack the *English* *Caribbean* Islands, and threaten'd *Barbadoes* it self; but that Island being too strong for them, the Storm fell upon the *Leward* Islands, and upon *Nevis* in particular. The Enemy's Squadron consisted of 12 or 14 Men of War, under the Command of Monsieur *Ibberville*. Their Land Forces were at least 3000; and having made a Descent upon *St. Christophers*, they came before *Nevis* the 21st of *March*, where they landed their Troops by Night. The Inhabitants had Notice of their Coming, and prepar'd as well as they could for their Defence: They arm'd some of their Negroes, but that did them more Mischief than Good. Being over-power'd by the Numbers of the Enemy, they fled to the Mountain. The *French* fearing they should never master the Island unless they could reduce the Blacks, tempted them by fair Promises to lay down their Arms, assuring them they should live as well as their Masters; and not a little flattering them with Hopes of Liberty, or at least a very pleasant and easy Servitude. Upon which those false Slaves submitted; and the *French* marching to attack the *English* in the Mountain, the latter beat a Parley, and a Capitulation was concluded on the 24th of the same Month, by which they were to be Prisoners of War, but to remain in the Island, procuring a like Number of *French* Prisoners to be releas'd by way of Exchange, either in *America*, or in *Europe*. In the mean time, they were to be civilly us'd, and their Houses and Sugar-Works preserv'd; but the Enemy broke several Articles of the Capitulation, contrary to the Law of Nations, and the Usage of Arms, treating the People most barbarously, and burning their Houses and Sugar-Works. By Threats and Barbarity they forc'd several of them to sign a second Agreement the 6th of *April*, 1706. promising the Enemy in six Months time to send down to *Martinico* a certain Number of Negroes, or Money in lieu

of

of them. After which they left the Island, carryin away about 3 or 4000 Negroes, whom they made believe they were going to the *French* Islands to live a Ease; whereas when they had them aboard, they shut them fast down in the *Hold*, and gave out they would carry them to the *Spanish West-Indies*, and send them to the Mines, as they intended, and really did. One of these Negroes making his Escape to Land inform'd those that remain'd there, how basely the *French* had dealt by them. Upon which the Blacks took Arms, fell on the *French* in the Island, cut their Throats, and in part reveng'd their Masters for what they had suffer'd by them.

The Agents for *Nevis* and *St. Christophers* at *London*, solicited the Lords of Trade, &c. to have Consideration for their Losses, which they represented to be several hundred thousand Pounds; and in order to it, those Lords sent one of their Clerks to the *Leward* Islands, to take an exact Account of the Damage sustain'd by this Invasion.

The People of this Island met with as terrible an Enemy this Year 1707. in a Hurricane, which almost entirely destroy'd their Sugar-Works, threw down their Houses, tore up their Trees and Plants by the Roots, and left them in a most miserable Condition.

When Col. *Park* arriv'd, he made this Place the Seat of his Government, and call'd an Assembly here. 'Tis said there has been some Differences between him and them, and some Male-Administration, but having not the Certainty and Particulars of those Matters, we shall say no more of them, nor of the Success of the Representation of the Island to be compensated for their Damages. 'Tis not likely so great a Sum should be given them, while the *British* Empire is at such prodigious yearly Expences to maintain the War against the Common Enemy. What may be done for them in time of Peace, will come easily; till then we fear they must look on their Losses as a Debt, but as uncertain a one as some Debts owing in the *Leward* Islands to the Merchants in *London*.

Under Col. Park, Captain General of this and the other Leward Islands, are the following Ministers, and Officers in *Nevis*.

Lieutenant Governour, *Walter Hamilton*, Esq;

William Burt, Esq; President.

<i>John Smergin</i> , Esq;	} Counsellors.
<i>Azarias Pinney</i> , Esq;	
<i>James Bevon</i> , Esq;	
<i>William Butler</i> , Esq;	
<i>William Ling</i> , Esq;	
<i>Daniel Smith</i> , Esq;	
<i>Richard Abbot</i> , Esq;	
<i>Philip Broome</i> , Esq;	
<i>Thomas Butler</i> , Esq;	
<i>Thomas Belman</i> , Esq;	
<i>Lawrence Broadbelt</i> , Esq;	
<i>James Melliken</i> , Esq;	

Speaker of the Assembly, *Samuel Brown*, Esq;
Chief Justice, *Thomas Belman*, Esq;
Colonel of the Militia Regiment, Col. *Rich. Abbot*.
Judge of the Admiralty, *Thomas Belman*, Esq;
Secretary, *Michael Nowell*, Esq;
Commissioner and Collector of the Customs, *John Norwood*, Esq;
Provost Marshal, Mr. *Thomas Denbow*, Deputy.

THE
HISTORY
 OF
St. CHRISTOPHERS
 CONTAINING

An Account of its Discovery, Settlement, Events, Climate, Soil, Product Trade, and Inhabitants, *Charibbean* and *English*.

THIS Island is call'd *Liamuiga* by the Savages, and was discover'd by *Christopher Columbus*, in the first Voyage he made to *America*. He gave it the Name of *St. Christophers*, not from his own, but from the Figure of its Mountains; there being in the upper Part of the Island a very high Mountain, which bears, as it were, on its Shoulders, another less Mountain as *St. Christopher* is painted like a Giant, with our Infant Saviour on his Back.

'Tis in the Latitude of 17 Degrees, and 25 Minutes, on this Side the Line, and about 75 Miles in Circuit. The whole Island is divided into four Quarters; two of which are possess'd by the English, the other two by the French; so laid out, that People cannot go from one Quarter to another, without crossing the Lands of both Nations.

The English inhabit that Part of the Country where the high Mountains rise, which is about the Middle of the Island; and from these Mountains flow several little Rivers, all within the English Territory.

The French have more of the plain Country, and lands fitter for Cultivation; yet the English are more numerous, but the French have more fortified Places, and are better arm'd. They have four Ports well furnish'd with Ordnance, which command the Haven, and one of them has regular Works like a Cittadel. 'Tis call'd *Basse Terre*, and is very strong. It defends *Marigot* Harbour, the best in the French Territory.

The English have only two Forts; one over against *Point Sable*; and Fort *Charles*, about six Miles from it, between that and *Basse Terre*. Each Nation keep Garrisons in their Forts, and Guards on their Frontiers, which are every Day reliev'd.

The Charibbeans, who are the *Indigenæ* of the Island, and possess'd it before the Discovery of the *West Indies*, inhabited it when Sir *Thomas Warner*, an English Adventurer, came thither.

Monfieur *Desnambue*, a French Gentleman, of the ancient House of *Vauderop*, who commanded for the French in *America*, arriv'd at *St. Christophers* on the same Day with Sir *Thomas Warner*, and both took Possession of the Island in the Name of their respective Masters, that they might have a Place for a safe Retreat, and a good Haven for the Reception of such Ships of both Nations as should be bound for *America*, it being well stor'd with Harbours. The Spaniards us'd to put in there in their *West India* Voyages, to take in fresh Water; and they were in good Terms with the Charibbeans, that sometimes they left their Sick there, to be look'd after by them.

These two Gentlemen considering, that by possessing themselves of this Island they should very much incommode the Spaniards, resolv'd to leave Colonies of both Nations here; and without entering into Disputes about who came first, and who had the best Title to the whole, they agreed to divide the Island between them. They accordingly

be.

became Masters of it, and forc'd the Inhabitants to submit : But before they left it, having cause to fear there might be some secret Intelligence between the Indians and the Spaniards, the Charibbean Magicians having advis'd the Savages to take their Opportunity, and cut the Throats of all the Europeans the English and French fell upon the most factious of the Natives by Night, kill'd them, and drove the rest out of the Island. Then the two Gentlemen left some of their Men upon the Place, and return'd Sir *Thomas Warner* to *England*, and Monsieur *Desnambue* to *France*, for Recruits.

Sir Tho. Warner Governor. Their Masters approv'd of their Conduct, and sent them back with Supplies of Men and Provisions, and Commissions to be Governours of the new Settlements.

Robbe, p. 379. 4 Edit. Par. Monsieur *Robbe* in his Account of *St. Christophers* says, Monsieur *Desnambue* found several English and French Fugitives upon the Place when he came thither ; to whom he propos'd to establish a Colony and they consenting, chose him for their Governour Which Design, on his Return to *France*, he communicated to Cardinal *Richlieu* ; by whose means an *American* Company was set up in the Year 1626 And Capt. *Warner*, who was there at the same time on the like Occasion, gave rise to a like Company in *England*.

This Company continu'd in *France* till the Year 1651. when they sold *St. Christophers*, and the other Islands, to the Knights of *Malta*. But in the Year 1664. the *West India* Company, by the King's Orders, bought out the last Proprietors, and are still in Possession of those Islands.

Sir *Thomas Warner* and Monsieur *Desnambue* sail'd in the Year 1626, and the latter arriv'd there about *January*, 1627. having had a long sickly Voyage The French were about 300 in Number : The English Colony as many. Sir *Thomas* had proceeded in good way in his Settlement before Monsieur *Desnambue* arriv'd ; and the two Governours, to prevent Differences among their People, about the Limits of their Territories, sign'd Articles of Division, on the 13th of *May*, 1627. They then set those Boundaries to their several Divisions, which remain to this Day

ay, with this particular Proviso, that Fishing and Hunting should be equally Free to the Inhabitants of both Nations; That the Salt-Ponds, and most valuable Timber should also be in common, together with the Mines and Havens: Also a League Offensive and Defensive was concluded between them against their Enemies. After which they set themselves to work, each in his Station, to advance his Settlement.

The English receiv'd constant Supplies of Men and Provisions from *London*; by which means they arriv'd better than the French, and not only became strong enough to keep what they had, but to be able to spare Men for new Plantations at *Nevis*, which *Thomas Warner* took Possession of, and left People upon it, for a Settlement, in the Year 1628. And that which follow'd, *Don Frederick de Toledo* was sent with a Fleet from *Spain* of 24 great Ships of Burthen, and 15 Frigats, to dispossess the English and French of the Island of *St. Christophers*.

The Spaniards were allarm'd at the Progress of the English in the *Charibbee Islands*, and thought it concern'd the Safety of their own Plantations to prevent these Nations from settling in their Neighbourhood.

Don Frederick meeting some English Ships lying near the Isle of *Nevis*, seiz'd them, and then came and cast Anchor in the Road of *Marigot*, under the Cannon of the *Basse Terre*, where *Monsieur Rossy* commanded.

Neither the French nor the English Forts were in a Condition to oppose such an Enemy. Their Stores of Ammunition fell short, and their Numbers were no Match for the Spanish Army, had they been never so well provided with Powder and Shot. *Rossy*, after a small Opposition abandon'd the *Basse Terre*, and retreated to *Cabes Terre*, another Fort, where *Monsieur Desnambue* was in Person, who could not prevail with his Men either to defend themselves there, or to retire to the Fastnesses in the Forests and Mountains, where a few Men might have resisted a thousand. He remonstrated to them, that *Don Frederick* could not afford to spend much time in following them, for that he was bound to the *Havana*, to bring

bring home the Flota: Yet this, and a great deal more which he said to them, was to no Purpose. Nothing would content them but embarking, and leaving the Place; which he was forc'd to comply with: And so all the French deserted their Settlement, as did their Allies the English, who were in great Consternation; and the Disorder encreas'd, upon News of *Desnambue's* being gone with his Colony. Some endeavour'd to escape by Sea, others fled to the Mountains; and all of them who were left, fighting 'twas in vain to resist such a powerful Enemy. He sent Deputies to treat with the Spaniards. The King knowing he had them in his Power, commanded them, *en Maitre*, to leave the Island immediately, or he would put them all to the Sword. He sent them their own Ships, which he had taken at *Neva* to embark on, and was perswaded to give leave to those to stay that had not Room in the Ships for themselves and their Families, till they could be transported. Upon which *Don Frederick* weigh'd Anchor, carry with him 600 English, who were fittest for Service; and he was no sooner gone, but the English rally'd, and resolv'd to go on with their Settlement.

The French, who were got no farther than *Ango* and *Montserrat*, sent a Ship for Intelligence to *St. Christophers*, and understanding the Spaniards were gone, and the English busy in rebuilding and replanting, rejoic'd at this happy and unexpected turn of Fortune, sail'd back to *St. Christophers*, and retok Possession of their former Habitations.

1632. The English continu'd carrying on their Colonies till they were in a Condition to spare more Men for Settlements at *Barbuda*, *Montserrat*, and *Ango*; which Sir *Thomas Warner* peopled and planted. And the same Year the Dutch made themselves Masters of *St. Eustace*, and the French took Possession of some other Islands.

The English built themselves good Houses at *St. Christophers*, and had Wives and Families: Where the French contented themselves with Huts, after the Charibbean Manner. Few of them were marry'd, and consequently took little Pains to furnish themselves with all things necessary and convenient for Life.

Monfieur *Defnambue* dy'd about the Year 1637. and Sir *Thomas Warner* did not long furvive him. Before the Englifh Governour's Death, the Colony was fo increas'd, that there were between 12 and 13000 Souls of his own Nation in the Ifland. He was fucceeded in his Government by Col. *Rich*; Col. Rich Governour, who by following his Predeceffor's Steps, in well governing the Colony, invited more People to come and fettle there.

The chief Employment of the firft Planters was cultivating Tobacco; by which they got a competent Livelihood, but afterwards the Quantity that was made, bringing down the Price, they fet themfelves in feveral Places to plant Sugar, Ginger, Indigo, and Cotton; and in a little time became a rich and flourishing People, both French and Englifh living very lovingly together, till the late Wars in *Europe* blew up a Flame there, which is likely to end in the difpoffeffing of the one or the other of them.

Let us now take a further View of the Country; for which, in the Sequel of our History, we fhall find a great deal of Blood fhed by the two contending Nations.

The Ifland is extreemly delightful, and the Mountains lying one above another, afford a lovely Profect over all the Plantations, to the Sea Coafts, all round the Ifland. Between the Mountains are dreadful Rocks, horrid Precipices, thick Woods, and hot fulphurous Springs at the Foot of 'em, in the South-Weft part of the Ifland. There's an Isthmus at the South-Eaft End, which runs into the Sea, without a Mile and an half of *Nevis*; on the fame Shoar is Salt-Work.

The Air is good and wholfome, but much disturb'd with Hurricanes. The Soil is light, fandy and fruitful, as the vaft Quantities of Sugar, and other Commodities which it has produc'd, fufficiently prove.

The Middle of the Ifland is hardly paffable, becaufe of the high and craggy Rocks and Precipices in the Mountains, and the Thickets and Forests, where 's eafy for Companies of Men to loofe themfelves, fo 'tis to be hop'd, that that Inconvenience will be remedy'd in time, the Englifh being as dextrous as

any People in the World at clearing of Ways, and felling of Woods.

The Mountains are divided, as it were, into Stories, one above another. And from the highest of them the Eye is wonderfully charm'd, to see the Trees always green, which are planted round every Ground as Boundaries. The Plantations look like so many Gardens, and Nature is always gay and smiling.

The fine Houses in this Island add to the Beauty of the Prospect, there being no finer Buildings in *America*: Many of them are cover'd with glaz'd Slate. The first that are mention'd of this kind to be built here, were Sir *Thomas Warner's*, Col. *Rich's*, his Successor in the Government, Mr. *Everard's*, and Col. *Jefferson's*.

The English, for the Convenience of Planting, live scatter'd up and down the Country. Their Houses are of Cedar, and the Walks and Groves about them of Orange and Lemons. They are divided into Five Parishes, Three on the South Side; and Two on the North Side.

In each of which is a very handsome Church. Wainscotted within, and the Pulpits and Pew made of Variety of precious Wood, as Cedar, Ebony, Red-Wood, Brasil, and others, curious for Colour and delightful for Scent.

The French live more together, and have built a fine Town, under the Cannon of the Cittadel of *Basse Terre*, of good Brick, Free-stone, and Carpenters Work. There's a large Church, a Town-house and an Hospital. The Church there was formerly in the Hands of the Capuchins; but in the Year 1640 upon some Distast, they were dismiss'd by the Inhabitants, and *Pere du Vivier*, with his Jesuits, had the Superintendency of Ecclesiastical Affairs. These Jesuits receive no Tithe nor Allowance from the People, but are Planters themselves, and have large Plantations of their own, manag'd by Overseers and Slaves, and the Religious are maintain'd by them.

The Castle in this Town where the Governour resides, is the most noble Edifice in the Island; but

or the Planters and Merchants Houses, those of the *English* are more stately than the *French*.

The little Rivers in the *English* Territory are a great Refreshment to the People and Country; and as they have got the Rivers, so they have also the best Harbours, as *Frigat Bay*, *Old Road*, and others.

On the Mountain, about 3 Miles North of *Fort Charles*, is a Place call'd the *Silver Mine*; and the People of the Country say there is such a one, but they have not Hands, nor indeed Hearts to work it; for their Sugar Plantations turn to so good an Account, that they don't care to quit a certain for an uncertain Profit, finding they can grow rich at a cheap Rate: And it must be confest, that with due Encouragement our Plantations would bring us in as much Treasure as the Mines of *Peru* and *Mexico* have brought into the King of *Spain's* Treasury; for besides his own Subjects, the *English*, *French*, and *Dutch* have always had more than their Share within. The *Sulphur Mine* is between *Fort Charles* and *Sint Sable*, near the Shoar.

The Verge or Out-sides of the Island may be tra-
v'ld round, the Country being all a Level; but, as has been said, some Parts of the Middle are inaccessible. 'Tis out of the Rocks there that several Springs of hot Water issue, and one Part of the Island goes by the Name of the *Sulphur Mountain*.

The Beasts in this Island are the same with those in *Barbadoes*, and the other *Charibbee* Islands; a few there are which are more frequently met with here, as the *Rocquet*, an Animal, whose Skin is like a wither'd *Wolf*, mark'd with little yellow or blewish Points. It has four Feet, the Foremost highest, has sparkling Eyes, holds up its Head constantly, and is in continual Motion. Its Tail is turn'd up towards its Back, making a Circle and half. It loves to stare upon Men; and when persu'd, puts out its Tongue like a Grey-Hound.

As for Birds, the most particular are, the *Orinoco*, a large Bird, shap'd like an Eagle; his Feathers light grey, spotted black, the End of his Wings and Tail yellow. He never sets upon any Bird,

but in the open Air, and those who have Beaks and Tallons like himself.

The *Crawfowl* is another Bird, about the Bigness of a great Duck, ash-colour'd, has a long flat Back, great Head, small Eyes, and short Neck, with a Craw, which will contain two Gallons of Water. They sit upon Trees by the Sea to catch Fish, which they discover at a great Distance; and are so intent on their Prey, that they are easily shot, but not eatable.

The *Colibry* or *Humming Bird*, is admirable for its Beauty, Bulk, sweet Scent, and Manner of Life. 'Tis no bigger than the greatest sort of Flies, yet so beautiful, that the Feathers on the Neck, Back, and Wings, represent a Rainbow. Under its Neck, such a bright red, that it resembles a Carbuncle. Its Belly is yellow as Gold; its Thighs green, like an Emerald; the Feet and Beak black, like polished Ebony; its Eyes like Diamonds set in an Oval; Head of a shining green; the Male has a Tuft on his Head, of all the Colours we have mention'd. It makes a Noise with his Wings like a little Whirlwind. He sucks Dew from the Flowers, spreading abroad his little Crest, which looks like so many precious Stones. The Female lays but two Eggs of an oval Form, as big as a Pea, or small Pear. Some Ladies wear them for Pendants, when death then they loose much of their Beauty. The Smell is like that of the finest Musk. This is found in *Virginia*, *Barbadoes*, and other Places in *America*.

Before we return to our History, from which we have made this long Digression, if we may be said to digress in what we have written of the Product of a Country of *St. Christophers*, it will not be improper to say something of the *Charibbeans*, who were the Natives of the Island.

An Account
of the
Charib-
beans.

They are the same sort of People with the inhabitants of the other Islands, tractable and creolous. They were willing enough to live peacefully with the *Europeans* who first landed there, and were upon the Place, when Monsieur *Desnambue* came thither; but upon his Landing, their Boyez and Conjurers, telling them in a general Assembly, that

in Purpose, that the Foreigners were come to take away their Country from them, and destroy them loot and Branch, 'twas resolv'd to massacre them, as we have hinted already, and the *English* and *French* drove them out of *St. Christophers*. After which they had long Wars with both Nations, and made Descents in the Islands they had lost, from those to which they retir'd.

These *Charibbeans*, say some Authors, were descended from *Arouagues*, a People of *Guyana*; their Ancestors rebelling against their King, were forc'd to fly from the Continent to the Islands, which were all then uninhabited.

Our Country-Man, Mr. *Brigstock*, who travell'd Dav: much in *Florida*, and spoke the Language of the Country, derives them from the *Apalachites* in *Florida*, where there is a Nation who to this Day are call'd *Charibbeans*, the Island of *St. Cruz* being the first they land'd upon after they were forc'd, by the narrowness of their own Limits, or the Power of their Enemies, to quit the Continent.

They are a handsome, well shap'd People, not an one-lam'd, lame, crook-back'd, bald, or deform'd Man to be seen amongst them. They are black-hair'd, and keep it comb'd nicely. They pluck up their Beards by the Roots as fast as they grow. They go stark-naked, both Men and Women; and the *French*, who P. 254. see a very complaisant People, to shew these *Barbarians* how well bred they are, when they go among them, strip themselves, to be of the Mode. They dye their Bodies with a Tincture, which makes them red all over. They wear a little Hat of Birds Feathers of different Colours, and sometimes a Crown of Feathers. They make Holes through their Lips, and put a kind of little Bodkin through them, made of the Bone of some Beast or Fish. They do the same by their Nostrils, in which they hang a Ring or Grain of Chrystal, or some such Toy. The Men wear Bracelets on the brawny Parts of their Arms, the Women about their Wrists. They adorn their Legs with Chains of Rossada, instead of Garters. Those of them who have do Acquaintance with the *Euro-Perians*, commonly wear Whistles about their Necks, made of the Bones of their Enemies. The most

considerable of all their Ornaments, are certain large Medals of fine Copper, extremely well polish'd without any graving on them; which are made in the Form of a Crescent, and enchas'd in some kind of solid and precious Wood. These in their own Language they call *Caracolis*. 'Tis the Liver or Badge by which the Captains and their Childre are distinguish'd from the ordinary sort of People. The Women paint the whole Body, and wear a kind of Buskins, which fall no lower than the Ankle.

The *Charibbeans* have an ancient and natural Language, and a kind of bastard Speech; in which they have intermix'd several *European* Words, especially *Spanish*: The last they speak among the Christians and the first among themselves. Tho' the *Charibbeans* of all the Islands do generally understand one another; yet there is in several of them some Dialect different from that of the others. Their Language is extremely smooth, and has few or no *Guttural*. The *Charibbeans* of the Islands have a sweeter Pronunciation than those of the Continent.

Some *French* Men have observ'd that they have a kind of Aversion for the *English* Tongue, and carry their Aversion so far, that they cannot endure to hear it spoken.

* They are shy of teaching their Language to the *Europeans*, even after they have embrac'd the Christian Religion. The Men have many Expressions proper only to themselves, which the Women understand well enough, but never pronounce: As for Example; *Amac* a Bed, is the Man's Word, and *Nekera* a Bed, the Woman's; a Bow, *Oullaba*, the Man's, *Chimala*, the Woman's; the Moon, *Nonum* the Man's, *Kati*, the Woman's; the Sun, *Huyeyou* the Man's, *Kachi*, the Woman's; and many others. The Women have also their Words and Phrases which if the Men should use they would be laugh'd at.

The Savages say this Distinction of the Mens and the Womens Language was occasion'd thus: When the *Charibbeans* came to inhabit these Islands, they were possess'd by a Nation of *Arouagues*, whom they absolutely destroy'd, except the Women, whom they

they marry'd to repeople the Country; the Women retaining their own Language, taught it their Daughters; and this is practis'd to the present times by Mothers towards their Daughters: The Male Children thus imitate their Father's, and the Female their Mother's Speech.

The *Charibbeans* of the Continent, Men and Women, speak the same Language. The old Men in the Islands have affected Terms and Phrases not us'd by the young ones.

They have a certain particular Language made use of only in their Councils of War, which is very sounding, and full of Fustian: The Women and Maids know nothing of it, but else they understand the Mens, and the Men their Language very well, so they do not speak it.

They have few Words of Injury, and had none for several Vices, till the *Europeans* supply'd them with them. Before they were taught by them, they had no Words for the Virtues, Sciences and Arts. They know name but four Colours, White, Black, Yellow, and Red, to which they make all the rest agree.

Of other Nations, they say, the *English* and *Spaniards* are not good at all; that the *Dutch* have as much Goodness as *a Man's Hand as far as the Elbow*; that, like true Barbarians, that *the French are as both the Arms*, which they stretch out to shew the Greatness of their Worth. A *Frenchman* tells us so; and all of that Nation are very ready to wrong ours, are they as well dispos'd to do themselves too much Justice.

The *Charibbeans* are naturally pensive and melancholly, but affect to appear chearful and pleasant, especially when they have drunk a little too freely. They take it as a great Affront to be thought *Savages*, saying, that Term belongs only to Wild Beasts: nor do they like the Name of *Cannibals*, tho they eat the Flesh of their Enemies, which they say they do out of Revenge. Perhaps they have learnt so much delicacy from the *French*, who have convers'd with them more than any other *European* Nation. They are pleas'd with the Name of *Charibbeans*, looking on it as an Acknowledgment of their Generosity and Courage; for in the *Apalachites* Tongue, that

Word signifies as much as warlike and valiant Men.

They are of a tractable Disposition ; and so compassionate among themselves, that some have dy'd of pure Grief, when they heard any of their Countrymen, who were Slaves to *Europeans*, have been us'd by them.

They reproach the Christians with their Avarice for all their Care is for moderate Food. They wonder the *Europeans* prefer Gold to Glass and Chrystall. They also lay Injustice to their Charge, in taking the Islands from them.

They have not only an Aversion to travelling into any other Country, but they would not willingly suffer any of their Countrymen to be carry'd out of their own, yet are they very curious to see every thing a Stranger brings among them.

In their Traffick, they are apt to fall off from their Words ; however, if they are reflected upon as light and inconstant, they are asham'd of it.

Theft is a great Crime among them : They leave their Houses and Plantations, without any body to look to them, and are not afraid of a Thief. If a Knife is taken from them, they mourn for a Week and are eager to be reveng'd. They are very loving one to another till they are injur'd, and then they never forgive.

Their young Men have no Conversation either with Maids or marry'd Women. The Men are less amorous than the Women; both are naturally chaste ; and if they had not been debauch'd by the Example of the *Europeans*, Lust would have been one of the Words which the *Charibbeans* had no Term for. The Christians have taught them Dissimulation, Lying Treachery, Luxury, and several other Vices, which were unknown in these Islands, before they had any Commerce with them.

The *Savages* are civil and courteous to Strangers, says my Author ; and if they have so many other good Qualities, why are they call'd *Savages* ? They are very simple, and shew it in nothing more, than in the extraordinary Fear they conceive at the Sight of Fire-Arms, not being able to imagine how they go off, but believe the evil Spirit *Maboy*.

does it; who they think eats up the Moon, when she is eclips'd. They cry *Maboya*, or the Devil's here, if they smell any ill Scent. Not long ago they believ'd Gun-Powder was the Seed of some Herb, and some were so foolish as to sow it. They reckon Salt prejudicial to Health, and therefore are afraid to make any. They will not eat Swines Flesh nor Tortoise; the former for Fear of having small Eyes; and the latter least they might participate of that Creature's Laziness and Stupidity; yet they are so stupid, they cannot count a Number exceeding that of their Fingers and Toes. The Captains, the *Boyez*, and the most ancient among them have more Understanding than the common sort, count the Months by Moons, and the Years by the seven Stars; yet there's no Monument of Antiquity among them. They can't tell how long 'tis since their Ancestors left the Continent, or can they ever tell what Age they are of, nor give any Account of the time when the *Spaniards* came into their Country.

As to their Religion, they say the Earth is the indulgent Mother, who furnishes them with all things necessary to Life. They hearken to what is said to them of a God, the Creator of all things, and of the Mysteries of Faith; all the Answer they make is, *Friend, thou art a cunning Fellow, I wish I could talk as well as thee.*

The *Charibbeans* of the Continent have no more Religion than those of the Islands: Some of them have a certain Respect for the Sun and Moon, yet they do not worship them. All that looks like Religion among them is, they have a natural Sentiment of some Divinity, who is content quietly to enjoy the Delights of its own Felicity, without being offended at the ill Actions of Men; that 'tis endu'd with so great Goodness, it does not take any Revenge, even of its Enemies, whence it comes that they neither honour nor adore it.

They think there are two kind of Spirits, some Good and some Evil. The Good Spirits are their Gods, and every one imagines there's one of them particularly design'd for his Conduct. They say their abode is in Heaven, but they know not what they do there.

When

When an *Englishman* or *Frenchman*, or any other *European* talks to them of the God that made Heaven and Earth, they reply, *True, thy God made the Heaven and Earth of England or France, or any other Country which they name, and causes thy Wheat to grow there, but our God made our Country, and causes our Manioc to grow.*

Thus their natural Sentiment of a Superior Power is intermix'd with so many Extravagancies, and involv'd in such Darkness, that it cannot properly be said, these poor Wretches have any Knowledge of God.

They have no Temples nor Altars particularly dedicated to their Gods, or Good Spirits, but they bring their Offerings of *Cassava*; and when they think they have been cur'd by them of any Disease they make a kind of Feast in Honour of them. They invoke them when they desire their Presence to demand Revenge, to be cur'd of some Disease, to be advis'd in their Wars, or to drive away *Maboya* or the evil Spirit; and this their *Boyez* or Priests do for them. Every *Boyez* has his particular God which he invokes by the Singing of certain Words accompany'd with the Smoak of Tobacco, as a Perfume very grateful to him. The *Boyez* always invoke their Gods, or rather Devils, by Night; but all that is said of the Spirits entering into the Bones of dead Men, or possessing Women to pronounce Oracles, let those report who believe it.

When any of these *Savages* are taken ill, they believe the Gods of their Enemies send the Distemper. They apply to their *Boyez*, and they tell them whose Gods did it, which occasions Enmity between the Persons; for there are other Priests besides the Popish, that make it their Business to set People together by the Ears. Their *Boyez* are also Magicians.

As to their *Maboya's* visibly appearing among them, beating them, and playing other Pranks, we think the Reader would believe us as silly as these *Americans*, if we gave Credit to it, or reported it, tho we find it done by other Historians, who are fond of Miracles.

'Tis said, the Spirits of Darknes take occasion in the Night-time, by hideous Apparitions, and dreadful Representations, to frighten the miserable Charibbeans, that they keep 'em in a servile Fear of their Power, charm their Senses by Illusions, and oblige them to sacrifice to them on all emergent Occasions.

The Charibbeans believe they have every one of them as many Souls as they feel Beatings of Arteries in their Bodies; the principal Soul they think is in the Heart; and after Death it goes to Heaven with some particular God, who carries it thither to live in the Company of other Gods; and they suppose it lives the same kind of Life as Man lives here on Earth. As to the other Souls, which are not in the Heart, they believe some after Death go and live on the sea-side, and that they cause Vessels to turn. The others live in the Woods and Forests, and are their laboyas, or evil Spirits.

They are extremely afraid of Thunder and Lightning; and those of them that seem not to be concern'd at it when they are among the Christians, have been found to be as much terrify'd as the rest, when they have been at home.

As for their Habitations, they require only a Tree and a Hedgebill to build them. Their Houses are near to one another, in the Form of a Village, and for the most part they plant themselves upon some little Ascent, as well for the Goodness of the Air, as to secure themselves against those pestilent Flies, call'd Muskettos and Maringoins. They love to dwell near Springs, Brooks, and Rivers, because of washing themselves every Morning, before they put the Red Paint on their Bodies.

Their Houses, or Huts, are made in an Oval Form, of Pieces of Wood planted in the Ground; over which they put a Roof of Plantane Leaves, or Sugar-Canes, or some Herbs; which they can so dispose and intermix one among another, that under that Covering, which reaches to the Ground, they are secur'd against Rain, and all the Injuries of Weather. This Roof will last three or four Years, unless there happens to be a Hurricane.

They.

They make use of small Reeds fasten'd a-cross for Palifadoes. They have as many Partitions under very Covering as they would have Rooms. A Piece of Matting serves instead of Doors, Bolts and Locks. There's nothing above their Heads but the Roof itself, and the bare Earth only is under their Feet; but they are so cleanly, they sweep as often as they see the least Filth upon it.

Besides the little Room where they take their Rest, and entertain their Friends, every considerable Family has two other little Rooms; the one their Kitchin, the other their Store-house. They have a sort of Hanging-Beds like Coverlets, made of Cotton neatly woven, which is fasten'd to certain Pillars, and there they swing, as in a Hammock, they please, or fix them in a settled Place, as they think fit.

They breed great Numbers of Poultry, and have about their Habitations good Store of Orange-Trees, Citron-Trees, Guavas, Fig-Trees, Bananas, and other Fruit-Trees.

Their Gardens are full of Manioc-Potatoes, several sorts of Pulse, as Pease, Beans, Maize, Millet and others. They have also Melons, Citrons, Calabage of very delicious Taste, and Ananas.

They often change their Habitations, as the Humour takes them, either on Account of their Health or Cleanliness, or the Death of one of the Family. The Men, for the most part, spend their Time abroad, but their Wives keep at home, and do all that is requisite about the House.

The Men hunt and fish, but the Women fetch home the Venison from the Place where 'twas kill'd, and the Fish from the Water-side. They also get Manioc, prepare the Cassava and the Ouicou, a common ordinary Drink, dress the Meat, set the Garden, keep the House and Household-stuff clean, pair their Husbands with Roucou, spin Cotton, and are continually employ'd.

In the Islands of *St. Vincent* and *Dominica* there are some Charibbeans who have many Negroes to their Slaves. Some of them they got from the English, and some from Spanish Ships cast away on the Coasts; and the Blacks serve them as obedient

ently as if they were the most civiliz'd People in the World.

The Charibbeans are temperate and cleanly in their Meals, at least the greatest part of them. They often eat publickly together ; the Women never eat till their Husbands have done. They patiently endure Hunger ; they dress all their Meat with a gentle Fire, and are not the worst Cooks in the World. They commonly eat sitting on low Stools, and every one has his little Table to himself. Instead of Table-Cloths they use fair and large Banana Leaves, newly gather'd. They wash their Hands before Meals, and before they dress their Meat. Their ordinary Bread is a thin Cake, which they call *Cassava*, made of the Manive Root. They have another Kind of Bread, made of Maze, and some of them instead of Bread eat Potatoes.

Their common Food are Lizards, Fish, Pulse, and Crabs. Their Desert are Figs, Bananas, or Ananas. Sometimes the Charibbeans on the Continent have a detestable kind of Seasoning their Meat, which is with the Fat of the *Arouagues*, their irreconcilable Enemies.

Their Drink is generally Mobby, made of Potatoes boil'd with Water ; as the *Ouicou* is of *Cassavia*. In several Places delicious Wine is to be met with ; as Palm Wine, Coufcou and Cane Wine, made of Sugar Canes ; and there was more of this Wine made by the Charibbeans of St. *Christophers*, than by any other Savages, because this Island abounded most with Sugar Canes.

The Europeans have taught them to forsake several of their barbarous Customs, particularly of their Severity to their Wives ; for of late they are seldom seen to fetch home the Fish and Venison taken by their Husbands ; and when they have been a fishing, the Husband and Wife eat together : Besides, the Women go oftner to the *Carbet*, or House of publick Feasts and Rejoicings than formerly ; neither are the Barbarians such Enemies to the Flesh of Tortoise, Lamantine, and Swine, as they were before. An Instance of which is reported in a French History of the *Charibbee Islands*. A Gentleman of that Nation, who liv'd in one of them, being visited by a Cacique

or Captain of the Savages, entertain'd him and his Company, in Jest, with Lamantine's Flesh. The Cacique mistrusting the Frenchman would put Trick upon him, pray'd the Gentleman not to deceive him; and the other, upon his Honour, assur'd him, he would not. Then the Cacique fell to it and eat heartily. After Dinner the Frenchman confess'd the Deceit, to see how the Cacique and his Followers would behave themselves: But the Charibbean, the least Savage of the two, reply'd, *Well Friend, we shall not die of it*: And he and his Followers put a good Face on the Matter, but went home resolving to be reveng'd. Accordingly some time after, the Cacique invited the Gentleman to an Entertainment at his Village; and the latter went thither attended by some of his Countrymen. The Charibbean gave them a plentiful Feast, but had order'd his People to put into all the Sawces some Fat of their dead Enemies, of which the chief Charibbeans are always well provided. When Dinner was over, the Cacique ask'd the Gentleman and his Companions how they lik'd their Treatment? They all highly commended it, and thank'd him for his Kindness. He then acquainted them with the Trick he had put upon them. Most of the Frenchmen were so shock'd at hearing it, that they could not retain what they had eaten, and growing sick of the Fancy, the Charibbean laugh'd, and said, *I am now reveng'd of you.*

The Savages take Pains even in their Pleasures. The chiefest of their Exercises are Hunting and Fishing, especially the latter. They are wonderful expert in using their Bows and Arrows. They do not take their Wives with them when they hunt or fish, as some Brasilians do.

Their ordinary hunting is for Lizards. They are the best Fishermen in *America*, either with the Hook or Dart, or other Inventions. They weave Beds, make Baskets of Bull-Rushes, Wooden-Chairs all of one Piece. little Tables wove of the Leaves of the Latanier-Tree, Streining-Cloths, Carocolis, several Kinds of Vessels for eating and drinking, Girdles, Hats, and Crowns of Feathers. The Women make Buskins, or Half-Stockings of Cotton for themselves.

