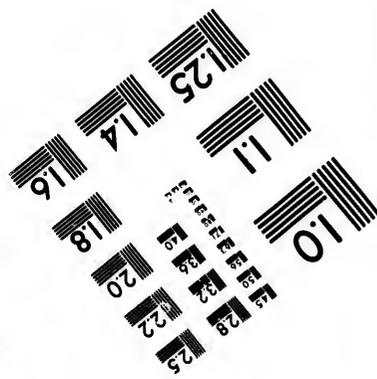
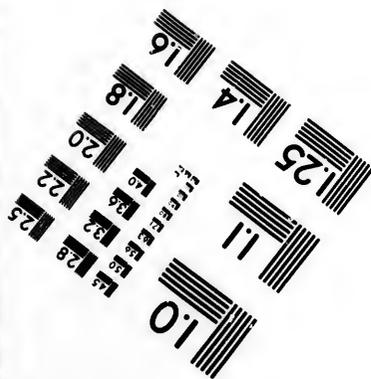
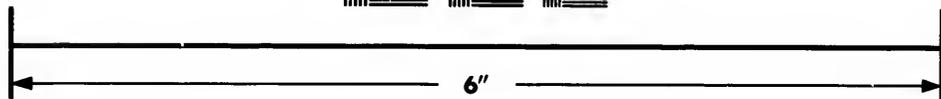
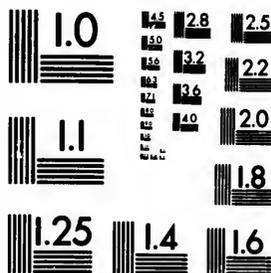


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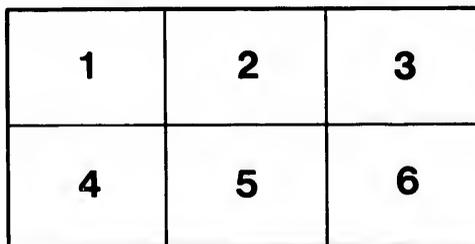
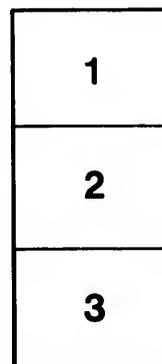
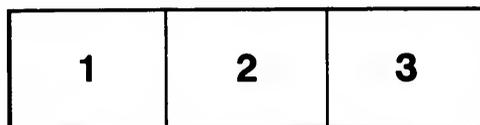
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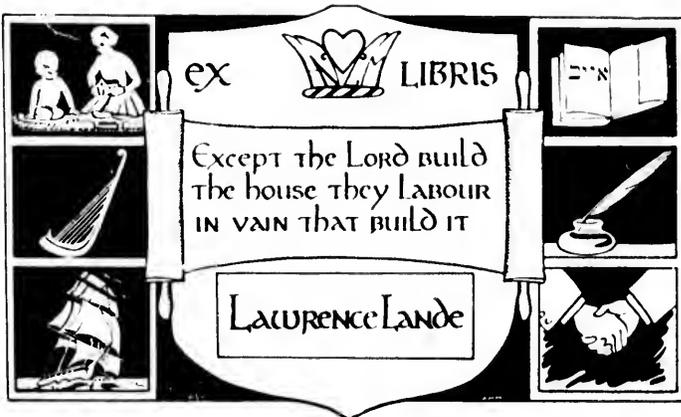
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CONTAINING

An exact ACCOUNT of their first SETTLEMENTS;

THEIR

SITUATION,  
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PRODUCE,  
BEASTS,  
BIRDS,  
FISHES.

COMMODITIES,  
MANUFACTURES,  
COMMERCE,  
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CHARTERS,  
LAWS,  
GOVERNMENTS.

CITIES,  
TOWNS,  
PORTS,  
RIVERS,  
LAKES,  
MOUNTAINS, AND  
FORTIFICATIONS.

WITH

The present STATE of the different COLONIES,

AND

A large INTRODUCTION.

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Illustrated with a MAP of NORTH AMERICA.

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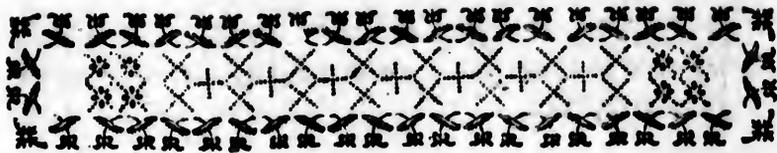
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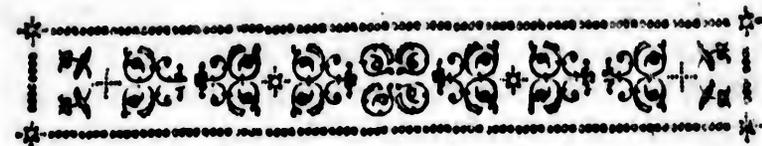
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## INTRODUCTION.

**O**UR English are masters of all that space, which extends from the river St. Lawrence to the Mississippi; so that, without reckoning Hudson's bay, Newfoundland, and the other islands of North-America, they are in possession of the largest empire that ever was formed upon the face of the globe. This vast territory is divided from north to south by a chain of high mountains, which alternately receding from, and approaching the coast, leave between them and the ocean a rich tract of land of a hundred and fifty, two hundred, and sometimes three hundred miles in breadth. Beyond these Appalachian mountains is an immense desert, into which some travellers have ventured as far as eight hundred leagues without finding an end to it. It is supposed that the rivers at the extremity of these uncultivated regions have a communication with the South-Sea. If this conjecture, which is not destitute of probability, should be confirmed by experience, England would unite in her colonies all the branches of communication and commerce of the new world. By her territories extending from one American sea to the other, she may be said to join the four quarters of the world. From all her European ports, from all her African settlements, she freights and sends out ships to the new world. From her maritime settlements in the east, she would have a direct channel to the West-Indies, by the

the Pacific ocean. She would discover those slips of land or branches of the sea, the isthmus or the streight, which lies between the northern extremities of Asia and America. By the vast extent of her colonies she would have in her own power all the avenues of trade, and would secure all the advantages of it by her numerous fleets. Perhaps, by having the empire of all the seas, she might aspire to the supremacy of both worlds. But it is not in the destiny of any single nation to attain such a pitch of greatness. Is then extent of dominion so flattering an object, when conquests are made only to be lost again? Let the Romans speak! Does it constitute power, to possess such a share of the globe, that some part shall always be enlightened by the rays of the sun, if, while we reign in one world, we are to languish in obscurity in the other? Let the Spaniards answer!

If the English can, by the means of culture and navigation, preserve an empire, which must ever be found too extensive, when it cannot be maintained without bloodshed, they will be very happy. But as this is the price which ambition must always pay for the success of its enterprizes, it is by commerce alone that conquests can become valuable to a maritime power. Never did war procure for any conqueror a territory more improveable by human industry than that of the northern continent of America. Although the land in general is so low near the sea, that, in many parts, it is scarcely distinguishable from the top of the main mast, even after mooring in fourteen fathom, yet the coast is very easy of access, because the depth diminishes insensibly as you advance. From this circumstance, it is easy to determine exactly by the line the distance of the main land. Besides this, the mariner has another sign, which is the appearance of trees, that, seeming to rise  
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## I N T R O D U C T I O N. 3

out of the sea, form an enchanting object to his view upon a shore, which presents roads and harbours without number for the reception and preservation of shipping.

When a soil is newly cleared, the produce is very large; but, in return, it is a long time in coming to maturity. Many plants are even so late in flower, that the winter prevents their ripening; while, on our continent, both the fruit and the seed of them are gathered in a more northern latitude. What should be the cause of this phænomenon? Before the arrival of the Europeans, the North Americans, living upon the produce of their hunting and fishery, left their lands totally uncultivated. The whole country was covered with woods and thickets. Under the shade of these forests grew a multitude of plants. The leaves, which fell every winter from the trees, formed a bed three or four inches thick. Before the damps had quite rotted this species of manure, the summer came on; and nature, left entirely to herself, continued heaping incessantly upon each other these effects of her fertility. The plants buried under wet leaves, through which they with difficulty made their way in a long course of time, became accustomed to a slow vegetation. The force of culture has not yet been able to subdue this habit fixed and confirmed by ages, nor have the dispositions of nature given way to the influence of art. But this climate, so long unknown or neglected by mankind, presents them with advantages, which supply the defects and ill consequences of that omission.

Almost every tree that is a native of our climate, is produced there. It has also others peculiar to itself; among these are the sugar maple, and the candleberry myrtle. The candleberry myrtle is a shrub which delights in a moist soil, and is, therefore, seldom found

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

at any distance from the sea. Its seeds are covered with a white powder, which looks like flour. When they are gathered towards the end of autumn, and put into boiling water, there rises a viscous body, which swims at the top, and is skimmed off. As soon as this is come to a consistence, it is commonly of a dirty green colour. To purify it, it is boiled a second time, when it becomes transparent, and of an agreeable green.