The Men are very neat in ordering and polishing their Arms, and take a great deal of Pains about the Periagas or Boats, some of which are so large, that they will carry 50 Men. They make Earthen Pots of all sorts, as also Plates. They delight much in handling Joiners and Carpenters Tools, and would make good Mechanicks. They are great Lovers of diversion and Recreation, and take a particular pleasure in keeping and teaching a vast Number of Arrots and Parakets.

The Charibbeans have Musical Instruments, but indeed very far from deserving that harmonious name. Their Drums are made of hollow Trees, over which they put a Skin only at one End. They have a rude kind of Organ made of Gourds. As soon as they are up in the Morning, they tune a Pipe well polish'd, and handsomely made; some of them of the Bones of their Enemies. While they are tuning their Pipes, their Wives are busy in getting them their Breakfasts. They sing certain barbarous Airs over their Fish while 'tis broiling. Most of their Songs are bitter Satyrs, in their way, on their Enemies. They have also Songs on Birds, on Fishes and Women. In the latter they would give Offence to Mr. Collier; for, like the Barbarians of *Parnassus*, they are full of *Smut*.

The Charibbeans Dancing is chiefly at their Court, or Place of publick Entertainment. At such times they spend the Day and Night in Eating, Drinking, Dancing, Talking, and Laughing. Both Men and Women then make a shift to get drunk, but they are seldom so beastly, except on these solemn Occasions. As when a Council of War is held, when they return from any Expedition, no matter whether fortunate or unfortunate; on the Birth of their First-born; when their Childrens Hair is cut; when they are at Age to go to the Wars; when they begin a Building, launch a Boat, or are recover'd of any Disease. They have, on the contrary, their solemn Fasts, but 'twould be too tedious to give all their ridiculous Reasons for them.

They receive Strangers who come to their Islands to visit them, with great Tokens of Kindness and Affection. They are very much afraid of being surpriz'd

priz'd by the Europeans, and driven out of the Islands they possess; and, to prevent it, have Men posted on the Sea-Coasts, and on the high Mountains, to discover who comes, and give notice. Immediately they send away a Canoo, to see if they are Friends or Foes; for they will not trust any Peoples Colour, having been deceiv'd by the Europeans. If they are Enemies, and land, they lay Ambuscades, fall upon them from thence; and then, on a sudden, join together, let fly a Shower of Arrows, and afterwards come to Handy-blows with their Clubs. If the Enemy is too hard for them, they fly to Rocks or even the Sea, and some diving down will run 200 Paces off. They often rally again after they are routed, meeting all at a certain unknown Place Rendezvous.

Their having no Arithmetick is the occasion that they can't tell what Number of them there is in any of their Islands: But 'tis suppos'd, where they are more numerous, they cannot make above 1500 fighting Men.

The Strangers that come like Friends, are entertained as such, with equal Chearfulness and Plenty. Their Government is as barbarous as their Customs, or rather as strange; for would they be call'd barbarous for any thing we have said of them, except it is their eating the Flesh of the Enemies?

There are several sorts of Captains in every Island belonging to them; the Captain of the Carbet Village, which is generally the Father of a numerous Family; the Captain of the *Periaga*, or Boat, and the Admiral, who commands the whole Fleet; the grand Captain, or Captain General, who is also call'd Cacique. His Office is during Life; he is preferred by Election, leads their Armies, and is always highly esteem'd among them.

There are seldom above two Caciques in an Island. None of these Caciques have any Command over the whole Nation, nor any Superiority over the other Captains, after the War is over, and none of them command twice in chief, unless he has distinguish'd himself eminently.

Let us see what are the Qualities that a new Man must be Master of, to give any a Pretence to stand for the Office of Captain General among the Charibbeans. He must have been several times in the Wars, and have behav'd himself bravely in 'em. He must surpass all his Competitors in Running, in Swimming and Diving. He must be able to carry a greater Burthen than the rest of the Pretenders, and to endure Pain; which Experiment is made by cutting and hashing his Flesh, and his best Friends make the deepest Incisions. But this Ceremony is not us'd every where; and those Charibbeans who have much Commerce with the Europeans, have quite left it off, with several other Customs, at which they laugh.

The Cacique being chosen, makes War, prepares or it, and leads the Army. He appoints Assemblies of Counsellors, and of the Carbet.

As for Laws they have none, and no Magistrates. He who thinks himself injur'd, is his own Judge, and gets what Satisfaction he will, or can, of his Adversary. If he does not revenge himself, he is despis'd as a Coward. They are such Strangers to Law, and Lawyers, that they have no Words in their Tongue for *Justice* and *Judgment*. And if they knew what they meant in ours, or how they are abus'd, they would with Reason turn the Barbarians upon us.

They carry some Women to their Wars, to dress their Meat, and look to their Periagas. Their Canoes are less Boats, fit for Rivers or Bays only. Their Custom is to go from Island to Island, to refresh themselves; and, to that end, they have Gardens in those which are desert.

The *Arouagues*, a Nation of *Guyana*, are their reconcilable Enemies, who cruelly persecuted the Charibbeans of the *Continent*, the Relations of those the Islands. The latter sail once or twice a Year to their Periagas, to find them out, and be reveng'd on them.

The *Arouagues* never make any Attempt on the Landers, but always stand on their Defence only. The Island-Savages coast along all the other Islands, from *St. Cruz*, the furthestmost of the *Charibbees*,

which is 300 Leagues distant from the Country of the *Arouagues*. When they land, if they are discover'd, they take it for an ill Omen, and retire. If not, they seek their Enemies, and engage them. The Prisoners they take are not immediately slain, but chain'd, and carry'd home.

Next to the *Arouagues* they hate the Spaniards and English. A French Author gives this for a Reason of their Hatred to the English, that the latter, under the Flags of other Nations, got several Charibbeans aboard their Ships; when they had first made them drunk, carry'd them to their Plantations, and kept them as Slaves; which, 'tis very probable, is a scandalous Reflection on our Countrymen by our Enemies, the French.

They have made several Incurfions upon the Island of *Montferrat* and *Antego*, burnt Houses, destroy'd Plantations, and carry'd away Men, Women, and Children; but we do not understand, they eat any of them; the *Arouagues* being their only Dish of that kind.

About 50 Years ago they had some English Boy and Girls in the Isle of *St. Vincents*, who being carry'd thither very young, were bred up by the Savages with equal Gentleness as their own, and had accustomed themselves to their way of living, that they were only distinguish'd from the Charibbeans by their fair Hair.

They have the same Aversion for the Spaniards and for the same Reason; but the French, according to my Author, a Frenchman, are very much in the good Graces of the Charibbeans.

The Reader will not be displeas'd to have a particular Account of their Treatment of their Captives or Prisoners of War, it being from thence they are call'd Cannibals, and are perhaps the only People upon Earth that eat Man's Flesh out of Choice. For tho' the French, who converse most with them of any Nation in *Europe*, give us such a Description of 'em that one would think they were become as polite as themselves; yet 'tis certain, they often feast themselves with that abominable Repast; which but to think of, makes Nature start, and the Blood curdles in ones Veins with Horror.

When they bring home a Prisoner of War from among the *Arouagues*, he belongs of Right to him who seiz'd him, and that Savage keeps him at his House, secures him there in Bonds ; and after he has been kept fasting four or five Days, produces him at the Carbet, to serve for a publick Victim, to the immortal Hatred of his Countrymen towards that Nation.

If there be any of their Enemies dead upon the Place, they eat them there before they leave it. The young Maids and Women taken in War are only assign'd for Slavery. They do not eat the Children of their Female-Captives ; but formerly had good tomachs for all the Male-Captives, as well of other Nations, as of the *Arouagues*.

We are not entirely convinc'd of the Truth of this, P. 326. but in the History of the *Charibbee Islands*, translated out of *French* by Mr. *Davyes*, the Author pretends this is not only true, but says, there was a great deal of Difference between a Ragout made of a Frenchman, and one made of a Spaniard. His Words are, as they are render'd in our Tongue ; *They have heretofore tasted of all the Nations that frequented them, and affirm, that the French are the most delicate, and the Spaniards of hardest Digestion ; but now they do not eat on any Christians at all.* Wherein the Vanity of the French Nation is the most conspicuous that ever we met with ; for they are not only content to say of other Places, they fight the best, write the best, speak the best, paint the best, sing the best, dance the best, &c. but this French Author avers, they are the best of any People whatever ; which is a Compliment on his Nation, the Cannibals perhaps learnt to put on them, since they were civilized by them ; for there's no doubt, but among the rest of their Talents, they taught 'em that of Cannibery.

They us'd to torture their Captives before they eat them, but now they give them the *Coup de Grace*, knock them on the Head, broil and then eat them. As soon as the unfortunate Prisoner is dead upon the Place, the young Men take up the Body, wash it, and cut it in Pieces ; then they eat part, and broil part of the Flesh ; the Women

licking the very Stick on which the Fat of the Arougue drop'd. Each there present has his Portion. A the Greefe that is produc'd by this diabolical Cookery is carefully sav'd, and distributed among the chiefest of them, who keep it in *Gourds*, to reli their Sawces with it.

They rub the Bodies of their Children with the Blood of these miserable Victims, to animate them to future Cruelties; and thus they make their Revenge hereditary. But the French Author does all he can to excuse these Cannibals, by Examples of others more cruel than they. And indeed there seem to be a great Disposition in him to forgive the Caribbean Man-Eaters, who had so highly extoll'd this savory Dish of a Frenchman.

When these Savages desire to marry, they have Privilege to take all their Cousin-Germans, and make no more ado about it, than to fetch 'em and enjoy 'em. After which they are their lawful Wives. They may have as many as they please, and the Captains value themselves much on the Number of theirs.

They build a particular Hut for each Wife, continuing with her they like most, and the rest conceive no Jealousy at it. She whom they honour most with the Company is very assiduous in waiting upon them. They love their Wives very passionately while they last, but leave them when they please, with or without Reason; yet 'tis seldom known that they forsake their first Wives, especially if they have had Children by them. They often make their young Slave Prisoners of War their Wives. Their Children when they are accounted free, but their Mothers are reckon'd Slaves. If any one of them has no Cousin-Germans, he may marry such as are not a-kin to him, demanding them of their Fathers and Mothers. They are then, provided Consent is obtain'd, *facto*, their Wives, and home they carry them. Those young Men that have signaliz'd themselves in the Wars, are much importun'd by the Fathers and Mothers of the young Maids, to take them to be their Wives; and as often as they return victorious from War, new Wives are offer'd them. The young Men never converse with either Maids or Women.

ill they are marry'd. If a Woman was formerly inconstant to her Husband, he knew not how to punish this Crime; but since the *Europeans* have made it better known among them, if a *Charibbean* finds his Wife prostituting her self to another, he does himself present Justice, by beating out her Brains with his Club, or cutting her open with a Razor.

Their Customs at the Birth of their Children are so obscene to be reported. One merry enough is, that the Man lies in instead of the Wife, and is dieted for 10 Days; and at the Birth of the First-born, the Father is scarify'd, and fasts a long time.

As soon as the Children come into the World, the Mothers make their Fore-heads flat. They do not wash them. They name them 10 Days after their Birth, and give them Names from some Accident that happen'd to the Father while the Wife was with Child: As for Instance, A *Charibbean* of *Dominico* having been at *St. Christophers*, in the time of his Wife's being with Child, and seen the *French General*, nam'd the Child he had at his Return *General*, in Remembrance of the kind Entertainment he had met with from him. These first Names are chang'd by the Male Children, when they grow up to be Soldiers.

The *Charibbean* Women suckle their Children, and are very good Nurseries. Their Children are bred up in a great Reverence of their Parents; they are carefully educated in the Exercise of the Bow, and other Arms, to fish, swim, make Baskets, Clubs, Crows, Arrows, Beds, and Periagas, which is all they think is necessary they should understand.

These *Charibbeans*, by their natural Temperament, Sobriety and Exercise, enjoy Health and long Life. 'Tis said, they are so vigorous in their old Age, that 'tis common for them to get Children at fourscore and ten Years old. Many among them have not a Grey Hair at above 100 Years old. They live, says the above-mention'd Author, commonly 150 Years, and sometimes longer; for about 50 or 60 Years ago, Ib. p. 342. there were some Persons living among them, who remember'd the first Arrival of the *Spaniards* in *America*. Those very old Persons are bed-riden, immoveable, and reduc'd to meer Skeletons.

When they are at any time sick, they have Recourse to Herbs, Fruits, Roots, Oils, and Gums, by the Assistance of which they soon recover their Health, if the Disease be not incurable. They have an infallible Secret to cure the Stinging of Snakes, a great Skill in their kind of Physick, and if it fails, apply themselves to their *Boyez*, or Conjurers, who by their Devilish Mysteries pretend to cure them. 'Twas formerly a great Act of Friendship among them, to kill such as were old and useles, but 'tis not thought so now.

They bury their Dead with many ridiculous Ceremonies, reckon'd holy among them, and sometimes kill Slaves to wait on the Ghosts of the deceas'd.

Thus we have, in a little Compass, given the Reader a distinct Idea of the Origin, History, Customs, Manners, Religion, and way of Living of the *Charibbeans*, the first Inhabitants of these Islands; and this Account is to serve for all the other Islands, as well as *St. Christophers*, of which we are treating; and that being one of the biggest, we thought we could not incert it in a more proper Place.

Before we continue the Historical Events of this Island, we shall take some further Notice of the Climate and Country, by other Informations. 'Twas formerly much troubled with Earthquakes, which, upon the Irruption of the *Sulphur* Mountain there, many Years ago, have in a great measure ceas'd, and have seldom been felt there since. Hurricanes are still frequent here; and it was some time since the Custom of both the *English* and *French* Inhabitants in this and the other *Charibbee* Islands, to send about the Month of *June*, to the Native *Charibbees* of *Dominico* and *St. Vincent*, to know whether there would be any Hurricanes that Year; and about 10 or 12 Days before the Hurricane came, they constantly sent them Word, and it very rarely fail'd.

An *Indian*, who liv'd with Capt. *Langford* several Years, gave him these Prognosticks, to know when a Hurricane was coming. It comes either on the Day of the Full Change, or Quarters of the Moon. If it will come on the Full Moon, you being in the Change, then observe these Signs: That Day you will see

See the Skies very turbulent, the Sun more red than at other times, a great Calm, and the Hills clear of Clouds or Fogs over them, which in the High-Lands are seldom so. In the Hollows of the Earth or Wells, there will be a great Noise, as if you were in a great Storm; the Stars at Night will look very big, with Burs about them, and the North-West Sky very black and foul, the Sea smelling stronger than at other times, as usually it does in violent Storms; and sometimes that Day, for an Hour or two, the Wind blows very hard Westerly, out of its usual Course. On the Full of the Moon, you have the same Signs, but a great Bur about the Moon, and many times about the Sun. The like Signs must be taken Notice of on the Quarter-Days of the Moon. In the Months of *July*, *August*, and *September*, for the Hurricanes come in those Months: the soonest that had been ever heard of was the 25th of *July*, and the latest the 8th of *September*, not many Years since; for the Month they usually come in is *August*.

We have nothing further to say of *St. Christophers*, to the Natural or Geographical Account of it, so we shall return to the Historical; in which, if we are not more exact, the Reader will excuse us, considering the Difficulties we were oblig'd to struggle with: For having much less Acquaintance with the Leward Islands, than with the other Plantations, we could not procure so many Memoirs, as we have done for other Parts of our History of the *British Empire in America*.

To Mr. *Rich*, the second *English* Governour of *St. Christophers*, succeeded Mr. *Everard*, who continu'd Mr. Everard, Governour. the Government several Years; and by what we understand, was in that Office when the Rump usurp'd the Supream Power in *England*. The Leward Islands refusing to acknowledge their Sovereignty, King *Charles* the II^d. appointed Major General *Poyntz* to be Governour, and he was in Possession of *St. Christophers*, when Sir *George Ayscue* arriv'd at *Trbadoes*, and reduc'd that Island: After which he went to *Nevis* and *St. Christophers*; but Major General *Poyntz* not being strong enough to defend himself against the Power Sir *George* brought with him,

withdrew before his Arrival, and ship'd himself for *Virginia*, the only Retreat for Cavaliers.

Who the Parliament put into this Government we cannot tell; but after the *Restoration*, the Lord *Willoughby* was made Governour of the *Leward Islands*, as well as of *Barbadoes*, and he resided there some time.

Who was his immediate Successor is not come to our Knowledge, unless it was Sir *William Stapleton*, whom we find not long after the Lord *Willoughby's* Death, in Possession of this Government, in which he continu'd to his Death; and in his stead King *James* made Sir *Nathaniel Johnson* Governour of the *Leward Islands*, who enjoy'd it till King *William's* Accession to the Throne; when, through Discontent or Fear, he withdrew to *Carolina*, and made way for Col. *Codrington* in the Government of these Islands, who being a great Proprietor here, was the most acceptable to the Inhabitants.

There had not been any declar'd War between *France* and *England*, since the Settlement of the Island of *St. Christophers*, yet the *English* and *French* had not been without Skirmishes there upon their particular Quarrels, but they never made any Attempt to dispossess each other till the last War, which follow'd the *Revolution* in *England*; for King *Charles* and King *James*, in their Treaties with *Lewis* the XIVth agreed, that in Case of a Rupture in *Europe*, the Subjects of both Kings, in the *West-Indies*, should be Neutral, that they might not be involv'd in Wars to which they did not in the least contribute in the Cause of them, and that their Trade might not be interrupted, which would be very fatal to the growing Settlements: But the *French*, who were never famous for observing their Treaties, broke this; and before any Declaration of War was made in *England* or *France*, they enter'd the *English* Palace and destroy'd it with Fire and Sword, forcing the Inhabitants to fly to the Forts for Safety. 'Tis true, the Animosities between the two Nations were grown to a great Height; and 'tis said, the *Irish* Papists, and others of the Popish Faction in *St. Christophers*, instigated the *French* to break the Peace there, before 'twas broken in *Europe*.

In King *William's* Declaration of War against the *French* King, the Invasion of the *Charibbee* Islands by the *French*, is mention'd as one of the Reasons of it.

When they had reduc'd the *English* to great Streights, the latter apply'd to the Government of *Barbadoes* for Succours; but before those Succours arriv'd, the *English* surrender'd the Forts, and their Part of the Island of *St. Christophers*, to the Enemy, on the 29th of *July*, 1689. and could obtain no better Conditions, than to be sent to the adjacent Island of *Nevis*.

We must now leave the *French* in Possession of the whole Isle, and the *English* Inhabitants of it dwelling in other Places. This prov'd a terrible Loss to the Merchants of *London*, and other Parts of *England*, trading to the *Leward* Islands; for the Factors at *Nevis* sold great Part of their Merchandize, their Negroes especially, to the Planters of *St. Christophers*; and this made their Debtors incapable of paying them. Some dishonest Factors took hold of this Opportunity to ballance their Accounts with their Principals; and a Merchant of *Nevis*, who ow'd his Correspondent 10000 *l.* paid off the greatest Part of it with Debts at *St. Christophers*; for many Persons being ruin'd in this deplorable Calamity, it was a Temptation to an unfair Correspondent to sink his good Debts with the bad; and the Author is but too well convinc'd, that there's a great deal of Truth in his Conjecture.

Eight Months after the *French* were sole Masters of *St. Christophers*, there happen'd an Earthquake here, which was felt in the other Islands. The Earth open'd 9 Foot in many Places, and bury'd solid Timber, Sugar-Mills, &c. It threw down the Jesuits Colledge, and all other Stone Buildings.

The *French* had two Men of War here; and having equip'd 15 small Vessels, they put 4 or 500 Men aboard, and went down to *Stacia*, out of which Island they drove the *Dutch*.

We have mention'd Sir *Timothy Thornhill's* being at *Antego*, and his going thence to *Nevis*, to wait for the Arrival of Commodore *Wright*, with the Regular Troops expected from *England*. 'Tis said
in

in our Account of *Nevis*, that the Forces rendezvous'd there; and all that remains for us to say here, is what they did when they arriv'd at *St. Christopher*.

The Captain General, *Christopher Codrington*, Esq. commanded in this Expedition in Person, and sail'd from *Nevis*, with the Land Forces, on *Thursday* the 19th of *June*, 1690; and the same Evening the Fleet came to an Anchor before the Island of *St. Christopher*: in *Frigat Bay*. In the Night, 8 Frigats weigh'd and fell down 3 Leagues to *Leward*, to amuse and harra'ss the Enemy; and the next Morning they return'd. That Day the *English* ply'd their great Guns from some of the Frigats, which lay nearest in with the Shoar, upon the *French* in their Trenches, and receiv'd some Shot in Exchange from a Battery of Guns they had there, but without any Damage on the Side of the *English*. At Night a Council of War was held aboard the Commodore, at which assist'd the General and Field Officers, and the chief Commanders of the Men of War.

According to the Resolutions by them taken, Major General *Thornhill*, with 400 of his own Regiment, and a Detachment of 150, out of the Regiments of *Nevis*, *Antego*, and *Montserrat*, landed the next Morning between 2 and 3 of the Clock, with the Forelorn, at the little *Salt-Pits*, about a League to the Windward of *Frigat Bay*. The Field-Mark were Matches about their Left Arms. The Enemy made no Opposition, having left that Place unguarded by Reason of its Situation, it lying at the Foot of a Hill which is almost inaccessible, and over which they thought it impossible for Men to march. The *English* mounted this steep Ascent, by a Path frequented by none but wild Goats, and in some Places so near a Perpendicular, that they were forc'd to use their Hands as well as their Feet, in climbing up. About break of Day they gain'd the Top, where they receiv'd a Volley of about 7 or 8 Shot, from some Scouts plac'd there, who immediately upon their firing retir'd. Two Officers were wounded by those Shot, and one of them dy'd of his Wounds soon after. Sir *Timothy Thornhill* left one Company to secure the Pass upon the Hill, and led his Men down a third Part of it, before they were discover'd by the

The French, who then fir'd briskly upon the English from their Trenches, wounded several Men, and among others Major General *Thornhill* himself, who was shot through the Small of his left Leg, which oblig'd him to stay the Binding of it up: But his Men, *Creoleans* most of them, ran resolutely down upon the Enemy, and flank'd them in their Trenches; at the same time that the Duke of *Bolton's* Regiment, and the *Marines*, landed at *Trigat Bay*. In which Action Colonel *Kegwin* receiv'd a mortal Wound; of which he soon after dy'd.

Col. *Holt*, who commanded the Duke of *Bolton's* Regiment, and acted here as Lieutenant General, charg'd the Enemy so bravely, that he forc'd them to quit their Post in Disorder, and leave the English Masters of the Field. 14 French and English were kill'd in this Dispute.

Sir *Timothy Thornhill* and the wounded Men being sent on Board the Ships, and the Forces all landed, were drawn up into four Battalians. Col. *Holt*, who led the Van, was order'd with his Regiment to take the Road adjoining to the Sea. Lieutenant Colonel *John Thomas*, at the Head of the *Barbadoes* Regiment, march'd through the County; and Colonel *Williams*, with the *Antego* Regiment, march'd at a Distance, as a Reserve to that Body. The other four Regiments kept their Posts, and waited for further Orders.

After an Hour's March, Colonel *Holt* came up with a small Party of the Enemy, and routed them. The Companies of *French* which ran from *Trigat Bay*, joining with the rest of their Forces, they all advanc'd against the English, and having the Advantage of the Ground, and three to one Number, they charg'd the *Barbadoes* Regiment. After a sharp Dispute of half an Hour, the French had almost surrounded the English; but Colonel *Williams* coming up with the Reserve, and attacking them vigorously, and unexpectedly, the *Barbadians* were so encourag'd, that they press'd resolutely on, and beat the Enemy out of the Field in Confusion, one part flying to the Mountains, and the rest betaking themselves to the Fort,

Fort, which formerly belong'd to the English. The four Regiments at *Frigat Bay* were upon the order'd to march up, and Colonel *Holt's* Regiment also join'd Colonel *Thomas*. After which the whole Army was drawn up into one Body, and the Soldiers were permitted to drink by Companies at the adjacent Wells and Cisterns.

While the Army was thus refreshing, the Coxswain of the Commodore came with Advice to the Captain General, that the Men of War having fallen down before the Town and Fort of *Basse Terre*, the French, after firing two or three Rounds, struck their Flag, set the Town on Fire, and quitted it, but by the Diligence of the Soldiers, who came ashore from the Frigats, it was extinguish'd.

Upon which General *Codrington* march'd immediately to *Basse Terre*, designing to quarter the Army there that Night; but the Enemy having a large Store of Wine, and other Liquors behind them, and he fearing the Disorders it might breed among the Soldiers, alter'd his Resolutions, and only halted there, placing his own Company of Guards, commanded by Colonel *Byam*, in the Mass-House. He then order'd the Army to march to the Jesuits Convent, lying about a Mile above the Town; where they were drawn up again, and Orders were given to lie by their Arms that Night.

Guards were set, and Parties sent out to drive Cattle. The English found Store of Flour, Bread, &c. in the Convent. The Night proved wet, and it rain'd without Intermission till Morning; but the Officers generously shar'd the Weather with the Soldiers, scarce any, except the General Officers, going into the Convent for Shelter.

The next Morning the Army march'd down from the Town, the Commissary General having secur'd the Liquors in a convenient Store-House: The Soldiers had free Liberty to plunder the Town, and the Commissary of each Regiment distributed all the Wine and Brandy among them. The Fort here was mounted with 16 Guns, which the Enemy had

naill'd and spik'd ; but the English clear'd them again.

In the Afternoon Major *Gunthorp* was sent with 150 Men, out of the *Antego* Regiment, to gain and secure a Pass, which was thought to be possess'd by the Enemy. It lay in the Way to the English Fort, and the French quitted it before Major *Gunthorp* came up.

The next Day the English continu'd in the Town ; and in the Evening, the Country all round it was in Flames, being fir'd by the English Negroes, who came from the Mountains ; where they had lain since their Masters, the English, were beaten off the Island.

The Day following General *Codrington*, with the whole Army, march'd towards the Fort, and that Night encamp'd about three Miles from it, having the like ill Fortune of rainy Weather. The same Day the Men of War weigh'd from *Basse Terre*, and fell down to *Old-Road* ; and the Wheel-barrows, Shovels, Pick-Axes, &c. were brought ashore.

On Thursday Morning, the 20th of *June*, the English march'd within a Mile of the Fort, and encamp'd under Covert of a high Hill ; a Detachment out of Col. *Earl's* Regiment being sent, under the Command of Capt. *William Butler*, to secure the Top of it.

The next Day the Commodore's two Chase-Guns, and 6 Pounders, were brought ashore, in order to be drawn up to the Top of the Hill ; and the Marine Regiment, under the Command of Colonel *Kirby*, Captain of the *Success* Man of War, was employ'd to cut and clear a Path for the drawing them up ; which was done in two Days time, a Platform laid, and the Guns mounted on it. Baskets of Earth were thrown up, for a Covering from the Enemy's Shot, it lying open to the Fort. On which they began to play on the 30th of *June*, the very first Shot doing Execution. The Frigats also weigh'd from *Old-Road*, stood down to the Fort, and batter'd it ; the whole Army at the same time marching into a deep and wide Ditch, between the Hill and the Fort, within Musket-shot of it.

In the Afternoon the Frigats stood up again *Old Road*; but the Guns from the Hill kept playing incessantly till Night: At which time the *English* began their Entrenchments, running (from the Ditch where they lay encamp'd) a Trench, with a Half-Moon at the End, capable of holding 40 Men.

On the 1st of *July*, one of the *Nevis* Regiment and part of the *Antego* Regiment, was sent under the Command of Col. *Charles Pym*, to take a small Fort of the Enemy's, about three Miles distant from the Camp; which they surpriz'd, and made 50 Men Prisoners.

In the Evening, Lieutenant General *Holt* having given Orders to the Out-Guards that were plac'd towards the Fort, to fire, without challenging at any one who should come that way. Himself afterwards riding by them in the Dusk, to view the Works, was shot into the Body by one *Gibbons*, an *Irishman*, who was one of the Soldiers upon Duty. He return'd to the Camp, and languish'd long of the Wound, with little Hopes of Recovery. *Gibbons* was try'd by a Court-Marshal, but after a full Hearing, acquitted.

The Guns on the Hill proving so serviceable, on the 2d of *July* four more, of a larger Size, were drawn up; but one of them splitting at the first Firing, and the rest being incommodiouly planted, they were no more made use of. The same Day four Companies of the Enemy march'd out of the Fort, and drew up before the Gate; but in a Quarter of an Hour they march'd in again.

The *English* having finish'd their Half Moon, ran another Trench about a Quarter of a Mile below it, able to contain a like Number of Men. And at a like Distance below that, they began another, wide enough to draw the Carriages of the great Guns through.

The four following Days they continu'd quiet in their Trenches, and at Night ran on their Works. The *French* fir'd Day and Night upon them with great Guns and small Arms, but did them little Damage: Whereas the Guns on the Hill extreamly gall'd the Enemy, leaving no Corner of the Fort un-

in search'd. Some Hundreds of *French* being out in the Mountains, headed by one Monsieur *Pinelle*, Parties were daily sent abroad, commanded by the Officers in their turns, to scour them out. And the Major General, Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, being return'd, went himself, on the 7th of *July*, at the Head of 600 Men, on the same Design; but could not meet with any Enemy to engage him, the *French* lurking sometimes in one Place, and sometimes in another. However he took some Prisoners, many Negroes, and Store of Cattle.

After Sir *Timothy Thornhill's* Return to the Camp, Proclamation was made, by Beat of Drum, in several Places of the Island, by the Command of the General, that all who would come in, in three days time, should receive his Protection, to secure their Persons from the Outrages of the Soldiers. Several Families surrender'd themselves; of whom many were permitted to return to their Houses, and keep some small Stock, till further Orders. Monsieur *Pinelle* also sent in a Flag of Truce from the Mountains, to acquaint General *Codrington*, that he could not come in without Leave from the Governor. However he assur'd him, he would remain quiet, and give free Passage to any of the *English* he could meet with.

The Army continu'd in their Trenches the 10th and 11th of the same Month, having run them within Pistol Shot of the Fort. They had a Half-Moon over against the Gate, on which they planted several Colours, two 18 Pounders, and four 12 Pounders; but before they were mounted, on Saturday the 12th of *July*, the Drums beat a Parley in the Fort, and four Persons march'd out with a Flag of Truce. They were met in the Distance, between the *English* Trenches and the Fort, by Major *Legard*, and by him conducted to General *Codrington*.

After some Treaty Hostages were given on both Sides: A *French* Major continu'd with the *English*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Not* was sent to the *French*. Captain *Hamilton* went also with him, as Interpreter. Notwithstanding the Treaty, General *Codrington* continu'd in his Works, joining his Trench

The History of St. Christophers.

Trench to the Enemy's Trench, through which they us'd to come from the Fort to the We Out-Guards were plac'd under the Walls, and the Gates of the Fort: And in the Evening the English mounted their Guns on the Battery. About 12 a Clock in the Night, there was a Canoe let over the Fort-Walls, (it being situate by the Sea-side) which ran aboard a Sloop that came close in with the Shore, under Covert of the darkness of the Night. The English let fly a whole Volley upon them, which made them hasten away.

Captain *Hamilton* came to the Centry at the Fort Gate, and order'd him to acquaint Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, that there was a Ship seen off. Upon which *Mr. Spencer*, his Secretary, was dispatch'd away to *Old Road*, to give Commodore *Wright* notice of it; but in the interim, a Brigantine was seen in pursuit of the Sloop.

The Commodore immediately order'd two Frigates to weigh, and put out in search of the said Ship, a Sloop; which they did: And the next Day they return'd, without seeing any Vessel.

All the while the *English* were attacking the *French* at Land, there were two Men of War that cruiz'd about, to take any *French* Ships that might arrive there, either by Design or Chance; but they met with none.

On the 14th of *July* the Fort was surrender'd to General *Codrington*, upon the same Articles that the *English* had, when they deliver'd up the Fort to the *French*.

After the Enemy march'd out, the *English* Feast was put up, the King's and Queen's Health were drunk, the Great Guns thrice fir'd, and three Volleys made by the whole Army.

The Fort was Quadrangular, consisting of four Flankers, with three Curtains between each. On each Flanker were mounted five Guns. The Walls were of Stone, about twenty Foot high, surrounded with a deep Ditch, twelve Foot wide. Over which was a narrow wooden Bridge. In the Middle of the Fort were two Mounts, thrown up for Batteries. There was also a Well, but upon firing the Guns, the Water presently dry'd away. The

was Store of Provisions, Liquors, and Powder; but they wanted Shot.

The *English* had about 100 Men kill'd and wounded, in re-taking this Island; which in general is very strong, there being several small Fortifications and Breast-Works all round, except where 'tis naturally fortify'd with Hills and Shoals.

The Inhabitants were about 1800 Men, besides Women, Children, and Negroes, who were all, (except the Negroes, who were to be divided as Plunder) transported to the Island of *Hispaniola*; only some particular Persons had the Favour granted them, to be carry'd up to *Martinico*.

After a few Days Refreshment, Sir *Timothy Thornhill* embark'd with his own Regiment in the Sloops, and the *Marines* on Board the Frigats, and set sail for the Island of *St. Eustace*.

The same Day, the 20th of *July*, he came before the Island, and sent Captain *Hamilton* ashore, with a Flag of Truce, to summon the Governour and Inhabitants to surrender: But the Governour return'd Answer, that he would defend the Place to the utmost.

The next Morning the Frigats began to batter the Fort; and the Major General landed with his Men, at the same time, under a high Cliff, which they ascended. They had not march'd far, after they got up, before they perceiv'd some *Dutch* Courses in the Woods. Upon which a Party was sent to discover them; who return'd with an Account, that it was Colonel *Scorer*, (the Governour of the Island for the *Dutch*, when the *French* took it) with a 100 Men under his Command; who came from *Saba*, and landed there 3 Days before; but not having Strength enough to take the Fort, (into which the Inhabitants were fled) he design'd to get what Plunder he could, and so go off again. He resolv'd to join with Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, because he was first landed, and so accordingly he went on the next Day. The Major General proceeded in his March towards the Fort, and encamp'd within Musket-shot of it, under the Rising of a small Hill.

The next Day the *Marine* Regiment landed, and the Shovels, Pick-Axes, &c. being brought ashore, the *English* began their Entrenchments, running the Trench along by the Fort, within Musket-Shot of it. After 5 Days Siege, the Governour sent out a Flag of Truce, with Articles; but he was so high in his Demands, that Sir *Timothy* refus'd them, and return'd for Answer, That if he did not descend to more reasonable Terms within 3 Days, he would give him and his Men no Quarter. Within the prescrib'd time another Flag of Truce came out of the Fort, and the Governour surrender'd it upon Quarter for Life and to march out with their Baggage. The Fort was mounted with 16 great Guns, was surroun'd with double Rows of Stakes, the Intervals fill'd with Earth, and without that strong Pallisadoes. On the one Side of which was a deep Ditch, and over it a very narrow Bridge, leading to the Gate, admitting but one at a time. The besieg'd were about 60 Men (the Women and Children being sent off some time before.) They had a Well for Water, about 20 Barrels of Flower, some salt Fish and Pork, and small Quantity of Ammunition. They behaved themselves very bravely during the Seige, especially the Governour, who was very active in firing the great Guns. Sir *Timothy Thornhill* had but 8 Men kill'd and wounded in taking this Island, where he left one Company, under the Command of Lieutenant *John Mackarthur*, and then return'd to *St. Christophers*, with the whole Fleet, carrying the Inhabitants with him Prisoners, and from thence they were transported to *Hispaniola*. Lieutenant *Pilkington* was afterwards sent down with a Company of the Duke of *Bolton's* Regiment, to relieve Mr. *Mackarthur*.

The Inhabitants of the Island of *St. Bartholomien* who were brought up Prisoners from thence to *New*, being sent down to *St. Christophers*, before that Island was retaken, there met with their Wives and Families; and after that Island was recover'd by the *English*, were desirous to live under an *English* Government. Upon which General *Codrington* gave them Liberty to return to their Island, transported them thither, and granted a Commission to one Captain *Le Grand*, a former Inhabitant among them, to be

their Governour, and to keep and defend the Island in the Name of their Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, under which Government it continu'd several Years.

The *English* thus far went on successfully, and great Talk there was that they would drive the *French* quite out of the *Charibbee* Islands.

The next Expedition was to be against *Guardaloup*. General *Codrington* order'd the Forces to be muster'd in *October*, and be in a Readiness to embark. Commodore *Wright* was reinforc'd with 6 stout Merchant Men, fitted out for Men of War, at *Barbadoes*, and more Men were sent from that Island, under Col. *Boteler*, and Col. *Salter*. The Troops rendezvous'd at *St. Christophers*, where Lieutenant Colonel *Not* was left with a Garrison, to secure the Inhabitants as well against the *French* and their Negroes, who had fled to the Mountains, as against an Enemy that might invade the Island: This Precaution was very necessary; for the *French* and their Slaves in the Mountains often descended into the Valleys, and in one Descent kill'd 15 Soldiers out of one Company of Foot, that was left there.

Captain *Wright* was accus'd of being very remiss in his Duty; and that through Jealousy of General *Codrington*, or Fear of the *French*, he was the Ruin of the Expedition to *Guardaloup*. He took no Care to scour the *Charibbean* Seas of *French* Privateers, which almost surrounded *Barbadoes*; and what he did at *Guardaloup*, is not worth mentioning, tho he had a good Fleet, well man'd and equip'd. *He and General Codrington* (as a Man of Honour wrote to his Friend) *deserted Guardaloup, without any Reason, only their own Jealousies, and Fear of the French Fleet, when we had three times the Number of Men that the French had. They left their Morter-Peice behind them. The French at the same time deserted it also, concluding we were going to attack Martinico; so that any day might for a time have possess'd the Island.*

We have spoken of this Enterprize in the History of *Barbadoes*, so we shall say no more of it here. The *English* continu'd Masters of all *St. Christophers*, and the *French* despair'd of recovering their Part, but made a Peace.