The first Europeans who landed in this country made use of this substance both as tallow and wax, it being in consistence a medium between both. The dearth of it has occasioned it to be less used, in proportion as the number of domestic animals hath increased. Nevertheless, as it burns slower than tallow, is less subject to melt, and has not that disagreeable smell, it is still preferred, where-ever it can be procured at a moderate price. The property of giving light is, of all its uses, the least valuable. It serves to make excellent soap and plaisters for wounds: It is even employed for the purpose of sealing letters. The sugar maple does not merit less attention than the candleberry myrtle, as may be conceived from its name.

This tree grows as high as an oak, and it is natural for it to flourish in marshy places or by the side of streams. In the month of March, an incision of the depth of three or four inches is made in the lower part of the trunk. A pipe is put into the orifice, through which the juice that flows from it, is conveyed into a vessel placed to receive it. The young trees are so full of this liquor, that in half an hour, they will fill a quart bottle. The old ones afford less, but of a much better quality. No more than one incision or two at most can be made, without draining and weakening the tree. If three or four pipes are applied, it soon dies.

The

The sap of this tree has naturally the flavour of honey. To reduce it to sugar, they evaporate it by fire, till it has acquired the consistence of a thick syrup. It is then poured into moulds of earthen ware or bark of the birch-tree. The syrup hardens as it cools, and becomes a red kind of sugar, almost transparent, and pleasant enough to the taste. To give it a whiteness, they sometimes mix up flour with it in the making; but this ingredient always changes the flavour of it. This kind of sugar is used for the same purposes as that which is made from canes; but eighteen or twenty pounds of juice go to the making of one pound of sugar, so that it can be of no great use in trade.

The woods in North America are crowded with birds, one of which is very remarkable in its kind; this is the humming bird, a species of which, on account of its smallness, is called by the French *Poiseau-mouche*, or the fly-bird. Its beak is long and pointed like a needle; and its claws are not thicker than a common pin. Upon its head it has a black tuft of incomparable beauty. Its breast is of a rose-colour, and its belly white as milk. The back, wings, and tail, are grey, bordered with silver, and streaked with the brightest gold. The down, which covers all the plumage of this little bird, gives it so delicate a cast, that it resembles a velvet flower, whose beauty fades on the slightest touch.

This delightful bird appears in the spring. Its nest, perched on the middle of a bough, is covered on the outside with a grey and greenish moss, and on the inside lined with a very soft down gathered from yellow flowers. This nest is half an inch in depth, and about an inch in diameter. There are never found more than two eggs in it, about the size of the smallest peas. Many attempts have been made to rear the young

## 6 INTRODUCTION.

young ones; but they have never lived more than three weeks or a month at most.

It lives entirely on the juice of flowers, fluttering from one to another, like the bees. Sometimes it buries itself in the calix of the largest flowers. Its flight produces a buzzing noise like that of a spinning-wheel. When it is tired, it lights upon the nearest tree or stake; rests a few minutes, and flies again to the flowers. Notwithstanding its weakness, it does not appear timid; but will suffer a man to approach within eight or ten feet of it.

These little birds are extremely malicious, passionate, and quarrelsome. They are often seen fighting together with great fury and obstinacy. The strokes they give with their beak are so sudden and so quick, that they are not distinguishable by the eye. Their wings move with such agility, that they seem not to move at all. They are more heard than seen; and their noise resembles that of a sparrow.

They are so very impatient, that, when they come near a flower, if they find it faded and withered, they tear all the leaves asunder. The precipitation, with which they peck it, betrays, as it is said, the rage with which they are animated. Towards the end of the summer, thousands of flowers may be seen stript of all their leaves by the fury of the fly-birds. It may be doubted, however, whether this mark for resentment is not rather an effect of hunger than of an unnecessarily destructive instinct.

Insects formerly devoured every thing in North America. As the air was not yet purified, nor the ground cleared, nor the woods cut down, nor the waters drained off, these little animals destroyed, without opposition, all the productions of nature. None of them was useful to mankind. There is only one at present,

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present, which is the bee : But this is supposed to have been carried from the old to the new world. The savages call it the English fly ; and it is only found near the coasts. These circumstances announce it to be of foreign original. The bees fly in numerous swarms through the forests of the new world. They increase every day. Their honey is employed to several uses. Many persons make it their food. The wax becomes daily a more considerable branch of trade.

America has not received the bee alone from Europe ; she has enriched her also with a breed of domestic animals ; for the savages had none. America had not yet associated beasts with men in the labours of cultivation, when the Europeans carried over thither in their ships several of our species of domestic animals. They have multiplied there prodigiously ; but all of them, excepting the hog, whose whole merit consists in fattening himself, have lost much of that strength and size which they enjoyed in those countries from whence they were brought. The oxen, horses, and sheep, have degenerated in the northern British colonies, though the particular kinds of each had been chosen with great precaution.

That they have not been transplanted with more success, is undoubtedly owing to the climate, the nature of the air, and the soil. These animals, as well as men, were at first attacked by epidemical disorders. If the contagion did not, as in men, affect the principles of generation, several species of them at least were with much difficulty reproduced. Each generation fell short of the last ; and, as it happens to American plants in Europe, European cattle continually degenerated in America. Such is the law of climates, which wills every people, every species of animal and vegetable, to grow and flourish in its native soil. The

## 8      I N T R O D U C T I O N .

love of their own country seems an ordinance of nature prescribed to all beings, like the desire of preserving their existence.

However, it must be allowed, that there are certain correspondencies of climate, which form exceptions to the general rule against transporting animals and plants. When the English first landed on the North American continent, the wandering inhabitants of those desolate regions had scarcely arrived at the cultivation of a small quantity of maize. This species of corn, unknown at that time in Europe, was the only one known in the new world. The culture of it was by no means difficult. The savages contented themselves with taking off the turf, making a few holes in the ground with a stick, and throwing into each of them a single grain, which produced two hundred and fifty, or three hundred. The method of preparing it for food was not more complicated. They pounded it in a wooden or stone mortar, and made it into a paste, which they baked under embers. They often ate it boiled or roasted merely upon the coals.

Numberless are the advantages of the maize. Its leaves are useful in feeding cattle; a circumstance of great moment where there are very few meadows. A hungry, light, sandy soil, agrees best with this plant. The seed may be frozen in the spring two or three times, without impairing the harvest. In short, it is of all plants the one that is least injured by the excess of drought or moisture.

These causes, which introduced the cultivation of it into that part of the world, induced the English to preserve and even promote it in their settlements. They sold it to Portugal, to South America, and the sugar islands, and had sufficient for their own use. They did not, however, neglect to enrich their plantations

tations with European grains, all of which succeeded, though not so perfectly as in their native soil. With the superfluity of their harvests, the produce of their herds, and the clearing of the forests, the colonists formed a trade with all the wealthiest and most populous provinces of the new world.

It being now evident to the mother-country, that her northern colonies had supplanted her in her trade with South America, and fearing that they would soon become her rivals, even in Europe, at all the markets for salt and corn, endeavoured to divert their industry to objects that might be more useful to her. She wanted neither motives nor means to bring about this purpose, and had soon an opportunity of carrying it into execution.

Sweden used to furnish the greatest part of the pitch and tar the English wanted for their fleet. In 1703, that state was so blind to its true interest, as to lay this important branch of commerce under the restrictions of an exclusive patent. The first effect of this monopoly was a sudden and unnatural increase of price. England, taking advantage of this blunder of the Swedes, encouraged, by considerable premiums, the importation of all sorts of naval stores which North America could furnish.

The effect that was expected from these rewards did not immediately appear. A bloody war, raging in each of the four quarters of the world, prevented both the mother-country and the colonies from giving to this infant revolution of commerce the attention which it merited. The northern nations, whose interests were united, taking this inaction, which was only occasioned by the hurry of a war, for an absolute proof of inability, thought they might, without danger, lay every restrictive clause upon the exportation.

of marine stores, that could contribute to enhance the price of them. For this end, they entered into mutual engagements, which were made public in 1718, a time when all the maritime powers still felt the effects of a war that had continued fourteen years.

So hateful a convention alarmed the English. They dispatched to America men of sufficient ability to convince the inhabitants how necessary it was for them to assist the views of the mother-country, and of sufficient experience to direct their first attempts towards great objects, without making them pass through those minute details, which quickly extinguish an ardour that is excited with difficulty. In a very short time, such quantities of pitch, tar, turpentine, yards, and masts, were brought into the harbours of Great Britain, that she was enabled to supply the nations around her.

The British government were blinded by this sudden success. The cheapness of the commodities furnished by the colonies, in comparison of those which were brought from the Baltic, gave them an advantage, which seemed to insure a constant preference. Upon this the ministry concluded that the bounties might be withdrawn. But they had not taken into their calculation the difference of freight, which was entirely in favour of their rivals. A total stop ensued in this branch of trade, and made them sensible of their error. In 1729, they revived the bounties; which, though they were not laid so high as formerly, were sufficient to give to the vent of American stores the greatest superiority, at least in England, over those of the northern nations.

The governors of the mother-country had hitherto overlooked the woods, although they constituted the chief riches of the colonies. The produce of them  
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INTRODUCTION. 11

had long been exported by the English to Spain, Portugal, and the different markets in the Mediterranean, where it was bought up for building and other uses. As these traders did not take in return merchandise sufficient to complete their cargoes, it had been a practice with the Hamburgers, and even the Dutch, to import on their bottoms the produce of the most fertile climates of Europe. The double trade of export and carrying, had considerably augmented the British navy. The parliament, being informed of this advantage, in the year 1722, immediately exempted the timber of the colonies from all those duties of importation, which Russian, Swedish, and Danish timber are subject to. This first favour was followed by a bounty, which, at the same time that it comprehended every species of wood in general, was principally calculated for those which are employed in ship-building. An advantage, so considerable in itself, would have been greatly improved, if the colonies had built among themselves vessels proper for transporting cargoes of such weight; if they had made wood-yards, from which they might have furnished complete freights; and, finally, if they had abolished the custom of burning in the spring the leaves which had fallen in the preceding autumn. This foolish practice destroys all the young trees that are beginning in that season to shoot out, and leaves only the old ones, which are too rotten for use. It is notorious, that vessels constructed in America, or with American materials, last but a very short time. This inconvenience may arise from several causes; but that which has just been mentioned, merits the greater attention, as it may be easily remedied. Besides timber and masts for ships, America is capable of furnishing

likewise sails and rigging, by the cultivation of hemp and flax.

The French protestants, who, when driven from their country by a victorious, but a bigotted prince, carried their national industry every where into the countries of his enemies, and taught England the value of two commodities of the utmost importance to a maritime power. Both flax and hemp were cultivated with some success in Scotland and Ireland. Yet the manufactures of the nation were chiefly supplied with both from Russia. To put a stop to this foreign importation, it was proposed to grant a bounty to North America of 135 livres, (6 l.) for every ton of these articles. But habit, which is an enemy to all novelties, however useful, prevented the colonists at first from being allured by this bait. They are since reconciled to it; and the produce of their flax and hemp serves to keep at home a considerable part of 45,000,000, (1,968,750 l.) which went annually out of Great Britain for the purchase of foreign linens. It may, perhaps, in time be improved so far as to be equal to the whole demand of the kingdom, and even to supplant other nations in all the markets. A soil entirely fresh, which costs nothing, does not stand in need of manure, is intersected by navigable rivers, and may be cultivated by slaves, affords ground for immense expectations. To the timber and canvas requisite for shipping, we have yet to add iron. The northern parts of America furnish this commodity, to assist in acquiring the gold and silver which so abundantly flow in the southern.

The Americans were ignorant of this most useful metal, till the Europeans taught them the most fatal uses of it, that of making weapons. The English themselves long neglected the iron mines, which

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which nature had lavished on the continent, where they were settled. That channel of wealth had been diverted from the mother country by being clogged with enormous duties. The proprietors of the national mines, aided by those of the coppice woods, which are used in the working of them, had procured imposts to be laid on them that amounted to a prohibition. By corruption, intrigue, and sophistry, these enemies to the public good had stifled a competition, which would have been fatal to their interests. At length the government took the first step towards a right conduct. The importation of American iron into the port of London was granted, duty-free; but, at the same time, it was forbid to be carried to any other ports, or even more than ten miles in land. This whimsical restriction continued till 1757. At that time, the general voice of the people called upon the parliament to repeal an ordinance so manifestly contrary to every principle of public utility, and to extend to the whole kingdom a privilege which had been granted exclusively to the capital.

This demand, though very reasonable, met with the strongest opposition. Combinations of interested individuals were formed to represent, that the hundred and nine forges wrought in England, not reckoning those of Scotland, produced annually eighteen thousand tons of iron, and employed a great number of able workmen; that the mines, which were inexhaustible, would have supplied a much greater quantity, had not a perpetual apprehension prevailed, that the duties on American iron would be taken off; that the iron works carried on in England consumed annually one hundred and ninety-eight thousand cords of underwood, and that those woods furnished moreover bark for the tanneries and materials for ship-building; and

and that the American iron, not being proper for steel, for making sharp instruments, or many of the utensils of navigation, would contribute very little to lessen the importation from abroad, and would have no other effect than that of putting a stop to the forges of Great Britain.

The parliament paid no attention to these groundless representations, as they plainly saw, that, unless the price of the original materials could be lessened, the nation would soon lose the numberless manufactures of iron and steel, by which it had so long been enriched; and that there was no time to be lost in putting a stop to the progress other nations, by their industry, had made in it. It was therefore resolved, that the free importation of iron from America should be permitted in all the ports of England. This wise resolution was accompanied with an act of justice. The proprietors of coppices were, by a statute of Henry the Eighth, forbidden to clear their lands: The parliament took off this prohibition, and left them at liberty to make such use of their estates as they should think proper.

Before these regulations took place, Great Britain used to pay annually to Spain, Norway, Sweden, and Russia, ten millions of livres (437,500 *l.*) for the iron she purchased of them. This tribute is greatly lessened, and will decrease. The ore is found in such quantities in America, and is so easily separated from the ground, that the English do not despair of having it in their power to furnish Portugal, Turkey, Africa, the East Indies, and every country in the world with which they have any commercial connections.

Perhaps, the English may be too sanguine in their representations of the advantages they expect from so many articles of importance to their navy. But it is sufficient for them, if, by the assistance of their colonies,

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nies, they can free themselves from that dependence in which the northern powers of Europe have hitherto kept them, with regard to the equipment of their fleets. Formerly their operations might have been prevented, or at least interrupted, by a refusal of the necessary materials. From this time nothing will be able to check their natural ardour for the empire of the sea, which alone can insure to them the empire of the new world.

After having paved the way to that grand object, by forming a free, independent navy, superior to that of every other nation, England has adopted every measure that can contribute to her enjoyment of this species of conquest she has made in America, less by the force of her arms than of her industry. By bounties judiciously bestowed, she has succeeded so far as to draw annually from that country twenty million weight of pot-ashes. The greatest progress has been made in the cultivation of rice, indigo, and tobacco. In proportion as the settlements, from their natural tendency, stretched forth towards the south, fresh projects and enterprizes, suitable to the nature of the soil, suggested themselves. In the temperate and in the hot climates, the several productions were expected which necessarily reward the labours of the cultivator. Wine was the only article that seemed to be wanting to the new hemisphere; and the English, who have none in Europe, were eager to produce some in America.

That extensive continent possessed by the English, produces large quantities of wild vines, which bear grapes, differing in colour, size, and quantity, but all of a sour and disagreeable flavour. It was supposed that good management would give these plants that perfection, which unassisted nature had denied them; and French vine-dressers were invited into a country,

country, where neither public nor private impositions took away their inclination to labour, by depriving them of the fruits of their industry. The repeated experiments they made both with American and European plants, were all equally unsuccessful. The juice of the grape was too watery, too weak, and almost impossible to be preserved in a hot climate. The country was too full of woods, which attract and confine the moist and hot vapours; the seasons were too unsettled, and the insects too numerous near the forests to suffer a production to expand and prosper, of which the English and all other nations who have it not, are so ambitious. The time will come, perhaps, though it will be long, when their colonies will furnish them with a beverage, which they envy and purchase from France, repining inwardly that they are obliged to contribute towards enriching a rival, whom they are anxious to ruin. This disposition is cruel. England has other more gentle and more honourable means of attaining that prosperity she is ambitious of. Her emulation may be better and more usefully exerted on an article now cultivated in each of the four quarters of the globe; this is silk! the work of that little worm which clothes mankind with the leaves of trees digested in its entrails; silk! that double progeny of nature and of art.