The History of St. Christophers.

On the 23d of *March*, 1694. Commodore *Wilmo* arriv'd here, with the Fleet and Land Forces design'd for *Jamaica*, and from thence he proceeded on his intended Voyage.

On the 23d of *January*, 1696. the Addressees and Associations of the Chief Governour, Deputy Governours, Councils, Assemblies, Officers Civil and Military, and all the principal Inhabitants of his Majesty's Leward *Charibbee* Islands, which had been sever'd over by Col. *Christopher Codrington*, Chief Governour of these Islands, were presented to King *William* by the Commissioners for the Affairs of the said Islands.

In 1697. Col. *Collingwood* arriv'd at the Leward Islands with his Regiment; and himself, and Part of his Soldiers, were quarter'd in *St. Christophers*, where the Colonel's Lady and Family also settled. The Climate did not agree with them, nor much with the Soldiers. Mrs. *Collingwood* and her Children dy'd in the following Year; at which time, Col. *Codrington*, Son of General *Codrington*, was in Possession of the Government of the Leward Islands, his Father being dead.

On the 13th of *January*, that Part of *St. Christophers*, which had been taken from the *French* in the War, was restor'd to them, in Pursuance of the Treaty of *Reswick*, but they did not enjoy it long; for in *June*, 1702. Col. *Codrington* having receiv'd Advice of the Declaration of the present War with *France*, attack'd the *French* Part of *St. Christophers*, and after firing but one Volley of Shot, their Fort was surrender'd to him.

In the History of *Antego* we have given an Account of Col. *Codrington's* Expedition against *Guardaloupe* and the *French* Islands, of which he took *St. Bartholomews* and *St. Martins*.

Some time before the Surrender of the Fort to the *French*, an odd Accident happen'd in their Part of *St. Christophers*. Monsieur *de Gemmes*, the *French* Governour, had marry'd the Widow of a Protestant Merchant of *Rochelle*, who had a Daughter of the Religion, whom he endeavour'd all he could to convert, and employ'd a Jesuit to deal with her to that End. The Priest being convinc'd by the young Ger

tlewoman's Arguments or Beauty, went off with her to the *English* Settlement; and Monsieur de *Gennes* demanding them, some *English* Gentlemen took the Lady and the Jesuit in the Night, and convey'd them to *Nevis*, where the Priest profess'd the Protestant Religion, and marry'd the young Gentlewoman.

In the Year 1704. Sir *William Matthews*, Brigadier General in her Majesty's Armies, was appointed to succeed Col. *Codrington* in the Government of the *Leward* Islands, and he sail'd from *England* about the Beginning of *June*, with 6 Men of War, and 12 Transport Ships, having on board some Land Forces. Capt. *Walker* being Commodore. The Ships Crews prov'd healthy, all but the *Burford* Man of War, where 200 Men dy'd. Sir *William Matthews* himself dy'd aboard the Commodore; and we hear no more of these Islands, till Col. *Daniel Park* was made Governour of them, in the Year 1705. The *French* landed here, before they made their fatal Descent on *Nevis*. Their Forces were embark'd aboard 5 Men of War, and 20 Sloops. They attack'd the Fort, and being repuls'd, fell among the Plantations, some of which they burnt, and plunder'd the Inhabitants. The Governour of *Barbadoes* having Notice of it, sent down a Sloop to the Lieutenant Governour of *St. Christophers*, to acquaint him, that there was a strong Squadron of *English* Men of War coming to his Assistance; in Hopes that upon this News the *French* would retire, which had the desir'd Effect: For as soon as the *French* heard of it, they immediately left the Island, taking with them 6 or 700 Negroes, which Monsieur *Ibberville* sold at *Vera Cruz*.

The Inhabitants of *St. Christophers* have solicited to have their Losses made up to them, as well as those of *Nevis*; and they suffer'd also in the late terrible Hurricane, but not so much as the latter did.

We shall conclude this History with the Names of the Officers and Magistrates, as far as we could procure a List of them.

Lieutenant Governour, *Michael Lambert*, Esq;

Henry Burrel, Esq; President.

<i>Samuel Crook</i> , Esq;	} Counsellors.
<i>John Garnet</i> , Esq;	
<i>Stephen Paine</i> , Esq;	
<i>John Davies</i> , Esq;	
<i>Charles Matthew</i> , Esq;	
<i>Joseph Crisp</i> , Esq;	
<i>Richard Clayton</i> , Esq;	
<i>John Panton</i> , Esq;	
<i>William Willet</i> , Esq;	}

Chief Justice, *Henry Burrel*, Esq;
 Colonel of the Militia, *John Garnet*, Esq;
 Judge of the Admiralty, *Henry Burrel*, Esq;
 Collector of the Customs, *John Helden*, Esq;
 Deputy Secretary, Mr. *Jahn Helden*.

Ministers of the Church of *England*.

Mr. *Daniel Birchall*.

Mr. *William Rogerson*.

We should here finish the History of the *Engli*
 Leward Islands, because these are all that are with
 this Government : But there are two other sma
Charibbee Islands belonging to the *English*, which r
 main next to be spoken of; and as to their Situation
 they may be as well call'd Leward Islands as the
 thers, we mean *Barbuda* and *Anguilla*.

Of BARBUDA.

THIS Island, which is by some call'd *Barbouthos*, lies in 17 Deg. 30 Min. North Latitude. It is about 15 Miles long, lying North-East from *Montserrat*.

The Land is low and fruitful, and the *English* began to plant it as early as *Nevis*, *Montserrat*, or any other of the *Leward Islands*, *St. Christophers* excepted; for *Sir Tho. Warner*, who first settled there, plac'd a small Colony in this Island, but the *Charibbeans* disturb'd them so much, that they were often forc'd to desert it, and their Plantations. There hardly pass'd a Year, but they made one or two Incurfions, and that generally in the Night, for they durst not attack them by Day: But the Damage the *English* sustain'd by them, made 'em weary of dwelling in a Place where they were so much expos'd to the Fury of the *Barbarians*, who diminishing daily in Number, and the *Europeans* increasing, the *English* again possess'd themselves of *Barbuda*, and were 500 Inhabitants 60 Years ago. There are now 1000 or 1200 Souls upon it.

The Proprietary is the Honourable *Christopher Codrington*, Esq; and he puts in a Governour here, having the same Prerogative, as the other Lords Proprietaries in their several Jurisdictions in *America*.

This Island has bred great Store of Cattle, and the Inhabitants employ themselves mostly in that sort of Husbandry, Corn and Provisions coming almost always to a good Market in the Sugar Islands.

There's Plenty of all sorts of tame Cattle, as in *Europe*, and the *English* live here much after the same manner as they do in the Counties of *England*; only their Labour in the Field is not so hard as here, the Country being so much hotter. Next to it is,

ANGUILLA.

ANGuis Insula, or *Snake Island*, so call'd from its Figure, being a long Tract of Earth, but narrow, winding almost about near *St. Martins*: From whence it may easily be seen. It lies in 18 Degrees 21 Minutes.

The Country is level and woody, the Soil fruitful, and the Tobacco that grew there formerly, was reckon'd very good in its kind. There's not a Mountain in it. Where 'tis broadest, there's a Pond, about which the *English* settled in the Year 1650. Their Business, like the Inhabitants of *Anguilla*, was to plant Corn, and breed tame Cattle; for which Purpose they brought Stock with them. They were poor, and continue so to this Day, being perhaps the lazyest Creatures in the World. Some People have gone from *Barbadoes*, and the other *English Charibbee Islands*, thither, and there they live like the first Race of Men, without Government or Religion having no Minister nor Governour, no Magistrates, no Law, and no Property worth keeping, if a *French* Author is to be believ'd: *L'Isle n'est pas estimee valoir la peine qu'on la garde, ny qu'on la cultive.* The Island is not thought worth the trouble of defending, or cultivating it: In which perhaps the *Frenchman* is out; for the Soil being good, if an industrious People were in Possession of it, they would soon make it worth defending.

The way of the present Inhabitants is to take no Care for any thing but Food and Rayment, which are both ordinary enough, tho of the two their Food is best. They generally marry here, and are given in Marriage, after the good old Fashion. They have no Lawyers to put them to the Expence of Joyntures nor Priests, to pick Money out of their Pockets for Licences; they trust to Honour, and it being difficult for any Man or Woman here to make their Condition better or worse by Change, there are seldom any Divorces: And if there is any Reason for them, the People have good Nature enough to put it up

up, every Man being his own Master, at least every Master of a Family. This is a sort of Primitive Sovereignty, where no Man's Power exceeded the Bounds of his Household.

One would think such a poor People as this should live quietly, and that no Enemy would pretend to invade them; indeed 'twas worth no Nations while, but the *Wild Irish*, we call them so, to distinguish them from the *English* of *Ireland*; and these Wretches thinking 'twas impossible for any Men to be poorer than themselves, landed in the last War, and took away from the Inhabitants of *Anguilla* the little they had. In the Year 1689. the *French* put them ashore, and they not only robb'd, but abus'd, and barbarously treated the *English*.

Sir *Timothy Thornhill*, who was then at *Antego*, hearing of it, sent Capt. *Edward Thorn*, with 80 Men, to bring off the *English* that were on this Island, to prevent their being so insulted again.

Whether they remov'd or not, we have not learnt, but 'tis certain, there are now 150 Families upon it, and 8 or 900 Souls, who live poorly, and we might say miserably, if they were not contented; and considering they desire no more, and that they want nothing necessary for Life, why are they not as happy as the Inhabitants of *Peru* and *Mexico*?

THE
HISTORY
OF
JAMAICA.

C H A P. I.

*Containing an Account of its Discovery,
Settlement, the Conquest of it by the En-
glish; and all other Events to the pre-
sent Times.*

THE Island of *Jamaica* has the Honour to owe its Discovery to the Man who discover'd *America*, and led the first Adventurers to the *New World*. It lies *Westward* of *Hispaniola*, and *Southward* of *Cuba*.

Christopher Columbus, who discover'd it in his Return from the *Continent* of *South-America*, call'd it, *St. James Isle*; but 'twas better known by the Name of *Jamaica*, which it retains still.

Del.

The Island is in 18 Degrees, North Latitude; or, as some write, between 17 and 18; 20 Leagues from *Cuba*, as many from *Hispaniola*; or, as *Herrera* writes,

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cao walkes.



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Hobbys Cove
The N. E. Point
Priestmans R.
Long Bay
Little Bay
Two mile Roc
Hame Gully
Molotto R.
Hobbys Hole
Manchamils
Drivers R.
White R.
Sector R.
Horse Sa
una R.
Savage
Mer
Holly
Craule R.
Fort St. Thomas

Del.

writes, 25 Leagues. 'Tis fifty Leagues in Length from East to West, and twenty, or more, in Breadth.

The Spaniards first settled in the Western Part of the Island, where they built the City of *Mellila*; but disliking the Situation, they built *Sevilla*, more Northward, and then *Orestan*, which lay on the other side of the Mountain, on the Southern Shoar. But the Air in this Place did not please them more than that of *Mellila*. So they chang'd again, and remov'd their Habitation to *St. Jago*, which they call'd, *St. Jago de la Vega*, where, by the Help of the Natives, they built a very fine City; of which *Columbus* was made Duke.

Here the Spaniards liv'd mostly, and kept Slaves to plant for them, at their *Stanchas*, or little Plantations; from whence all sorts of Fruit and Provisions were brought to them in Town. They minded no sort of Manufacture, or Trade, but liv'd a lazy luxurious Life, on the Product of a rich Country; all that they took Care for, was a little Sugar, Tobacco, and Chocolate. A few Vessels came to them sometimes, to the Masters of which they sold their Hides, Tallow, Pepper, and Coco-Nuts, but in no great Quantities. Yet, for the Possession of a Place which they would not be at the pains to cultivate, they cut the Throats of 50000 *Indians*, Natives of the Island. They themselves were not above 1500 inhabitants, and as many Slaves, when the *English* conquer'd it.

The chief Reasons why there were so few People here, were, because the Spaniards generally chose rather to settle on the Continent, or at *Hispaniola*. And the Dukes *De la Vega* descended of *Christopher Columbus*, who were Proprietors of the Island, exacted high Rents of the Planters, plac'd Governours, and were as Sovereigns over the Island. Besides the first Planters were most of them *Portuguese*, to whom the Spaniards always had an Aversion.

In 1596. Sir *Anthony Shirley*, who had been cruising on the Continent of the *Spanish West Indies*, landed at *Jamaica*, took *St. Jago*, plunder'd the Island, and then left it. And about the Year 1635. Col.

Jack-

Jackson, with a Fleet of Ships from the *Leward Islands*, came hither, landed 500 Men at *Passage Fort*, drove 2000 *Spaniards* from their Works, took *St. Jago* with the Loss of 40 Men, sack'd the City and divided the Spoil with his Soldiers. Then putting the Town to Ransom, he receiv'd a considerable Sum, to save it from Burning, and retreated his Ships, the Enemy not daring to disturb his Rear.

After which the *Spaniards* possess'd the Island undisturb'd, till *Cromwell*, by the Perswasions of Cardinal *Mazarine*, who politickly contriv'd it, to make use of his Arms against the *Spaniards*, then a War with the *French*, fitted out a Fleet for the Conquest of *H. Spaniola*. 2000 old Cavaliers, and as many of *Oliver's* Standing-Army, besides Volunteers, and necessitated Persons, embark'd for this Expedition.

The Command of the Army was given to *Commodore Venables*, and Admiral *Pen*, who were order'd to call at *Barbadoes*, and the *Leward Islands*, to take in more Forces there; it not being doubted, but that the Colonies would be willing to assist in an Enterprize by which, in all Probability, they would receive most Profit.

Col. *Doyly*, Col. *Haynes*, Col. *Butler*, Col. *Raymond*, and other Officers of Note, accompany'd the Generals, *Venables* and *Pen*, who arriv'd at *Barbadoes* in the Year 1655. From whence two Men of War were sent to *St. Christophers* and *Nevis*, to raise Volunteers. They were supply'd with several Necessaries at *Barbadoes*, where Hundreds of Volunteers join'd them, and no less than 1300 at the *Leward Islands*.

On the 13th of *April* the Fleet made Land at *Hispaniola*, and discover'd the Town of *St. Domingo*. The next Day, as it had been concluded at a Council of War, General *Venables* (who had uxoriously carry'd his Wife with him) landed 7000 Foot, a Troop of Horse, and 3 Days Provisions; but this Enterprize not having hitherto any Relation to the History of *Jamaica*, we shall content our selves with a general Account of it; That our Forces were defeated, and their Commander *Venables* forc'd ingloriously to

retreat to his Ships, having lost the brave Col. *Jaynes*, and a great many Men.

When the Troops were re-embark'd, a Council of War was held, and 'twas resolv'd to make a Descent on *Jamaica*; where they arriv'd the 3d of *May*. The Generals landing their Men, march'd directly to *St. Jago*, the Capital of the Island, intending to storm the Place immediately; and, to prevent the same Fate they met with at *Hispaniola*, by the cowardice of their Men, Proclamation was made, that he who saw his Fellow run, should shoot him.

The *Spaniards* had had no Information of the defeat of the *English* at *Hispaniola*, and were in no Condition to oppose an Army of 10000 Men, and so many they were still: So they made use of Policy more than Arms to save themselves, and their Effects. And when General *Venables* advanc'd near the City, they desir'd to capitulate; which being granted, they spun out the Treaty as long as they could, that they might in the mean time send away their Treasure into the Woods. To amuse the *English*, they furnish'd the Army with fresh Provisions, and presented Mrs. *Venables* with some of the choicest Fruits and Delicacies of the Island; which had a good Effect on her Husband, and put him in a good Humour, till the *Spaniards* had done their Business: otherwise his Patience might have been worn out before all their best Moveables were safe in the Mountains, and Coverts up in the Country; to which they fled themselves afterwards, and left the *English* a naked Town to possess, where they found fine Houses, without Inhabitants or Goods; which was a terrible Disappointment to an Army who expected Lunder, and had been balk'd already.

They remov'd all they had, their Wives and Children, to the Woods and Fortresses. From whence they sall'y'd in Parties, and surpriz'd the *English*; of whom they cut off several Bands, before they could tell how to come at them. They came down upon *Venables's* Men in the Night, and attack'd them when they were in no manner of Expectation of an Enemy; and for want of Knowledge of the Country, could not pursue them.

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gil of Jam.

At last the *Spaniards* grew weary of their ha-
 Quarters in the Mountains, which did not at all agree
 with their riotous way of living at *St. Jago*; and
 despairing to be able to dislodge the *English*, who
 began also to find them out in their lurking Places,
 they retir'd to *Cuba*, leaving the *Molattoes* and *A-*
groes in the Woods, to harrass the Enemy, and keep
 Possession of the Island till they return'd:

The Vice-Roy of *Mexico* commanded them to
 turn to *Jamaica*, and order'd the Governour of *Cuba*
 not to let them stay there, sending them Word
 that he would supply them with Men and Ammu-
 tion, to recover what they had lost. According
 they came back, and scatter'd themselves, up and
 down in single Families, that they might be able
 to subsist the better, and prevent being discover'd by the
English. But this miserable Course of Life kill'd
 several of them, and there came no more than 500
 Soldiers to their Assistance, who also refus'd to joyn
 with them, when they saw the weak Condition they
 were in, and retreated to the *North* of the Island
 fortifying themselves in a Place call'd *St. Cherere*,
 waiting for a Reinforcement.

Heath.
 Chron.
 Col. Doyly
 Governour.

In the mean time the *English* possess'd themselves
 of all the *South* and *South-East* Parts of the Island:
 Regiment was seated about *Port Morant*, to plant
 and settle there, and others in other Places; over
 whom Col. *Doyly* was left Governour, with between
 2 and 3000 Land-Forces, and about 20 Men of War
 commanded by Vice-Admiral *Goodson*.

Venables and *Pen* return'd home, and arriv'd in
England in *September*, where they were both im-
 prison'd, for their scandalous Conduct in this Expedi-
 tion; which would have been an irreparable Dishon-
 our to the *English* Nation, had not the Island of
Jamaica, which Chance, more than Council, be-
 stow'd upon them, made amends for their Loss at
Hispaniola.

Cromwell bore this Misfortune with an Heroic
 Temper, which he was always Master of; and to put
 the best Face upon the Matter, highly extoll'd the
 Advantage of this new Acquisition in the *West Indies*:
 resolving to maintain the Footing he had got there
 and not liking Col. *Doyly* so well as *Venables* had done

commanded a Squadron of Men of War to be sent out for *Jamaica*; whether he sent Major *Sedgewick*, to take upon him the Government in the Room of Col. *Doyly*.

With *Sedgewick* went Col. *Humfreys*, the Son of a Man who carry'd the Sword before President *Bradshaw*, at the King's Trial, and 1000 fresh Men.

Col. *Doyly*, before the Arrival of these Troops, had discover'd where the *Spaniards* had fortify'd themselves, and march'd to attack them. Thirty Companies more of *Spaniards* were by this time sent to reinforce the former, who had rais'd several strong Works, for their Defence, at *Rio Novo*, in St. Mark's Precinct, having receiv'd Cannon, and Stores of Ammunition, from *Cuba* and the *Continent*. However Col. *Doyly*, in a few Days, beat them out of their Entrenchments, and demolish'd their Fortification.

This great Loss, with others that happen'd much about the same time at *Point Pedro*, where a Party of them had again seated themselves; and were driven hence, made the *Spaniards* despair of ever recovering the Island; so they put their Wives, Children, and Treasure aboard a Ship, and abandon'd it to the *English*.

In this Action at *Rio Novo*, the *English* regain'd the Reputation they had lost at *Hispaniola*. The *Spaniards* were twice their Number, and strongly trench'd, yet Col. *Doyly* drove them to their Ships; and they never made any considerable Attempt against the new Comers afterwards.

Their *Negroes* finding their Masters were either knock'd o' the Head by the *English*, or dead of Dismempers, cut the Throat of the Governour who had been set over them, and chose one of their Comrades to command them.

These liv'd a while in the Mountains by Game and ^{Hick.} Robbery; but finding they were not able to keep their Ground long, they sent to Col. *Doyly*, and offer'd to submit on Terms of Pardon; which being granted, their Captain came in with his Company, and laid down their Arms. Some *Molattoes* and *Spaniards* still stood out; most of these Col. *Doyly* destroy'd, by employing the Slaves to hunt them out of the

the Woods. The *Spaniards*, instead of thinking of chastizing the revolted *Negroes*, desir'd some Assistance from them. To such a wretched Extremity of Fortune were they reduc'd.

The Slaves were so far from helping them, that they shew their Loyalty to their new Masters, they rather murder'd them themselves, or discover'd the Places of their Retreat to the *English*, who in a Year's time clear'd the Island of them wholly, except 30 or 40 *Negroes* and *Molattoes*; who either out of Hopes of procuring their Liberty by it, or Love to their old Masters, or Hatred to their new, kept the Mountains, and stay'd there, living by Robbery and Game.

They committed several Murders, and fearing they should be severely punish'd, if taken, the greatest part of them made their Escape to *Cuba* in *Caracas*; since which there have been no Attempts gainst *Jamaica* by the *Spaniards*, worth Remembrance.

The *Spanish* *Negroes* who remain'd in the Mountains, were afterwards join'd by the *English* rebellious *Negroes*, and from thence made frequent Descents into the Valleys; which forc'd the Government of *Jamaica* to build Forts, and keep Guards, defend the *English* against being surpriz'd. Some of them, about 20 Years ago, came down upon the *English*, and murder'd Mrs. *Coates* and her Family. She was the Wife of Judge *Coates*, who afterwards liv'd at *Barbadoes*; and 'tis said, these Slaves, and their Descendants, lurk in the Hills to this Day. To prevent their doing Mischeif, several Laws have been made, against the *Negroes* travelling without Passes.

We hope the Reader will not think this a Digression, since we did it only to follow the *Spaniards*, and their Slaves, as far as we could.

The *English* seeing they were Masters of the Island, fell to Planting, with equal Industry and Success; and they receiv'd constant Supplies of Meats, Provisions and Necessaries from *England*.

When the *English* had no more Foreign Enemies to deal with, they quarrell'd amongst themselves, and the Soldiers fell into a dangerous Mutiny; for which

what my Author, Parson *Hickeringill* of *Essex*, who was a Captain in the Army, in the *Hispaniola* Expedition, and wrote of *Jamaica*, does not let us know. The Chief of the Mutineers was Col. *Raymund*, who had debauch'd almost all the Soldiers, being a Man in high Esteem among them. He drew Lieutenant Colonel *Tyson* into the Conspiracy; which 'tis likely was to seize the Government themselves.

Col. *Doyly* discovering the Plot, had them both try'd by a Court Marshal, who pass'd Sentence on them, to be shot to Death. Col. *Raymund* dy'd with great deal of Resolution, but *Tyson* with Regret and Sorrow.

Major *Sedgewick* dy'd a few Days after his Arrival, of a Distemper that then rag'd in the Island. Col. *Fortescue* follow'd him, and Col. *Humphreys* was order'd to return to *England*.

Cromwell, who resolv'd to have a Governour that should be his Creature at *Jamaica*, sent Orders to Col. *Brayne*, in *Scotland*, to ship off 1000 Men from Col. *Patrick*, and sail for *Jamaica*, where he was to take upon him the Government; for *Oliver* did not think all like Col. *Doyly*, who was a sort of an old Cavalier: Yet that Gentleman kept in his Place till after the King's Restoration; for Col. *Brayne* did not long survive his Arrival at *Jamaica*; and the Rump continu'd Col. *Doyly* in his Government after *Cromwell's* Death, and *Richard's* Abdication.

This Gentleman brought the Colony into Order, encourag'd the People's Industry, and put the Soldiers upon Planting. Most of the first *English* Inhabitants of this Island were military Men, and 'twas necessary it should be so, because lying so near the *Carriards*, 'twas expected they wou'd have been forc'd to have fought for what they had; but they were very quiet from any Invasion for above thirty Years. Some of them who did not care to turn their Hands to the Culture of the Earth, nor leave their Military Trade, turn'd Privateers, and cruizing on the *Spaniards*, got many rich Prizes, which grew to such a Trade afterwards, that when *Spain* had given up *Jamaica*, and Peace was concluded between the two Nations, yet the *English* could not forbear Privateering; and thence rose the *Buccaneers*, so famous

in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, at *Jamaica*.

Lord
Windſor
Governour

Col. *Doyly* was recall'd upon the King's Reſtoratic the Lord *Windſor* ſent Governour thither; and ſeveral Gentlemen remov'd from the other Colonies thither, as Sir *Tho. Modiford* from *Barbadoes*, where he had got a vaſt Eſtate; but deſirous to get more, with greater Eaſe and Pleaſure than he could do at home, he remov'd to the new Settlement, where he was very ſerviceable to the young Planters, by his Inſtruction and Government, when the King advanced him to that honourable Office, which he did about the Year 1663. And in his Time the Settlement was increas'd ſo much, that there were between 17 and 18000 Inhabitants. As,

Sir Tho.
Modiford
Governour

	Families.	Inhabitants
1 Port-Royal Pariſh,	500	3500
2 St. Katharine,	658	6270
3 St. John,	83	996
4 St. Andrew,	194	1552
5 St. David,	80	960
6 St. Thomas,	59	590
7 Clarendon,	143	1430
8 St. George,	}	2000
9 St. Mary,		
10 St. Anne,		
11 St. James,	}	2000
12 St. Elizabeth,		

17298

After which there were ſeveral other Pariſhes added, and the Number of Inhabitants of thoſe above nam'd were very much increas'd.

This Governour ſet up a Salt-Work in the Pariſh of St. Katharine's, planted Coco-Groves; and by Example put the People upon Industry, and Improvements in Planting and Trade.

The Iſland began to abound in Money, which was brought thither by the *Buccaneers*, as the Pyrates of the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies* are call'd. And the Government of *Jamaica*, tho they were far from encourag

ing any such wicked Courses, yet wink'd at them, in Consideration of the Treasures they brought thither, and squander'd away there.

The first of these who was famous in *Jamaica*, was one *Bartholomew*, surnam'd the *Portuguese*, who was accompany'd by several *Englishmen*. This Man, in his last Expedition, was cast away, as he was making to *Port Royal* with a Prize, on the Sands call'd *Jardines*. He was succeeded in the Command of the *Buccancers* by a *Dutchman*, born at *Groningen*, in the *United Provinces*; and, for having spend'd most part of his time at *Brasil*, call'd *Brasili-ano*.

When the *Portuguese* drove the *Dutch* out of *Brazil*, this Fellow came to *Jamaica*, where not being able to maintain himself according to the Extragance of his Nature, he turn'd Pyrate. While he was a private Man he had got such a Reputation among his Companions, that a Company of Mutineers of 'em chose him for their Captain. In his first Voyage he took a great Ship, bound home with Plate, and other Treasure from *New Spain*, which he carry'd to *Jamaica*; and as soon as these *Buccaneers* arriv'd, they fled to the Stews and Gaming-Houses, to ease themselves of the Load which they had scrap'd together with so much Hazard. They have given 100 Pieces of Eight for a Favour from a Strumpet, who would have bestow'd it on another for a Bottle of Ale. They would buy Wine by the Pipe, force that came by to drink, and throw away as much as was drunk. By such Practices one of 'em spent 1000 Pieces of Eight in less than a Month.

Brasiliano, by such ways, having reduc'd his Pocket to almost a solitary Pistol, put to Sea again, took a Ship bound from *New Spain* to *Maracabo*; in a second Voyage was taken, as he landed on the Coast of *Campeche*, carry'd before the Governour, and condemn'd to be hang'd, together with all his Companions: However he got off so far, by a Wile, that their Lives were spar'd, and they were sent to *Spain*, to the Gallies; from whence, by another Wile they made their Escape, and got again to *Jamaica*, where they return'd to their old Trade.

Lewis Scot, a *Welshman*, plunder'd the Town of *Campeche*, *Mansfeld* took the Island of *St. Katharine*. *John Davies* sack'd *Nicaragua*, and return'd with 50000 Pieces of Eight to *Jamaica*; and in his next Voyage took and plunder'd the Town of *St. Austin* in *Florida*, tho' there was a Garrison of 200 Men in the Castle: But the most renown'd of all the *Buccaneers*, was *Henry Morgan*, the Son of a *Welsh* Yeoman, of a good Estate; who not liking his Father's Employment, enter'd himself aboard a Vessel, bound for *Barbadoes*, where he was sold, and serv'd his time in that Isle. When his time of Servitude expired, he came to *Jamaica*, and engag'd himself with some Pyrates there; amongst whom he had such Success that in 3 or 4 Voyages, he got a good Stock of Money before-hand, join'd with others, bought a Ship and went for *Campeche*, where he took several good Prizes. After this he was chosen by *Mansfeld*, a bold Pirate, to be his Lieutenant, and they sail'd from *Port Royal* with 15 Ships, man'd with 500 stout Men, who attack'd the Isle of *St. Katharines*, made themselves Masters of it, and *Mansfeld* left one Monsieur *Simon* Governour of it, with 100 Men. *Mansfeld's* Design was upon *Panama*, but hearing the *Spaniards* were prepar'd to give him a warm Reception, he contented himself with the Conquest of *St. Katharines*; which Island was so fruitful, so pleasant and so conveniently situated for invading or roving on the *Spanish* Coasts in *America*, that he would have made a Settlement there; but *Sir Thomas Lynch*, then Governour of *Jamaica*, *Sir Thomas Modifora* Governour Successor, durst not consent to it, it being too notorious a Breach of the Peace between the two Crowns of *England* and *Spain*. *Mansfeld* in Discontent retir'd to *Tortuga*, an Island in the Gulph of *Mexico* about 15 Leagues from the Continent, where the Pyrates nested themselves, and us'd to refresh after their Expeditions.

In the mean time, Monsieur *Simon*, for want of Supplies, was forc'd to surrender the Isle of *St. Katharines* to the Governour of *Costa Ricca*; which he had scarce done, before a Ship arriv'd from *Jamaica* with Provisions, 14 Men and 2 Women, to begin a Plantation by their own Authority. *Mansfeld* dy'd

at *Tortuga*, and Capt. *Morgan* became Chief of the *Buccaneers*.

In his first Voyage, he took *Puerto Del Principe*; but one of his Men having kill'd a *Frenchman*, so disgusted all his Followers of that Nation, that they left him. Captain *Morgan* divided 50000 Pieces of Eight among his Companions, who hasten'd to *Jamaica* with the Purchase, to spend it on Women, and other Debaucheries.

In the next Expedition, he took *Puerto Velo*, one of the finest Cities in the Government of *Panama*. The Treasure they divided here amounted to 250000 Pieces of Eight, besides Cloth, Linnen, Silk, and other Merchandize; with which the *Buccaneers* liv'd chearfully to *Port Royal*, and scatter'd it about after their usual Rate: By this Means Money grew plenty, and Returns easy to *England*, where many hundred thousand of those Pieces of Eight have been exported.

When he undertook his next Enterprize, he had no less than 15 Ships, and 900 Men with him. He landed at the Port of *Occa*, near *Cape de Lobos*, but got no Booty. He also made an unsuccessful Attempt on *Hispaniola*; and being at a Loss whether to go, one of his Followers, who had serv'd *Lolonnois*, a famous *Buccaneer*, whom not spending his Money at *Jamaica*, we have omitted speaking of, tho he was a mighty Man among the Pyrates, advis'd him to fall upon *Maracaibo* in *Terra Firma*, which *Lolonnois* had before plunder'd. *Morgan* attack'd and took the Town, sack'd both that and *Gibraltar*, and destroy'd Spanish Men of War, who lay off the Harbour, to intercept his Retreat. This Booty also amounted to 250000 Pieces of Eight, besides rich Merchandize and Slaves, which were dispos'd of at *Jamaica*, and the Money spent in a convenient time.

These Successes so increas'd his Fame, that when he rendezvous'd the next Year at *Tortuga*, he had 200 desperate Fellows, and 37 Ships at his Service. His first Attempt was upon *St. Katharines* Island, of which he again made himself Master. He detach'd Capt. *Brodely* to take the Castle of *Chagre*, which facilitated his Design on *Panama*, and secur'd his Retreat. *Brodely* having taken that Castle, a Garrison

of 500 Men was left in it ; and Capt. *Morgan* with the rest, about 1400 effective Soldiers, advanced towards *Panama*, defeated 500 Horse, and 1000 Foot sent to oppose him, assaulted the City, and took it after a Dispute of 3 Hours. When he was Master of the Town, he set it on Fire, without consulting his Soldiers, or letting them know who did it, for what Reason no body can tell. The Houses most of them were built with Cedar, very magnificently and richly furnish'd. There were 7000 Houses in the City, besides 200 Ware-houses.

Capt. *Morgan* stay'd here 4 or 5 Months, sending out Parties to scour the Country, and bring in Prisoners and Plunder.

On the 24th of *February*, 1671. he left the Town or rather its Ruins, loading 175 Beasts of Carriage with Silver, Gold, and other precious Spoil and carrying away with him 600 Prisoners. He took and plunder'd the Town of *Cruz*, on the River *Chagre*, where Capt. *Morgan* oblig'd the Prisoners to ransom themselves, threatening to sell them for Slaves if they did not ; and when he had rais'd as much Money as he could, he divided it among his Followers but the Dividend not coming to above 200 Pieces of Eight a Man, they believ'd he had been too hard for them ; and *Morgan* fearing a Mutiny, taking with him 3 or 4 Ships, wherein were Men he could trust, left them at the Castle of *Chagre*, which he demolish'd, nor durst the Pyrates venture to fall upon him, as some of them propos'd, to be reveng'd on him for his Treachery. 'Tis believ'd that he had not play'd them fair ; and 'tis no wonder to find a Pyrate guilty of unfair Play. The Treasure he brought to *Jamaica* now was valu'd at near 40000 Peices of Eight.

After this Enterprize, Capt. *Morgan* gave over the Buccaneer Trade : He had a Project to fortify the Island of *St. Katharines*, to settle it with Buccaneer and make it a Harbour for Pyrates, and himself to be their Prince ; but before he could bring his Project to bear, a Man of War arriv'd from *England* with a new Governour, *John Lord Vaughan*, and Order from the King and Council for the late Governour *Sir Thomas Linch*, to appear at Court, and answer to

such Articles as were presented against him by the Spanish Ambassador, for maintaining Pyrates in those Parts, to the great Loss of the King of Spain's Subjects.

The new Governour sent to all the Coasts of Jamaica, to acquaint all Sea-faring Men, that his Majesty intended to observe the Peace between himself and the Catholick King religiously, and commanded his Subjects not to commit any Acts of Hostility on the Spaniards; however some of them ventur'd to land on the Isle of Cuba, committing all manner of Cruelty and Rapine, for which, as fast as they could be taken, they were hang'd at Jamaica; where Sir Henry Morgan, for so we must now call him, the King having conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood on him for his Bravery, was made one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, Robert Byndloss and William Beeton, Esq; being join'd in Commission with him. The Character of this Man shines brightly as to his Valour, and certainly his taking of Panama is an Action that is hardly to be parallel'd; but whether his Honesty was equal to his Courage, and the Scandal of Piracy which he brought on the English, be that we ought to value our selves upon, is not so easily decided, as I find it done by Sir Dalby Thomas, who, speaking of Sir Henry Morgan, and his Misfortunes, afterwards says, *He was as great an Honour to our Nation, and Terror to the Spaniards, as ever was born in it.*

Hist. Account of the West-Indies.

Notwithstanding he had done nothing but by Commission from the Governour and Council of Jamaica, and had receiv'd their formal and publick Thanks for the Action, he was, upon a Letter from the Secretary of State, sent into England a Prisoner, and without being charg'd with any Crime, or ever brought to a Hearing, was kept here three Years, at his own great Expence, not only to the wasting of some Thousands he was then worth, but to the Hindrance of his Planting, and Improvement of his Fortune by his Industry, towards which none in Jamaica was in a fairer way: So he wasted the remaining part of his Life, oppress'd by a Court Faction, and a lingering Consumption, brought upon him by his Troubles here, and the Coldness of the Climate. This happen'd several Years afterwards,

during the Government of the Lord *Vaughan*. One of the great Difficulties that happen'd, was the arbitrary Proceedings of a new Company, calling themselves the *Royal African Company of England*. The King granted them a Charter, bearing Date the 26th of *September*, 1672. to trade to *Guinea*, *Binné Angola*, and *South Barbary*, exclusive of all others. The Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and other Persons of the first Quality, being of the Company; who, by Virtue of this Charter pretended to Monopolize the Trade, and make Prize of all Ships that came from any of those Parts of *Africa*, with Negroes, or other Merchandize, without their Licence.

The Duke of *York* enter'd so far into the Interest of this Corporation, as to threaten Sir *Jonathan Atkins*, Governour of *Barbadoes*, to turn him out of his Place, for but seeming to give Countenance to *Interlopers*; a Name they gave those Merchants who, contrary to that unjust Monopoly, traded to *Africa*.

Several Ships were taken by them from the Owners forcibly, the Men of War having Orders to seize all private Traders; and they took from one Merchant, Sir *John Bardon*, at times, to the Value of above 10000 *l.* They were so severe, that they seiz'd Ships, whether they had a Right to do so by their Charter or not; and Merchants were afraid to try their Causes, for fear of being thought to oppose the King's Prerogative, a Bug-bear Word in that Reign.

Their Agents, in the Lord *Vaughan's* Government, detain'd the *St. George*, a Ship belonging to the above-mention'd *Bardon*, and consign'd to *Samuel Bernard*, Esq; one of the present Council of *Jamaica*; but that worthy Merchant asserting his Right before Sir *Thomas Modiford*, then Chief Justice, was too hard for the Company's Agents, and put them to near 1000 *l.* Expence to defend themselves for their Rapine.

'Twould be endless to give an Account of all the wicked Practices of these Agents in *Jamaica*, if we had had a perfect History of them transmitted to us. Their Tyranny was one of the greatest Grievances

ances to Trade that ever it was oppress'd with, and threaten'd to ruin all the Sugar Plantations, had not the Parliament in *England* regulated the Company, and laid the Trade of *Africa*, in a great measure, open.

About this time, Mr. *Cranfeild*, Mr. *Dukenfeild*, and Mr. *Brent*, Commissioners for removing the *English* Colony from *Surinam*, according to a Treaty concluded between King *Charles* and the States General, arriv'd at *Jamaica* from that Plantation, with the *English*, Men, Women, Children, and Negroes, to the Number of 1200 Persons; whom the Governour, the Lord *Vaughan*, receiv'd very graciously, according to Instructions he had from Court, and provided Land in *St. Elizabeth* Precinct, as much to one as to another, for them to plant. The Addition of so many Hands was a great Service to *Jamaica*, and the Goodness of the Soil, beyond that of *Surinam*, made the Planters amends for leaving their old habitations.

To the Lord *Vaughan* succeeded the Right Honourable *Charles*, Earl of *Carlisle*; who arriv'd at *Jamaica* in the Year 1678. The Lord *Vaughan* removing to *England*, the People of this Island were very free with his Lordship's Character, and 'tis to be hop'd more free than just; for they did not stick to charge him with selling his own Servants; a Story equally false and absurd, which should not have been mention'd, but to clear that noble Lord from the Aspersions which the Malice of his Enemies laid upon him. It may perhaps be true, that he made hast to grow as rich as his Government would let him; and when Governours are of that Opinion, the Inhabitants are generally Sufferers by it.

During the Lord *Carlisle's* Government, the People of this Island were alarm'd with groundless fears of an Invasion from the *French*, the Count *D'Estree* being in those Parts, with a Squadron of *French* Men of War; but the Apprehensions of the *English* here were founded on Reports of Plots and Massacres in *England*, the Popish Plot being then lately discover'd.

Sir Hen. Morgan, Deputy Governour The Country not agreeing very well with the Ear of *Carlisle*, he return'd to *England*, in a Merchant Ship, and arriv'd at *Plimouth* in *September*, 1680 having left *Sir Henry Morgan* Deputy Governour, for he was not yet fallen under the Displeasure of the Court.

Sir Henry being inform'd that *Jacob Everson*, a Dutchman, (a most notorious Pyrate) rid then in *Cow Bay*, with a Sloop, and a *Barqua Longa*, having about 100 Men with him, he presently order'd a Sloop, that was an excellent Sailer, and very fit for the Service, to be man'd with 50 Men, besides Officers, and set Sentinels to hinder any Boats or Men from going off, to give the Pyrates Advice. The Sloop was ready, and sail'd in an Hours time. On the 1st of *February* she came before *Cow Bay*, where the Pyrate rid, and as she stood in without Colours, and with most of her Men in the *Hold*, several of the Pyrate's Men that were ashoar, return'd aboard their Sloop and Bark, which were to Windward of the Governour's Sloop. As soon as she was within Shot of the Pyrates, the Commander in Chief order'd the King's Colours to be hoisted, and laid them aboard. The Pyrates at first fir'd a few small Arms, but did the Soldiers little Damage; and when they saw them enter with Resolution and Authority, many of the Pyrates leap'd into their Canoes, which overset, and they were drowned. Their Fellows made some Resistance after they were boarded, but in the end the Governour's Men master'd them and the Sloop. In the mean time, the Bark, riding to Leward, cut, and got under Sail, tho not without visible Damage, 3 or 4 of her Men, who were mending a Top-Sail, disorder'd by a Shot from the Governour's Sloop, being seen to fall over board. The Sloop chac'd her, but to no Purpose, she being a better Sailer.

The Captain was kill'd in the Engagement, but his Men, who were almost all *English*, *Sir Henry Morgan* sent to the Governour of *Carthagena*, by Captain *Haywood*, that they might receive due Punishment for the Pyracies they had committed on the *Spaniards*.

About the Year 1682. Sir *Thomas Linch* return'd *sir Tho.*
 to *Jamaica*, with a new Commission to be Go- *Linch, Go-*
 vernour again; a Person who was eminent- *vernour.*
 and Loyal.

In those times, when the *Presbyterian Plot* was
 most talk'd of in *England*, News of the Discovery of
 it was with all possible Speed convey'd to the *West-*
Indies; and Sir *Thomas* having Notice of it, he com-
 municated it to the Assembly then sitting, who im-
 mediately came in a full Body to the Governour and
 Council, to desire a Day might be set apart, to give
 Thanks to *Almighty God* for so great and signal a
 Deliverance. Sir *Thomas* invited the Council and
 Assembly that Night to Supper, and treated them
 again on the Thanksgiving-Day. But what shew'd
 the Loyalty of this Assembly much more, was their
 continuing his Majesty's Revenue 21 Years longer in
 this Island.

The *Ruby Man of War*, about this time, cruiz'd
 several Months to the Windward, to defend those
 parts from Pyrates, whose chief Captain *Van Horn*
 lost one of his Ships, which was taken by the *Spanish*
 Fleet, but most of the Men escap'd.

The Assembly before-mention'd pass'd several good
 Laws, which are printed at large, and well abridg'd
 in a Treatise often spoken of in this History of the
 Plantations.

Besides the *Ruby*, the *Guernsey Man of War* cruiz'd
 so to Windward, for those Seas were full of Py-
 rates, who pretended to have *French* Commis-
 sions; and when they met with any *Jamaica*
 Men, were very civil, suffering them to pass and re-
 turn'd untouch'd.

The Governour, to wipe off the Scandal thrown
 upon him formerly, of encouraging Pyrates, was
 now very zealous against them, and built a Galley
 with 54 Oars, which was launch'd with great Solemn-
 ity the 12th of *June*, and was of great use in secu-
 ring the Coast.

The *Buccaneers* however continu'd their Pyracies
 on the *Spaniards*: They were Crews of all Nations,
English, Dutch, and French. In Sir *Thomas Linch's*
 time, one *Laurens* and one *Michael Tankers* headed
 them; and the *Spaniards* at *Carthagen* having No-
 tice

tice that they cruiz'd off their Coasts, the Governour there sent out 3 Men of War, one of 40, one of 30 and another of 20 Guns, to take them; and the were all three taken by the Pyrates, who kill'd 40 Spaniards, with the Loss of 14 Men, in December 1683.

Col. Hen- There happen'd nothing further remarkable in Sir
der Molef- Thomas Lynch's Government, which he held about
worth Go- 3 Years, and was succeeded by Col. *Hender Molef*
vernour. worth, a Man of great Worth and Honour, whom
King *William* afterwards created a Baronet. Col
Molesworth was Governour when News came hither
of the Death of King *Charles*, and King *James II*'s
Accession to the Throne. He resided at *St. Jago de*
la Vega, or *Spanish Town*, and perform'd the Procla-
mation of the King with all possible Solemnity, him-
self appearing at the Head of the Militia, before the
King's House; about which several great Guns were
planted, and fir'd on this Occasion. From thence he
went to *Port Royal*, and before the King's House
there, drew up his own Regiment, and at the Head
of them made the like Proclamation; which he af-
terwards did for King *William*, with as loud, and
much more unaffected Joy.

The Governour and Council transmitted a very loyal congratulatory Address to King *James*: And this must be said for the Gentlemen of the Plantations, they have been as forward on such Occasions, as various as the Humours of them have been, as the People of *England*.

In the same Year 1689. the Pyrates in the *South Seas* were in very great Distress; for having landed there, at the Instigation of the *Indians*, the latter deserted them, and their Return home by Land was by that means cut off, and that Company perish'd by Want, or the Enemy. Another, commanded by *Monfieur Grammont*, took *Campeche*, where they found nothing but *Indian Corn*. *Grammont* took a Sloop belonging to *Jamaica*, and forc'd the Men to serve him; but the *English* taking the Advantage of some Disorder among the Pyrates, got away in the Night.

The *French King* hearing of this Pyrate's Robberies, sent strict Orders to all his Governours in *America*,

ica, to recall the Commissions they had granted them, and forbid them to commit any more Pyra- cies on the *Spaniards*, or any other Nation; in which they had been till then encourag'd.

In the Year 1687. a Post-Office was erected in *Jamaica*, and Mr. *James Wale* made Post-Master; and the same Year the King appointed his Grace *Christ- Duke of Christopher* Duke of *Albemarle* Governour of this *Albe- marle Go- vernour.* land; and he sail'd from *Spithead*, in the *Assistance* Man of War, the 12th of *September*, his Lady the *Dutchess* being on Board.

They arriv'd at *Barbadoes* in *November*, at *Jamaica* in *January* following, and were receiv'd with great Pomp. 'Twas said, this Lord was sent hither as to a sort of Banishment, for his Zeal against Popery: But that seems to be a very favourable Report, for the Duke of *Albemarle* was no such Zealot in Religion, to make the Court uneasy on that Account, nor a Man of such Interest in *England*, that the Government should entertain any Jealousies of him.

The Truth is, he had lately got a great Sum of Money by Sir *William Phips's* fishing for Silver, and he had form'd several Projects of fishing for more, which he intended to put in Execution, and thought if he was at *Jamaica*, he might forward it by his presence. He had also contracted so many Debts, that the Silver Sir *William Phips* brought him home, was not sufficient to clear them, and his Government he thought would help to discharge them.

These and other Considerations prevail'd upon him to accept it; but being a Man of Pleasure, and intemperate in his Drinking, 'twas expected the Country would not agree with that Excess; and so it prov'd.

On *Sunday*, the 19th of *February*, 1687. there was an *Earthquake* in *Jamaica*. It came by Shocks; there was three of them, with a little Pause between. It lasted about a Minute's time in all, and was accompany'd with a small Noise. It was generally felt all over the Island. Some Houses were crack'd, and very near ruin'd; others being uncover'd of their Tiles; very few escap'd some Injury, and the People were every where in a great Consternation. The

Ships

Ships in the Harbour of *Port Royal* felt it; and one that was *Eastward* of the Island, coming hither from *Europe*, met with, as he said, a *Hurricane* at the same time. One riding on Horseback was not sensible of it. A Gentleman being at that time abroad in his Plantation, saw the Ground rise like the Sea in a Wave, as the Earthquake past along, and then it went *Northward*.

The *Spaniards* who inhabited this Island, and the neighbouring, built their Houses very low, and they consisted only of Ground-Rooms, their Walls being made of Posts, which were as much bury'd underground as they stood above, on purpose to avoid the Danger that attended other ways of Building from Earthquakes: And Dr. *Sloan* writes, *I have seen in the Mountains afar off bare Spots, which the Inhabitants told me were the Effects of Earthquake throwing down Part of the Hills, which continu'd bare and steep.*

Lowth.
Phil. Transf.
Vol. 2.
p. 410.

The terrible Earthquake that happen'd 4 or 5 Years afterwards, makes this to be the less remarkable.

While the Duke of *Albemarle* was in *Jamaica*, King *James* granted a Commission to Sir *Robert Holmes* to suppress Pyrates in *America*; and Sir *Robert* procur'd a Proclamation to be publish'd, for the more effectual reducing and suppressing Pyrates and Privateers in *America*. He also appointed *Stephen Lynch*, Esq. Consul in *Flanders*, to be his Agent at *Jamaica*, whither he carry'd the before-mention'd Proclamation, and sent it to the *Spanish* Parts, as well on the *North Sea*, as to *Panama* on the *South Sea*, being furnish'd with all Necessaries and Passports from the Crown of *Spain*.

The Duke did not long live in his Government, and his Death is suppos'd to be hasten'd as much by the Alteration of his Wine, as by that of the Climate; for coming to drink *Madera* Wine, which is many Degrees hotter than *French* Wine, and not abating of the Quantity, it soon threw him into a Distemper, that carry'd him to his Grave.

An eminent Merchant of *London*, now living, being offer'd a Policy of Insurance on the Duke's Life, to subscribe at a good *Premio*, he refus'd it, and gave that

that for a Reason, before the Duke embark'd, His drinking *Madera* Wine with the same Excess as he had done Claret, which we have given, for the shortning his Days after his Arrival in *Jamaica*.

Col. *Hender Molefworth* was chosen Governour again on the Duke of *Albemarle's* Death. The Duke's Body was embalm'd, and brought to *England*, in the same Ship in which the Dutchess, the present Dutchess of *Montague* return'd.

There was an Agreement made between the *English* and *Spaniards*, for a Trade in *Negroes*, between *Jamaica* and the *Spanish West Indies*. This Treaty was manag'd by *Don Santiago del Castillo* in *London*; and he was appointed by the King of *Spain* to be Commissary General at *Jamaica*, for supplying the *Spanish* Dominions in the *West Indies* with Slaves.

King *William III.* who then reign'd in *England*, confer'd the Honour of Knighthood on the *Don*, better known by the Name of *Sir James de Castillo*; and he resided several Years in that Island. His Majesty gave the Government of it to the Earl of *Inchiqueen*, of *Inchiqueen*, who embark'd in *May*, 1690. and arriv'd there in due time.

On the 29th of *July*, the *Negroes* belonging to *Mr. Sutton's* Plantation in the Mountains, being about 400, broke out into Rebellion, and having forc'd the House, and kill'd the Man who look'd to it, seiz'd upon 50 Fuzees, Blunderbuffes, and other Arms, and a great Quantity of Powder and Shot, four small Field-Pieces, and other Provisions, and marching to the next Plantation, kill'd the Overseer, and would have engag'd the *Negroes* there to have join'd with them; but they hid themselves in the Woods. Then they return'd back, and prepar'd to defend themselves in *Mr. Sutton's* great House.

The Alarm was immediately given to the adjacent Quarters, and 50 Horse and Foot march'd against them. In their March they were join'd by other Parties, who making altogether a good Body of Men, attack'd the *Negroes* the next Day; the latter took to the Canes, firing 'em as they went; but a Party of *White Men* falling on their Rear, routed 'em, and pursu'd 'em several Miles. Many of the *Blacks* were kill'd, and 200 of 'em threw down their Arms, and sub-

submitted: The rest were afterwards either kill'd or taken, and the Ringleaders of this Rebellion hang'd as they deserv'd.

In 1691. the Lord *Inchiqueen* sent the *Swan* an *Guernsey* Men of War, with the *Quaker* Ketch, and a hir'd Merchant-Man, to endeavour to destroy what *French* Ships they could find on the Coasts of *Hispaniola*, from the Isle of *Ash* to *Porto Point*, as likewise their Settlement on Shore.

Mr. *Obrian* commanded in chief in this Expedition in which were employ'd 900 Soldiers; and tho' the Success did not answer Peoples Expectation, yet they took and destroy'd several *French* Ships; and landing on the Coasts did the Enemy some Damage, hardly enough to quit Cost.

The most terrible Calamity that ever befell this Island, or perhaps any other, was the dreadful Earthquake, which happen'd the 7th of *June*, 1692. a most amazing and tremendous Judgment of the Almighty: For, without presuming to enter into a natural Digression of such wonderful *Phenomena's* of Nature our Religion requires us, in all these Cases, to look up to the Omnipotent, the great Judge of the Heart of Men, as well as the strict Observer of their Ways, and to read a severe Lesson of Repentance to our selves, from his proceeding with others in so extraordinary a manner.

It began between 11 and 12 a Clock at Noon, shook down and drown'd 9 Tenths of *Port Royal*, in two Minutes time; and all by the Wharfs side in less than one; very few escap'd there.

Phil. Trans. There is something very remarkable, written by
Vol. 2. p. a Gentleman from thence soon after, in *Lowthorp's*
411. Abridgment. *I lost all my People and Goods, my Wife and two Men, Mrs. B. and her Daughter. One White Maid escap'd, who gave me an Account, that her Mistress was in her Closet, 2 Pair of Stairs high, and she was sent into the Garret, where was Mrs. B. and her Daughter, when she felt the Earthquake, and bid her take up her Child and run down; but turning about met the Water at the Top of the Garret-stairs; for the House sunk downright, and is now near 30 Foot under Water. My Son and I went that Morning to Liguania: the Earthquake took us in the Midway between that and*
Port

Port Royal, where we were near being overwhelm'd by a swift rowling Sea, six Foot above the Surface, without any Wind. Being forc'd back to Liguania, we found all the Houses even with the Ground, not a Place to put our Heads in, but in Negroes Huts. The Earth continues to shake (June 20th) 5 or 6 Times in 24 Hours, and often trembling: great Part of the Mountains fell down, and falls down daily.

All the Wharfs at Port Royal sunk down at once, and several Merchants were drown'd, with their Families and Effects, among whom was an intimate Friend of the Historian's, Mr. Joseph Heminge. There were soon several Fathoms of Water where his Street stood; and all that in which was the Church, was so over-flow'd, that the Water stood up as high as the Upper-Rooms of the Houses that remain'd. The Earth, when it open'd, swallow'd up People, and they rose in other Streets; some in the Middle of the Harbour, and yet were sav'd, tho at the same time about 2000 Whites and Blacks perish'd in this Town. At the North, above 1000 Acres of Land sunk, and 13 People with it. All the Houses were thrown down over the Island, and the surviving Inhabitants were forc'd to dwell in Huts. The two great Mountains at the Entrance into 16 Mile Walk, fell and met, and so stop'd up the River, that 'twas necessary from that Place to the Ferry for a whole Day; by which means vast Quantities of Fish were taken up, to the great Relief of the Distress'd.

At Yellows a great Mountain split, and fell into the Level Land, cover'd several Settlements, and destroy'd many White People. One of the Persons, whose Name was Hopkins, had his Plantation remov'd half a Mile from the Place where it formerly stood. The Water of all Wells from one Fathom to six Fathom, flew out at the Top, with the violent Motion of the Earth.

Another Account of this deplorable Judgment Ib. 412. gives us a lively and lamentable Idea of it. The Writer's own Words will be most satisfactory, as we find them in a Letter, in the above-nam'd Treatise. Between 11 and 12, we felt the Tavern, where I then was, shake, and saw the Bricks begin to rise in the Floor: At the same time we heard a Voice in the Street cry, An

Earthquake, and immediately we ran out of the House, where we saw all People with lifted up Hands, begging God's Assistance. We continu'd running up the Street, while on either side of us we saw the Houses, some swallow'd up, others thrown on Heaps; the Sand in the Street rising like the Waves of the Sea, lifting up all Persons that stood upon it, and immediately dropping down into Pits. At the same time a Flood of Water broke in, and rowl'd these poor Souls over and over; some catching hold of Beams and Rasters of Houses: Others were found in the Sand that appear'd, when the Water was drain'd away, with their Legs and Arms out. Sixteen or eighteen of us who beheld this dismal Sight, stood on a small Piece of Ground, which, Thanks be to God, did not sink. As soon as the violent Shake was over, every Man was desirous to know, if any Part of his Family was left alive. I endeavour'd to go towards my House, upon the Ruins of the Houses that were floating upon the Water, but could not. At length I got a Canoo, and row'd up the great Sea-side towards my House, where I saw several Men and Women floating upon the Wreck out at Sea, and as many of them as I could, I took into the Boat, and still row'd on, till I came where I thought my House had stood, but could hear of neither my Wife nor Family. Next Morning I went from one Ship to another, till at last it pleas'd God I met with my Wife, and two of my Negroes. She told me, when she felt the House shake, she ran out, and call'd all the House to do the same. She was no sooner out, but the Sand lifted up, and her Negro Woman grasping about her, they both dropt into the Earth together, when at the very Instant the Water came in, rowl'd them over and over, till at length they caught hold of a Beam, where they hung, till a Boat came from a Spanish Vessel, and took them up.

The Houses from the Jews Street to the Breast Work were all shak'n down, except 8 or 10 which remain'd, from the Balcony upwards, above the Water.

As soon as the violent Earthquake was over, the Water-men and Sailors did not flick to plunder those Houses; and in the time of the Plunder, one or two of them fell upon their Heads, by a second Earthquake, where they were lost.

When as the first and great Shake was over, the Minister desir'd all People to join with him in Prayer; and among them were several *Jews*, who kneel'd, and answer'd as they did, and 'twas observ'd, they were in this Extremity heard to call upon Jesus Christ.

Several Ships and Sloops were over-set, and lost in the Harbour. Among the rest a Man of War, the *Joan Frigate*, that lay by the Wharf to careen. The violent Motion of the Sea, and sinking of the Wharf, forc'd her over the Tops of many Houses, and passing that where a Person call'd my Lord *Pike* liv'd, part of it fell upon her, and beat in her Round-house; she did not over-set, but help'd some Hundreds in saving their Lives.

A great and hideous Noise was heard in the Mountains, insomuch that it frighten'd many *Negroes*, who did run away from their Masters, and been several Months absent, and made them come home. The Water that issu'd from the *Salt-Pan Hills*, forc'd its Passage from 20 or 30 Places, some more forcibly than others; for in 8 or 10 Places it came out with much Violence, that had so many Sluices been drawn up at once, they could not have run with greater Force, and most of them 6 or 7 Yards high from the Foot of the Hill; 3 or 4 of the least were near 10 or 12 Yards high. The *Salt Pans* were quite overflow'd. The Mountains between *Spanish Town* and *Sixteen Mile Walk*, as the Way lies along the River, are almost perpendicular about the Mid-Way. These two Mountains join'd together, which stop'd the Passage of the Water, and forc'd it to seek another, that was a great way in and out among the Woods and Savana's.

'Twas 8 or 9 Days before the People had any Relief from it: The People concluding it was sunk like the *Fort Royal*, thought of removing to some other part of the Country.

The Mountains along the River were so thrown into Heaps, that all People were forc'd to go by *Guapooa* to *Sixteen Mile Walk*. The Weather was much hotter after the Earthquake than before, and such an innumerable Quantity of *Muskettoes*, that like was never seen since the Island was inhabited.

ted. A great Part of the Mountains at *Yellow* falling down, drove all the Trees before it, and wholly overthrew and bury'd a Plantation at the Foot of them. The Sand in *Port Royal* crackin and opening in several Places, where People stood they sunk into it, and the Water boy'd out of the Sand, with which many People were cover'd.

The Houses that stood were so shatter'd, that few of them were thought fit or safe to live in, and most of them remain'd empty a Year afterwards.

Those Streets that were next the Water-Side were the best in the Town, full of large Warehouses, stately Buildings, and commodious Wharfs close to which Ships of 700 Tuns might lye and deliver their Lading. Here the principal Merchants liv'd, and now alas! is 6, 7, and 8 Fathom Water.

The Part that was left standing, was Part of the End of that Neck of Land which runs into the Sea, and makes this Harbour; at the Extremity which stands the Fort, not shook down, but much shatter'd by the Earthquake. 'Twas afterwards perfect Island.

The whole Neck of Land from the Fort to the Pallisadoes, or other End of *Port Royal*, toward the Land, which is above a Quarter of a Mile, being quite discontinu'd and lost in the Earthquake and is now also, with all the Houses, which stood very thick upon it, quite under Water. This Neck was at first nothing but Sands, which by the People's driving down Timber, Wharfing, &c. were by little and little gain'd in time out of the Sea which now has at once recover'd all again. On the sandy Neck of Land did the Inhabitants great heavy Brick Houses stand; whose Weight on such a light Foundation contributed much to their Downfall, for the Ground gave way as far as the Houses stood only, and no farther.

The Shake was so violent, that it threw People down on their Knees, and sometimes on their Faces as they ran along the Streets, to provide for their Safety; and 'twas a very difficult Matter for them to keep on their Legs.

One whole Street, a great many Houses of which good after the Earthquake, was twice as broad then before; and in several Places the Ground would crack, and open and shut quick and fast.

Major *Kelley* of this Island, reported he saw 2 or 300 of these Openings at one time; in some of which many People were absorpt, some the Earth caught by the Middle, and squeez'd to Death, the Heads of others only appear'd above Ground; some were swallow'd quite down, and cast up again with great Quantities of Water, while others went down, and were never more seen. These were the smaller Openings, the larger swallow'd up great Houses, and out of some of them issu'd whole Rivers, spouting to a vast Height in the Air, accompany'd with ill stench and offensive Smells. The Sky, which before was clear and blew, became in a Minutes time dull and reddish, compar'd to a red hot Oven. Prodigious Noises were made by the Fall of the Mountains, and terrible Rumbings were heard under Ground.

While Nature was labouring with these Convulsions, the People ran up and down pale and trembling with Horror, like so many Ghosts, thinking the Dissolution of the whole Frame of the World was at Hand.

The Shake was stronger in the Country than in the Town, where it left more Houses standing than in all the rest of the Island. People could not stand on their Legs in other Places, but fell down on their Faces, and spread out their Arms and Legs, to prevent a greater Mischief by falling by the Earthquake. It left not a House standing at *Passage Fort*, but one at *Liguania*, and none at *St. Jago*, except a few low Houses built by the wary *Spaniards*. In several Places of the Country, the Earth gap'd prodigiously. On the North Side, the Planters Houses, with the greatest Part of their Plantations, were swallow'd, Houses, People, Trees, and all in one Gap, instead of which appear'd a Lake of 1000 Acres over: afterwards it dry'd up, and there remains not the least Appearance of House, Tree, or any thing else that was there before.

In *Clarendon Precinct*, there were great Gaping and Spoutings of Water 12 Miles from the Sea. Many Marks of these Gapings remain to this Day. In the Mountains were the most violent *Shakes* of all and 'tis a general receiv'd Opinion, that the neerer the Mountains the greater the *Shake*. The *Blessed Mountains* were the greatest Sufferers; and for two Months together, so long the Shake lasted, they below'd out hideous loud Noises and Ecchoings. Part of a Mountain, not far from *Yellows*, after having made several Leaps, overwhelm'd a whole Family and great Part of a Plantation, lying a Mile off and a large high Mountain, not far from *Port Morant*, is quite swallow'd up: In the Place where it stood, there's now a vast Lake, 4 or 5 League over.

Some were of Opinion, that the Mountains sunk a little; certain 'tis, the Beauty of them is quite chang'd: For whereas they us'd to look always green above half of the Prospect now lies bare; and how can that be otherwise, when they were so rent and torn, and such prodigious Quantities of Trees root'd up, and driven into the Sea by the Earthquake; of which several hundred thousand Tun have been computed to float sometimes.

Some think this whole Island is sunk a little; others, that *Port Royal* sunk a Foot; and several Wells in *Legany* do not require so long a Rope to draw Water out of them now, as before the Earthquake by 2 or 3 Foot.

The Water in the Harbour of *Port Royal* was suddenly rais'd with such a strange Emotion, that it swell'd as in a Storm; huge Waves appear'd on a sudden, rolling with such a Force, that they drove most Ships from their Anchors, breaking their Cables in an instant.

Capt. *Phips*, and another Gentleman, happening to be at *Legany*, by the Sea-side, at the time of the Earthquake, the Sea retir'd so from the Land, that the Bottom appear'd dry for 2 or 300 Yards; in which they saw several Fish lie; and the Gentleman who was with him, ran and took up some; yet in a Minutes or two's time, the Sea return'd again and overflow'd Part of the Shoar. At *Tall-House*

the Sea retir'd above a Mile. 'Tis thought near 3000 people perish'd in all Parts of the Island.

After the *Great Shake*, those that escap'd got on board the Ships in the Harbour, at least as many as could; where some of them continu'd above two Months, the Shakes being all that time so violent and thick, that they were afraid to venture ashoar. Others remov'd to *Kingston*, where from the first hearing of the Ground, and from bad Accommodations, the Huts built with Boughs, and not sufficient to keep out Rain, which in a great and unusual manner follow'd the Earthquake, lying wet, and wanting Medicines, and all Conveniences, they dy'd miserably. Indeed there was a general Sickness, oppos'd to proceed from the noxious Vapours, which'd from the many Openings of the Earth all over the Island, insomuch that few escap'd being sick, and 'tis thought it swept away 3000 Souls, the greatest Part from *Kingston* only, which is not even now a very healthy Place. Besides, the great Numbers of dead Bodies floating from one Side of the Harbour to the other, as the Sea and Land Breezes drove them, sometimes a 100 or 200 in a Heap, may be thought to add something to the Unhealthfulness of this Island. Half the People who escap'd at *Port Royal*, dy'd at *Kingston*; where were 500 Graves digg'd in a Months time, and 2 or 3 bury'd in a Grave.

The Assembly appointed every 7th Day of *June* to be observ'd as a Day of Fasting, or Humiliation, unless it falls on a *Sunday*, and then the Day after, in Remembrance of this dreadful Earthquake.

The Loss the Merchants suffer'd, both in *Jamaica* and *England*, was much more than is pretended to be lost by the Inhabitants of the *Leward Islands*, yet they never sollicited for any Help; 'tis true they did not suffer by an Enemy: However, the Assembly consider'd several of them, particularly Mr. *Benjamin Way*, Mr. *Joseph Sergeant*, Mr. *William Hutchinson*, Mr. *Francis Hall*, and Mr. *Edmund Edge*, who owing Customs for great Quantities of *Vine*, which were destroy'd in the Earthquake, were by an Act indemnify'd from Payment of what Sums were due on that Account.

Nor did this Calamity come alone, for the *French* about the same time landed 300 Men on the North Side of the Island: Upon which the *Guernsey* Man of War, and several Sloops, were sent against them, and repell'd the Enemy, burnt their Ships, and took or destroy'd all their Men, both by Sea and Land except 18, who escap'd in a Sloop.

There was a strong Report in *London*, some time after News came of the first *Great Shake* in *Jamaica* that there had happen'd a second, by which the greatest Part of the Island, and most of the Inhabitants were said to be destroy'd, and all who had Interests there were in a terrible Consternation; but the next Letters thence prov'd that Report to be false and groundless.

The Lord *Inchiqueen* dying in this Island, his Majesty, on News of it, was pleas'd to appoint Colonel *William Beeston* Lieutenant Governour, and Commander in Chief of it, in *October*, 1692. He also conferr'd on the new Governour the Honour of Knighthood.

Sir Will.
Beeston,
Governour

Sir *William* embark'd aboard the *Falcon* Frigate, and arriv'd in *Jamaica* the 9th of *March*, 1692. where he set about reforming several Abuses crept into the Government there during the Lord *Inchiqueen's* Administration.

In *November*, 1693. the *Mordaunt* Man of War Convoy to a Fleet of Merchant Men, homeward bound from *Jamaica*, was cast away on the Rocks near the Island of *Cuba*, and was lost, but all the Men were sav'd.

This Year the Assembly appointed Agents to solicit their Affairs in *England*, who were, Mr. *Gilbert Heathcot*, Mr. *Bartholomew Gracedieu*, and Mr. *John Tutt*, of *London*, Merchants; and 450 l. was order'd to be rais'd, and remitted to them, for their soliciting the publick Affairs of *Jamaica*. Commissioners were also appointed in the Island for the Management of that Agency, who were,

Samuel Bernard,	}	Esquires.
Nicholas Law,		
James Bradshaw,		
William Hutchinson,		
Thomas Clark,		
James Banister,		
Modiford Freeman,	}	

In the following Year, the Governour, Sir *William Beeston*, had Advice that 4 *French* Men of War had taken the *Falcon* Frigat before-mention'd, and carry'd her to *Petit Guaves*, where the Enemy were making Preparations, in order to some Attempt upon this Island: For being encourag'd by several disaffected Persons to invade it, they had resolv'd to put their Design in Execution, having receiv'd an additional Strength, by the Arrival of 3 Men of War from *France*, carrying about 50 Gunseach; of which Design Sir *William Beeston* had the first certain Advice from Captain *Elliot*, who being a Prisoner at *Petit Guaves*, made his Escape from thence, and arriv'd at *Port Royal* the last Day of *May*, 1694. with two Persons besides, in a Canoo which could carry no more.

On this Notice, the Governour, Sir *William Beeston* assembled the Council, and such Resolutions were taken, as were judg'd most proper for putting themselves in a Posture to receive them. 'Twas order'd, That the principal Forces of the Island should be posted about *Port Royal*.

On the 17th of *June*, the *French* Fleet came in Sight, consisting of the 3 Men of War before-mention'd, several Privateers, Sloops, and other small Vessels; in all about 20 Sail, commanded by M. *Du Casse*, the *French* Governour in *Hispaniola*. Eight of them stay'd about *Port Morant*, and 12 Sail anchor'd in *Cow Bay*, 7 Leagues to Windward of *Port Royal*, where they landed their Men, and plunder'd and burnt all before them for several Miles Eastward, kill'd the Cattle, drove several Flocks of Sheep into Houses, and then fir'd them, committing the most inhumane Barbarities. They tortur'd some of the Prisoners they took, murder'd others in cold Blood, after two Days Quarter, caus'd the Negroes

to abuse several Women, and dug up the Bodies of the dead; for such are the *French* when they are Masters. They design'd to have done the like in other Parts of the Island, and during their Stay at *Port Morant*, sent 5 or 6 Vessels to the North-Side, where they landed at *St. Mary's* and *St. George's*; but upon the Appearance of some Forces that were sent thither, they withdrew, and return'd to their Fleet.

On the 21st, the Wind blowing very hard, *Monsieur Rollon*, in the Admiral Ship, riding in deep Water, his *Anchors came home*, and he was driven off, with another in his Company, and could not get up again with the Fleet, but bore away to *Blackfield Bay*, towards the West End of this Island, where he landed 60 Men. Upon which Major *Andress*, who was left there to take Care of those Parts, fell upon them, kill'd several of them, and the rest ran away to their Ship in such haste, that they left their Provisions behind them. As soon as they could get up their Anchors, they sail'd away.

The Enemy having done what Mischief they could at *Port Morant*, their whole Fleet sail'd from thence the 16th of *July*. The 17th in the Morning, some of them came in Sight of *Port Royal*, and in the Afternoon they went all to an Anchor again in *Cow Bay*; and to amuse the *English*, landed their Men very fast, and made Fires along the Bay; but in the Night they all return'd to their Ships, re-embark'd, and on the 18th they were seen from *Port Royal*, standing to the Westward; from whence 'twas concluded they design'd for *Carlisle Bay* in *Vere*; and to prevent their doing the same Damage they had done at *Port Morant*, two Troops of Horse were immediately order'd that Way, together with the Regiment of *St. Catherines*, Part of the Regiment of *Clarendon* that were in Town; and Part of the Regiment of *St. Elizabeth*, which lay in the Way. The *French* anchor'd in *Carlisle Bay* that Afternoon, and the next Morning landed 14 or 1500 Men, who attack'd a Breast-Work that was defended by 200 *English*. A great Fire was made for a considerable time on both Sides; but the latter finding the Work could not be maintain'd, at last retir'd, and repass'd the River, after having kill'd many

many of the Enemy. In this Action, Col. *Clayburne*, Lieutenant Colonel *Smart*, Capt. *Vassal*, and Lieutenant *Dawkins* were kill'd; and Capt. *Dawkins*, Capt. *Fisher*, and some other Officers wounded. In the mean time, 4 or 5 Companies of Foot, and some Horse, advanc'd against the *French*. The *English*, tho' they had march'd 30 Miles the Night before, and were very much fatigu'd, charg'd the Enemy with such Gallantry, that they not only put a Stop to their Pursuit of the *English*, who had quitted the Breast-Work, but made them retreat. Here many of the *French* were kill'd, as also some *English*; and Capt. *Bakestead*, and other Officers were wounded.

The 20th and 21st, there pass'd some Skirmishes between small Parties. The 22d the Enemy came to a Brick House belonging to Mr. *Hubbard*, and attack'd it. There were 25 Men in it, who kill'd and wounded several of the *French*; among whom were some Officers of Note. Major *Lloyd* hearing of the Dispute, march'd with some Horse and Foot to the Relief of Mr. *Hubbard's* Men, and came in time enough to help them to beat off the Enemy, who resolv'd to try their Fortune again the next Day against the same Place, with a stronger Party and Cannon. Upon Notice of which, Major *Lloyd* put 50 Men into Mr. *Hubbard's* House, and laid the rest of the *English* in Ambuscade, expecting the *French* would, as they gave out, renew the Assault: But the Enemy chang'd their Resolution; and finding they had lost many of their Men, and several of their best Officers, and that they could make no further Advance into the Country, they went all on board again the Night following; and the 24th their whole Fleet set Sail. Monsieur *Du Casse*, with 2 or 3 Ships more, made the best of his way home, and 17 Sail went into Port *Morant* to Wood and Water, which they did with all the Speed they could. On the 28th they put ashore most of the Prisoners they had taken, and sail'd homewards.

The *French*, according to the Report of the Prisoners who return'd, from them, lost above 350 Men, in their several Engagements with the *English*, besides many who dy'd of Sickness; so that their whole Loss was computed to be 700 Men while they

they were in this Island. On the Side of the *English* 100 of all sorts, Christians, Jews, and Negroes, were kill'd and wounded.

Cap. *Elliot*, who gave the Governour Notice of the intended Expedition of the *French*, had a Medal and Chain of 100 Pounds Value given him, by Command of King *William*, and 500 Pounds in Money, and 50 Pounds to each of the Men who escap'd with him, as Rewards of their good Service. His Majesty was further pleas'd to order, that Cap. *Elliot* shou'd be recommended to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty for an Employment in the Navy.

The Council and Assembly sent over an Address, which was presented to the King; *most gratefully acknowledging his Majesty's Royal Care of them, in ordering a speedy Relief and Assistance to be sent thither, for the Defence and Security of their Persons and Estates against a cruel and barbarous Enemy; who in their late Attempt upon that Island, had no other Advantage over them, but what was owing to the Inequality of their Numbers, and not to the Valour of their Men, which chiefly shew'd it self, in burning deserted Plantations, murdering Prisoners in cold Blood, and offering Indignity to Women.*

The King order'd a Body of Forces, under the Command of Col. *Lillington*, for *Jamaica*; who arriv'd in the Year 1694. with about 1200 Men. The Governour having receiv'd so strong a Reinforcement, resolv'd to be reveng'd of the *French* for their Barbarity in the late Invasion; the *Swan* Frigate was dispatch'd away to *Hispaniola*, with an Agent, to concert Measures with the *Spaniards* for attacking the *French* in that Island; and Cap. *Wilmot*, Commodore of a Squadron of Men of War then at *Jamaica*, sail'd for *St. Domingo*, with Col. *Lillington* and the Land-Forces aboard. When they came there, 'twas agreed, that the Governour of *St. Domingo* should march with the *Spaniards* to *Manchaneel Bay*, on the North side of *Hispaniola*, where the Ships were to meet him. Captain *Wilmot* sail'd accordingly to *Cape Francis*; and Colonel *Lillington* landed his Men within three Leagues of the Cape, and Captain *Wilmot* with his Men of War went within Gun-shot of the Fort. The 18th the *English* going
near

near the Shore, the Enemy fir'd both great and small Shot upon them, which was answer'd by the Ships; and 'twas resolv'd, that assoon as the Land Forces could march to one side of the Town, the Seamen should assault it on the other, while the Ships batter'd the Fort.