Immense sums of money are every year exported from Great Britain for the purchase of this rich production; which gave rise, about thirty years ago, to a plan for obtaining silk from Carolina; the mildness of the climate, and the great abundance of mulberry-trees, seemed favourable to the project. Some attempts made by government to attract some Switzers into the colony, were more successful than could have been expected. Yet the progress of this branch of trade has

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not been answerable to so promising a beginning. The blame has been laid on the inhabitants of the colony, who buying only negroe men, from whom they received an immediate and certain profit, neglected to have women, who, with their children, might have been employed in bringing up silk-worms, an occupation suitable to the weakness of that sex, and to the tepidest age. But it ought to have been considered, that men, coming from another hemisphere into a rude uncultivated country, would apply their first care to the cultivation of esculent plants, breeding cattle, and the toils of immediate necessity. This is the natural and constant proceeding of well governed states. From agriculture, which is the source of population, they rise to the arts of luxury; and the arts of luxury nourish commerce, which is the child of industry, and father of wealth. The time is, perhaps, come, when the English may employ whole colonies in the cultivation of silk. This is, at least, the national opinion. On the 18th of April 1769, the parliament granted a bounty of 25 per cent. for seven years, on all raw silks imported from the colonies; a bounty of 20 per cent. for seven years following, and, for seven years after that, a bounty of 15 per cent. If this encouragement produces such improvements as may reasonably be expected from it, the next step undoubtedly will be the cultivation of cotton and olive trees, which seem particularly adapted to the climate and soil of the English colonies. There are not, perhaps, any rich productions either in Europe or Asia, but what may be transplanted and cultivated with success on the vast continent of North America, as soon as population shall have provided hands in proportion to the extent and fertility of so rich a territory. The great object  
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of the mother country at present is the peopling of her colonies.

The first persons, who landed in this desert and savage region, were Englishmen, who had been persecuted at home for their civil and religious opinions.

It was not to be expected that this first emigration would be attended with important consequences. The inhabitants of Great Britain are so strongly attached to their native soil, that nothing less than civil wars or revolutions can induce those among them, who have any property, character, or industry, to a change of climate and country: For which reason, the re-establishment of public tranquillity in Europe was likely to put an insurmountable bar to the progress of American cultivation.

Moreover, the English, though naturally active, ambitious, and enterprising, were ill-adapted to the business of clearing the grounds. Accustomed to a quiet life, ease, and many inconveniences, nothing but the enthusiasm of religion or politics could support them under the labours, miseries, wants, and calamities inseparable from new plantations.

We must also observe, that, though England might have been able to overcome these difficulties, it was not a desirable object for her. Without doubt, the founding of colonies, rendering them flourishing, and enriching herself with their productions, was an advantageous prospect to her; but those advantages would be dearly purchased at the expence of her own population.

Happily for her, the intolerant and despotic spirit, that swayed most countries of Europe, forced numberless victims to take refuge in an uncultivated tract, which, in its state of desolation, seemed to implore that assistance for itself which it offered to the unfortunate.

unate. These men, who had escaped from the rod of tyranny, in crossing the seas, abandoned all hopes of return, and attached themselves for ever to a country, which at the same time afforded them an asylum, and an easy and a quiet subsistence. Their good fortune could not remain for ever unknown. Multitudes flocked from different parts to partake of it. Nor has this eagerness abated, particularly in Germany, where nature produces men for the purposes either of conquering or cultivating the earth: It will even increase. The advantage granted to emigrants, throughout the British dominions, of being naturalized by a residence of seven years in the colonies, sufficiently warrants this prediction.

While population was destroyed in Europe by persecution and tyranny, English America was beginning to be peopled with three sorts of inhabitants. The first class consists of freemen. It is the most numerous; but hitherto it has visibly degenerated. The Creoles in general, though habituated to the climate from their cradle, are not so robust and fit for labour, nor so powerful in war as the Europeans; whether it be that they have not the improvements of education, or that they are softened by nature. In that foreign clime the mind is enervated as well as the body: Endued with a quickness and early penetration, it easily apprehends, but wants steadiness, and is not used to continued thought. It must be a matter of astonishment to find that America has not yet produced a good poet, an able mathematician, or a man of genius in any single art or science. They possess, in general, a readiness for acquiring the knowledge of every art or science; but not one of them shews any decisive talent for one in particular. More early advanced at first, and arriving

living at a state of maturity sooner than we do, they are much behind us in the latter part of life.

It will probably be said, that their population is not very numerous, in comparison with that of all Europe together; that they want aids, masters, models, instructions, emulation in the arts and sciences; that education with them is too much neglected, or too little improved. But we may observe, that, in proportion, we see more persons in America of good birth, of an easy, competent fortune, with a greater share of leisure, and of other means of improving their natural abilities, than are found in Europe, where even the very method of training up youth is often repugnant to the progress and unfolding of reason and genius. Is it possible, that, although the Creoles educated with us have every one of them good sense, or, at least, the most part of them, yet not one should have arisen to any great degree of perfection in the slightest pursuit; and that, among such as have staid in their own country, no one has distinguished himself by a confirmed superiority in those talents which lead to fame? Has nature then punished them for having crossed the ocean? Are they a race of people degenerated by transplanting, by growth, and by mixture? Will not time be able to assimilate them to the nature of their climate? Let us beware of pronouncing on futurity, before we have the experience of several centuries. Let us wait till a more ample burst of light has shone over the new hemisphere. Let us wait till education may have corrected the insurmountable tendency of the climate towards the enervating pleasures of luxury and sensuality. Perhaps, we shall then see that America is propitious to genius, and the arts that give birth to peace and society. A new Olympus, an Arcadia, an Athens, a new Greece, will produce, perhaps, on the continent,

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continent, or in the Archipelago that surrounds it, another Homer, a Theocritus, and especially, an Anacreon. Perhaps, another Newton is to arise in New Britain. From English America, without doubt, will proceed the first rays of the sciences, if they are at length to break through a sky so long clouded. By a singular contrast with the old world, in which the arts have travelled from the south towards the north, in the new one, the north will be found to enlighten the southern parts. Let the English clear the ground, purify the air, alter the climate, improve nature, and a new universe will arise out of their hands, for the glory and happiness of humanity. But it is necessary that they should take steps conformable to this noble design, and aim, by just and laudable means, to form a population fit for the creation of a new world. This is what they have not yet done.

The second class of their colonists was formerly composed of malefactors, which the mother-country transported, after condemnation, to America, and who were bound to a servitude of seven or fourteen years to the planters, who had purchased them out of the hands of justice. The disgust is grown universal against these corrupt men, always disposed to commit fresh crimes.

Such indigent persons have replaced these, whom the impossibility of subsisting in Europe has driven into the new world. Having embarked without being capable of paying for their passage, these wretches are at the disposal of their captain, who sells them to whom he pleases.

This sort of slavery is for a longer or shorter time; but it can never exceed eight years. If among these emigrants there are any who are not of age, their servitude lasts till they arrive at that period, which is fix-

ed at twenty-one for the boys, and eighteen for the girls.

Those who are contracted for cannot marry without the approbation of their master, who sets what price he chuses on his consent. If any one of them runs away, and is retaken, he is to serve a week for each day's absence, a month for every week, and six months for one. The proprietor who does not think proper to receive again one who has deserted from his service, may sell him to whom he pleases; but that is only for the term of his first contract. Besides, neither the service, nor the sale, carry any ignominy with it. At the end of his servitude, the contracted person enjoys all the rights of a free denizen. With his freedom, he receives from the master whom he has served, either implements for husbandry, or utensils proper for his work.

However just this kind of traffic may seem, the generality of the strangers who go over to America under these conditions, would never set their foot on board a ship, if they were not inveigled away. Some artful kidnappers from the fens of Holland, spread themselves over the Palatinate, Suabia, and the cantons of Germany, which are the best peopled or least happy. There they set forth, with raptures, the delights of the new world, and the fortunes easily acquired in that country. The simple men, seduced by these magnificent promises, blindly follow these infamous brokers engaged in this scandalous commerce, who deliver them over to factors at Amsterdam or Rotterdam. These, either in pay with the British government, or with companies who have undertaken to stock the colonies with people, give a gratuity to the men employed in this service. Whole families

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ance, who impose the harder conditions upon them,  
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 give a refusal. The English form their supplies of  
 men for husbandry, as princes do for war; for a pur-  
 pose more useful and more humane, but by the same  
 artifices. The deception is perpetually carried on in  
 Europe, by the attention paid to the suppressing of all  
 correspondence with America, which might unveil a  
 mystery of imposture and iniquity, too well disguised  
 by the interested principles which gave rise to it.

But, in short, there would not be so many dupes, if  
 there were fewer victims. It is the oppression of go-  
 vernment which makes these chimerical ideas of for-  
 tune be adopted by the credulity of the people. Men,  
 unfortunate in their private affairs, vagabonds or con-  
 temptible at home, having nothing worse to fear in a  
 foreign climate, easily give themselves up to the hope  
 of a better lot. The means used to retain them in a  
 country where chance has given them birth, are fit on-  
 ly to excite in them a desire to quit it. It is imagined  
 that they are to be under the constant restraint of pro-  
 hibitions, menaces, and punishments: These do but ex-  
 asperate them, and drive them to desertion by the ve-  
 ry forbiddance of it. They should be attached by footh-  
 ing means; by fair expectations; whereas they are  
 imprisoned, and bound: Man, born free, is restrain-  
 ed from attempting to exist in regions, where heaven  
 and earth offer him an asylum. It has been thought  
 better to stifle him in his cradle, than to let him seek  
 for his living in some climate that is ready to give him  
 succour. It is not judged proper even to leave him  
 the choice of his burial-place.—Tyrants in policy!  
 these are the effects of your laws! People, where then  
 are your rights?

Is it then become necessary to lay open to the na-  
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tions the schemes that are formed against their liberty? Must they be told, that, by a conspiracy of the most odious nature, certain powers have lately entered into an agreement, which must deprive even despair itself of every resource? For these two centuries past, all the princes of Europe have been fabricating among them, in the secret recesses of the cabinet, that long and heavy chain with which the people are encompassed on every side. At every negotiation, fresh links were added to the chain so artificially contrived. Wars tended not to make states more extensive, but subjects more submissive, by gradually substituting military government in lieu of the mild and gentle influence of laws and morality. The several potentates have all equally strengthened themselves in their tyranny by their conquests, or by their losses. When they were victorious, they reigned by their armies; when humbled by defeat, they held the command by the misery of their pusillanimous subjects; whether ambition made them competitors or adversaries, they entered into league or alliance, only to aggravate the servitude of the people. If they chose to kindle war, or maintain peace, they were sure to turn to the advantage of their authority, either the raising or debasing of their people. If they ceded a province, they exhausted every other to recover it, in order to make amends for their loss. If they acquired a new one, the haughtiness they affected out of it, was the occasion of cruelty and extortion within. They borrowed one of another, by turns, every art and invention, whether of peace or of war, that might concur sometimes to foment natural antipathy and rivalry, sometimes to obliterate the character of the nations, as if there had been a tacit agreement among the rulers to subject the nations, one by means of another, to the despotism

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potism they had constantly been preparing for them. Ye people, who all groan more or less secretly, doubt not of your condition; those who never entertained any affection for you, are come now not to have any fear of you. In the extremity of wretchedness, one single resource remained for you; that of escape and emigration. Even that has been shut against you.

It is a common agreement among princes to restore to one another, not only deserters, who, for the most part, inlisted by compulsion or by fraud, and have a good right to escape; not only rogues, who in reality ought not to find a refuge any where; but indifferently all their subjects, whatever may be the motive that obliged them to quit their country.

Thus all you unhappy labourers, who find neither subsistence nor work in your own countries, after they have been ravaged and rendered barren by the exactions of finance; thus ye die, where ye had the misfortune to be born; ye have no refuge but under ground. All ye artists and workmen of every species, harrassed by monopolists, who are refused the right of working at your own free disposal, without having purchased the privileges of your calling: Ye who are kept for your whole life in the work-shop, for the purpose of enriching a privileged factor: Ye whom a court mourning leaves for months together without bread or wages; never expect to live out of a country where soldiers and guards keep you imprisoned; go wander in despair, and die of regret. If ye venture to groan, your cries will be re-echoed, and lost in the depth of a dungeon; if ye make your escape, ye will be pursued even beyond mountains and rivers: Ye will be sent back, or given up, bound hand and foot, to torture; and to that eternal restraint to which you have

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been condemned from your birth. Do you, likewise, whom nature has endowed with a free spirit, independent of prejudice and error, who dare to think and talk like men, do you erase from your minds every idea of truth, nature, and humanity. Applaud every attack made on your country and your fellow-citizens, or else maintain a profound silence in the recesses of obscurity and concealment. All ye who were born in those barbarous states, where the condition for the mutual restoration of deserters has been entered into by the several princes, and sealed by a treaty; recollect the inscription Dante has engraved on the gate of his infernal region: *Voi ch' entrate, lasciate omai ogni speranza: You who enter here, may leave behind you every hope.*

What! is there then no asylum remaining beyond the seas? Will not England open her colonies to those wretches, who voluntarily prefer her dominion to the insupportable yoke of their own country? What need has she of that infamous band of contracted slaves, kidnaped and debauched by the shameful means employed by every state to increase their armies? What need has she of those beings, still more miserable, of whom she composes the third class of her American population? Yes, by an iniquity the more shocking, as it is apparently the less necessary; her northern colonies have had recourse to the traffic and slavery of the negroes. It will not be disowned, that they may be better fed, better clothed, better treated, and less overburdened with toil, than in the islands. The laws protect them more effectually, and they seldom become the victims of the barbarity or caprice of an odious tyrant. But still, what must be the burthen of a man's life who is condemned to languish in eternal slavery? Some humane, sectaries, Christians, who  
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look for virtues in the gospel, more than for opinions, have often been desirous of restoring to their slaves that liberty for which they cannot receive any adequate compensation; but they have been a long time withheld by a law of the state, which directed, that an assignment of a sufficiency for subsistence should be made to those were set at liberty.

Let us rather say, the convenient custom of being waited on by slaves; the fondness we have for power, which we attempt to justify by pretending to alleviate their servitude; the opinion so readily entertained that they do not complain of a state, which is by time changed into nature: These are the sophisms of self-love, calculated to appease the clamours of conscience. The generality of mankind are not born with evil dispositions, or prone to do ill by choice; but, even among those whom nature seems to have formed just and good, there are but few who possess a soul sufficiently disinterested, courageous, and great, to do any good action, if they must sacrifice some advantage for it.

But still the quakers have just set an example which ought to make an epocha in the history of religion and humanity. In one of these assemblies, where every one of the faithful, who conceives himself moved by the impulse of the Holy Spirit, has a right of speaking; one of the brethren, who was himself undoubtedly inspired on this occasion, arose, and said: “ How long then shall we have two consciences, two  
 “ measures, two scales; one in our own favour, one  
 “ for the ruin of our neighbour, both equally false?  
 “ Is it for us, brethren, to complain at this moment,  
 “ that the parliament of England wishes to enslave  
 “ us; and to impose upon us the yoke of subjects,  
 “ without leaving us the rights of citizens; while,

“ for this century past, we have been calmly acting  
 “ the part of tyrants, by keeping in bonds of the  
 “ hardest slavery, men who are our equals and our  
 “ brethren? What have those unhappy creatures done  
 “ to us, whom nature had separated from us by bar-  
 “ riers so formidable, whom our avarice has sought  
 “ after through storms and wrecks, and brought a-  
 “ way from the midst of their burning sands, or  
 “ from their dark forests, inhabited by tygers? What  
 “ crime have they been guilty of, that they should  
 “ be torn from a country which fed them without toil,  
 “ and that they should be transplanted by us to a land  
 “ where they perish under the labours of servitude?  
 “ Father of Heaven, what family hast Thou then  
 “ created, in which the elder born, after having seiz-  
 “ ed on the property of their brethren, are still re-  
 “ solved to compel them, with stripes, to manure,  
 “ with the blood of their veins and the sweat of their  
 “ brow, that very inheritance of which they have  
 “ been robbed? Deplorable race, whom we render  
 “ brutes to tyrannize over them; in whom we extin-  
 “ guish every power of the soul, to load their limbs  
 “ and their bodies with burdens; in whom we efface  
 “ the image of God, and the stamp of manhood! A  
 “ race mutilated and dishonoured as to the faculties  
 “ of mind and body, throughout its existence, by us  
 “ who are Christians and Englishmen! Englishmen,  
 “ ye people favoured by Heaven, and respected on  
 “ the seas, would ye be free and tyrants at the same  
 “ instant? No, brethren: It is time we should be  
 “ consistent with ourselves. Let us set free those  
 “ miserable victims of our pride: Let us restore the  
 “ negroes to liberty, which man should never take  
 “ from man. May all Christian societies be induced,  
 “ by our example, to repair an injustice authorized  
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INTRODUCTION. 29

" by the crimes and plunders of two centuries! May  
" men, too long degraded, at length raise to Heaven  
" their arms freed from chains, and their eyes bath-  
" ed in tears of gratitude! Alas! the unhappy mor-  
" tals have hitherto shed no tears but those of de-  
" spair!"

This discourse awakened remorse; and the slaves in Pennsylvania were set at liberty. A revolution so amazing must necessarily have been the work of a people inclined to toleration. But let us not expect similar instances of heroism in those countries, which are as deep sunk in barbarism by the vices attendant on luxury, as they have formerly been by ignorance. When a government, at once both priestly and military, has brought every thing, even the opinions of men, under its yoke; when man, become an impostor, has persuaded the armed multitude that he holds from Heaven the right of oppressing the earth; there is no shadow of liberty left for civilized nations. Why should they not take their revenge on the savage people of the torrid zone?

To take no notice of the population of the negroes, which may amount to 300,000 slaves, in 1750, a million of inhabitants were reckoned in the British provinces of North America. There must be now upwards of two millions; as it is proved by undeniable calculations, that the number of people doubles every fifteen or sixteen years in some of those provinces, and every 18 or 20 in others. So rapid an increase must have two sources; the first is, that numbers of Irishmen, Jews, Frenchmen, Switzers, Palatines, Moravians, and Saltzburghers, who, after having been worn out with the political and religious troubles they had experienced in Europe, have gone in search of peace and quietness in distant climates. The

second source of that amazing increase, is from the climate itself of the colonies, where experience has shewn, that the people naturally doubled their numbers every five and twenty years. Mr. Franklin's remarks will make these truths evident.