Cap. *Wilmot* went that Evening with several Boats, to find a convenient Landing-Place; and going close into a Bay, a Party of Men lay under Cover, and fir'd very thick on the *English*, but without killing a Man.

The next Evening he went with a greater Strength; which the Enemy perceiving, and believing he was going to land, they blew up the Fort, burnt the Town, and went off in the Night, leaving behind 'em at the Fort-Batteries and Breast-Work above 40 Pieces of Cannon.

The *English* enter'd the Town next Day, and found a good Booty there. After this they resolv'd to attack *Port Paix*, where Cap. *Wilmot* staid several Days, to expect the coming up of the Land-Forces, the *English* and *Spanish* Forces marching thither by Land. Before they came up, Cap. *Wilmot*, with a Party of Seamen, landed about 5 Miles to the *Eastward* of *Port Paix*; where he receiv'd some little Opposition by an Ambuscade; but quickly forc'd the Enemy to retire, and burnt and destroy'd the Plantations as far as the Fort, whither the *French* fled, and then the Seamen return'd a Ship-board.

On the 15th, Cap. *Wilmot* understanding the Land Forces were come near *Port Paix*, he landed again with 400 Seamen. The four following Days were spent chiefly in putting the Cannon and Mortars ashore.

The 21st the Men of War sail'd to the *Westward* of the Castle, and landed some more Guns. The 22d the *English* rais'd a Battery on a rising Ground, and play'd it the same Evening. The next Day they began another Battery, which they finish'd by the 27th. Both of them very much annoy'd the Enemy, and made a great Breach in the Castle.

The 3d of July, at Night, Col. *Lillington* and Cap. *Wilmot* were inform'd, that the *French* design'd to leave the Castle, as they did accordingly, marching
out

out to the Number of 310, besides 200 arm'd *Negroes*, and 150 without Arms. But the *English* and *Spaniards* being ready to receive them, kill'd many; among whom were most of their Commanding Officers, took several Prisoners, and then made themselves Masters of the Castle, which 'twas thought fit to demolish; but they brought off the Artillery, Provisions, and Stores. After this the *English* re-imbark'd, and Cap. *Wilmot* directed his Course to *Jamaica*, where he arriv'd the 21st of *July*.

The Confederates thus ruin'd 2 of the *French* Settlements in *Hispaniola*, kill'd 350 Men, brought away 150 Prisoners, with 80 Pieces of Cannon, and a great deal of Booty, with inconsiderable Loss on their Side.

The Castle was situated at the Bottom of a Bay, upon a flat rocky Hill, very high, steep towards the Land, and sloping towards the Sea. 'Twas built in the Form of a Square, with four Bastions. The Wall was Cannon-proof; on the Top of it were 12 small Pieces of Artillery, and this Fortrefs was of great Importance to the *French* at *Hispaniola*. Indeed *Jamaica* lies so convenient for annoying the Enemies of the Crown of *England*, in *Hispaniola* and the *Continent*, that we wonder the *English* have made no more Advantage of its Situation. 'Tis certainly their own Fault, if the *French* at least are suffer'd to possess any thing in *America*, where the *English* are near ten times as numerous as their Enemies.

About this time the Assembly pass an Act, appointing Commissioners to give Freedom to such *Negro*-Slaves, as could prove they had done any remarkable Service against the *French*: Which Commissioners were,

Rich. Lloyd, Esq;
Fran. Rose, Esq;
James Banister, Esq;

Tho. Bindlos, Esq;
John Walters, Esq;

Their Power was general; but those that follow, were only Commissioners for the Parishes of *Kingston*, *St. Andrew's*, *St. David's*, and *St. Thomas's*, to the *Windward*, viz.

Nicholas Laws, Esq;
Edward Stanton, Esq;
Godiford Freeman, Esq;

Josias Heathcot, Esq;
James Bradshaw, Esq;

This Year the Island of *Jamaica* hir'd, victual'd, and man'd 2 good Sloops of War; and rais'd 200 Men, to reduce the rebellious *Negroes*; for which Services 203 *l.* was levy'd on the *English*, and 750 *l.* on the *Negroes*; which was assess'd, collected, and paid by some of their own Nation, as,

Mr. Solomon Arary.

Mr. Jacob Rodriguez de Leon.

Mr. Jacob de Leon.

Mr. Moses Toiro.

Mr. Moses Jesurun Cardoso, &c.

Mr. Jac. Mendez Guterias.

Mr. Jacob Henriquez.

The Receivers of this Money were also appointed by the same Act to be,

Col. Charles Knights,

Wil. Hutchinson, Esq;

Col. Tho. Clark.

Cap. Josiah Heathcot.

Cap. Lancelot Talbot.

And

Cap. Rob. Wardlow.

Cap. Tho. Clark.

The Treasurers, or Pay-Masters, were, Col. Charles Knights, and Josiah Heathcot, Esq;

And the Commissioners who were to receive the Moneys, and manage this Affair, were to employ Cap. William Dodington, to provide Victuals, Arms, and Ammunition, for the Sloops.

Garrisons were put into *Fort William* and *Port Morant*, who were under the Command of Col. Edward Stanton.

In the Year 1696. Monsieur Pointi, with a French Squadron, made a Feint on *Jamaica*, in his Way to *Orthagena*, but understanding the Strength of the Place, bore off to Sea. The Inhabitants, as soon as they saw his Ships, took Arms, and kept strict Guards; being in so good a Posture of Defence, that they rather wish'd he would attack them, than pass them by. The French had indeed got 2000 *Buccaneers*

neers together at *Petit Guaves*, with a Design either to attack the *Spaniards* in *H. Spaniola*, or the *English* in *Jamaica*; but the Storm fell on the *Spaniards*.

Admiral *Nevill* was then in those Parts, in search of Monsieur *Pointi*; and the *Monmouth*, one of *Nevill's* Squadron, took a *French Privateer*, that had just put the Governour of *Petit Guaves* ashore.

Admiral *Nevill* arriv'd at *Jamaica* the 16th of *May* 1697. and sail'd again the 25th, having staid there for a Wind. Two or three Days after he discover'd *Pointi's* Squadron returning from *Carthage*, and chas'd them a Day and a Night; but the *French* out sailing him, got away, except a rich Ship, formerly taken from the *Spaniards*, being Vice-Admiral of the *Burlovento Fleet*, which the Princess *Anne* and the *Hollandia* brought to *Jamaica*, having on Board, besides Plate, 800 Barrels of Powder, and 100 *Negroes*. The Ship and Cargo were computed to be worth 200000 Pounds Sterling.

Admiral *Nevill* sail'd to the Coasts of *Hispaniola* to look after the *Galleons*. He landed some Men on the Island, made himself Master of *Petit Guaves*, plunder'd and burnt it to the Ground. He also took *French Privateers*.

The Admiral dy'd in *August*: Commodore *Mees*, Cap. *Lytcot*, Cap. *Holmes*, Cap. *Bellwood*, Cap. *Dyer*, Cap. *Stadley*, and Cap. *Foster* dy'd also in this Voyage. They were all Commanders of Men of War and the Seamen were swept away by the Sicknel which rag'd in the Fleet.

The Squadron was, after the Death of Admiral *Nevill* and Commodore *Mees*, commanded by Cap. *Dilks*, who stop'd in his Way home at *Virginia* where the Seamen recover'd their Health.

The *French* soon repair'd their Losses this Year by the *English*; for in the next we find they talk'd of invading *Jamaica*. They had 14 Men of War at *Petit Guaves*, some of which were 70 Gun Ships.

Sir *William Beeston* sent Cap. *Moses* thither in a Sloop, to fetch off a Man, or more, to get Information of their Designs; which he perform'd very well, landing with 4 or 5 Men, who took one *Grumbles* out of a House, as he was at Dinner, and brought him away.

Grumbles was a Native of *Jamaica*, where he liv'd till a few Years before, when he ran away to the *French* at *Hispaniola*, where he was the chief Man that instigated the Enemy to invade, plunder, and destroy the Island of *Jamaica*, his Native Country.

The *French* were enrag'd at the Loss of so useful a Man; and if he was hang'd, threaten'd to do the same by Capt. *Price*, Commander of a *London* Ship, which they had taken, and kept the Captain Prisoner at *Petit Guaves*. *Grumbles* said the *French* design'd for the *Havana*; but the timely notice the *Spaniards* had of their Preparations, broke all their Measures.

In 1698. the Assembly pass an Act for fortifying *Port Royal*: Upon which the Governour remov'd thither from *Spanish Town*, to see that Work begun.

The *Scots* now settl'd at *Darien*, and fortify'd *Golden Island*, at the Bottom of the Gulph, where the Isthmus between that and the *South-Seas* is so narrow, that a few Men might defend it against Multitudes, and deny all Passage that way to the *Indies*: But King *Villiam* being in a strict Alliance with the King of *Spain* at that time, this Settlement of the *Scots* was an open Breach of it, and he could not suffer his *English* Subjects to be assisting to the new Colony; without whose Assistance 'twas impossible for the *Scots* to effect their Design. Orders were sent to the Governour of *Jamaica*, and other Governours in the *West-Indies*, not to let them be supply'd from thence; so for Want of Provision the *Scots* were forc'd to abandon their Settlement: For which Loss Satisfaction has been since made them, upon the Conclusion of the late happy Union between the two Nations.

In the Year 1699. Admiral *Bembow* arriv'd at *Jamaica* with a Squadron of Men of War; the Seamen were infected with a mortal Distemper, which carry'd off great Numbers of them, as also of the Officers.

The *South Sea Castle*, Capt. *Stepney*; and the *Bidderd*, Capt. *Searl*, two Men of War, were cast away, Anno 1700. near *Hispaniola*, and 30 Barrels of Powder blew up in *Fort Charles* in *Port Royal*, at saluting *Scots* Ship.

Maj. Gen. Sir *William Beeston* dying in the Year 1700. Major
 Selwyn General *Selwyn* was made Governour of *Jamaica* in
 Governour April, 1701. at which time the Island was in a very
 flourishing Condition, and Admiral *Bembow's* Squa-
 dron healthy.

This Commander was very vigilant and brave in
 the Discharge of his Trust, and had Cruizers always
 about the Island, for the Security of Trade; it being
 expected, that the War between *England* and *France*
 which had ceas'd about 4 Years, would break out a-
 gain, on the *French* King's seizing the *Spanish* Domi-
 nions in *Europe* and *America*.

Peter Major General *Selwyn* arriv'd at *Port Royal* in 1701
 Beckford but dy'd soon after his Arrival; and *Peter Beckford*
 Esq; Lieut. Esq; was chosen Lieutenant Governour by the Council;
 Governour who receiving Advice of the Death of King
William the III^d. of Glorious Memory, order'd all
 the great Guns to be fir'd at a Minute's Distance, a
 St. *Jago*, or *Spanish Town*, *Port Royal* and *Kingston*, th
 23^d of *June*, 1702, from Sun-set to 12 at Night; th
 same was done by Vice-Admiral *Bembow*, and th
 Men of War under his Command.

The next Day, our present Gracious Sovereign
 Queen *Anne*, was with all possible Solemnity pro-
 claim'd in *Spanish Town*, the Capital of the Island; th
 Lieutenant Governour, the Council, and most of th
 Gentlemen of the Place being present, and the sever
 al Companies of Soldiers and Militia under Arms
 All the Great Guns in the Town were thrice dis-
 charg'd, and were answer'd by as many Volleys o
 small Shot: All the Forts in the Island fir'd all thei
 Guns thrice, and the Vice-Admiral, the Men of War
 and all the Ships in the Port did the like. The Lieut
 enant Governour gave the Council and principa
 Gentry a noble Entertainment at Dinner; and th
 Joy for her Majesty's Accession to the Throne was a
 great as their Sorrow for the Death of their late So-
 vereign.

As soon as Admiral *Bembow* had notice of the Wa
 breaking out again between *England* and *France*, th
 he might with the greater Advantage infest the En-
 my, he detach'd some of the Ships under his Com-
 mand, and sail'd himself with the rest of his Squadron
 to insult the *French*, and their new Confederates th
 Span.

paniards, and intercept the Ships sent to the *West Indies* under *Monfieur du Caffé*. Some of these Frigates took between the two Capes of *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*, a very rich Ship, design'd for *France*, mounted with 20 Guns, and 190 Men; which they sent to *Jamaica*.

The Admiral and his Officers, by their long stay in this Island, were so well accustom'd to the Climate, that they were all in a good State of Health. The Bristol Man of War took the *Gloriana*, a Spanish Man of War, and sent her into *Port Royal*. She was bound for *St. Domingo*, to carry a new Governour from France to *Carthagena*.

The Admiral with 7 Men of War, cruizing off *Neogane* and *Petit Guaves*, put the French and Spaniards in a terrible Consternation. He drove a French Man of War of 40 Guns ashore; and the Enemy blew her up, to prevent her falling into his Hands. He with his Boats set fire to 2 great Merchant Ships, and took 2 more, with a Brigantine and a Sloop; which the *Colchester* brought into *Port Royal* the 14th August, 1702. After which he sail'd in search of *du Caffé*.

The Council and Assembly of *Jamaica* having transmitted a very Loyal Address to her Majesty in *England*: 'Twas presented by *Sir Gilbert Heathcot*, and *Sr. Bartholomew Gracedieu*, two eminent *Jamaica* Merchants.

In *October* this Year the Queen was pleas'd to appoint the Right Honourable the Earl of *Peterborough*, who has since made himself so famous by his Conquests in *Spain*, to be Governour of *Jamaica*, and gave him larger Powers than the Duke of *Albemarle* had. His Lordship being declar'd Captain General and Admiral of all her Majesty's Settlements in the *West Indies*, *Mr. Graydon* was order'd with a Squadron to convoy the Lord *Peterborough*, and the Forces he was to take with him thither: And all People concern'd in the Plantations, were extremely pleas'd to see this Commission in so good Hands. Why this Lord did not, is a Question we cannot answer: And 'tis therefore enough for us to observe only, that *Mr. Graydon* went with the Men of War, and some Transports; and that the Voyage prov'd unfortunate both to him

and the Kingdom. In the mean time, Admiral *Bombow* hearing Commodore *Whetstone*, with several Ships, was abroad, sail'd to join him; but understanding Monsieur *Du Casse* was expected at *Le gane*, he went thither in search of him. In his Passage he took a *French Sloop*, and forc'd a *French Man of War* of 50 Guns to run her self ashoar at *Leogan*, where she blew up; he sunk another of the Enemy Ships of 16 Guns, took one of 30, another of 10, and a third of 6.

He afterwards went to *Petit Guaves*, and *Cap Donna Maria*; where he receiv'd Advice that Monsieur *Du Casse* was sail'd for *Carthagena*, and set Sail after him the 10th of *August*, towards the Coast of *St. Martha*, with the *Breda*, Capt. *Fog*, of 70 Guns on board which he was himself; the *Defiance*, Capt. *Richard Kirby* Commander, of 64 Guns; the *Winsor*, Capt. *John Constable*, of 60 Guns; the *Greenwicke*, Capt. *Cooper Wade*, of 54 Guns; the *Ruby*, Capt. *George Walton*, of 48 Guns; the *Pendennis*, Capt. *Thomas Hudson*, of 48 Guns; and the *Falmouth*, Capt. *Samuel Vincent*, of 48 Guns.

On the 15th, he came in Sight of Monsieur *Du Casse*, who had with him 4 stout Ships, from 66 to 70 Guns, one great Dutch-built Ship, of 30 or 40 Guns, and one small Ship, full of Soldiers, with a Sloop, and 3 other small Vessels. The Admiral immediately made a Signal for an Engagement, and attack'd the Enemy very bravely, maintaining the Fight 5 Days. If the other Ships of his Squadron had seconded him, he would certainly have taken and destroy'd all the *French*, but 4 of his Ships did not assist him. The *Ruby* was disabled on the 21st, and sent to *Port Royal*, and the whole Burthen lay upon the Admiral and the *Falmouth*; who however took a Prize, being an *English Vessel*, which the *French* had formerly taken. The *Breda* so disabled Monsieur *Du Casse's* second Ship, that she was tow'd away, and very much shatter'd the rest of his Squadron. The Admiral, on the 24th, had his Leg broken by Chain-shot, which yet did not discourage him from continuing the Fight; but not being able to prevail with his Captains to concur with him in his Design, he was oblig'd to give it over, and so *Du Casse*

to *Porto Bello*. He order'd the Offenders to be taken into Hold; and when he arriv'd at *Jamaica*, granted a Commission to Rear-Admiral *Whetstone*, who was then there, and other Officers, to try them. A Court Martial was held, and *Arnold Brown*, Esq; Judge Advocate, officiated in his Place on this Occasion. Col. *Kirby* and Capt. *Wade* were, for Cowardice and Breach of Orders, condemn'd to be shot to Death, but the Execution was respited till her Majesty's Pleasure should be known. Capt. *Constable* being clear'd of Cowardice, was for Breach of Orders cashier'd from her Majesty's Service, and condemn'd to Imprisonment, during her Royal Pleasure. Capt. *Hudson* dy'd before his Trial.

This Sentence was certainly very just; for during the whole Course of the Wars between *England* and *France*, never did two *Englishmen* bring such Dishonour upon their Country, as *Kirby* and *Wade*, thro' their Cowardice and Treachery. Besides the great Profit that they hinder'd the Nation of receiving, by the Destruction of *Du Casse*, and his Squadron, which perhaps would have prevented the *French* in all their Designs on the *West-Indies*, and forwarded the Reduction of the *Spanish* Dominions there: But this fair Opportunity was lost; and without the Gift of Prophecy we can foresee, we shall not soon have such another.

The Admiral liv'd till the 4th of *November*, and then dy'd of the Wound he receiv'd in the Engagement with *Du Casse*. Captain *Whetstone* took on him the Command of the Squadron of Men of War, which was then at *Port Royal*.

The Merchants there fitted out a great number of Privateers, and 9 or 10 of them attack'd a Place call'd *Boulou*, on the Continent, about 10 Leagues from *Orthagena*, which they took, plunder'd and burnt. From thence they sail'd to *Caledonia*, went up the River *Darién*, and perswaded the *Indians* to be their Guides; who in twelve Days carry'd them to the Gold Mines at *Santa Cruz de Cana*, near *Santa Maria*.

The 9th Day of their March, they fell in with an Out-Guard of 10 Men, which the *Spaniards* had posted at some Distance from the Place; of whom

they took nine, but the other escaping, gave Notice at the Mines of their Approach. Upon which the richest of the Inhabitants retir'd from thence, with their Money and Jewels. However the *English*, to the Number of 400 Men, being come up, took the Fort, and possess'd themselves of the Mine; where there remain'd about 70 Negroes, whom they set to work, and continu'd there 21 Days, in which time they got about 80 Pound Weight of Gold Dust. They also found several Parcels of Plate, which the *Spaniards* had bury'd when they left that Place. The *English*, at their Departure, burnt all the Town, except the Church, and return'd to their Sloops, carrying away the Negroes with them.

Some went further up the River, having a Design upon another Gold Mine, call'd *Chocoa*; and two of the Privateers, commanded by Captain *Plowman* and Captain *Gandy*, sail'd towards *Cuba*, landed near *Trinidado*; and with 100 Men took the Town burnt part of it, and brought off a very considerable Booty.

Col. Tho.
Handa-
syde Go-
vernour.

This Year Colonel *Thomas Handasyde* was appointed Lieutenant Governour of *Jamaica*; and Captain *Whetstone* having refitted his Ships, sail'd with 12 Men of War to look out the Enemy. But before we can give an Account of this Expedition we must take Notice of the dreadful Judgment which fell upon the rich and beautiful City of *Port Royal* for it then deserv'd that Name, and which so far bury'd it, that 'tis now no where to be seen, but in a Heap of Ruins.

On the 9th of *January*, 1707. between 11 and 12 in the Morning, a Fire happen'd through Carelessness in this Town, which before Night consum'd it, without leaving a House standing. The Place being situated on a small Neck of Land, surrounded by the Sea, and taken up wholly with Houses, and the Streets and Lanes narrow, admitted not of the Help which might have been otherwise given; and the People could not save so much of their Good as they might have done in a more open Place: However the two Royal Forts and Magazines did not receive any Damage, nor any of the Ship

Ships at Anchor, except one Brigantine and a Sloop, which were burnt. Most of the Merchants sav'd their Money and Books of Account, and some of them considerable Quantities of Merchandize, thro' the Assistance of Boats from the Men of War. The Governour, on this sad Occasion, summon'd the Assembly to meet at *Kingston*, recommended to them the Case of the poor Inhabitants, and acquainted them, that by the Advice of the Council he had made some Disbursements for that End; several Barrels of Beef, Flower, and fresh Provisions having been sent to them. Upon this Information, the Assembly unanimously resolv'd, That they would reimburse the Treasury, what had been or should be expended for the Relief and Support of the distress'd People, and pray'd the Governour and Council to continue their Care of them. They also, with the Concurrence of the Lieutenant Governour, took such further Resolutions, as were necessary for the Safety and Welfare of the Island in this Exigency. They voted, That *Port Royal* should not be rebuilt; but that the People should remove to *Kingston*, where Streets were laid out, and soon built and inhabited.

News of Vice-Admiral *Bembow's* Death coming to *England*, Vice-Admiral *Graydon* was order'd to *Jamaica*, to take on him the Command of the Squadron there. Before he arriv'd, Capt. *Whetstone* return'd to that Island, having been out from the 14th of *February* to the 29th of *April* following, *A. D.* 1703. He cruis'd about 5 Weeks on both Sides of *Hispaniola*, in hopes of meeting with a considerable Fleet of Merchant Ships; which, as he had been inform'd, was expected in those Parts, under a Convoy from *France*: But not being able to get any Account of them, he sail'd to *Petit Guaves* and *Leogane*, in the Gulph of *Hispaniola*; and for the better preventing any Ships escaping out of that Bay, he divided his Squadron, and sent Capt. *Vincent*, who had so bravely seconded Admiral *Bembow* in his Battle with *Du Casse*, with one half to the Southward, and himself steer'd with the rest to the Northward. As he had conjectur'd, three *French* Privateers, upon the Appearance of Capt. *Vincent*, and the Ships

with him, flood away immediately to the Northward, and so came in the Commodore's View, who chac'd one of 12 and another of 14 Guns aſhoar, where they were burnt, and the third of 10 Guns was taken. In the mean time, Capt. *Vincent* with his Boats row'd in the Night undiscover'd into the *Cul*, where there lay 4 Ships, of which the biggest was formerly taken from the *English*, and was call'd the *Selwin*. She had her full Cargo, and was richly laden, but all her Sails were aſhoar. Capt. *Vincent* burnt one, sunk another, and tow'd out a third, which was a *Conſort* of the Privateers; the fourth was boarded by one of the Boats Crews, but by Accident blew up. This allarm'd the Enemy at Land, and put them into a terrible Conſternation to ſee their Ships burning on both Sides of their Bay. The Squadron look'd into *Porto Paix*, on the North-Side, but found no Ships there. Theſe 4 Privateers were all the *French* had at *Hispaniola*, and were deſign'd to ſail with 500 Men to the North-Side of *Jamaica*, to make a Deſcent, and plunder and deſtroy the Country. The *English* brought away 120 Priſoners, and the *French* ſuffer'd a conſiderable Loſs in their Ships and Goods.

On the 5th of *June*, 1703. Vice-Admiral *Graydon* arriv'd at *Jamaica*, having on board 2000 Land Soldiers, whoſe Chief Commander was *Ventris Colenbine*, Eſq; Brigadier General of Foot, who dy'd on Ship-board, when the Ships were in Sight of the Iſland. Indeed there had been a great Mortality in the Fleet, and the Diſagreement between the two Climates of *England* and the *West-Indies* is ſuch, that 'tis very diſcouraging to ſend Soldiers thither; where they have no Enemy to fear ſo much, as the very Air they breathe. This cannot be ſaid of ſeaſon'd Men; but no Pretences to the contrary will prevail againſt a Truth confirm'd by ſo many ſad Experiences.

Kirby and *Wade*, the two cowardly Captains above-mention'd, being this Year ſent home Priſoners, under Sentence of Death, found a Warrant lodg'd for their Execution, aſſoon as they came to *Plimouth*, and they were accordingly ſhot a Ship-board: A juſt Example to all thoſe Traitors, who
take

ake Commissions only to fill their Pockets, and feed their Debaucheries, and have no Consideration for the Service of their Queen and Country.

On *Shrove-Tuesday*, as the People were at Church at *Kingston*, they felt a *Shake* of an Earthquake, which was small, and did no Damage.

The Men of War here, in 14 Days time, *A. D.* 1704. took 3 *French* Privateers, 120 Prisoners, and took a Sloop of *Jamaica*; so that these Seas were almost entirely clear'd of the Enemies Rovers. This Island was then very healthy; and the Merchants traded enough with the *Spaniards*, to fill it with Money. 'Tis to be wish'd they may have Encouragement in that Trade, and the best Encouragement is to secure it.

On the 7th of *May*, Capt. *Whetstone* (now Rear-Admiral) arriv'd at *Jamaica*, with 6 Men of War and 12 Merchant Ships from *England*. He took a Brigantine and a Sloop in his Passage. His Men were healthy, and so continu'd.

On the 6th of *June* he sail'd to cruize, and took off *Carthagena* a *French* Ship of 46 Guns, after a very resolute Defence made by the Captain. One of the *Jamaica* Privateers took another *French* Ship of 4 Guns.

Rear-Admiral *Whetstone* stay'd in these Parts till September, 1706. when he left Captain *Kerr* Commander in Chief of the Squadron which remain'd here.

Before he sail'd for *England*, the Cruizers of *Jamaica* brought in there 8 Prizes. One of them a *French* Merchant Ship, very richly laden, commanded by one *Cordier*, and taken by the *Experiment* Man of War, a Privateer of *Jamaica* being in Company. A *Dutch* Caper afterwards took a *Spanish* Advice-Boat of 14 Guns, bound for *St. Domingo*, and another of 22 Guns, bound for the *Havana*. Which shews us how advantagiously this Island is situated to annoy the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*, if proper Methods of doing it were pursu'd, and due Encouragement given to such as would undertake it.

The Behaviour of several Captains of Men of War in these Parts has been very infamous, and the Nation has suffer'd much by it.

In *January, 1705*. before the Arrival of Captain *Kerr*, her Majesty's Ships the *Bristol* and *Folkston* met with 10 Sail of Merchant Men bound from *Petie Guaves* to *France*, under Convoy of two *French* Men of War, one of 24, and another of 30 Guns; out of which Capt. *Anderson*, Commodore of the *English*, took 6 *French* Merchant-Men, laden with Sugar, *Cocao*, *Cocheneal*, and *Indigo*, and brought them to *Jamaica*; where, when he arriv'd, Admiral *Whetstone* held a Court of Admiralty, and Captain *Anderson* and the other Officers were condemn'd to lose their Commissions, for not engaging the two *French* Men of War.

The Merchants of *Jamaica* having been extremely abus'd by Capt. *Kerr*, and through his Negligence or Avarice, lost several Sloops bound thither from the *Spanish West-Indies* with Plate, they resolv'd to apply to the Parliament for Redress; accordingly they employ'd Mr. *Thomas Wood* to be their Agent in *England* on this Occasion, and he has with great Industry and Prudence prosecuted the Matter, so that Justice has been done the Merchants on the Offenders, and the chief of them has had his Commission taken from him, without Hopes of ever being employ'd in her Majesty's Service more.

C H A P. II.

Containing an Account of the Precincts, Towns, Forts, Climate, Soil, Product, Commodities, Animals, Diseases, &c. at Jamaica.

WE have already spoken of the Situation of this Island; to which we think fit to add here, that 'tis 140 Leagues from *Carthagena* to the South-West; 160 Leagues from *Rio de la Hache* in the same Country; of an Oval Figure, and according to the latest Surveys, is 170 Miles long where 'tis longest, and 70 broad, where 'tis broadest, which is about the Middle of the Island. Towards the two Ends it grows narrower by Degrees, till it terminates in two Points. It is said to contain about 5 Millions of Acres, of which one half are planted.

There's a Ridge of Hills, which divides it into two Parts, running from Sea to Sea, and out of them flow Abundance of Rivers, that render the Soil very fruitful, and are a great Help to the Inhabitants.

It abounds in excellent Bays on the Southern Coasts; as *Port Royal*, *Port Morant*, *Old Harbour*, *Point Negril*, *Port St. Francis*, *Michael's Hole*, *Miccary Bay*, *Allegator Pond*, *Point Pedro*, *Parattee Bay*, *Luana Bay*, *Blewfield's Bay*, *Cabarita's Bay*, and many more, all very commodious for Shipping.

The Isle is now divided into 16 Parishes, which lie thus, proceeding from *Point Morant*, round the Island. The first is the

Parish of *St. David's*. In which is a little Town call'd *Free Town*; and a Salt Work in *Tallah Bay*. *Port Morant* is in this Precinct, a safe and commodious Bay, where Ships ride secure from the Weather, and the Country about it is well planted. This Precinct sends two Members to the Assembly; and is fortify'd by a small Fort, where in War
Time

time 12 Men are kept in Pay. Wood and fresh Water are plenty in this Parish. And next to it is the

Parish of *Port Royal*; in which stands the Remains of one of the most beautiful and wealthy Towns in *America*; which gave its Name to the Parish. The Town of *Port Royal* was formerly called *Coguary*; and when 'twas in being, stood on that long Neck of Land which ran above 10 Miles into the Sea, but is so very narrow, that 'tis not a Bow-shot over in some Places.

On the very Point of this Neck the *English* chose to build their Capital City, for it deserv'd the Name 15 Years ago. There were so many Houses upon the Neck then, that it look'd like one City. The reason of their building here, was for the Convenience of the Harbour; for the Shore is so bold, and the Sea so deep, that Ships of the greatest Burthen laid their Broad-sides to the Merchants Wharfs, and loaded and unloaded with very little Trouble or Charge. This Point of Land makes the Harbour, which is as safe as any in *America* for Shipping, having the *Main Land* on the *North* and *East*, the Town on the *South*; so 'tis open only to the *South-West*.

A Thousand Sail of Ships may ride here, and be secure from all Winds that blow. The Entrance into it is fortify'd by *Fort Charles*, the strongest Fort in the *English American* Dominions, with a Line of Battery of 60 Pieces of Cannon, a Garrison of Soldiers maintain'd by the Crown in constant Pay. The Harbour is about 3 Leagues broad, and so deep, that 'tis able to receive the largest Fleet of the greatest Ships in the World.

The great River on which *St. Jago*, or *Spanish Town* stands, runs into the Sea in this Bay. Here the Ships generally take in their Wood and fresh Water. The Convenience of Anchorage, and Depth of Water, by which means a Ship of 1000 Tuns may put Plank ashore here, made this the chief Port and Town of the Island for drawing Merchants hither. They were soon follow'd by Shop-keepers, Vintners and other Trades, insomuch that when the dreadful Calamity of the Earthquake happen'd, there were 2000 handsom Houses in the City; the Rents of which were as dear as those in *London*. It rais'd a whole Regiment

giment of Militia ; and yet, excepting the Convenience of the Harbour, the Situation of it is neither good nor commodious, there being no Wood, nor fresh Water, Stone, nor Grass on the Neck. The Soil is a hot dry Sand, and the Resort of Merchants, Mariners and others, for Traffick thither, render'd it always like a Fair, which made every thing extremely dear there. There was a very large Church, with a Minister, who had an Allowance of 250*l.* a Year, by Act of the Assembly, to which this Parish sends 3 Members.

This Town, as has been said, was destroy'd by an Earthquake in the Year 1692. and ten Years after, when it was rebuilt, by a Fire. Upon which the Assembly voted that it should not be built again ; but that the Inhabitants should remove to *Kingston*, in *St. Andrew's* Parish, which was made a Town and Parish of it self. They also prohibited any Market for the future at *Port Royal*. But the Convenience that invited the People to build there at first, will, 'tis probable, in time, tempt them to rebuild, and make 'em forget the terrible Judgments which seem to forbid any future dwelling on a Place that Heaven dooms to Destruction. Next to it is,

St. Andrew's Parish ; in which stood the Town of *Kingston*, on the Harbour of *Port Royal* ; but now that Place is made a Parish of it self. This Precinct sends two Representatives to the Assembly, and allows the Minister 100*l.* a Year.

Parish of *Kingston*, to which by an Act of the Assembly in the Year 1695. the Quarter Sessions for the Peace, and Court of Common Pleas were remov'd. The Secretary, Receiver General, and Naval Officer, were oblig'd to keep their Offices there ; and it had the Privilege of sending 3 Representatives to the Assembly. It is much encreas'd since *Port Royal* was burnt, and is now a large Town of 7 or 800 Houses. It lies on the Harbour of *Port Royal* ; the Parish is bounded by it to the *South-West*, and *North* by the Lands of the late Sir *William Beeston*, and continu'd from a Calabash on the *North-East* Corner by a strait Line to the Foot of the long Mountain, and from thence till it meets with the Bounds of the Parish of *Port Royal*.

St. *Katherine's* Parish; in which is the little Town of *Passage Fort*, situated at the Mouth of the River that runs up to St. *Jago*, six Miles from that Town, and as many from *Port Royal*. There are about 200 Houses in the Town; which was built chiefly for the Entertainment of Passengers from *Port Royal* to St. *Jago*. There's a Fort mounted with 10 or 12 Guns, for the Security of that River. 'Twas call'd *Passage*, from the *Passage-Boats* coming always thither to land such as went from one Town to t'other. This Precinct sends 3 Representatives to the Assembly, and allows the Minister 100 *l.* a Year. There's a River in this Parish, call'd *Black River*; over which is a Bridge. Six Miles up in the Country is the Parish of,

St. *John's*, one of the most pleasant, fruitful, and best inhabited Spots of Ground in *Jamaica*; as one may imagine by the Names of 3 Plantations, contiguous to one another, *Spring Vale*, *Golden Vale*, and *Spring Garden*. It sends two Representatives to the Assembly, and allows the Minister 100 *l.* a Year; but is most famous for being in the Neighbourhood of,

Spanish Town, or St. *Jago*; the Capital of the Island when the *Spaniards* were Masters, as 'tis also at present. Before the *English* burnt it, when they conquer'd it, it contain'd above 2000 Houses, had 16 Churches and Chappels; but after they had exercis'd their Fury upon it, there were left only the Remains of 2 Churches, and about 5 or 600 Houses, some of which were very pleasant and habitable.

'Twas founded by *Christopher Columbus*, who call'd it, St. *Jago de la Vega*, as we have hinted before; and he reciprocally receiv'd the Title of *Duke de la Vega* from this City.

There's a *Savana*, or Plain, which faces the Town, where Thousands of Sheep, Goats, Calves, and Horses graz'd, when the *Spaniards* own'd it. The Back-side of the Town is wash'd by a fair but un-navigable River, which falls into the Sea at *Passage Fort*. 'Tis a fine large Stream, and runs by the Sides of the Town, serving all the People for Drinking, and other Uses. The *Spaniards* call'd it *Rio Cobre*, or the *Copper River*, from its running over that Mineral.

This

This Town, or rather City, is 12 Miles from *Port Royal*, and the *English* like it so well, that they have made it the Capital of the Island. The Governour and his Successors at first chose it for the Place of their Residence; the principal Courts of Judicature are kept here. The chief Officers are oblig'd to attend here, where the Seat of the Government is; and by this means, and the Fate of *Port Royal*, this City is so much enlarg'd, that there are now 2000 Houses in it, as there were before the *English* conquer'd it.

'Tis a very pleasant City, and the Inhabitants live in a great deal of Pomp and Luxury. The *Savanna* before the Town is the Place of Rendezvous every Evening for the People of Fashion; as the *Park* is at *London*, and the *Cours* at *Paris*.

The Night-Guard here consists of Horse as well as Foot, 3 Troopers and a Corporal, and 6 Foot Soldiers and a Corporal. It sends 3 Representatives to the Assembly. The Supream Court of Judicature is kept here. Next to it is,

St. Dorothy's Parish; in which is *Old Harbour*, a Hick. out 4 or 5 Leagues to the *Leward* of *St. Fago*. 'Tis a good Road, and a little Gulph; which may as conveniently serve *Spanish Town* as *Port Royal*. 4 or 500 all Ships may ride there, without Danger of falling foul upon one another. This Precinct sends 2 Representatives to the Assembly, and allows the Minister 6 *l. per Annum*; as do all the following Parishes, ordering on *St. Dorothy's*. On the same Shore is,

Vere Parish; in which is a small Place call'd *Carrieste*, of 10 or 20 Houses; and *Maccary Bay*, very safe for Shipping. It also sends 2 Representatives to the Assembly. Next to it is,

St. Elizabeth Parish, which sends 2 Representatives to the Assembly, and is the last Parish on the *Southern* Coasts of the Island. In the Bay into which *Blewfeld's* River runs, not far from the Shoar, was the Town of *Oristan*, which the *Spaniards* built when they first settl'd upon this Island.

There are Abundance of Rocks off this Coast, and some Isles among the Shoals; as *Seruiavilla*, *Quitesevea*, and *Serrana*. 'Tis said, *Augustino Pedro Serrana* was cast away here, and himself only sav'd; that he liv'd 3 Years in this Island by himself; that then there

was

was another Seaman thrown ashore, who was the only Man of all his Company that was sav'd; and these two liv'd four Years more before they were taken off. There are several Plantations to the *Westward* as far as *Point Negril*, which is the *Lands-End* of *Jamaica*, 'tis a good Harbour, and Ships are shelter'd there from the Weather. It lies convenient in Case of a Rupture with *Spain*, for our Men of War to wait there for the *Spaniards* passing to or from the *Havana*; and 'twas there that Admiral *Bembow* waited for *Du Casse*, when *Kirby* and his other Captains deserted him.

A little farther to the *North-West* stood the City of *Seville*, situated on the *Northern Coast* near the Sea. 'Twas the second Town built by the *Spaniards*. There was formerly a Collegiate Church there; the Head of which was honour'd with the Title of an Abbot *Peter Martyr*, who wrote the *Decades of the West Indies*, was Abbot of this Monastery.

Eleven Leagues further *Eastward* was the City of *Mellila*, the first the *Spaniards* built. Here *Columbus* suffer'd Shipwrack, in his Return from *Veragua* in *Mexico*. This City stood in,

St. James Parish; which sends 2 Members to the Assembly. This Precinct is but thinly inhabited, and is also the next to it,

St. Annes: It sends 2 Representatives to the Assembly. The same does,

Clarendon; an Inland Precinct, better peopl'd and planted.

St. Marys is next to *St. Annes*, and sends also two Members to the Assembly. To *Rio Novo*, in this Parish, the *Spaniards* retreated, when the *English* had driven them from the South Coast of the Island. Considering on this Precinct is,

St. Thomas in the Vale, which is pretty well planted, and sends 2 Representatives to the Assembly. Next to this is,

St. George's Parish; which sends 2 Members to the Assembly: As does,

St. Thomas, in the *North-East* part of the Island. On the *Northern Coast* is *Port Francis*, by some call *Port Antonio*; one of the best Ports in *Jamaica*. 'Tis close, and well cover'd; and has but one Faul
whic

which is, the Entrance into it is not very easy; the Channel being streighten'd by a little Island that lies at the Mouth of the Port. 'Tis call'd *Lynch Island*, but belong'd to the Earl of *Carlisle*, of the Family of the *Howards*, who was once Governour of *Jamaica*.

There are several good Harbours on the *Northern* as well as on the *Southern* Shore; as *Cold Harbour*, *Rio Novo*, *Montega Bay*, *Orange Bay*: But the *South* parts being best peopled, is most frequented: And there's nothing more in any of these *Northern* Pre-nects worth the Reader's Curiosity, unless we enter'd into the Natural History of the Country; which the learned *Dr. Sloan* has publish'd, after he had been several Years about it.

The Difference in the Riches of these Counties, & Parishes, will be seen by their Valuation, in a late Tax of 450 *l.* laid upon the whole Country, for their Agents in *England*.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>Port Royal,</i>	49	10	10
<i>St. Andrews,</i>	52	17	5
<i>St. Katherines,</i>	56	16	3
<i>St. Dorothy,</i>	25	3	1
<i>Vere,</i>	47	1	8
<i>Clarendon,</i>	42	1	8
<i>St. Elizabeth,</i>	51	6	8
<i>St. Thomas in the N. E.</i>	27	10	0
<i>St. Davids,</i>	16	11	0
<i>St. Thomas in the Vale,</i>	21	9	0
<i>St. John,</i>	15	8	3
<i>St. George,</i>	3	15	6
<i>St. Marys,</i>	11	13	7
<i>St. Annes,</i>	7	2	6
<i>St. James,</i>	2	16	8
<i>Kingston,</i>	19	5	0

The Soil of *Jamaica* is good and fruitful every where, especially in the *Northern* Parts, where the Soil is blackish, and in many Places mix'd with *otters-Earth*; in others, as towards the *South East*, the Soil is reddish and sandy. Take it altogether, it is extremely fertile, and very well answers the In-

dustry of the Planter. The Plants and Trees are always blooming, and always green, of one sort or another; and every Month there resembles our *April* and *May*.

There's Abundance of *Savanas*, or Lands of *Indian* Corn. These *Savanas* are found up and down even among the Mountains, particularly *Northward* and *Southward*; where there are great Numbers of wild Beasts, tho not so many as when the *English* came first there.

The *Indians* us'd to sow Maze in those *Savana*. and the *Spaniards* bred their Cattle which they brought from *Spain*; as Horses, Cows, Hogs, and Asses, which multiply'd to such a degree, that not many Years ago Herds of wild Cattle were found in the Woods, as also wild Horses.

The *English* kill'd vast Quantities of Oxen and Cows when they were Masters of the Island; yet there were an incredible Number still left in the Woods, whether the *Spaniards* drove them from the Conquerors.

The *Savanas* are now the most barren Parts of the Island, which proceeds from their not being at all cultivated: However there grows such Plenty of Grass, that the Inhabitants have been forc'd to buy it.

As *Jamaica* is the most *Northerly* of all the *Caribbee* Islands, the Climate is more temperate, and there's no Country between the *Tropicks* where the Heat is more moderate, and less troublesome. The Air is always cool'd by the *Eastern* Breezes, frequent Rains, and Nightly Dews, which before the terrible Revolution in the Course of Nature by the Earthquake made the Place very healthy, and all things look smiling and pleasant there in all Seasons.

The *Eastern* and *Western* Parts of the Island are more subject to rainy and windy Weather, than the *Northern* and *Southern*; and the thick Forests they render 'em not so agreeable as to the *Southward* and *Northward*, which is a more open Country, and less subject to Wind and Rain. The Air in the mountainous Parts is cooler, and frosty Mornings have been often known upon the Hills.

Before the dreadful Hurricane, which overwhelm'd
 so many Hundreds of its Inhabitants, in 1692. this
 Island was not troubled with Tempests, like the o-
 ther *Sugar Islands*; neither were their Ships driven
 ashore in their Harbours, nor their Houses blown
 down over their Heads, as at *Barbadoes* and the
Leeward Islands; but they can now no more boast of
 that Advantage over their Neighbours.

The Weather us'd to be more various and uncer-
 tain than in the *Charibbee Islands*. The Months of
May and *November* are wet Months; and *Winter* is
 known from *Summer* only by Rain and Thunder,
 which are then more violent than at other times of
 the Year. The *Easterly* Breezes begin to blow about
 a Clock in the Morning, and grow stronger as the
 sun rises; by which means People may travel or
 work in the Field all Hours of the Day.

The Nights and Days are almost of an equal Length
 all the Year long, and there's hardly any Difference
 to be perceiv'd. The Tides seldom rise above a
 foot high. Storms are very rare, and few or no
 Ships were ever cast away on these Coasts. But
 there being a curious Account of the Weather, Soil,
 Water, Diet, and other Things relating to *Jamaica*,
 communicated to the *Royal Society* by Dr.
Roberts, who made these Observations, I shall, for the
 satisfaction of the Reader, give him an Abstract of

The Wind at Night blows off the Island of *Jamaica*
 every way at once, so that no Ship can any where
 come in by Night; nor go out, but early in the
 Morning, before the Sea-breeze comes on. As the
 sun declines the Clouds gather and *shape* accor-
 ding to the Mountains; so that old Seamen will tell
 you each Island towards the Evening, by the *Shape*
 of the Cloud over it.

Lowth.
 Abridg.
 Phil. Transf.
 Vol. 3. P.
 548. & seq.

As there are certain Trees that attract the Rains,
 as the Woods are destroy'd, the Rains are also de-
 roy'd, or at least abated. At *Port Morant*, the *Ea-*
sternmost Part of the Island, there's little of Land
 rise, because the Mountain is remote from thence,
 and the Breeze coming thence, spends its Force along
 the Land thither.

In the Harbour of *Jamaica* there grow many Rocks, shap'd like Bucks and Stags Horns. There grow also several Sea-Plants, whose Roots are stony. At the *Point* in *Jamaica*, where *Port Royal* stood, scarce fall 40 Showers a Year. From the *Point* towards *Port Morant*, and so along to *Liguanea*, 6 Miles from *Port Royal*, there's scarce an Afternoon for 8 or 9 Months together, beginning from *April* in which it rains not. At *Spanish Town* it rains but three Months in a Year, and then not much. At the *Point*, where-ever one digs 5 or 6 Foot, Water will appear, which ebbs and flows as the Tide; not salt but brackish, unwholsome for Men, but wholsome for Hogs.

Passengers, when they first come to *Jamaica* sweat continually in great Drops for three Quarter of a Year, and then it ceases; yet they are not more dry than in *England*, neither does all that sweating make them faintish. If any one is dry, his Thirst is best quench'd by a little Brandy. Most Animals drink little or nothing there. The hottest time of the Day is about Eight in the Morning, when there is no *Brise*.

In *Magotti Savana*, in the midst of the Island, between *St. Mary's* and *St. John's Precincts*, when ever it rains, the Rain, as it settles on the Seams of an Garment, turns in half an Hour to Maggots, yet that Plain is healthy to dwell in: Tho Water is found every where 5 or 6 Foot deep at the *Point*, yet there rises no Steam into the Air from the Sands; for Men often lie all Night, and sleep on them, without receiving any Hurt.

The Sea *Brise* comes not into *Jamaica* till 8 or 9 in the Morning, and commonly ceases about 4 or 5 in the Evening. But sometimes the Sea *Brise* blows in the Winter Months 14 Days and Nights together and then no Clouds gather, but Dews fall. But if North-Wind blows, which sometimes in the Winter Months lasts as long, then no Dews fall, nor Clouds gather. The Clouds begin to gather at 2 or 3 of the Clock in the Afternoon, at the Mountains; the rest of the Skie being clear till Sun-set.

As for the Product of the Island, 'tis much the same with *Barbadoes*. We shall take notice in what

it differs, as we proceed in our Discourse on this Subject.

The Sugar of *Jamaica* is brighter and of a finer Grain than the common *Barbadoes* Muscovado, and sells in *England* for 5 or 6 Shillings in the Hundred more, being fit for Grocers, whereas the *Barbadoes* unpurg'd Sugars must generally pass thro' the Refiners Hands first. So long ago as the Year 1670. there were 70 Mills in *Jamaica*, which made about 2000000 Pound of Sugar; but that Quantity is encreas'd to ten times as much since.

At *Jamaica*, the Sugar cures faster in 10 Days, Ib. p. 554. than in 6 Months at *Barbadoes*; and this happens on those Places, where it rains for many Months together. Rains are sudden here, and make no previous Alterations in the Air before they fall, nor do they leave it moist afterwards.

There is more *Cocao* comes from thence than from all our Colonies. But 'tis now no longer a Commodity to be regarded in our Plantations, tho at first it was the principal Invitation to the peopling *Jamaica*. For those Walks the *Spaniards* left behind them there, when we conquer'd it, produc'd such prodigious Profit with little Trouble, that Sir *Thomas* Sir Dalby Modiford, and several others, set up their Rests to Thomas's grow wealthy by it, and fell to planting much of it, Hist. Acc. which the *Spanish* Slaves, who remain'd in the Island, of the Rise and Growth always foretold would never thrive, and so it hap- of the West India Co- pen'd; for tho it promis'd fair, and throve finely lonies. or 6 Years, yet still at that Age, when so long Hopes and Care had been wasted about it, it wither'd and dy'd away, by some unaccountable Cause, tho they impute it to a black Worm or Grub, which they find clinging to its Root.

The Manner of planting it is in Order like our Cherry Gardens. They place a Plantain by every Tree; and when 'tis grown up, it resembles a Cherry Tree. It delights in Shade, and for that Reason has the Plantain set by it. The *Cocao* Walks are kept clear from Grass by Hoing and Weeding. The Trees begin to bear at 3, 4, or 5 Years old; and had they not almost always die before, would come to Perfection at 15 Years Growth, and last till 30; which renders them the most profitable Trees in the

World, one Acre of them having clear'd above 200 l. in a Year : But the old Trees planted by the *Spaniards*, being gone by Age, and few new thriving, as the *Spanish* Negroes foretold, little or none now is produc'd, worthy the Care and Pains in planting and expecting it. Those Slaves ascribe its not coming to Perfection to a superstitious Cause, many Religious Rites being perform'd at its planting by the *Spaniards*, which their Slaves were not permitted to see : But 'tis probable that wary Nation, as they remov'd the Art of making *Cocheneal*, and curing *Venelloes*, into their Inland Provinces, which were the Commodities of the Islands in the *Indians* time, and forbad the opening any Mines in them, for fear some Maritime Nation might be tempted to conquer them; so in transplanting the *Cocao* from the *Caracus* and *Quatamela* on the Continent, they might conceal wilfully some Secret in its Planting from their Slaves.

Cocao grows on the Trees in Bags or Cods of greenish, red or yellow Colours, every Cod having in it 3, 4 or 5 Kernels, about the Bigness and Shape of small Chesnuts; which are separated from each other, by a very pleasant refreshing white Substance, about the Consistence of the Pulp of a roasted Apple, moderately sharp and sweet, from which its Nuts are taken, when ripe; and by drying, cur'd.

Lowth.
Vol. 2.
p. 662.

The Body of a *Cocao* Tree is commonly about 4 Inches Diameter, 5 Foot in Height, and above 12 from the Ground to the Top of the Tree. These Trees are very different one from another; for some shoot up in 2 or 3 Bodies, others in one. Their Leaves are many of them dead, and most discolour'd, unless on very young Trees. A bearing Tree generally yields from 2 to 8 Pound of Nuts a Year, and each Cod contains from 20 to 30 Nuts.

The Manner of Curing them is to cut them down when ripe, and to lay them to sweat 3 or 4 Days in the Cods; which is done by laying them on Heaps. After this the Cods are cut, the Nuts taken out, and put into a Trough, cover'd with Plantane Leaves: where they sweat again about 16 or 20 Days. The Nuts that are in each Cod are knit together by certain Fibres, and have a white kind of Pulp
about

about them, very agreeable to the Pallat, as has been hinted before. By the Turning and Sweating their little Strings are broken, and the Pulp is imbib'd and mingled with the Substance of the Nut. After this they are put to dry 3 or 4 Weeks in the Sun, and then they become of a reddish dark Colour. The Cods grow only out of the Body, or great Limbs and Boughs; at the same Place there are Blossoms, and young and ripe Fruit.

The greatest Crop at most of the *Cocao Walks* in *Jamaica*, is in *December* or *January*; but at one of *Col. Modisford's Walks*, they bear most in *May*, yet 'tis not above 5 Mile from those Walks that bear in *December* always; but those that bear then have some Fruit in *May*, as the others have in *December*. 'Tis planted first in the Night, always under Shade. Some set them under *Cassave*, others under Plantane Trees, and some in their Woods. The *Spaniards* us'd a certain large shady Plant, call'd by them *Madre di Cocao*, the Mother of *Cocao*. The *English* use the others only. It must always be shelter'd from the North-East Winds.

The People at *Jamaica* seldom transplant it, only where it falls, as it does often in open, poor and dry Lands; for this Tree requires to have a flat, moist, low Soil, which makes them to be planted commonly by Rivers, and between Mountains. 'Tis an Observation, that 'tis ill living where there are good *Cocao Walks*. In a Year's time, the Plant becomes 4 Foot high, and has a Leaf six times as big as an old Tree, which as the Plant grows bigger, falls of, and a lesser comes in its Place. The Trees are almost always planted at two Foot Distance; and sometimes at 3 Years old, where the Ground is good, and the Plant prosperous, it begins to bear a little, and then they cut down all, or some of the Shade. The Fruit encreases till the 10 or 12th Year, when the Tree is suppos'd to be in its Prime. The Root generally shoots out *Suckers*, that supply the Place of the old Stock, when dead, or cut down, unless any ill Quality of the Ground or Air kill both.

Cocao was originally of these *Indies*, and wild. Towards *Maracajo* are several Spots of it in the

Mountains; and 'tis said the *Portugueze* have lately discover'd whole Woods of it up the River *Maronon*. The *Cocao* passes for Money in *New Spain* and the *Silver Countries*.

The following Account is a Calculation of the Charge and Profit of a *Cocao Walk*, as 'twas drawn up by Sir *Thomas Modiford*, Bar', who had the best in *Jamaica*.

	l.
For the Pattent of 500 Acres of Land, when the Country was first conquer'd,	10
For 3 Men and 3 Women Negroes, at 20 l. a Head,	120
Four White Servants, their Passage and Maintenance, at 20 l. a Head,	80
20 Hatchets, 20 Pick-Axes, and 20 Spades,	5
The Maintenance of 6 Negroes 6 Months, till Provisions can be rais'd for them,	18
For an Overseer, 40 s. a Month.	24
	257

These Men must begin to work the first Day of *March*, and build themselves Huts, plant Potatoes, Corn, and Plantains; and when the Plantation is ready to receive them, there must be bought 5 Negro Men and 5 Negro Women more, at 20 l. a Head, 200 l. And at the latter End of *March* the Planter must plant his *Cocao*, either in the Nut or Seed, between Rows of Plantains, of 6 Foot high. Twenty one Acres will be proper to be planted every Year; and by the first of *June* in the following Year, the Walk will be full of *Cocao*s; which in 4 Years time will bear Fruit, and in the fifth be fit to gather. Every Acre will produce 1000 Weight yearly, which was then worth 4 l. a 100 in the Island. Thus every twenty one Acres will every Year produce to the Value of 840 l. Sterling.

The Charges of Gathering and Housing the Fruit is inconsiderable; a few Bags, and some other odd things, which in all amount to 43 l. 10 s. So that the whole Expence is but 500 l. and the Charge lessens very Year, but the Profit encreases, according to the Number of Acres planted. 'Tis to be observ'd, that

that this Calculation was made when the Place was first settled; but 'twill serve to give the Reader some Idea of the Advantage of such a Walk at this time, for in most things it holds the same. Land and Negroes are dearer, but the latter is a temporary Scarcity, and the former not so hard to be come at, for enough may be had in the Northern Precincts on easy Terms.

As to Indigo, there's more produc'd in *Jamaica* than in any other Colony, by Reason of the great Quantity of *Savana* Land; for it thrives best in light sandy Ground, such as those *Savanas* or great Plains are. The Seed from whence 'tis rais'd is yellow and round, something less than a Fitch or Tare. The Ground is made light by Hoing, then Trenches are dug, like those our Gardners prepare for Pease, in which the Seed is put about *March*. It grows ripe in 8 Weeks time; and in fresh broken Ground will spire up to about 3 Foot high, but in others to no more than 18 Inches. The Stalk is full of Leaves, of a deep green Colour; and will, from its first sowing, yield 9 Crops in one Year. When 'tis ripe, it is cut, and steeped in proportionable Fats 24 Hours; when it must be clear'd from the first Water, and put into proper Cisterns; where, when it has been carefully beaten, 'tis permitted to settle about 18 Hours. In these Cisterns are several Taps, which let the clear Water run out, and the thick is put into Linnen Bags, of about 3 Foot long, and half a Foot wide, made commonly of Ozenbrigs, which being hung up, all the liquid Part drips away. When 'twill drip no longer, 'tis put into Wooden Boxes, 3 Foot long, 14 Inches wide, and 1 and a half deep. These Boxes must be plac'd in the Sun, till it grows too hot, and then taken in till the extreme Heat is over. This must be done continually till 'tis sufficiently dry'd. Ibid.

In Land that proves proper for Indigo, the Labour of one Hand in a Year's time, will produce between 80 and 100 Weight, which may amount from 12 to 15 *l.* to the Planter, if no Accident happen; for Indigo, as well as other Commodities in those Parts, is subject to many. The most common are Blasting and Worms; by which 'tis frequently destroy'd.

Pimento is another natural Production of *Jamaica*; from whence 'tis call'd *Jamaica Pepper*, alluding to its Figure, and the chief Place of its Growth. The Trees that bear it are generally very tall and spreading.

Lowth.
Vol. 2.
p. 663.

'Its Trunk is as thick as one's Thigh, as Dr. *Sloan* who liv'd in *Jamaica*, informs us. It rises streight above thirty Foot high, is cover'd with an extraordinary smooth Skin, of a grey Colour; 'tis branch'd out on every Hand, having the End of its Twig set with Leaves of several Sizes, the largest being 4 or 5 Inches long, and 2 or 3 broad in the Middle where it is broadest, and whence it decreases to both Extreams, ending in a Point smooth, thin shining, without any Incisures, of a deep green Colour, and standing on *Inch-long Foot-stalks*; when bruis'd, very odoriferous, and in all things like the Leaves of a Bay Tree. The Ends of the Twigs are branch'd into Bunches of Flowers, each Foot-stalk sustaining a Flower bending back; within which Bend are many *Stamina*, of a pale green Colour. To these follows a Bunch of Crown'd Berries, the Crown being made up of 4 small Leaves, which are bigger when ripe than Juniper Berries; at first, when small, greenish; but when they are ripe, black, smooth and shining, containing in a moist green Aromatick Pulp, two large Seeds separated by a Membrane, each of which is a Hemisphere, and both join'd make a Spherical Seed. It grows on all the Hilly Part of the Island of *Jamaica*, but chiefly in the North Side; and where ever these Trees grow, they are generally left standing, when other Trees are fell'd: And they are sometimes planted where they never grew because of the great Profit from the Cur'd Fruit exported yearly in great Quantities into *Europe*.

How this Planting can be reconcil'd to what *Sir Dalby Thomas* writes of the cutting down these Trees, let the Knight and the Doctor adjust between them.

Hist. Ac.
of the Rise
and Growth
of the West
India Co-
lonies.

The Knight says, the Trouble of Gathering would make it incredibly dear, had not the People of *Jamaica* found out an easier Method of coming at it

The Trees that are left grow generally in Mountains and Woods, which are not taken up for Planting, but remain in the Queen's Hands; and the Inhabitants go with their Slaves into the Woods, where 'tis plenty, and cutting down the Trees, pick off from the Branches.

Thus no *Pimento* comes into *Europe* twice from one Tree; and it happening to miss for two or three years together, what it produces at present, must be counted an accidental Benefit to the Planters, rather than any thing to be rely'd on as a National Advantage, or constant Encouragement. The same may be said of *Lignum Vitæ*, *Guaiacum*, of *Red-wood*, and several other sorts of Trees, which come from hence; for the more comes, the less remains: And the time requir'd for the growing of these hard Woods, in the room of such as are cut down, is, in human Reason, so many Hundreds of Years, that the proposing to plant them, would be rather Madness than Foresight.

The *Jamaica* Pepper-tree, according to Dr. *sloan*,^{Lowth.} flowers in *June*, *July* and *August*; but sooner or later,^{Vol. 2. p. 663.} according to their Situation, and different Season for Rains; and after it flowers, the Fruit soon ripens: But 'tis to be observ'd, that in clear'd open grounds 'tis sooner ripe than in thick Woods. There's no great Difficulty in the curing or preserving this Fruit for Use. 'Tis for the most part done by the Negroes. They climb the Trees, and pull off the Twigs with the unripe green Fruit, and afterwards carefully separate the Fruit from the Twigs and Leaves; which done, they expose them to the Sun, from the rising to the setting, for many Days, spreading them thin on Cloaths, turning them now and then, and carefully avoiding the Dews, which are here very great. By this means they become a little wrinkled, and from a green change to a brown Colour, when they are fit for the Market, being of different Sizes, but commonly of the Bigness of Black-Pepper, something like, in Smell and Taste, to Cloves, Juniper-Berries, Cinnamon and Pepper; or rather having a peculiar mixt Smell, somewhat akin to all of them; from whence 'tis call'd, *Allspice*.

The more fragrant and smaller they are, they are accounted the better. 'Tis deservedly reckon'd (adds the Doctor) *the best and most temperate, mild and innocent of common Spices, and fit to come into greater Use, and to gain more Ground than it has, of the East-India Commodities of this Kind; almost all of which it far surpasses, by promoting the Digestion of Meat, attenuating tough Humours, moderately heating and strengthening the Stomach, expelling Wind, and doing those friendly Offices to the Bowels, which we expect from Spices.*

The *Wild Cinamon Tree*, commonly, tho' falsely call'd *Cortax Winteranus*, grows in this Island. Its Trunk is about the Bigness of that of the *Piement Tree*, and rises 20 or 30 Foot high, having many Branches and Twigs hanging downwards, making very comely Top. The Bark consists of two Parts: one outward, and another inward. The outward Bark is as thin as a mill'd Shilling, of a whitish, or grey Colour, with some white Spots here and there upon it, and several shallow Furrows of a darker Colour, running variously through it, making it rough, of an Aromatick Taste. The inward Bark is much thicker than Cinamon, being as thick as mill'd Crown Piece, smooth, of a whiter Colour than the outward, of a much more biting and aromatick Taste, something like that of Cloves, and not glutinous like Cinamon, but dry, and crumbling between the Teeth. The Leaves come out near the Ends of the Twigs, without any Order standing on *Inch-long Foot-stalks*, each of them two Inches in Length, and one in Breadth near the End where broadest, and roundish, being narrow at the Beginning; from whence it augments in Breadth towards its End, of a yellowish green Colour, shining and smooth, without any Incisures about its Edges and somewhat resembling the Leaves of *Bay*. The Ends of the Twigs are branch'd into Bunches of Flowers, standing something like *Umbels*, each of which has a *Foot-stalk*; on the Top of which is a Calix, made up of some little Leaves, in which stand scarlet or purple *Potala*, within which is a large *Stylis*; to these follow so many *Calycalated Berries*, of the Bigness of a large Pea, roundish, green, and containing

aining within a mucilaginous, pale, green, thin Pulp, four black shining Seeds, of an irregular Figure.

All the Parts of this Tree, when fresh, are very hot, aromattick, and biting to the Taste, something like Cloves; which is so troublesome, as sometimes to need the Remedy of fair Water. It grows in the *Savana* Woods, very frequently on each side of the Road, between *Passage Fort* and the Town of *St. Jago de la Vega*. The Bark of the Tree is what is chiefly in Use, both in the *English* Plantations between the *Tropicks* in the *West Indies*, and in *Europe*, and is without any Difficulty cur'd, by only cutting off the Bark, and letting it dry in the Shade. The more ordinary sort of People use it in the *West Indies* instead of all other Spices, being thought very good to consume the *immoderate Humidity of the Stomach*, to help *Digestion*, and expel *Wind*, &c. Rum looses its noisome Smell if mix'd with this Bark.

The true *Cortex Winteranus*, for which the Druggists sell this wild Cinamon, was brought by Capt. *Winter*, who accompany'd Sir *Francis Drake* in his Voyage round the World from the Streights of *Magellan*.

The so fam'd Tree call'd, a *Cabbage Tree*, is (says Dr. *Stubbs*) nothing else than a Palm-Tree; and all that is eaten in the Cabbage, is what sprouted out that Year, and so is tender. If eaten raw, 'tis as good as any new Almonds; and if boil'd, excels the best Cabbage; when that Top is cut off, the Tree dies. The Timber will never rot; and when 'tis dry'd, grows so hard, that one cannot drive a Nail into it. Ib. Vol. 3. p. 554.

There's a Tree in *Jamaica* call'd, the *Bastard Cedar*, whose Wood is so porous (tho none would guess so upon View) that being turn'd into Cups, Wine and Brandy will soak through at the Bottom in a short time.

There's a Tree call'd *Whitewood*, of which if Ships are built, they will never breed any Worm. The *Soap Tree* grows at the *Spanish Town*, with Berries as big as Musket-Bullets; which of themselves, without any mixt Ingredient whatsoever, washes better than any *Castle-Soap*; but they rot the Linnen in time.

The

The Juice of *Cassavi* is rank Poison, all Hogs and Poultry that drink it swell and die presently. If the Root be roasted, 'tis no Poison, but only occasions Torfions in the Belly.

The *Palma* yields a prodigious Quantity of Oil and it might easily be made a staple Commodity 'Tis the only Remedy of *Indians* and *Negroes* for the Head-Ach.

The *Manchinel Tree* is a Wood of an excellent Grain, equalling the *Jamaica Wood*, but large, to 4 Foot Diameter. The *Spaniards* turn it into Beds and the *English* usually floor their Rooms with it in *Jamaica*.

The *Manchinel Apple* is one of the beautifullest Fruits in the World to the Eye, one of the agreeablest to the Smell, and of the pleasantest to the Taste (being thence by many call'd the *Eye Apple*) but if eaten, certain Death. The Wood of it, yet green if rub'd against the Hand, will fetch off the Skin, or raise Blisters; and if any Drops of Rain falling from this Tree, light upon one's Hand, or other naked part of the Body, it will also have the same Effect.

There's Plenty of Cotton and Ginger in *Jamaica* and 'tis finer than that of the *Charibbee Islands*. The Tobacco that was planted there, was better than that at *Barbadoes*; but there's so little, it deserves not the Name of a Commodity.

Very good tann'd Leather is made there. The Tanners have 3 Barks to tan with, *Mangrove Olive Bark*, and another. They tan better than in *England*; and in 6 Weeks the Leather is ready to work into Shoes. There's Abundance of Dyer's Woods, as Fustick, Redwood, Logwood, and others, with several sorts of Sweet-Woods.

'Tis not doubted but that there are Copper Mines in the Island, and the *Spaniards* say, the Bells of the great Church of *St. Jago* were made of *Jamaica Metal*. 'Tis suppos'd there may be Silver-Mines in it, as well as at *Cuba*, and on the *Continent*: And there's a Place in the Mountains of *Port Royal*, or *Caguag*: where, 'tis reported, the *Spaniards* dug Silver; but the *English* have not been so happy as to find it. The *Spaniards* also found *Ambergrease* on the Coast; but the *English* have not often had that good Fortune:

June: Yet some Years ago an ignorant Fellow found 80 Pound of Ambergrease dash'd on the Shore, at a Place in those Parts call'd *Ambergrease Point*, where the *Spaniards* came usually once a Year to look for it. This vast Quantity was divided into two Parts, oppos'd by rolling and tumbling in the Sea. Some say 'tis produc'd from a Creature, as Honey or Milk; and Mr. *Tredway*, who view'd this Peice; writes, he saw in sundry Places of this Body, the Beak, Wings, and Part of the Body of the Creature, which he preserv'd for some time. He was also told by a Man, that he had seen the Creature alive, and believ'd they swarm'd as Bees on the Sea-shore, or in the Sea. Others say, 'tis the Excrement of the Whale; and others, that it issues out of the Root of a Tree.

Abundance of Salt might be made in *Jamaica*, for they have three great Ponds; however they make only enough for their own Use. 100000 Bushels were made thirty Years ago in a Year; and Capt. *Noye*, who was the Undertaker, said he could make 100000 Quarters, if he could sell it. Salt-Peter is found here; and their Long-Pepper is in great Esteem in the *West Indies*.

The Island abounds in Drugs and medicinal Herbs; as *Guaiacum*, *China*, *Salseparella*, *Cassia*, *Tamarins*, *Venilloes*, many sorts of *Misseltoe*; as also in Salutary Gunms and Roots. But for these things we must refer the Curious to Dr. *Sloan's* Natural History.

The Plant of which *Cocheneal* is made grows in *Jamaica*; and yet the Inhabitants for want of knowing how to cure it, make no Advantage of it; besides the *East Wind* blasts it, so that it never comes to Maturity.

It will not be improper to give an Account of this excellent Dye, *Cochineal*. 'Tis generally believ'd, that it comes out of a Fruit call'd, the *Prickl'd Pear*, bearing a Leaf of a slimy Nature, and a Fruit Blood-red, and full of Seeds, which give a Dye almost like to *Brafiletto Wood*, that will perish in a few Days by the Fire. But the Insect engender'd of this Fruit or Leaves, gives a permanent Tincture, as every one knows.

Ib. Vol. 2. p. 784. An old Spaniard in *Jamaica*, who liv'd many Years in that part of the *West Indies*, where great Quantities of *Cochineal* is made, affirm'd, that this Insect is the very same which we call the *Lady Bird*, or *Con Lady*. It appears, he says, at first like a small Blister, or little Knob, on the Leaves of the Shrub or which they breed; which afterwards, by the Heat of the Sun, becomes a *Live Insect*, or *Small Grub*. These *Grubs*, in process of time, grow to Flies, and being come to full Maturity, which must be found out by Experience in collecting them at several Seasons, are kill'd, by making a great Smother of some combustible Matter, to Windward of the Shrubs or which the Insects are feeding (having before spread some Cloaths under the Plants) by which all the Insects being smother'd and kill'd, by shaking the Plants, will tumble down upon the Cloaths, and thus are gather'd in great Quantities, with little Trouble; then they are wip'd off the same Cloath in some bare sandy Place, or Stone-Pavement, and expos'd to the Heat of the Sun till they are dry and their Bodies shrivel'd up; which being rubb'd gently between one's Hands, will crumble into Grains, and the Wings separate from them which must be garbled out. Others, 'tis said, expose them to the Sun in broad and shallow Copper Basons; in which the Reflection of the Sun dries them sooner.

The *Prick'd Pear*, or *Indian Fig*, is easily propagated, by putting a single Leaf above half it's Depth into the Ground, which seldom fails to take Root. Others say, they may be rais'd from the Seed, which is something like a Fig, arising out of certain Flowers that grow out of the Tops of the uppermost Leaves; which Fruit is full of a red Pulp, that when ripe, stains the Hands of those that wash it like Mulberries, with a purple Colour: On which, or the Blossoms, the Insects feed; and perhaps this causes the rich Tincture they bear within their Bowels.

There are few Colonies in *America* who have such Store of Cattle as there is at *Jamaica*. Horses are so cheap, that a good one is sold for 8 or 10 l. The Oxen and Cows are large; and till the *English* came
who

who minded Planting more than Grasing, there were great Quantities of 'em ; but now they cannot boast of their Stock, and are supply'd with Flesh from the other Colonies, as well as the *Leward Islands*.

Asses and Mules are cheaper at *Jamaica* than any where else in the *English Dominions in America*. Their Sheep are generally large and fat ; the Flesh good, but the Wool worth nothing. 'Tis long, and full of Hairs. There's Abundance of Goats and Dogs ; and the Flesh of the latter is as pleasant as that of *Barbadoes* Pork.

Their Bays, Roads and Rivers, are full of excellent Fish of all Kinds, *European and American*. The *Tortoise* is the chief, because 'tis the most advantageous, on account of its Shell. They abound on the coasts, about 20 or 30 Leagues to the Left of *Port Jegril*, near the Isles of *Camaros*. There comes several Vessels in a Year from the *Charibbee Islands*, to take them, for the Flesh of them is esteem'd the best and wholesomest Food in the *Indies*.

The *Tortoises* float a-sleep in a calm Day a long time, insomuch that the Seamen row gently to them, and either strike them with Irons, or ensnare their legs with a Rope and Running-Net, and so take them. If their Blood be heated they die ; for, to maintain Life, it must not be hotter than the Element they live in. They bite much more of the marine Grass than they swallow, by which means the Sea is sometimes cover'd with the Grass, where they feed at the Bottom. Once in about half an hour they come up, fetch one Breath, like a Sigh, and then sink down again. When they are out of the Water, they breath somewhat oftner. If they are hurt on Shore, as they lie on their Backs, the tears will trickle from their Eyes.

They may be kept out of the Water twenty days, and more, yet they will be so fat, as to be fitting Meat, provided about half a Pint of salt Water is given 'em every Day. The Fat that's about their Guts is yellow, tho that of their Bodies be green. The Head being cut off, dies instantly ; and if the Heart taken out, the Motion continues not long ; but a very Quantity of the Flesh will move, if prick'd, and so of it self, many Hours after 'tis cut into Quar-

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ters ; and the very Joints of the Bones of the Shoulders and Legs have their Motions, even tho you prick only the Fat of 'em. But if you place these Parts of the *Tortoise* in the Sun, they presently die ; as the Legs do, in a mauner, as soon as they are cut off.

Ibid. p. 549, 550. *The Blood of Tortoises* (says Dr. Stubbs, in the same Collection) is colder than any Water I ever felt in Jamaica ; yet is the Beating of their Heart as vigorous as that of any Animal ; and their Arteries are as firm as any Creatures I know. Their Lungs lie in their Belly. Their Spleen is Triangular, of a firm Flesh, and floridly red. Their Liver is of a dark green : They have a sort of Teeth, with which they chew the Grass they eat in the submarine Meadows. All the Tortoises from the Charibbees to the Bay of Mexico, repair in Summer to the Cayman Islands, on this Coast, to lay their Eggs, and to hatch there. They coot for fourteen Days together, then lay, in one Night, about three Hundred Eggs, with White and Yolk, but no Shells. Then they coot again, and lay in the Sand : and so thrice ; when the Male is reduc'd to a kind of Gelly within, and blind ; and is so carry'd home by the Female. Their Fat is green, but not offensive to the Stomach, tho 'tis in Broth, or stew'd. Urine looks of a yellowish green, and is oily after eating it.

There's no sort of Fowl wanting here, wild or tame, and more Parrots than in any of the other Islands.

The Fruits, Flowers and Herbs, are much the same with those of *Barbadoes*, various and excellent in their Kinds. The Fruit of the Trees in this Island, of the same Kind, ripen not at one time. There's a Hedge of Plum Trees of two Miles, in the Road to *Spanish Town*, of which some Trees have been observed to be in Flower, others with green, others with ripe Fruit, and others to have done bearing at the same time.

Jasmins have been seen to blow before their Leaves, and also after their Leaves are fallen again. The *Sowr-Sop*, a very pleasant Fruit, has a Flower with three Leaves. When these open, they give so great a Crack, that Persons often run from under the Tree, and think it to be tumbling down.

The Diseases of this Country, before the Earthquake, were not so mortal to the *Europeans* as they have been since. Intemperance always was more fatal to the *English* than the Climate; and those Voyagers who were always Drinking in the City of *Port Royal*, might well cry out against the Heat of the Climate, the Fires from without being encreas'd by their Flames within. Temperance and Exercise would have gone a great way towards keeping Men well there, before Diseases were brought thither out of *Europe*, and the Air became infected with the petilential Vapours of the Earthquake. The Distempers to which Strangers are most subject, are the Dropsy, occasion'd commonly by hard Drinking and Laziness, Agues and Fevers.