The numbers of the people, says that philosopher, increase every where in proportion to the number of marriages; and that number increases as the means of subsisting a family are rendered more easy. In a country where the means of subsistence abound, more people marry early. In a society, whose prosperity is a mark of its antiquity, the rich, alarmed at the expences which female luxury brings along with it, are as late as possible in forming an establishment, which it is difficult to fix, and whose maintenance is costly; and the persons, who have no fortunes, pass their days in a celibacy destructive to the married state. The masters have but few children, the servants have none at all; the artificers are afraid of having any. This irregularity is so perceptible, especially in great towns, that families are not kept up sufficiently to maintain population in an even state, and that we constantly find there more deaths than births. Happily for us that decay has not yet penetrated into the country, where the constant practice of making up the deficiency of the towns gives a little more scope for population. But the lands being every where occupied, and let at the highest rate, those who cannot arrive at property of their own, are hired by those who have property. Rivalship, owing to the multitude of workmen, lowers the price of labour; and the smallness of their profits takes away the desire and the hope, as well as the abilities requisite for increase by marriage. Such is the present state of Europe.

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

Quite the reverse is the appearance which that of America presents. Tracts of land, waste and uncultivated, are to be had either for nothing, or so cheap, that a man of the least turn for labour, is furnished in a short time with an extent, which, while it is sufficient to rear a numerous family, will maintain his posterity for a considerable time. The inhabitants, therefore, of the new world, induced likewise by the climate, marry in greater numbers, and at an earlier time of life, than the inhabitants of Europe. Where one hundred enter into the married state in Europe, there are two hundred in America ; and, if we reckon four children to each marriage in our climates, we should allow, at least, eight in the new hemisphere. If we multiply these families by their produce, it will appear that, in less than two centuries, the British northern colonies will arrive at an immense degree of population, unless the mother country contrive some obstacles to impede its natural progress.

Their present inhabitants are healthy and robust, of a stature above the common size. These Creoles are more quick, and come to their full growth sooner than the Europeans : But they are not so long-lived. The low price of meat, fish, grain, game, fruits, cyder, vegetables, keeps the inhabitants in great plenty of things necessary for nourishment. They must be more careful with respect to cloathing, which is still very dear, whether brought from Europe, or made in the country. Manners are in the state they should be among young colonies, and people given to cultivation, not yet polished nor corrupted by the resort of great cities. Throughout the families in general, there reigns oeconomy, neatness, and regularity. Gallantry and gaming, the passions of easy wealth, seldom break in upon that happy tranquillity. The fair

sex are still what they should be, gentle, modest, compassionate, and useful; they are in possession of those virtues which continue the empire of their charms. The men are employed in their original duties, the care and improvement of their plantations, which will be the support of their posterity. One general sentiment of benevolence unites every family. Nothing contributes to this union so much as a certain equality of station, a security that arises from property, a general hope which every man has of increasing it, and the facility of succeeding in this expectation; in a word, nothing contributes to it so much as the reciprocal independence in which all men live, with respect to their wants, joined to the necessity of social connections for the purposes of their pleasures. Instead of luxury, which brings misery in its train, instead of that afflicting and shocking contrast, an universal welfare, wisely dealt out in the original distribution of the lands, has, by the influence of industry, given rise in every breast to the desire of pleasing one another; a desire, without doubt, more satisfactory than the secret disposition to injure our brethren, which is inseparable from an extreme inequality of fortune and condition. Men never meet without satisfaction, when they are neither in that state of mutual distance which leads to indifference, nor in that way of rivalry which borders on hatred. They come nearer together, and collect in societies; in short, it is in the colonies that men lead such a country life as was the original destination of mankind, and is best suited to the health and increase of the species: Probably, they enjoy all the happiness consistent with the frailty of human nature. We do not, indeed, find there those graces, those talents, those refined enjoyments, the means and expence of which

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wear out and fatigue the springs of the soul, and bring on the vapours of melancholy, which so naturally follow an indulgence in ardent pleasure: But there are the pleasures of domestic life, the mutual attachments of parent and children, and conjugal love, that passion so pure and so delicious to the soul that can taste it, and despise all other gratifications. This is the enchanting prospect exhibited throughout North America. It is in the wilds of Florida and Virginia, even in the forests of Canada, that men are enabled to continue to love during their whole life, what was the object of their first affection, innocence and virtue, which never entirely lose their beauty.

If British America be wanting in any thing, it is in its not forming precisely one people. Families are there found sometimes united, sometimes dispersed, and originating from all the different countries of Europe. These colonists, in whatever spot chance or discernment may have placed them, all preserve, without a prejudice not to be worn out, their mother tongue, the partialities and customs of their own country. Separate schools and churches hinder them from mixing with the hospitable people, who hold out to them a place of refuge. Still estranged from this people by worship, by manners, and probably by their feelings, they harbour seeds of dissention that may one day prove the ruin and total overthrow of the colonies. The only preservative against this disaster, depends entirely on the management of the ruling powers.

By ruling powers, must not be understood those strange constitutions of Europe, which are a rude mixture of sacred and profane laws. English America was wise or happy enough not to admit any ecclesiastical power: Being from the beginning inhabited by presbyterians, she rejected with horror every

thing that might revive the idea of it. All affairs that in the other parts of the globe depend on the tribunal of priests, are here brought before the civil magistrate, or the national assemblies. The attempts made by those of the English church to establish their hierarchy in that country, have ever been abortive, notwithstanding the support given by the mother country: But still they have their share in the administration of business, as well as those of other sects. None but catholics have been excluded, on account of their refusing those oaths which the public tranquillity seemed to require. In this view, American government has deserved great commendation; but, in other respects, it is not so well digested.

The aim and principal object of policy is similar to the education of children. They both tend to form men, and should be similar to each other in many respects. Savage people, first united in society, require as much as children to be sometimes led on by gentle means, and sometimes restrained by compulsion. For want of experience, which alone forms our reason, as they are incapable of governing themselves throughout the changes of things, and the various concerns that belong to a rising society, government should be enlightened with regard to them, and guide them by authority to years of maturity. Barbarous nations are under the rod, and as it were in the leading strings of despotism, till, in the advance of society, their interests teach them to conduct themselves.

Civilized nations, like young men, more or less advanced, not in proportion to their abilities, but from the conduct of their early education, as soon as they know their own strength, and their own privileges, require to be managed, and even respected by their governors. A son well educated should engage in

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no undertaking without consulting his father: A prince, on the contrary, should make no regulations without consulting his people: Farther, the son, in resolutions where he follows the advice of his father, frequently hazards nothing but his own happiness; in all that a prince ordains, the happiness of his people is concerned. The opinion of the public, in a nation that thinks and speaks, is the rule of the government: And the prince should never shock that opinion without public reasons, nor strive against it without conviction. Government is to model all its forms according to that opinion: Opinion, it is well known, varies with manners, habits, and information. So that one prince may, without finding the least resistance, do an act of authority not to be revived by his successor, without exciting the public indignation: From whence does this indifference arise? The predecessor cannot have shocked an opinion that existed not in his time, while a succeeding prince may have openly counteracted it a century later. The first, if I may be allowed the expression, without the knowledge of the public, may have taken a step, whose violence he may have softened or made amends for by the happy success of his government; the other shall, perhaps, have increased the public calamities by such unjust acts of wilful authority, as may perpetuate its first abuses. Public remonstrance is generally the cry of opinion; and the general opinion is the rule of government: And, because public opinion governs mankind, kings, for this reason, become rulers of men. Governments then, as well as opinions, ought to improve and advance to perfection. But what is the rule for opinions among an enlightened people? It is the permanent interest of society, the safety and advantage of the nation. This interest is modified

by the turn of events and situations ; public opinion, and the form of the government, follow these several modifications. This is the source of all the forms of government, established by the English, who are rational and free, throughout North America.

The government of Nova Scotia, of one of the provinces in New England, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia, is stiled royal ; because the king of England is there vested with the supreme authority. Representatives of the people form a lower house, as in the mother country. A select council, approved by the king, intended to support the prerogatives of the crown, represents the house of peers, and maintains that representation by the fortune and rank of the most distinguished persons in the country, who are members of it. A governor convenes, prorogues, and dissolves their assemblies, and gives or refuses assent to their deliberations, which receive from his approbation the force of law, till the king, to whom they are transmitted, has rejected them.