There's a Bird call'd a *Pelican*, but is a kind of *Cormorant*. It has a fishy Taste; yet if the Flesh lies bury'd in the Ground two Hours it loses that Taste.

The Birds call'd by some *Fregats* are here term'd *Men of War*; their Fat is good against Aches.

The *Fire-Flies* in *Jamaica* contract and expand their Light as they fly, and their Light continues some Days after they are dead. These Flies are a kind of *Santharides*, looking green in the Day-time, but glowing and shining in the Night, even when they are dead, as we have already observ'd. Our Author affirms, he apply'd them dead to a printed and written Paper in the dark, and read it.

There are several troublesome Creatures and Insects here, as well as in the other Islands.

The *Wood Lice* eat Covers and Books, and some sorts of Timber, but not all.

The *Ciron* or *Chego* is a terrible Plague to the *Blacks*, especially if they come among the Nervous and Membranous Parts, they are very painful, and not to be pull'd out, least the Surgeons Needles touch the Nerves. No *English* ever get them, but by going in Places frequented by the Negroes: they are incident most to such as are nasty about the Feet, and very seldom any else have them: they will spread by little and little over the whole Feet, eat off Toes, and over-run the whole Body of some idle *Blacks*; they are not felt to have got into the Body till a Week after: they breed in great Numbers, and shut

themselves up in a Bag; which when the Negroes feel, there are certain skilful Men, who with little Pains take them out, having great Care to take out the Bag entirely, that none of the Brood, which are like Nits, may be left behind, for Fear of giving Rise to a new Generation.

We must take Notice that the *Swallows* in *Jamaica*, as hot as 'tis, depart in the Winter Months, and the wild Ducks and Teal come thither then.

The *Manchinella*, in Shape like a *Crawfish*, which is so common in the *Charibbee Islands*, is also frequently met with in *Jamaica*; as are *Adders* and *Guyanas*, but neither of them venomous.

The most terrible Creature is the *Aligator*, which commonly lies about their Rivers and Ponds. They live upon Flesh, after which they hunt greedily but seldom get any Man's Flesh, because 'tis easy to avoid them; for they cannot stir but in a straight Line, which they do swiftly and forcibly, whereas they turn with Difficulty, and very slowly. Some of 'em are 10 or 15, and some 20 Foot long; their Backs are all over scaly and impenetrable, and 'tis hard to wound them any where, except in the Eye or the Belly; they have four Feet, or Fins, with which they either walk or swim. 'Tis observ'd, that like Fish they never make any Noise. Their way of Hunting is thus: They lie on a River's Bank, and wait for Beasts that come to drink there, which they seize as soon as they are within their Reach, and devour; they deceive 'em the more easily, because they resemble a long Piece of old dry Wood, or something that's dead. The Mischief these Animals do, is recompenc'd by the Advantage of their Fat of which an excellent Ointment is made, good for any Pains or Aches in the Bones or Joints. They have Bags of Musk, stronger and more odorous than that of the *East-Indies*; the Smell is so great and so searching, that 'tis easy by it to discover where they lie, and avoid them before a Man sees them; even the Cattle, by a natural Instinct, smell them, and run away from 'em. They breed like Toads, by Eggs which they lay in the Sand on the Rivers Banks; their Eggs are no larger than a Turkey's; they cover them, and the Sun-Beams hatch them: the Shel

as firm, and like in Shape to a Turkey's, but not potted. Aſſoon as their Young come out of the Shell, they take immediately to the Water.

These *Alligators* are ſhap'd like Lizzards, being four-footed; they walk with their Belly at a Diſtance from the Ground, like them. Thoſe of full Growth have Teeth like a Maſtiff, as has been before hinted. They may be maſter'd and kill'd by any one dexterous and ſkill'd in the way of doing it; which is thus: A Man muſt be arm'd with a good long Trunchion, and attack them Side-ways; for if he does it Front-ways they will be too nimble for him, and by leaping upon him, (which they can do the Length of their whole Body) ſpoil him; but if he lays his Club on them againſt their Shoulder, and behind their Fore-Feet, they are eaſily lam'd there, and ſubdu'd.

Some Places in this Iſland are troubled with Gnats and Stinging Flies: there's no avoiding ſuch Inconveniencies in the *West-Indies*.

There are ſeveral other Particularities relating to *Jamaica*, which are worth obſerving, and could not ſo well be couch'd under any particular Article.

Several ſorts of Beans grow in this Iſland, as the *Pacoons*; the *Horſe-Eye* Bean, ſo call'd from its Reſemblance to the Eye of that Beaſt, by Means of a Velt almoſt ſurrounding it; the *Aſh-colour'd Nickar*, ſo term'd from its being perfectly round, and very like a Nickar, ſuch as Boys uſe to play withal.

Iron and other Metals ruſt leaſt in *Jamaica* in rainy Weather, as Dr. *Stubbs*, in the Tract ſo often cited by us, obſerves.

'Tis a Miſtake that any Tobacco grows wild, in *Jamaica* at leaſt. The Nitrous Tobacco, which grows upon Salt Petre Ground there, will not come to ſo good a Colour, nor keep ſo long as other Tobacco; inſomuch that the Merchants often loſe all their Tobacco, in the Voyage for *England* or *Ireland*, by its rotting all away. In ſome Ground that is full of Salt Petre, the Tobacco that it bears flaſhes as it ſmoaks. The Potatoes in the ſame Salt Petre Ground are ripe 2 Months ſooner than in any other Ground; but if they be not ſpent immediately, they rot, the Salt Petre fretting the outward Skin of the

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Root, which is thinner in that sort of Ground, than in other Places.

The same Doctor says elsewhere, *I could never hear of any Hurricane about Jamaica*; but the dreadful Earthquakes that brought the Inhabitants so near an universal Ruin, are worse than the Tempests, which are so frequent in the *Charibbee Islands*.

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We must not omit remembering that there are hot Springs, and other Mineral Waters, in this Island, as we find by Information given the Royal Society by Sir *William Beeston*. The *Hot Spring*, most talk'd of, was discover'd many Years ago; but the Distance and Trouble of getting to it, kept People from trying it, till *March, 1695*. when two Persons, the one very much *macerated* with the *Belly-Ake*, and another with the *French Disease*, went to it, carry'd Cloaths, built a Hut, to keep them from the Rain and Sun, and both presently by Drinking and Bathing, found such Ease, that in about 10 Days they return'd perfectly cur'd. It comes out of a Rock in a fresh Current, near to a fine Rivulet of good cool Water; but is so hot, that all affirm it soon boyls Eggs, some say Crawfish, Chickens, and those that do not value their Credit much, add, even a Turkey: However, 'tis certain, that near where it comes forth, there is no enduring any Part of the Body, but it takes off the Skin. It cures Ulcers, and contracted Nerves and Sinews, in a few Days, to a Miracle. Col. *Beckford*, who was given over by the Physicians, for very acute Pains in his Bowels, went to it, made use of it, and recover'd. Another for the *Belly-Ach*; and a third for the *Venereal Disease*, made the same happy Experiment; which got the Waters such a Reputation, that many afterwards resorted to 'em. It was try'd with Galls before Sir *William Beeston*, and they made the Water in 24 Hours look only like *Canary* or *Old Hock*. He says, *Out of Curiosity we try'd the Water of our River at Spanish Town with Galls, and in one Night it turn'd to a deep Green, more inclining to Black*.

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Mr. *Robert Tredway* wrote from *Jamaica*: *We have lately discover'd two hot Springs, one to Windward, which seems sulphurous; the other to Leward is very salt, but, as I am told, does not partake of Brimstone:*

and

and both are very much magnify'd for the Diseases of these Parts, the dry Belly-Ach, Pains of the Nerves, and Taws.

Among other Rarities of this Country, is one very remarkable, and that is the Plant call'd *Spirit-Weed*; which when its Seed is ripe, the Vessel containing it, touch'd by any thing whatever, if 'tis wet, instantly opens it self, and with a smart Noise, throws its Seed several ways, to a considerable Distance.

Thus we have given the Reader an Account of the most curious Part of the Natural History of this Island; to enter into the Reasons, is a Dissertation without our Bounds; and Dr. *Sloan* has in his Tract said enough to give entire Satisfaction to all, whose Curiosity shall carry them into such nice Discussions.

C H A P. III.

Of the Inhabitants and Trade of Jamaica, and the Advantages England does and may receive from it.

Jamaica, like *Barbadoes*, has three sorts of Inhabitants, Masters, Servants and Slaves; to whom may be added a fourth, which, tho they are uncertain, yet by their Resort thither, are a good Strength to the Island, Privateers and Watermen always coasting about it, carrying Goods from one Place to another, or cruising for Prizes. The Privateers were at one time the best Flower in the Garden of the *Jamaica* Trade; they brought some Millions of Pieces of Eight there, and made the Place so rich, that it out-strippt all the Colonies in Wealth in a very few Years; even *Barbadoes* could only vie with it for Eldership, and having been longer planted.

The Masters of Families in *Jamaica*, Planters and Merchants, live with as much Pomp and Pleasure, as

any Gentlemen in the World; they keep their Coaches and six Horses, have their Train of Servants in Liveries, running before and behind them; and for Magnificence and Luxury they have always got the start of the other Colonies: Whether it had not been better for them to have encourag'd Industry and Frugality, we shall not take upon us to determine; their natural Advantages above all the other Islands does not make it so necessary for them to be industrious; and the Riches that were brought them by their Trade with the *Spanish West Indies*, put 'em in a Capacity of answering their Expences: And both together invited so many People to settle there, that 20 Years ago there were 60000 *English* Souls, and 100000 *Blacks* upon the Island. The War, Earthquake and Diseases since have hindred the Colony's encreasing; but still they are almost that Number, of which 15000 *English* Men are able to bear Arms; and the Militia consists of several Troops of Horse, and 7 Regiments of Foot, making 7000 Men.

The Way of Living, of both Masters, Slaves and Servants here, is like that of the *Barbadoes* People, and the Form of Government the same with theirs; but the Trade differs in some things, as in most of their Dyer's Woods, which the Merchants of *Barbadoes* have not the Convenience of exporting. The Bay of *Campeche* has been very beneficial to those of *Jamaica*, for they are only at the Charge of cutting and carrying off the Wood, which comes generally to a good Market in *England*; but the *Spaniards* have done what they could to hinder that Trade, insomuch that the Wood-Cutters have been forc'd to have Guards, and fight for their Prize.

The Trade from *Jamaica* with the *Spaniards* consisted chiefly in Negroes, Stuffs, and other *English* Manufactures. The *Spaniards* for several Years were not permitted to deal with the *English*, but after the Revolution a Treaty of Commerce was concluded between King *William* and King *Charles*, for their Dominions in *America*; and Sir *James de Castillo*, whom King *William* had knighted, resided at *Jamaica*, as Agent for the *Spaniards*, to buy Negroes for them, and ship them for the Continent. The Advantages by this Traffick would have enrich'd our Na-

nation, had it lasted, and been carry'd on wisely and industriously; but the War with *France* and *Pain* has interrupted all the Commerce between *Jamaica* and the *Spanish West-Indies*, which the *English* cannot too much encourage.

The other Branches of the *Jamaica* Trade is the same with that of *Barbadoes*; and we must refer the Reader to our History of that Island on this Article.

Indigo and Piemento are the Commodities of this Country, and *Cacao Nuts* are but a new Experiment at *Barbadoes*, or else the Commodities of that Place and *Jamaica* are all one, and we must enter upon needless Repetitions, if we pretended to give any particular Account of them. In the general, this Trade has the Advantage of that of *Barbadoes*; for it brings us in Bullion, which is so much wanted at Home, especially since the fatal Exportation of Silver by the *East India* Men, who are too much indulg'd in that pernicious Practice. Indeed 'twould be well for *England*, if our *West India* Trade was more encourag'd, and our *East India* less; the former enriches the Publick, the latter only a few private Men, who sacrifice the National to their particular Interest; and of all our Plantations *Jamaica* on several Accounts deserves the Consideration of the *English*. 'Tis plac'd in the Center of the *Spanish* Acquisitions in *America*; no Vessel can go to or come from the Continent, or the Islands belonging to them, but they must necessarily come in Sight of *Jamaica*, or fall into the Hands of our Cruizers, if we had enough Ships there, with brave and faithful Commanders, to wait for them; and 12 or 15 light Frigats would be sufficient, which the Benefit it would bring to us by Prizes, or the Inconveniences it would do our Enemies to, would more than answer.

Every Plate Fleet that comes from *Carthage* puts into *Hispaniola*, from whence they cannot sail to the *Havana* in *Cuba*, without passing by one End or the other of *Jamaica*. The *Havana* is the Place of general Rendezvous for the *Flota*; and the Importance of their Junction there for their Security, is easily to be imagin'd, which we could soon hinder, by being Masters of the Seas about *Jamaica*.

The

The History of Jamaica.

The Product of this Island is generally the best in its kind of any in the *English* Plantations. Their Sugar, Ginger, Cotton and Indigo, are better than that of the *Charibbee Islands*; and there's Ground enough to spare, for the Inhabitants to furnish themselves with Provisions of their own raising, if they did not think it worth their while to cultivate the Commodities for an *European* Market. All the Provisions and Necessaries that are sent from *England* to the other Plantations, are also sent to *Jamaica*; and there is constantly employ'd in this Trade between 2 and 300 Sail of stout Ships, and before the War there were many more.

The Laws of *Jamaica* are very well collected in the Abridgment of the *Plantation Laws*; and the Natural History of the Country is publish'd by Dr. *Sloan*, Secretary to the *Royal Society*, who has an Interest in that Island; which, with the History we have here faithfully related, will give the Curious a sufficient Idea of it.

The present Governour at *Jamaica*, his Excellency
Thomas Handasyde, Esq;

Peter Beckford, Esq; President.

<i>Peter Haywood</i> , Esq;	}	Counsellors.
<i>Henry Low</i> , Esq;		
<i>Charles Chaplain</i> , Esq;		
<i>Thomas Clark</i> , Jun', Esq;		
<i>Francis Rose</i> , Esq;		
<i>Richard Thompson</i> , Esq;		
<i>Charles Long</i> , Esq;		
<i>Edmund Edlyn</i> , Esq;		
<i>John Ayscough</i> , Esq;		
<i>John Stewart</i> , Esq;	}	

Deputy Secretary of the Island, and Clerk of the
COUNCIL, *Edward Rigby*, Esq;

Speaker of the Assembly, *Peter Beckford*, Esq; Jun
Chief Justice, Col. *Peter Heywood*.
Attorney General, *Edward Haskins*, Esq;
Judge Advocate, Capt. *Gale*,

Clerk

Clerk of the Court, *Wil. Needham, Esq;*
Receiver General by Deputation, *Char. Chaplain, Esq;*
Naval Officer, *Barnaby Jenkins, Esq;*
Colonel of the Militia-Horse, the Governour, Brigadier *Handasyde.*

Peter Beckford,
Peter Heywood,
William Rose,
Fran. Lewis,
Edm. Edlyn,
Tho. Clark,
Cor. Mumby,

}
Colonels of Foot.
}

Register in Chancery, *Mr. Baldwin.*
Provost Martial *Edward Rigby, Esq;*

THE
 HISTORY
 OF THE
Isle of Providence.

CONTAINING,

An Account of its Discovery, Settlement,
 Climate, Soil, and all Events relating
 to it, to the present Times.

THIS Island is chief of those call'd the *Bahama Islands*; and, notwithstanding that Character, is so inconsiderable in its self, that it had been well if it had never been discover'd; for all the Advantage the Inhabitants can pretend it is to *England*, or the other Colonies, is, that it lies convenient for *Wrecks*; by which they mean, to save such as are driven a-shore there; and for Ships forc'd thither by Strefs of Weather: And it being some Hundreds of Miles out of any Ships regular Course, to or from any of our Colonies, and *England*, 'tis certain we had never lost any thing by it, had it never been heard of.

The Island call'd *Providence*, was discover'd by Capt. *William Sayle*; who was afterwards Governour of *Carolina*. He was driven thither by a Storm, as he was on a Voyage to the *Continent*: From him it had the Name of *Sayle's Island*.

This

This Adventurer returning to *England* about the Year 1667, gave his Employers, the Proprietaries of *Carolina*, an Account of his Discovery; and they procur'd a Grant for this and all the *Bahama Islands* to themselves, their Heirs, &c. The Extent of their Grant reaches from 22 to 27 Deg. N. L. All the Proprietaries of *Carolina* were not concern'd in the Grant of *Providence*; but all the Proprietaries of *Providence* were interest'd in that of *Carolina*. They were six in Number, and continue so to this Day. Their Names and Titles were,

George Duke of <i>Albemarle</i> .	John Lord <i>Berkley</i> .
William Lord <i>Craven</i> .	Anthony Lord <i>Ashley</i> .
Sir George <i>Cartaret</i> .	And, Sir Peter <i>Colliton</i> .

Whose Heirs and Assignes enjoy it at this time.

Providence Island lies in the Center of 4 or 500 Islands, some of them 160 Miles in Length; others no bigger than *Knolls*, or little Rocks, rising above Water; so that one may imagine, it must be very dangerous for Ships to be forc'd among them in Tempests.

The most considerable Profit made by the Inhabitants of *Providence*, was by the Misfortune of poor Adventurers; either such as were shipwreck'd, or such as, in a Winter-Voyage for the *Continent* of *America*, were driv'n to the *Bahama Islands*, and put into *Providence* for Provisions; which, after they had lain a long while beating off the Islands, they us'd to be in great Distress for want of. 'Tis true, this Island had little or none, but what came from *Carolina*; however, the Traders here kept Store-Houses, to supply those that wanted, and they were a great Relief to the unfortunate Mariners, of whom we are speaking.

As for Wrecks, the People of *Providence*, *Harbour-Island*, and *Eleuthera*, dealt in them as 'tis said the good Men of *Suffex* do: All that came ashore was Prize; and if a Sailor had, by better Luck than the best, got ashore as well as his Wreck, he was not sure of getting off again as well. This perhaps is Scan-

Scandal; but 'tis most notorious, that the Inhabitants look'd upon every thing they could get out of a Cast-away Ship as their own, and were not at any Trouble to enquire after the Owners.

The Isle of *Providence* lies in 25 Deg. N. L. is 28 Miles long, and 11 Miles broad where 'tis broadest. It had the Name of *Providence* given it by Capt *Sayle*, after he had been a second time driv'n upon it when he was bound for the *Continent*.

—Chillingworth
Esq; Governour.
The first Governour that was sent thither by the Proprietaries, was — *Chillingworth*, Esq; The time of his going there we cannot be certain in; 'tis probable 'twas about the Year 1672. Several People went from *England*, and the other Colonies, to settle there; and living a lewd licentious sort of Life, they were impatient under Government. Mr. *Chillingworth* cou'd not bring them to Reason. They assembl'd tumultuously, seiz'd him, shipt him off for *Jamaica*, and liv'd ev'ry Man as he thought best for his Pleasure and Interest.

—Clark,
Esq; Governour.
The Proprietaries found they had an unruly Colony to deal with, and 'twas a very small Encouragement for any one to put himself into their Hands after the Treatment Mr. *Chillingworth* met with from them: However, 6 or 7 Years after he was sent away, the Lords Proprietaries made — *Clark* Esq; Governour, whose Fate was worse still than his Predecessor's; for the *Spaniards*, 30 Years ago being jealous of every new Colony of the *English* towards the South, came upon them in the Isle of *Providence*, destroy'd all their Stock, which they could not, or would not carry off, and took the Governour away with them in Chains, having burnt the few Cottages that were upon the Place. The Inhabitants deserted it after this, and remov'd to other Colonies.

Mr. *Trot*, one of Governour *Clark*'s Successors, inform'd the Writer of this Relation, that the *Spaniards* roasted Mr. *Clark* on a Spit, after they had kill'd him; but perhaps that is said to encrease the Terror of the Story, and might do better in a *Poem* than a *History*. 'Tis certain they kill'd him, and that after this Invasion the Island was uninhabited till about the Time of the Revolution, when several Persons

remov'd thither from *Europe* and the *Continent*; among whom was Mr. *Thomas Bulkley*, who has printed a large Account of his Sufferings there, during the Arbitrary Government of one *Cadwallader Jones*, whom the Lord Proprietaries made Governour upon this second Settlement of *Providence*, in the Year 1690. He arriv'd there the 19th of *June*, and was receiv'd by all the Inhabitants with the Respect due to his Quality: But, says *Bulkley*, he soon discover'd the *Weakness of his Judgment, the Wickedness of his Inclination, and his Disaffection to his Majesty's Person and Government*: For the Proprietaries of *Carolina* have not been unhappy in the Choice of their Governours in that Province only. My Author writes of this *Jones*, *That all his vile Practices were patiently born by the People, till they became so numerous and heinous, as to be intolerable.*

Cadwallader Jones Governour

Appeal to Cæsar, p. 1.

P. 10. & seq.

The Inhabitants groaning under the Oppression of this Governour, liv'd in an abominable Slavery; and that the Reader may form an Idea of the Tyranny of Governours in Proprietary-Governments, we shall report some of the most material Crimes this Person was guilty of; and 'tis Pity his History is not an Example of Terror, to all such as under his Character commit the same Outrages against Reason, Justice, and Vertue.

He endeavour'd to erect and maintain in himself an absolute, unlimited Power, to govern according to his Will and Pleasure. He assum'd Royal Prerogatives, and arrogantly us'd the Royal Stile. He confer'd Honours, and invested the Persons so dignify'd by him, with the Privileges of the Peers of *England*. He pardon'd Capital Offenders, seiz'd the publick Treasure, wasted and converted it to his own Use. He neglected the Defence of the Island, impezel'd the Stores of Powder, converted the Lords Proprietaries Royalties to his own Use, invited Pyrates to come to the Port. He refus'd to take the Oaths to King *William* and Queen *Mary* at his Entrance into his Office, when one of the Lords Proprietaries Deputies tender'd them to him. In a speech he made to the People, he declar'd, *He wou'd have a free Trade, and nothing to do with the King's damn'd Officers.* He intercepted Letters without Cause,

Cause, put the most ignorant, indigent, and vitious Persons into the greatest Offices of Honour, Power, and Trust. He highly caref'd those Pyrates that came to *Providence*. He arbitrarily impos'd Fines on several Persons; he constituted himself Deputy to the Chief of the Lords Proprietaries, Treasurer Provost-Marshal, and chief Secretary of the Province, and put his own Creatures into those Places under him. He commonly imprison'd Persons without Cause or Warrant. He deny'd to grant Writs of Procefs at Law, when desir'd, against his Favourites, who were usually the vilest of the People. He refus'd to prosecute one of them, who had stoll'n 14 Great Guns belonging to *New Providence*. He pardon'd and discharg'd Pyrates without Tryal. He gave Commissions to Pyrates, without, and contrary to the Advice of the Council. *By Colour of one of these Commissions* (according to Mr. *Bulkley's* Narrative) *a Ship belonging to Bermudas, being in Pensylvania River, was Pyratically taken, and had been carry'd out to Sea, if some of the People of that Place had not gone out arm'd after the Pyrates, and forcibly recover'd the Vessel from them, they justifying their Villany, by their Commission and Instructions from the said Jones.*

He wilfully neglected to call a General Assembly, till 6 Months after the time appointed by the Lords Proprietaries Instructions, and govern'd by Orders of a Juncto, which he imperiously commanded the Assembly to pass into Laws. While that Assembly was sitting, he directed his Son, who was Captain of a Ship in the Port, to lay her so as to bring all her Guns to bear upon the House where the General Assembly was sitting. He abruptly dissolv'd them, while Matters of the greatest Importance to the Province were depending. He conspir'd with his Creatures, and Pyrates, to banish some of the most vertuous and useful Inhabitants, without lawful Cause or Trial. He said, 'twas high Treason to sign a Petition for the sitting of a General Assembly: In which one may see, how petty *Plebeian* Tyrants agree with the Sovereign Imperial Ones, in their dread of Parliaments.

These, and many more flagitious Practices, are recorded by *Bulkley*, against *Jones*; and the People being

being no longer able to bear with him, Mr. *Bulkley*, who was then Deputy Secretary, exhibited a Charge of High Treason against him. Upon which he was seiz'd and imprison'd.

The Government devolv'd upon the Council, and they declar'd Mr. *Gilbert Ashley* President, putting Mr. *Gilb.* out a Proclamation, requiring all the Inhabitants of *Ashley* the *Bahama Islands* to yield their ready Obedience to *President.* the said President. This Proclamation was dated the 24th of *January*, 1692. and sign'd by 2 Deputies of the Lords Proprietaries, and 5 Assembly Men, who were also Counsellours; viz. by,

Col. *Bowen Clausen*,
Thomas Comber, Esq;

} Deputies.

Mr. *Nicholas Spencer*,
Mr. *Tho. Higginbotham*,
Mr. *Israel Jones*,
Mr. *John Ogle*,
Mr. *George Dumarisque*,

} Assembly-Men.

Jones being thus confin'd, himself and his Friends were allarm'd, knowing the Inveteracy of the Accuser, and but too well the Guilt of the Accus'd. The Governour desir'd the Council, to permit him to go to Mr. *Bulkley's* House, and try if he could prevail with him to withdraw his Acculation. He was permitted; and coming to him, promis'd to restore him to all the Offices he had taken from him, to make Reparation of the Damage he had done him, to govern according to his Directions, nor do any thing of a publick Nature without his Advice.

After much Discourse, *Bulkley* reply'd, *He should have known, in due time, the Things that belong'd to his own and the publick Peace and Prosperity; but now it was too late: That his Business was to make the best Preparation he could to clear himself of the heavy Charge that lay against him; which if he could do, it would be for his Honour, as well as Safety; and the Law would give him Advantage enough against his Accuser, who neither expected nor desir'd any Favour from him in such a Case.* *Bulkley* added, *he should incur Misprision of Treason,*

by complying with his Desires. Jones answer'd, *Will you have my Hearts Blood?*

The Accusation against the late Governour was publish'd, and Mr. *Bulkley* bound in 500 l. Bond to prosecute him. But *Jones* resolv'd to save them that Trouble; and, to use the Words of his Accuser *some desperate Rogues, Pyrates and others, gather'd together an ignorant seditious Rabble, who on the 27th of February, 1692. with Force of Arms rescu'd the Governour, proclaim'd him again, and restor'd him to the Exercise of his Despotick Power.*

Now 'twas *Bulkley's* turn to suffer. Whether guilty, or not guilty, was not the Question? He was devoted to Persecution; and the same arm'd Rabble going to his House, seiz'd him, shut him up in a close dark Confinement, threaten'd him with the Torture, and forc'd him to deliver all the Books having any relation to his Office of Deputy-Secretary.

The Leaders of this Rabble were,

Daniel Jackson.

Tho. Wake.

Tho. Witter.

Martin Cock.

Rob. Bolton.

Lancellot Lawson.

William Smith.

Char. Wainwright.

Sam. Coverley.

Sam. Dunscomb.

Rich. Carpenter.

Jofias Ap Owen.

Blackden Docden.

And,

Nathaniel Shepherdson; who was a Rebel to King *William*, having serv'd his Enemies against his Subjects, and shar'd in the Booty the *French* took from the *English*; of which he was accus'd by 2 Witnesses yet *Jones* permitted him to reside in *Providence*, to take a Man's Wife there, and live in open Adultery with her, if Mr. *Bulkley* may be credited. He was one of this Governour's Confidants, and a main Instrument of his Tyranny; as was also *Bartholome Mercier*, a *Frenchman*; by whom *Bulkley* and his Wife were inhumanly us'd, insomuch that the latter dying shortly after, declar'd solemnly on her Death Bed, before several Witnesses, and sign'd a Declaration to the same purpose, that *Cadwallader Jones*, *Joh. Graves*, *Martin Cock*, *Bartholomew Mercier*, *Thom. Cun*

Cumber, Robert Bolton, and others, were the Occasion of her Death.

John Graves arriving from *England* some Months after *Mr. Bulkley* had procur'd his Enlargement, upon delivering up his Books, accus'd him of High Treason, for his Proceedings in the Accusation; and *Bulkley* was put in Irons aboard the Governour's Son's Ship, which was lately come from *Barbadoes*, who a pestilential Distemper was aboard.

This was not the worst of their Designs against *Mr. Bulkley*; they conspir'd to get him by Force aboard a Pyrate's Ship, and the Pyrate promis'd to make him away, by leaving him on some desolate Island, or otherwise; which he having notice of, hid in the Woods till the Pyrate sail'd.

Martin Cock also laid a Design to have him assassinated, which being discover'd in time, was prevented: *Jones* then sent to *Harbour Island*, and *Eleuthera*, to see if he could pack a Jury, to do *Bulkley's* Business; which he could not do, the latter being look'd upon to be a sort of Confessor in his Country's Cause.

Bulkley was kept Prisoner till the Arrival of *Nicholas Trott*, Esq; with a Commission from the Lords Proprietaries, to be Governour in the Place of *Cadwallader Jones*. *Mr. Trott* allow'd *Mr. Bulkley* a fair Tryal, and he was acquitted. After which he charg'd *Jones* again with High Treason.

What Reason the new Governour had to give his Predecessor Leave to go off the Island, without coming to a legal Tryal, we know not: The Fact is true; and to us there seems so much just Cause of Complaint against him, that he ought to have been brought to condign Punishment, for abusing the Power put into his Hands.

Bulkley pretended to have lost 4000 *l.* by the Persecution of this Governour *Jones*: but that seems a little improbable; for an Estate of 4000 *l.* is a thing that has hardly been heard of in the *Bahama Islands*.

When he came to *England*, he apply'd to the King, by the Earl of *Portland*, and was order'd to leave all his Papers with *Sir William Trumball*, Secretary of State. What Redress he found, we know not; and what he deserv'd, let the Reader judge.

By this time the Town at *Providence* was grown so considerable, that it was honour'd with the Name of *Nassau*; and before Mr. *Trott's* Government expir'd, there were 160 Houses: So that it was as big as the Cities of *St. James* and *St. Maryes*, in *Maryland* and *Virginia*.

The Harbour of *Nassau* is form'd by *Hog-Island*, which belongs to Mr. *Trott*. It runs along parallel to it, 5 Miles in Length, lying *East* and *West*. At the Entrance of the Harbour is a Bar, over which no Ship of 500 Tun can pass; but within the Bar, the Navy Royal of *England* might safely ride.

In the Town of *Nassau* there was a Church, in Mr. *Trott's* time, and he began a Fort in the Middle of it; which with his House made a Square. This Fort was mounted with 28 Guns, and some Demi-Culvers.

In the Year 1695. the *Winchester* Man of War coming from *Jamaica*, in Company with other Ships, drove off and on between the *Bahama Shoals* and *Cape Florida*, and had the Misfortune to run a-shoal on the Rocks call'd the *Martiers*, lying to the Southward of that *Cape*.

There never was a Man of War at *Providence*, unless *Avery*, the Pyrate's Ship may be reckon'd one, for it carry'd 46 Guns, and coming at a time when the Inhabitants were in an ill State of Defence, 'twas to no purpose for them to stand out against him. But by the Character we have had of the People of *Providence*, we cannot think that Pyrate, who was very rich, was unwelcome to them.

Mr. *Trott* assur'd the Author, there were but 70 Men at that time upon the Island, both Able and Disabled; and *Avery* had 100 as stout Men aboard as ever he saw. If so, no Resistance the Governour could make, could be suppos'd to be strong enough to prevent the Pyrate's beating down the Town, and taking that by Force, which, when he was receiv'd as a Friend, he paid for, and gave very good Rate too.

Thus we see in what the Trade of this Place chiefly consisted, and who frequented it most. 'Twas very unfortunate, that there should be only 70 Men upon the Island at that time, when a little before an

and a little after, there were 200 Men, which was the greatest Number that could ever be muster'd in the *Bahama Islands*: For besides *Providence*, there are Settlements on *Harbour Island*, and *Eleuthera*. *Harbour Island* is so call'd from the Goodness of the Harbour. 'Tis 20 Leagues from *Providence*, and has about 20 Houses upon it. *Eleuthera* is nearer, but has not so many Houses: Sometimes there are 2 or 3 Families on some of the other Islands.

The Inhabitants of these Islands, on Elections of Assembly Men, and other publick Occasions, go to *Nassau*, in *Providence*, to give their Votes. The Assembly consisted of 20 Members, chosen by the Inhabitants of all the Islands, met together for that purpose; for the Province not being divided into Precincts, they had no other way of choosing their Representatives.

The Fort which Mr. *Trott* built, was such a Security, in his time to the *Island*, that tho the *French* landed several times, they could make nothing of their Descent; but the Governour was so hard put to it for want of Men, that half the People was always upon Guard at a time; and Duty was so long, and came about so fast, the Inhabitants were terribly fatigu'd. The *French* made several Attempts in his Governour's time, but were unsuccessfull in all of them.

Mr. *Trott* continu'd in his Government till the Year 1697. at which time the Lords Proprietaries nominated *Nicholas Web*, Esq; Governour of the *Bahama Islands*; and King *William* was pleas'd in Council to approve of their Nomination: By which we perceive his Majesty's Approbation was then thought necessary.

The Oaths appointed by the Acts of Trade and Navigation, &c. to be taken by the respective Governours of his Majesty's Plantations, were tender'd to Mr. *Web*, at the Council Board; and having taken them, he had the Honour to kiss his Majesty's hand.

There happen'd nothing memorable in this Governour's time: The Peace in *Europe* prevented Wars in *America*; Wrecks and Pyrates were the only

with except *Brasiletto* Wood and Salt. At *Xuma*, in this Island, great Quantities of Salt were made; which the People exported to the *Continent*, and other Islands.

Carolina being the nearest Colony to this, the People of *Providence* traded most thither. 'Tis about a Weeks Sail to *Carolina*, and 10 Days Sail back, because of the strong Current in the Gulph of *Florida*. One would wonder why this Place should not produce Provisions sufficient for 1000 Souls; and more there never were there, since we have been told by a Gentleman, who was Governour of *Providence*, that Pease came up in 6 Weeks time, and *Indian* Corn in 12.

When this Island was in its most flourishing Condition, there were 3 or 400 Blacks upon it; and Mr. *Lightwood* attempted to set up a Sugar-Work, which he brought to some Perfection, the Soil being fertile, but shallow. He built a Sugar-Mill, and others were preparing to follow his Example, when the *French* and *Spaniards* put an End to all their Projects.

Lowth.
Vol. 2. p.
845.

There have been Whales found dead on the Shore here, with a Sperm all over their Bodies; but my Author, who had been upon the Place, writes, he could never hear of any of that sort that were kill'd by any; such is their Fierceness and Swiftnes. One such Whale is worth many Hundred Pounds. They are very strong, and in-laid with Sinews all over their Body, which may be drawn out 30 Fathom long.

P. 845:

The Fish at *Providence* are many of them poisonous, bringing a great Pain on the Joints of those that eat them; which continues so for some short time, and at last with 2 or 3 Days Itching, the Pain is rub'd of. Those of the same Species, Size, Shape, Colour, and Taste, are one of them Poison, the other not in the least hurtful; and those that are, are only so to some of the Company. The Distemper never grows mortal to Men; Dogs and Cats are sometimes kill'd by it. In Men that have once had that Disease, upon the first eating of Fish, tho it be those that are wholesome, the poisonous Ferment in their Body is reviv'd by it, and their Pain encreas'd.

Mr

Mr. Richard Stafford, whom we have mention'd in our Account of the *Bermudas Islands*, says, in some Observations of his communicated to the Royal Society. *Many rare Things might be discover'd in New Providence, if the People were but encourag'd. 'Tis stor'd with Variety of Fish and Fowl, and with divers sorts of Trees, and other Plants, whose Qualities are not yet known.*

Ambergrease has been found here, but in no great Quantities; and the Inhabitants were never in a very thriving Condition.

The Governours talk'd as big as if they had been Vice-Roys of *Peru*; they told every one, they had Power of Life and Limb, and could not bear to be thought dependant on the Government of *Carolina*, tho' it look'd something like it; For the Proprietaries us'd, when any Difference happen'd between the People of *Providence* and their Governour, to send Orders to the Governour of *Carolina* to inspect Matters, and order them as they should think most convenient.

Here were Courts of Justice of all Denominations, as in *Westminster-hall*; and the Inhabitants were so litigious, that not a Burrough in *Cornwall* could compare with them; which is the more amazing, because they had not much to quarrel for, or to spare for Law.

To Mr. *Web* succeeded *Elias Hasket*, Esq; in the Government of the *Bahama Islands*, about the Year 1700. He found an unruly People, and they were the more so, for few Wrecks had happen'd lately, and the Pyrates began to spend their Money elsewhere. Whatever was the Occasion, the Inhabitants were in a little time so out of Humour with Mr. *Hasket*, that they seiz'd him, put him in Irons, and sent him away, taking upon them to choose a Governour for themselves; and that Choice fell on *Ellis Lightwood*, Esq; in whose Time the Settlements were destroy'd: For in *July*, 1703. the *Spaniards* and *French*, from *Petit Guaves*, landed, surpriz'd the Fort, took the Governour Prisoner, plunder'd and strip'd the *English*, burnt the Town of *Nassau*, all but Mr. *Lightwood's* House, together with the Church, spoilt the Fort, and nail'd up the Guns. They carry'd

Elias Hasket, Esq; Governour

Ellis Lightwood, Esq; Governour

ry'd off the Governour, and about half the Blacks. The rest sav'd themselves in the Woods: But in *October* they came again, and pickt up most of the Remainder of the Negroes.

Mr. *Lightwood* having procur'd his Liberty by Exchange or Ransom, came to *Carolina*, and going off thence in a Vessel, on some Adventure, was never since heard of.

The *English* Inhabitants of the *Bahama's*, after this second Invasion, thought it in vain to stay longer: so they remov'd, some to *Carolina*, some to *Virginia*, and some to *New-England*.