The second kind of government which takes place in the colonies, is called proprietary government. When the English first settled in those distant regions, a greedy, active court favourite, easily obtained in those wastes, which were as large as kingdoms, a property and authority without bounds. A bow and a few skins, the only homage exacted by the crown, purchased for a man in power the right of sovereignty, or governing as he pleased in an unknown country : Such was the origin of government in the greater part of the colonies. At present, Maryland and Pennsylvania are the only provinces under this singular form of government, or rather this irregular foundation of sovereignty. Maryland, indeed, differs

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fers from the rest of the provinces only by receiving its governor from the family of Baltimore, whose nomination is to be approved by the king. In Pennsylvania, the governor named by the proprietary family, and confirmed by the crown, is not supported by a council which gives him an ascendancy; but he is obliged to agree with the commons, in whom is naturally vested all authority.

A third form, stiled by the English Charter-government, seems more calculated to produce harmony in the constitution. After having been that of all the provinces of New England, it now subsists only in Connecticut, and in Rhode island. It may be considered as a mere democracy. The inhabitants of themselves elect and depose all their officers, and make all laws they think proper, without being obliged to have the assent of the king, or his having any right to annul them.

At length the conquest of Canada, joined to the acquisition of Florida, has given rise to a form of legislation hitherto unknown throughout the realm of Great Britain. Those provinces have been left under the yoke of military, and consequently of absolute authority. Without any right to assemble in a national body, they receive immediately from the court of London every motion of government.

The mother country was not the author of such a variety of governments. We do not find the traces of a reasonable, uniform, and regular legislation. It is chance, climate, the prejudices of the times and of the founders of the colonies, that have produced this motley variety of constitutions. It is not for men, who are cast by chance upon a desert coast, to constitute a legislation.

The

The happiness of society ought to be the principal aim of all legislation. The means by which it is to attain that singular elevated point, depend entirely on its natural qualities. Climate, that is to say, the sky and the soil, are the first rule for the legislator. His resources dictate to him his duties. In the first instance, the local position should be consulted. A number of people thrown on a maritime coast, will have laws more or less relative to agriculture or navigation, in proportion to the influence the sea or land may have on the subsistence of the inhabitants who are to people that desert coast. If the new colony is led, by the course of some large river, far within land, a legislator ought to have regard to their race, and the degree of their fecundity, and the connections the colony will have, either within or without, by the traffic of commodities most advantageous to its prosperity.

The wisdom of legislation will appear most in the distribution of property. In general, and throughout all the countries in the world, when a colony is founded, land is to be given to every person, that is to say, to everyone an extent sufficient for the maintenance of a family: More should be given to those who have abilities to make the necessary advances for improvement: Some should be kept vacant for posterity, or for additional settlers, with which the colony may in time be augmented.

Population and subsistence is the first object of a rising colony: The next is the prosperity likely to flow from these two sources. To avoid occasions of war, whether offensive or defensive; to turn industry towards those objects which produce most; not to form connections around them, except such as are unavoidable, and may be proportioned to the stability

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which the colony acquires by the number of its inhabitants, and the nature of its resources; to introduce, above all things, a partial and local spirit in a nation which is going to be established, a spirit of union within, and of peace without; to refer every institution to a distant but lasting point; and to make every occasional law subservient to the settled regulation, which alone is to effect an increase of numbers, and to give stability to the settlement: These circumstances make no more than a sketch of a legislation.

The moral system is to be formed on the nature of the climate; a large field for population is at first to be laid open by facilitating marriage, which depends upon the facility of procuring subsistence. Sanctity of manners should be established by opinion. In a barbarous island, which is to be stocked with children, no more would be necessary than to leave the first dawns of truth to enlarge themselves, as reason unfolds. With proper precautions against idle fears, proceeding from ignorance, the errors of superstition should be removed, till that period when the warmth of the natural passions, fortunately uniting with the rational powers, dissipates every phantom. But when people, already advanced in life, are to be established in a new country, the ability of legislation consists in not leaving behind any injurious opinions or habits, which may be cured or corrected. If we wish that they should not be transmitted to posterity, we should watch over the second generation by a general and public education of the children. A prince or legislator should never found a colony, without previously sending thither some proper persons for the education of youth; that is, some governors rather than teachers: For it is of less moment to teach them what is good, than to guard them from evil. Good education

on arrives too late, when the people are already corrupted. The seeds of morality and virtue, sown in the infancy of a race already corrupted, are annihilated in the early stages of manhood by debauchery, and the contagion of such vices as have already become habitual in society. The best educated young men cannot come into the world without making engagements and contracting acquaintance, on which the remainder of their lives depends. If they marry, follow any profession, or pursuit, they find the seeds of evil and corruption rooted in every condition; a conduct entirely opposite to their principles; example and discourse which disconcert and combat their best resolutions.

But, in a rising colony, the influence of the first generation may be corrected by the manners of the succeeding. The minds of all are prepared for virtue by labour. The necessities of life remove all vices proceeding from leisure. The overflowings of such population have a natural tendency towards the mother-country, where luxury continually invites and seduces the rich and voluptuous planter. All means are open to the precautions of a legislator, who intends to refine the constitution and manners of the colony. Let them but have genius and virtue, the lands and the people he has to manage will suggest to his mind a plan of society; that a writer can only mark out in a vague manner, liable to all the uncertainty of hypotheses, which are varied and complicated by an infinity of circumstances too difficult to be foreseen or collected.

Property is the first foundation of a society for cultivation and commerce. It is the seed of good and evil, natural or moral, consequent on the social state. Every nation seems to be divided into two irreconcilable

reconcilable parties. The rich and the poor, the men of property, and the hirelings, that is to say, masters and slaves, form two classes of citizens, unfortunately in opposition to one another.

Several modern authors have in vain endeavoured by sophistry to establish a treaty of peace between these two states. The rich, on all occasions, are disposed to get a great deal from the poor at little expence; and the poor are ever inclined to set a high value on their labour; while the rich always give the law in that too unequal bargain. Hence arises the system of counterpoise established in so many countries. The people have not desired to attack property which they considered as sacred; but they have made attempts to fetter it, and to check its natural tendency to absorb the whole. These counterpoises have almost always been ill applied, as they were but a feeble remedy against the original evil of society. It is then to the partition of lands that a legislator will turn his principal attention. The more wisely that distribution shall be managed, the more simple, uniform, and precise, will be those laws of the country which principally conduce to the preservation of property.

The English colonies partake, in that respect, of the radical vice inherent in the ancient constitution of the mother country. As its present government is but a reformation of that feudal system which had oppressed all Europe, it still retains many usages, which, being originally but abuses of servitude, are still more sensible by their contrast with the liberty which the people have recovered. It has, therefore, been found necessary to join the laws which left many rights to the nobility to those which modify, lessen, abrogate, or soften the feudal rights. Hence so many laws of exception for one of principle; so many of interpretation

tation for one fundamental; so many new laws that are at variance with the old: So that it is agreed, there is not in the whole world a code so diffuse, and so perplexed as that of the civil law of Great Britain. The wisest men of that enlightened nation have often exclaimed against this disorder. They have either not been heard, or the changes which have been produced by their remonstrances, have only served to increase the confusion.

The colonies, by their ignorance and dependance, have blindly adopted that deformed and ill-digested mass, whose burden oppressed their ancestors: They have added to that obscure heap of materials, by every new lash that the times, manners, and place could introduce. From this mixture has resulted a chaos the most difficult to unfold; a collection of contradictions that require much pains to reconcile. Immediately there sprang up a numerous body of lawyers to devour the lands and inhabitants of those new-settled climates. The fortune and influence they have acquired in a short time, have brought into subjection to their rapaciousness, the valuable class of citizens employed in agriculture, commerce, and in all the arts and toils most indispensably necessary to society, but almost singularly essential to a rising community. To the severe evil of chicane, which has attached itself to the branches, in order to seize on the fruit, has succeeded the scourge of finance, which preys on the heart and root of the tree.

In the origin of the colonies, the coin bore the same value as in the mother country. The scarcity of it soon occasioned a rise of one third. That inconvenience was not remedied by the abundance of specie which came from the Spanish colonies; because they were obliged to transmit that into England, in order

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to pay for the merchandise they wanted from thence. This was a gulph that sucked up the circulation in the colonies. The confusion occasioned by this continual export, furnished a pretence for the employing of paper-money.

There are two sorts of paper-money. The first has in view the encouragement of agriculture, trade, and industry. Every colonist who has more ambition than means, obtains from the province a paper-credit, provided he consents to pay an interest of five per cent. furnishes a sufficient mortgage, and agrees to repay every year a tenth of the capital borrowed. By means of this representation of specie, which is received without doubt into the public treasury, and which their fellow citizens cannot refuse, the business of private persons becomes more brisk and easy. The government itself draws considerable advantages from this circulation; because, as it receives interest, and pays none, it can, without the aid of taxes, apply this fund to the important objects of public utility.