—Birch; Esq; Governour. The Proprietaries however appointed — Birch; Esq; to go over Governour of *Providence*; who not hearing that the Inhabitants had deserted the Island, went thither; but finding it a Desert, he did not give himself the Trouble to open his Commission. He tarry'd there two or three Months, and was all that while forc'd to sleep in the Woods. After which he came back, and left the Place uninhabited; as it remains at present: But 'tis expected that, as soon as the Government of the Island is settled, and Measures taken to defend it, the Wrecks and other Advantages, will tempt People to venture upon a third Settlement.

There is now a Project on-Foot, warmly sollicitated by *John Graves*, one of *Bulkley's* Persecutors, to get the Nomination of the Governour out of the Hands of the Proprietaries. We shall see in time, if her Majesty will please to accept of it; and if *Graves*, as he expects, will be the first Governour, after such a Change in this Constitution.

The present Proprietaries are,

William Lord *Craven* Palatine of the Island of *Providence*, &c.

Henry Duke of *Beaufort*.

William Lord *Berkley*.

John Lord *Cartaret*.

The Honourable *Maurice* *Ashley*, Esq;

Sir *John* *Colliton*, Baronet.

THE
 HISTORY
 OF THE
 BERMUDAS
 OR
 Summer Islands.
 CONTAINING

An Account of the Discovery, Settlement, Growth, and present State of the Colony: A Description of the Country, Climate, Soil, Productions, &c.

THE first Mention we find any where made of these Islands by *English* Authors, is in Cap. Lancaster's Voyage for Discoveries in the *East Indies*, in 1593. The Captain sent one *Henry May* to England from *Hispaniola*, having obtain'd Passage for him aboard a *French Ship*, commanded by *Monsieur de Barbatiere*, who was driven ashore on the Island commonly call'd *Bermudas*; and this was the first of our Countrymen who had been upon it. As

As to the first Inhabitants, 'tis very probable there were none before the *English*, the Place being so far from any Part of the Continent of *America*, that the *Indians* did not understand Navigation enough to reach it.

Oviedas writes, he was near *Bermudas*, and had Thoughts to have set some Hogs ashore for Increase, but he was driven thence by Tempests, it being extremely subject to furious Rains, Lightning and Thunder.

The Name of *Bermudas* is said to be given them from *John Bermudas*, a *Spaniard*, who discover'd them in his way to the *Spanish West Indies*, several Years before Mr. *May* was cast ashore there; but we do not read that he landed upon any of them, tho' 'tis certain the *Spaniards* had been on Shore, not willingly, but forc'd by Shipwreck: And indeed several Wrecks of Ships were found in the Water among the Rocks, which were easily known to be some *Spanish*, some *Dutch*; some *Portuguese*, and some *French*; and in the Year 1572. King *Philip* gave them to one *Ferd. Camelo*, who never took Possession.

Mr. *May* and his Company having a little refresh'd themselves on the biggest of these Islands, which now goes by the Name of *St. George's*, when the Weather permitted, got off their broken Ship, to see what they could save out of her, and with the Remains of that Vessel, and the Cedar they fell'd in the Country, they built a new Ship; and after various Adventures, arriv'd at the several Ports of *Europe* to which they belong'd.

This *May's* Relation of these Islands, occasion'd their being talk'd of; and Sir *George Sommers* and Sir *Thomas Gates* suffering the same Fate there in the Year 1609. reviv'd the Discourse of them, yet nobody thought it worth their while to adventure thither, till after Sir *George's* second Landing, and breathing his last there.

We have spoken of Sir *George's* being Ship-wreck'd on these Islands, where two Women that were Passengers were deliver'd, the one of a Boy, who was Christen'd *Bermudas*; and the other of a Girl, who was nam'd *Bermuda*: We have related how he and his

his Companions got off, in the History of *Virginia*, whither he was bound : We have also hinted how he was sent by the Lord *de la Ware* to fetch Provisions hence for the *Virginians*, *Bermudas* abounding in Hogs and Turtles. Sir *George* mist the Coast, and fell in with that of *Sagadahoc* in *Norembegua*, where he took in fresh Water and Provisions, and proceeded in Search of these pleasant and fruitful Islands : At last he found them ; and being extreemly harras'd with the Fatigues of the Sea, above what his great Age, upwards of threescore Years, could bear, he dy'd as soon as he came ashoar.

'Twas observable, that the Vessel he went in had not an Ounce of Iron about it, except one Bolt in her Keel, and all her Timber and Plank were of Cedar.

From him these Islands are call'd *Sommer's Isles* ; which our Mariners, very dextrous in corrupting Terms and Names of Places, call the *Summer Islands* : A Name they very well deserve indeed, on Account of their Pleasantness and Fertility.

Sir *George* enjoyn'd his Men to return to *Virginia* with Black Hogs, for the Relief of that Colony ; but they resolv'd otherwise after his Death, and stowing their Cedar Ship with such Provisions as they had, they set Sail for *England*, where they arriv'd at *White-Church* in *Dorsetshire*, having Sir *George Sommer's* Corps aboard, only the Heart and Bowels they left at *Bermudas*, where Capt. *Butler* 12 Years afterwards built a handsome Monument over them.

These Persons, at their Return, gave such an Account of the Country to the *Virginia* Company, that they thought it worth their while to establish a Correspondence between *England* and it ; accordingly they sold these Islands to 120 Persons of the same Society, who obtain'd a Charter of King *James*, and became the Proprietors of them.

We must not omit relating the following Part of this History, tho it seems a little too Romantick to be true ; but since we find it reported as a Truth, we think fit to let the Reader know and judge of it for himself, without trusting to our Sentiments.

'Tis said, that when Sir *George Sommers* was first here, two of his Men stay'd behind him, these having committed some Crime, for which they would have been put to Death if they had gone, fled into the Woods, and would not accompany him to *Virginia*. They were still here when Sir *George* return'd, and had ever since his Departure, supported themselves on the Productions of the Place, such as it naturally yielded; they had built them a Hut, and taken Possession of *St. George's Island*.

These two Men, whose Names were *Christopher Carter* and *Edward Waters*, stay'd still behind Sir *George's* second Company, of whom they perswaded one *Edward Chard* to remain there with them; and now *Carter*, *Waters* and *Chard*, were sole Lords of the Country, but like the Kings of the World, they soon fell out among themselves, *Chard* and *Waters* were coming to a pitch'd Battle, but *Carter*, tho he hated them both, yet not liking to be left alone, prevented it, by threatening to declare against the Man who struck the first Stroke: At last Necessity made them good Friends, and they join'd together in making Discoveries; in one of which Expeditions they found the greatest Peice of Ambergrease among the Rocks, that ever was seen in one Lump, weighing 80 Pound, besides other smaller Pieces. This Treasure made them almost mad. The Value of it turn'd their Heads, they grew giddy with the Thoughts of it; and that they might have an Opportunity to make use of it, resolv'd on the most desperate Attempt that Men in Distraction could run upon, which was, to build a Boat after the best manner they could, and sail to *Virginia* or *Newfoundland*, according as Wind or Weather should present. But before they could put their extravagant Project in Execution, a Ship arriv'd from *England*; for Capt. *Matthew Sommers*, Sir *George's* Brother, had promis'd to come to them, or send a Vessel to their Relief, or they had not stay'd neither the first time nor the last. The Ship they discover'd standing in with the Shoar, was the *Plough*, which had 60 Persons aboard, sent by the *New Bermudas Company*, to make a Settlement, over whom they plac'd one Mr. *Rich. Moor*, *Gov. Moor* for Governour; who was an honest industrious

1612.

Mr. Rich.
Moor, Gov.
vernour.

cus

ous Person. He pitch'd upon a Plain in St. *George's* Island to settle on, and there first built himself a House, or rather Cabbin, for the building was only of *Palmeto* Leaves, yet he made it large enough for him, his Wife and Family; and the rest of the Adventurers following his Example, it became a sort of a Town, which in time grew to a considerable Bigness, and is now St. *George's* Town, one of the strongest and best built in all our *American* Colonies, for the Houses are of Cedar, and all the Forts of hewn Stone.

Mr. *Moor* was a Man of ordinary Condition, being but a Carpenter. He was a good Architect and In-gineer, and fitter in the Infancy of the Colony for the Post he was in, than an unexperienc'd Gentleman would have been. He spent the most Part of his time in fortifying the Islands, and carry'd on the Work of the Plantation with all imaginable Zeal and Capacity. He drew out the Model of the Town, as it stands at present. He train'd the People in Martial Exercises, built 9 or 10 Forts, and furnish'd them all with Ammunition. He also built a Church of Cedar, which being blown down by a Tempest, he rais'd another of *Palmeto* Leaves, in a Place better shelter'd from the Weather.

In the first Year of his Government, another Ship arriv'd with a Recruit of Provisions, and 30 Passengers. He by this time had found out the Booty of Ambergrease, which *Carter*, *Waters* and *Chard* had conceal'd; but one of them afterwards discover'd it, and the Governour seiz'd it, as belonging to the Proprietors. He sent one third of it to the Company at *London*, by the Ship that brought the Supply, and the rest by the next Opportunities that offer'd, in the same Proportion; which gave such Encouragement to the Adventurers, that they continu'd to supply them with Provisions, Stores, and more Company, till they were in a Condition to defend and support themselves by their own Strength and Plantations.

Mr. *Moor* made very good Returns home in Ambergrease, Drugs, Cedar, Tobacco, and the Product of the Islands.

1614.

In the third Year of his Government the *Spaniards* shew'd themselves on the Coast, with a Design to supplant them; but finding them better provided to receive 'em than they imagin'd they were, they bore away, after the *English* had fir'd two Shot at them; tho had they made an Attack then, they had probably ruin'd the Settlement, Powder falling so short, that there was not a whole Barrel in *St. George's*, the Game having consum'd that part of their Stores.

'Twas also in the time of this Governour that the famous *Rat Plague* began in *Bermudas*, which lasted 5 Years. They came thither in the Ships, and multiply'd so prodigiouly ashoar, that such Numbers were hardly ever seen in the World. They had Nests in every Tree, and all the Ground was cover'd with them. They eat up the Fruits, and even the Trees that bore them. They devour'd the Corn within Doors and without, and neither Cats, Dogs Traps, nor Poyson, avail'd any thing towards clearing the Country of them. They not only swarm'd in *St. George's* Island, but in many of the other, whether they swam over, and made the same Havock of every thing that lay in their way. At last they disappear'd all on a sudden, and went as strangely as they came.

'Tis remarkable, that during this *Rat Plague* there were seen vast Numbers of Ravens in the Island, which had not been observ'd to be there before or since.

When the three Years of *Mr. Moor's* Government were expir'd, *Capt. Daniel Tucker* was sent over to succeed him.

Capt. Dan. Tucker,
Governour

This Gentleman much encourag'd the improving of the Soil, the planting of Tobacco, and did all things he could think of to promote the good of the Colony, which he saw brought into a flourishing Condition before he left it.

The Houses that were built of *Palmeto* Leaves, were for the most part taken down, and others of Stone rais'd in their Places, several Fruit Trees were planted, Fields and Woods clear'd of Rubbish, and a regular Form of Government establish'd. But the Severity of his Discipline was so grievous to some licencious Persons, that 5 of them executed as desperate

ate a Design to escape him as *Waters* and his Companions had projected to get away from the Island. They knew the Governour would not give them leave to go off, and therefore invented this Contrivance to effect it: Hearing Capt. *Tucker* had a great Desire to go a-fishing out at Sea, but was afraid to do it, because several Fisher-Boats had been driven off by the Weather, and the Men perish'd, they propos'd to him to build a Boat of 2 or 3 Tuns for him, with a Deck, and so fitted, that she should live in all Weathers. The Governour consenting to it, they fell to building it in a private Place, pretending 'twas convenient for their getting Timber, and launching the Boat. They finish'd it sooner than 'twas expected, and the Governour sent Hands to fetch it, intending to go in it aboard a Ship, which he was then dispatching for *England*. When his Men came to the Place, neither the Boat nor the Builders were to be found. All that they could hear of them, was, that the Boat being finish'd the Night before, those that built it went off to Sea in it, to try how 'twould sail. At last they found by some Letters they left behind them, that they were gone for *England*. And the Story of their Adventure is told us in this Manner: They borrow'd a Compass-Dial of a Neighbour, on some Pretence or other, and went aboard the Ship bound for *England*, where they truck'd with the Seamen such things as they had on board for Provisions. One of them at parting told the Mariners, that *tho they were forbidden to go with them, yet they hop'd to be in England before them*: At which the Master of the Ship laugh'd; and away these fearless Adventurers sail'd, with fair Wind and Weather for one and twenty Days. They then met with a Storm which reduc'd them to Extremity for eight and forty Hours; and obliging them to bear up afore it, drove them a little out of their Course to the Westward; but the Wind coming fair again, and continuing so ten Days, they went on chearfully. In that time they met with a *French Privateer*, where they went aboard to beg some Relief; but instead of helping them, he plunder'd them of the little they had, took away even their Instruments of Navigation, and turn'd them adrift. In this miserable Condi-

tion they fail'd on, growing daily weaker and weaker. Their Provisions were almost spent, their Fire-Wood quite gone, not a Drop of fresh Water left, nor Food for above a Day, when at last, in the very Hour they expected to perish, they made Land, to their unspeakable Joy. This Land was *Ireland*, where they went ashore in the County of *Cork*, and were nobly entertain'd by the Earl of *Thomond*, to whom they related their Voyage, which lasted 42 Days.

The Men were, Mr. *James Barker*, a Gentleman; *Richard Sanders*, the Contriver of the Design; *William Goodwin*, a Ship Carpenter, Chief Builder of the Boat; *Thomas Barker*, a Joyner; and *Henry Puet*, a Sailor; whose Enterprize was so daring, that it may well recommend their Names to Posterity.

1619.

Capt. Butler
1619. to
Capt. Butler,
with four good
Ships, in which
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gers; and there
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derable Figure;
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Virginia, and a
small Settlement
in New-England.

Capt. *Tucker* resign'd his Government in the Year 1619. to Capt. *Butler*, who arriv'd there at that time, with four good Ships, in which he brought at least 500 Passengers; and there being as many *English* already on the Island, the Colony began to make a considerable Figure; and the more, because the *English* had not any so numerous in *America*, nor indeed any other, except that at *Virginia*, and a small Settlement in *New-England*.

Capt. *Butler*, as has been hinted, rais'd a noble Monument over the Remains of Sir *George Sommers*, that were left in the Island, depositing them in the Church at *St. George's Town*, with an Inscription in *English Rhimes*, as barbarous as the Place he then govern'd.

He divided the Islands into Districts; and now the Government, by Governour, Council and Assembly, was establish'd, which before had been only by Governour and Council. The Laws of the Country were also settled as near as the Circumstances and Conveniencies of the Place would admit, to the Laws of *England*, as is done in all the Colonies in *America*.

Mr. Bernard
Governour,
1622.

When the three Years of Capt. *Butler's* Government were out, the Proprietors sent over one Mr. *Bernard* to supply his Place.

The Country did not agree with this Gentleman, as it had done with his Predecessors; for in less than six Weeks after his Arrival, he dy'd, and the Council made Choice of Mr. *Harrison* to preside till the Arrival of a new Governour, or fresh Orders from England.

Mr. Harrison President.

The Settlement was so well peopled, that in this Gentleman's Presidency there were reckon'd three thousand *English*; and their Affairs went on prosperously then, having no less than 10 Forts, and 60 Pieces of Cannon mounted.

M. Delaet calls him Wood-house.

We have had so little Acquaintance with, and Information of these Islands, that we cannot pretend to continue the Succession of the Governours, nor give a large History of the Events that happen'd under their Government. 'Tis true, there have not been many; and had our Information been the best that is to be procur'd, we know enough of the *Bermudas* Islands to be very well satisfy'd, that much could not be said of them.

The most considerable Person that ever visited these Islands, was *Edm. Waller*, Esq; a Proprietor of them, one of the most gallant Men, and one of the finest Wits in the Courts of King *Charles* the 1st, and King *Charles* the 2d; and one of those to whom Mr. *Dryden* confess'd he ow'd the Harmony of his Numbers.

This Gentleman being a Man of Fortune as well as Wit, was chosen a Member of the *Long Parliament*; and at first fell in with the Party against the King, tho he afterwards enter'd into the Conspiracy against the Parliament, for which Mr. *Chaloner* and Mr. *Tompkins* were executed; but Mr. *Waller* got off for a Fine of 10000 *l.* and Banishment. After which he went to the *Bermudas Islands*, where he stay'd some time, and from thence to *France*. When *Oliver* prevail'd, Mr. *Waller* return'd to *England*.

By his being in this Country, *Bermudas* has the Glory to be sung by one of the most harmonious Poets that ever beautify'd the *English* Tongue; and that is an Honour to which none of the other Islands, or any part of the *American* Continent, can pretend.

The Inhabitants of this Island were never any great Traders. They contented themselves with what they could raise out of the Earth for their Subsistence, and found enough for Nourishment and Pleasure.

The Healthiness of the Air invited several Persons from other Places; and by this Means 'twas computed that about 20 or 30 Years ago; there were 8 or 10000 Souls of *English* Extraction. Whether that Number has diminish'd since, we cannot tell; but we are inclin'd to believe, it is rather less than more.

The Government, in King *William's* Reign, sent over a very loyal Address; as also the *Association*, sign'd by the Governour, Council, Assembly, and principal Inhabitants; which Sir *William Trumball*, then Secretary of State, presented to his Majesty, Feb. 15. 1696.

The King, two Years afterwards, was pleas'd to appoint *Samuel Day*, Esq; to be Governour of these Islands; who embark'd aboard the *Maidstone* Man of War in *May*, and arriv'd in *July* at *St. George's*. He either was recall'd, or dy'd in his Government in two Years Time; for in 1700. Capt. *Bennet* was made Governour of his Majesty's *Bermudas* or *Summer Islands*: Of which we can say little more, except what relates to the Geographical or Natural Account of them; and we therefore proceed to it, hoping it will make some amends for what we fall short of in the History.

We come now to the Geographical Description of these Islands, and the other parts of our Account of them.

There are such a vast Number of them, that most of them yet want a Name, and indeed are so small, they are not worth it. Some Writers say there are 300 of them, others 400, and others 500: but not to stand to determine what is transmitted to us with so much Uncertainty, we shall only venture to be positive in that they are above 400, because the Major Part of the Writers, who make any Mention of them, agree in that Point.

They lie some Hundreds of Leagues from any Land; the nearest part of the *Continent*, which is *Cape Hattoras* in *Carolina*, being 300 Leagues from them, the Island of *Hispaniola* 400, *Madera* 1000, and *England* 1600; their Latitude is between 32 and 33 Deg. N. L.

From Spain 1000 Leagues, from London 1100, from Roanoke 500. Del.

The Eighth Part of them are not inhabited; and all but *St. George's*, *St. David's*, and *Cooper's Isles*, have only a few Houses scatter'd up and down. They altogether make the Figure of a Crescent, and are within the Circuit of 6 or 7 Leagues at most. There are none of them of any considerable Bigness, yet some much bigger than others, as *Time*, and the Sea continually washing upon them, have worn 'em away in different Proportions.

The Main or great Island of all, is call'd *St. Georges*, and is about 16 Miles in Length from E. N. E. to W. S. W. 'Tis not a League over in the broadest Place; but is fortify'd by Nature all around, the Rocks every way extending themselves a great way into the Sea. To which natural Strength, especially towards the *Eastward*, where 'tis most expos'd, the Inhabitants have added that of Forts, Batteries, Parapets, and Lines; the Cannon of the Forts and Batteries being so dispos'd, as to command the several Channels and Inlets into the Sea.

There are no more than 2 Places where Shipping may safely come in; and 'tis not easy for a Man to find those Places out. The Rocks lie so thick, in such a manner, and some so undiscover'd, that without a good Pilot from the Shoar, a Vessel of 10 Tuns would not find the Way into those Harbours; which being once known, the biggest Ships in the World may enter. These two Havens are so fortify'd, that if an Enemy should light of them, he might easily be kept out.

The Rocks in most Places appear at Low Water. It ebbs and flows there not above 5 Foot; the very Shoar it self is for the most part a Rock, and 'tis impossible to find out an Island better guarded by Rocks than this; indeed they are all of them so environ'd with them, that they seem to threaten all Ships who venture on that Coast, with present Destruction; and so many have been shipwreck'd upon them, that

the Spaniards gave them the Name of *Los Diabolos*, the Devils Islands; this Place having been fatal to them and all Nations.

The Town of *St. Georges* stands at the Bottom of the Haven of the same Name, which has no less than 6 or 7 Forts and Batteries; as *Kings Castle*, *Charles Fort*, *Pembrook Fort*, *Cavendish Fort*, *Davyes Fort*, *Warwick Fort*, and *Sandy's Fort*, mounted with above 70 Pieces of Cannon; and they are so dispos'd, that they can be all brought to bear upon any Ship before she can make her Entrance.

In this Town there is a fair Church, with a fine Library; for which the Inhabitants are indebted to *Dr. Thomas Bray*, the Patron of the *American Learning*. There are near a thousand Houses in it; 'tis very handsomely built, and has a State-house for the Meeting of the Governour, Council, and Assembly.

Besides the Town and Division of *St. Georges*, there are Eight Tribes, *Hamilton Tribe*, *Smith's Tribe*, *Devonshire Tribe*, *Pembrook Tribe*, *Paget's Tribe*, *Warwick Tribe*, *Southampton Tribe*, and *Sandy's Tribe*; of which *Devonshire* in the North, and *Southampton* in the South, are Parishes, have each a Church, and a particular Library. In the whole Island there are Plantations of Oranges, Mulberries, and other Productions of the Country, which render it a very beautiful Prospect.

There is a Haven in *Southampton Tribe*, or District, which is also call'd *Southampton*, and other Harbours; as the *Great Sound*, *Harrington's Inlet*, in *Hamilton Tribe*; *Paget's Port*, in *Paget's Tribe*, and others.

There are no Parish Churches in any of the lesser Islands, and all of the Inhabitants are rang'd under one or the other of the Eight Tribes.

As to the Climate, 'twas for fourscore Years reckon'd one of the healthiest Countries in the World; and the Sickly us'd to remove thither from the *Sugar Islands* in *America*, as they do from the Northern Parts of *France* to *Montpellier*, for the Air. But within this 20 Years there have been dreadful Hurricanes, which have had such an ill Effect on the Air, that the *Bermudas Islands* have had their Share of Sickness as well

well as the *Antilles* and *Charibbees*. However the Face of the Heavens, the Serenity and Beauty are still the same. The Weather is generally fine and pleasant, and the Air temperate and calm.

Here is a sort of perpetual Spring, and tho the Trees throw off their old Leaves, there are new ones always coming out at the same time. The Birds breed all the Year round, or at least in most Months, and the Country is alike *fruitful and charming, yet not so much more charming and fruitful than* England, as to tempt People who can live here, to transport themselves thither.

Hæ Insulæ
nec Cœli,
nec Soli
bonitate
cum illa
(Anglia)
ullo modo
sunt comparandæ.
Del.

'Tis true, the Thunders and Lightnings are here very dreadful, Rocks having been split asunder by the latter. The Storms come with every New Moon; and 'tis particularly observ'd, that if a Circle is seen about the Moon, a prodigious Tempest certainly follows. These Circles are larger there than any where else, and the Storms are more terrible. The N. and N. W. Winds are most predominant; and when they blow, turn Summer into Winter. The Rains are not frequent, but violent, and the Sky is then darken'd in a frightful manner. Seldom any Snow is to be seen there. The Soil of the Isle of *St. George's*, and the other Islands, are of several Colours and Tempers; the Brown is the best; the Whitish, which is like Sand, the next to it; and the Red, which resembles Clay, the worst. Two or three Foot under the Mould lies a solid white Body, which the Inhabitants call the *Rock*, tho with very little Reason, for 'tis as soft as Chaulk, and porous like a Pumice-Stone. Those Pores contain abundance of Water; and as much a Rock as 'tis, the Trees fasten their Roots in it, and draw their nourishing Sap from it. Clay is often found under it, and the hardest Kind of this Rock is met with under the red Mould; in this there's little or no Water, and it lies in the Ground in Quarries, like thick Slates, one upon another.

There's rarely any fresh Water in these Islands; what they have, comes through the Pores of the Slate or Rock; in which there are as many salt Particles, as in that which comes from the Sea, after it has soak'd through the Sand. These two sorts of

Water are all they have, except Rain Water, caught in Cisterns. Both of the other sorts are a little brackish.

The *English* have dug several Wells within four or five Paces of the Sea, that held a Correspondence with the Sea, and ebb'd and flow'd as that did; yet the Water was as fresh as that which was drawn up farther within Land.

The Soil is very fruitful, and yields two Crops a Year, for what they sow in *March*, they gather in *July*; and what they sow in *August*, in *December*; and the chief Product of the Country is Maze, or Indian Corn, the common Grain of *America*, which is the main Support of the People.

Their Fields yield Abundance of other Plants; as Tobacco, not a very good sort, and consequently of no great Advantage to them. They have most Kinds of other Plants, which are peculiar to the *West Indies*, and such as are brought from *Europe*, and are cultivated there, thrive to Perfection. They also have the *Poison Weed*, which is like *English Ivy*, and the Touch of it causes a Pain and Tumour for the present, but it goes off again, as the *Red Reed*, the Juice of whose Root is a forcible Vomit. The *Sea Feather* grows upon the Rocks at the Bottom of the Sea, like a Vine Leaf, but broader, with Veins of a palish Red. Excepting the *Poisonous Weed*, there's no venomous thing in these Islands, neither among Animals nor Vegetables; and if any venomous Beast is brought thither, 'twill not live. Some Lizards were seen before the Wild Cats, bred in the time of the Rat Plague, destroy'd them. But these Lizards had no Poison in them; neither have their Spiders any, tho' they are of a large Size; of which we shall have Occasion to speak more in this Chapter. We have run over their Fields, and must now visit their Forests, where we first find the Glory of *Libanus* of old.

The Cedar is a finer Tree than any of the sort in the other Parts of *America*. 'Tis harder, and more durable, will bear the Extremities of wet and dry Weather as well as Oak, is found to be an extraordinary Timber for Shipping, and they build the best Sloops, Brigantines, and such like Vessels, at *Bermudas*,

Bermudas, of all the *West Indies*, either for Service or Sailing.

These Trees, *Palmeto's*, *Pepper Trees*, bearing a Fruit like our *Barberries*, *Lawrel*, *Olive Trees*, *Mulberry Trees*, and many others, for which the *English* knew no Names, were the natural Growth of the Island.

Their *Palm-Tree* is a sort of wild Palm, resembling the true Indian Palm in all things but the Fruit, which is black and round like a *Damelson*. 'Twas observ'd, that abundance of Silk Worms lodg'd in their Leaves, and there being also great Plenty of *Mulberry Trees*, the Silk Manufacture might have been improv'd more than 'tis, had the Inhabitants known their Interest, or pursu'd it better.

There are great Variety of odoriferous Woods, some black, some of a yellow, and some of a red Colour. The Berries of these Trees have the styptick Quality of a *Sloe*, and are much us'd by the *English* to cure the Flux, which they frequently get by eating the luscious *Palm-Berries* too greedily.

Their other Fruits are *Dates*; their *Prickl'd Pear*, like an *English Katherine* in Shape and Size, full of Juice like a *Mulberry*: It grows upon the Rocks. And near the Sea-side is found a kind of *Woodbind*, bearing a Fruit resembling a *Bean*, and another Shrub like a *Bramble*, whose Fruit is a hard tough Berry, in a hard Shell.

The most famous Fruit, and one of the most delicious in the *Universe*, is their *Orange*, much larger than any that grow elsewhere, of such a Fragrancy both in Taste and Smell, that it may compare with the richest Fruit in the World.

There grows a Berry in *Bermudas* call'd the *Summer Island Reedweed*; which Berry is as red as the *Prickle Pear*, giving much the like Tincture. Out of which Berry come first Worms, which afterwards turn into Flies, somewhat bigger than the *Co-*
Phil. Tran:
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784.
chineal Fly, feeding on the same Berry. In which 'tis said, there has been found a Colour nothing inferior to that of the *Cochineal Fly*, and a Medicinal Vertue much exceeding it.

As for the Animals in these Islands, there were none but Hogs, Insects and Birds, when Sir *George Sommers* was shipwreck'd there. He found out that there were some Hogs in the Island, by sending out two or three of his own to feed, and when they rambled home, a huge wild Boar follow'd them, and being kill'd was found to be excellent Meat.

The Hogs they kill'd afterwards were all black, and from thence 'tis concluded, that the *Spaniards* had left them there to breed, because they were of the same Kind with those they carry'd to the *Continent of America*.

Some have fancy'd the Islands deriv'd their Name from thence, *Bermudas* signifying in the old *Castilian* Dialect, a *Black Hog*. Waving that as a foolish Imagination, 'tis certain, the Island was stor'd with them, and that the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* us'd to leave some on uninhabited Islands, in their Way to the *West Indies*, that in case they were driven ashore there, or were forc'd to put in, they might be sure to meet with fresh Provisions. They now fat them at *Bermudas* with Palm and Cedar Berries, but their Number is very much decreas'd.

These Islands abound in more and greater Variety of Fowl, than any in *America*. There are Hawks of all sorts, Herons, Bitterns, Offspreys, Cormorants, Baldcoots, Moor-Hens, Swans, Teal, Snipe, Duck, and Widgeon.

Bats and Owls are also very common here, with Multitudes of small Birds, as Woodpeckers, Sparrows, &c.

The *English* at their first coming, found a sort of Fowl here call'd *Cohows*, which bred in the Holes of the Rocks, and in Burrows, like a Coney; and were so numerous, and gentle, that they were taken by Hand. They are now almost all destroy'd, being very easy to be caught. 'Tis of the Bigness of a Sea-mew.

There are also the *Tropick Bird*, and the *Pemlico*, seldom seen by Day, and the unwelcom Foreteller of a Storm.

Fish here is as plenty as Fowl, of which there are so many sorts, that Authors have not yet found out Names for them.

They

They have of the scaly and the shelly Kind, the Whale, the Sword-Fish, and the Thresher; but particularly the Tortoise abounds to a Wonder, and is as good and great of the sort as any in the World. Whale-Fishing has been attempted, but without Success.

The Whales about *Bermudas* are to be found on-ly in the Months of *February*, *March*, and *April*. One *John Perinche* found one dead there, driven upon an Island; and, tho ignorant in the Business, yet got a great Quantity of *Sperma Cati* out of it. Ib. 844.

Their Whales have not as much Oil as some others; what they have, is at first like *Sperma Cati*, but they clarify it by Fire.

The Reader will not be displeas'd with the following Account of the Whales at *Bermudas*, communicated by Mr. *Richard Stafford* to the Royal Society.

' We have in these Seas about *Bermudas*, great Store of Whales; which in *March*, *April*, and *May*, use our Coasts. I have my self kill'd many of them. Their Females have Abundance of Milk, which their young ones suck out of the Teats that grow by their Navel. They have no Teeth, but feed on Grass, growing on the Rocks at the Bottom, during these three Months, and at no other Season of the Year. When that is consum'd and gone, the Whales go away also; those we kill are for Oil. But there have been *Sperma Cati* Whales driven upon the Shoar; which *Sperma* (as they call it) lies all over the Bodies of those Whales. These have divers Teeth, which may be about as big as a Man's Wrist. Ib. 847.

Ambergrease and *Sperma Cati* have been found here in great Quantities, and Pearl; all which are almost as rare here now as elsewhere.

The Spider in these Islands is a beautiful Insect, looking as if 'twas adorn'd with Pearl and Gold. Its Web is, in Colour and Substance, a perfect raw Silk, and so strongly woven, that running from Tree to Tree, like so many Snares, small Birds are sometimes caught in them, as Capt. *Smith* reports, whose Authority was very good in his Day.

Musketoos, Bugs, Ants, and other Insects, are here, and some of them very troublesome and mischievous.

We have little more to say of this Place: The Government of which resembles (as has been said) that of the other Colonies, by a Governour, Council, and Assembly.

They have fewer By-Laws than any of our other Settlements; which we impute to the Smallness of their Trade: For this Colony produces no considerable Commodity, by which the Inhabitants may be enrich'd; and their Commerce consists chiefly in Timber and Provisions, which they send to the other Parts of *America*, that stand in need of them, and some Tobacco imported to *England*.

Several Families retir'd thither formerly, on account of their Religion or Health, from *England*; and carry'd considerable Effects with them. There is a sort of pedling Retail Trade between *England* and those Islands, by which neither the Inhabitants of the one Place, or the other, grow much the richer.

The building of Ships and Sloops is the most advantageous Branch of their Traffick; and the People of *Bermudas* seem to content themselves with the Pleasure and Plenty of their Country, with a safe and quiet Retreat from the Troubles and Cares of the other Parts of the World, without any Ambition to enrich themselves; and if they had any such Desire, 'tis to be question'd, whether they have any Opportunity of gratifying it.

Mr. *Norwood*, and the before-mention'd Mr. *Stafford*, having given a further Account of *Bermudas*, we shall communicate it to the Reader in their own Words.

Lowth.
Vol. 3. p.
561.

' I never saw any Sand in the *Bermudas*, such as
' will grind Grass, or whet Knives, &c. as in *Eng-*
' *land*; but a Substance like Sand, tho' much soft-
' er. Neither have we any Pebble-Stones, or
' Flints. The Inhabitants here at *Bermudas* live
' some to an Hundred Years, and something up-
' wards. Many live till they are nigh an Hundred,
' but few above. And when they die, Age and
' Weakness are the Cause, and not any Disease that
' at.

attends them. The general Distemper that is Yearly among us, is a Cold ; and that is most gotten in the hottest Weather. The Air is here very sweet and pleasant. Our Diet is but ordinary: The People are generally poor ; and I observe, that poor People are most healthful.

That *Weed* which we call *Poison Weed*, grows like our *Ivy*. I have seen a Man who was so poison'd with it, that the Skin peal'd off his Face, and yet the Man never touch'd it, only look'd on it as he pass'd by. But I have chaw'd it in my Mouth, and it did me no harm: It is not hurtful to all.

Here are Spiders, that spin their Webs between Trees, standing seven or Eight Fathom asunder, and they do their Work by spirting their Web into the Air, where the Wind carries it from Tree to Tree. This Web, when finish'd, will snare a Bird as big as a Thrush.

We cover our Houses with the Leaves, not the Bark of a Tree, which is the Palmeto ; without which Tree we could not live comfortably in this Island. The Leaves of some of these Trees are Eight or Ten Foot long, and nigh as broad.

We shall conclude what we have to say on this Head with Mr. *Waller's* Verses, in Praise of these Islands, which are to be found in the first *Canto* of his Poem, call'd,

The Battle of the SUMMER-ISLANDS.

Bermudas wall'd with Rocks, who does not know
 That happy Island where huge Lemons grow,
 And Orange Trees, which golden Fruit do bear,
 The Hesperian Gardens boast of none so fair ;
 Where shining Pearl, Coral, and many a Pound,
 On the rich Shoar, of Ambergrease is found ?
 The lofty Cedar which to Heaven aspires,
 The Prince of Trees, is Fuel for their Fires.

The History of Bermudas.

*The Smoak by which their loaded Spits do turn,
 For Incense might on sacred Altars burn :
 Their private Roofs on oderous Timber born,
 Such as might Palaces for Kings adorn.
 Their sweet Palmetoes a new Bacchus yield,
 With Leaves as ample as the broadest Shield ;
 Under the Shadow of whose friendly Boughs,
 They sit carousing where their Liquor grows.*

*Figs there unplanted thro' the Field do grow,
 Such as fierce Cato did the Romans shew ;
 With the rare Fruit inviting them to spoil
 Carthage, the Mistress of so rich a Soil.*

*The naked Rocks are not unfruitful here,
 But at some constant Seasons, every Year,
 Their barren Tops with luscious Food abound,
 And with the Eggs of various Fowl are crown'd.*

*Tobacco is the worst of things, which they
 To English Landlords as their Tribute pay.
 Such is the Mould that the blest Tenant feeds
 On precious Fruits, and pays his Rent in Weeds.
 With candid Plantines and the juicy Pine,
 On choicest Melons and sweet Grapes they dine,
 And with Potatoes fat their wanton Swine.
 Nature these Cates, with such a lavish Hand,
 Pours out among them, that our courser Land
 Tastes of that Bounty, and does Cloth return ;
 Which not for Warmth, but Ornament is worn :
 For the kind Spring, which but salutes us here,
 Inhabits there, and courts them all the Year.*

*Ripe Fruits and Blossoms on the same Trees live,
At once they promise what at once they give.
So sweet the Air, so moderate the Clime,
None sickly lives, or dies before his time.
Heav'n sure has kept this Spot of Earth uncurs'd,
To shew how all things were created first.
The tardy Plants in our cold Orchards plac'd,
Reserve their Fruits for the next Ages Taste :
There a small Grain, in some few Months, will be
A firm, a lofty and a spacious Tree.
The Palma Christi, and the fair Papah,
Now but a Seed, (preventing Nature's Law)
In half the Circle of the hasty Year,
Project a Shade, and lovely Fruits do wear.*

*The Rocks so high about this Island rise,
That well they may the num'rous Turks despise, &c.*

The Critical Reader will consider these Verses were written 60 Years ago, and must excuse what there is in them that tastes of Antiquity, for what there is that may teach the Moderns. They are not Mr. Waller's best Verses, neither are they his worst; be they what they will, they serve to give those that read them, a very lively Idæa of the Country we are treating of, and that is all we propose by inserting them.

The Government of these Islands is, as has been said, like the rest, by Governour, Council and Assembly. The Names of the former we have procur'd, but could not learn those of the latter.

Governour;

Gouverneur,

Bennet, Esq;

Richard Penniston, Esq;

John Tucker, Esq;

Anthony White, Esq;

Thomas Harford, Esq;

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