But there is another sort of paper, whose existence is solely owing to the necessities of government. The several provinces of America had formed projects and contracted engagements beyond their abilities. They thought to make good the deficiency of their money by credit. Taxes were imposed to liquidate those bills that pressed for payment; but, before the taxes had produced that salutary effect, new wants arose that required fresh loans. The debts, therefore, accumulated, and the taxes were not sufficient to answer them. At length, the amount of the government bills exceeded all bounds after the late hostilities, during which the colonies had raised and provided for 25,000 men, and contributed to all the expences of so long, and obstinate a war. The paper thus sank into the  
utmost

utmost disrepute; though it had been introduced only by the several general assemblies, and that each province was to be answerable for what was of their own creation.

The parliament of Great Britain observed this confusion, and attempted to remedy it. They regulated the quantity of paper-circulation each colony should create for the future, and as far as their riches and went, proportioned the mass of it to their riches and resources. This regulation displeased all persons, and, in the year 1769, it was softened.

Paper of the usual figure of the coin, still continues to pass in all kind of business. Each piece is composed of two round leaves, glued one on the other, and bearing on each side the stamp that distinguishes them. There are some of every value. Each province has a public building for the making of them, and private houses from whence they are distributed: The pieces, which are much worn and soiled, are carried to these houses, and fresh ones received in exchange. There never has been an instance of the officers employed in these exchanges having been guilty of the least fraud.

But this honesty is not sufficient for the prosperity of the colonies. Though for forty years their consumption has increased four times as much as their population, from whence it is apparent that the abilities of each subject are four times what they were, yet one may foretel, that these large establishments will never rise to that degree of splendor for which nature designs them, unless the fetters are broken which confine both their interior industry and their foreign trade.

The first colonists that peopled North America, applied themselves in the beginning solely to agriculture.

re. It was not long before they perceived that their exports did not enable them to buy what they wanted; and they, therefore, found themselves in a manner compelled to set up some rude manufactures. The interests of the mother country seemed hurt at this innovation. The circumstance was brought into parliament, and there discussed with all the attention deserved. There were men bold enough to defend the cause of the colonists. They urged, that, as the business of tillage did not employ men all the year round, it was tyranny to oblige them to waste in idleness the time which the land did not require: That, as the produce of agriculture and hunting did not furnish them to the extent of their wants, it was reducing them to misery to hinder the people from providing against them by a new species of industry: In short, that the prohibition of manufactures only tended to occasion the price of all provisions, in a rising state, to be enhanced, to lessen, or, perhaps, stop the sale of them, and keep off such persons as might intend to settle there.

The evidence of these principles was not to be controverted: They were complied with, after great debates. The Americans were permitted to manufacture their own cloths themselves; but with such restrictions, as betrayed how much avarice regretted, what an appearance of justice could not but allow. All communication from one province to another on this account was severely prohibited. They were forbidden, under the heaviest penalties, to traffic from one to the other for wool of any sort, raw, or manufactured. However, some manufacturers of hats ventured to break through these restrictions. To put a stop to what was termed a heinous disorderly practice, the parliament had recourse to the mean and cruel spirit

spirit of restriction. A workman was not empowered to set up for himself till after seven years apprenticeship; a master was not allowed to have more than two apprentices at a time, nor to employ any slave in his workshop.

Iron mines, which seem to put into men's hands the marks of their own independence, were laid under restrictions still more severe. It was not allowed to carry iron in bars, or rough lumps, any where but to the mother country. Without crucibles to melt it, or machines to bend it, without hammers or anvils to fashion it, they had still less the liberty of converting it into steel.

Importation received still further restraints. All foreign vessels, unless in evident distress or danger of wreck, or freighted with gold or silver, were not to come into any of the ports of North America. Even English vessels are not admitted there, unless they come immediately from some port of that country. The shipping of the colonies going to Europe, are to bring back no merchandise but from the mother country, except wine from the Madeiras, and the Azores, and salt necessary for their fisheries.

All exportations were originally to terminate in England: But weighty reasons have determined the government to relax and abate this extreme severity. It is at present allowed to the colonists to carry directly south of Finisterre, grain, meal, rice, vegetables, fruit, salt, fish, planks, and timber. All other productions belong exclusively to the mother country. Even Ireland, that furnished an advantageous vent for corn, flax, and pipe staves, has been shut against them by an act of parliament of 1766.

As the parliament is the representative of the nation, it assumes the right of directing commerce in its

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whole extent throughout the British dominions. It is by that authority they pretend to regulate the connections between the mother country and the colonies, to maintain a communication, an advantageous reciprocal re-action between the scattered parts of the immense empire. There should, in fact, be one power to appeal to, in order to determine finally upon the relations that may be useful or prejudicial to the general good of the whole society. The parliament is the only body that can assume such an important power. But they ought to employ it to the advantage of every member of that confederated society. This is an inviolable maxim, especially in a state where all the powers are formed and directed for the preservation of natural liberty.

They departed from that principle of impartiality, which alone can maintain the equal state of independence among the several members of a free government, when the colonies were obliged to vent in the mother country all their productions, even those which were not for its own consumption, and when they were obliged to take from the mother country all kinds of merchandise, even those which came from foreign nations. This imperious and useless restraint, loading the sales and purchases of the Americans with unnecessary and ruinous charges, has of course lessened their activity, and consequently diminished their profits; and it has been only for the purpose of enriching a few merchants, or some factors at home, that the rights and interests of the colonies have thus been sacrificed. All they owed to England for the protection they received from her, was but a preference in the sale and importation of all such of their commodities as she could consume; and a preference in the purchase and in the exportation of all such merchandise

merchandise as came from her hands : So far all submission was a return of gratitude ; beyond it all obligation was violence.

In this manner has tyranny given birth to contraband trade. Transgression is the first effect produced by unreasonable laws. In vain has it frequently been repeated to the colonies, that smuggling was contrary to the fundamental interest of their settlements, to political reasons, and to the express intentions of law. In vain has it been continually laid down in public writings, that the subject who pays duty is oppressed by him who does not pay it ; and that the fraudulent merchant robs the fair trader, by disappointing him of his lawful profit. In vain have precautions been multiplied for preventing such frauds, and fresh penalties inflicted for the punishment of them. The voice of interest, reason, and equity, has prevailed over all the clamours and attempts of finance. Foreign importations smuggled into North America, amount to one third of those which pay duty.

An indefinite liberty, or merely a restraint within due bounds, will stop the prohibited engagements of which so much complaint has been made. Then the colonies will arrive at a state of affluence, which will enable them to discharge a weight of debt due to the mother country, amounting, perhaps, to 152 millions (L. 6,562,500), and to draw yearly from thence goods to the amount of 108 millions (L. 4,725,000), agreeable to the calculation of American consumption stated by the parliament of Great Britain in 1766. But, instead of this pleasing prospect, which one should imagine must of course arise from the constitution of the English government, was there any necessity, by a pretension not to be supported among a free people, to introduce into the colonies, with the  
hardships

ships of taxation, the seeds of disorder and disorder, and perhaps to kindle a flame which is not so easy to extinguish as to light up?

England had just emerged from a war almost universal, during which her fleets had planted the standard of victory over all the seas, and her conquests had enlarged her dominion with an immense territory both the Indies. Such a sudden increase gave her, in the eyes of all the world, a splendour that must excite envy and admiration; but, within herself, she was continually reduced to grieve at her triumphs. Burdened with a load of debt to the amount of 330,000,000 livres, (145,687,500*l*) that cost her an interest of 111,577,490 livres (4,881,515*l*. 3*s*. 9*d*) every year, she was with difficulty able to support the current expences of the state, with a revenue of 10,000,000 livres (10,500,000*l*.); and the continuance of that revenue was even uncertain.

A heavier land-tax was levied than had ever been known in time of peace. New duties on houses and windows injured that species of property; and an increase of stock, on a review of the finances, depressed the value of the whole funds. A terror had been struck, even into luxury itself, by taxes heaped on plate, cards, dice, wines, and brandy. No farther expectation was left for commerce, which paid in every port, at every issue, for the merchandise of Asia, for the produce of America, for spices, silks, for every article of export or import, whether manufactured or wrought. Heavy duties had fortunately restrained the abuses of spirituous liquors; but that was partly at the expence of the public revenue. It was thought, depends would be made by one of those expedients which it is generally easy to find, but hazardous to look out for among the objects of general consumption

and absolute necessity. Duties were laid on the ordinary drink of the common people, on malt, cyder and beer. Every spring was strained: Every power of the body politic had been extended to its utmost stretch. Materials and workmanship had so prodigiously risen in price, that foreigners, whether rivals or conquered, which before had not been able to support a contest with the English, were enabled to supplant them in every market, even in their own ports. The commercial advantages of Britain with every part of the world, could not be valued at more than fifty millions (2,450,000*l.*); and that situation obliged her to draw from the balance 35,100,000 livres (1,535,625*l.*), to pay the arrears of 1,170,000,000 livres (51,187,500*l.*) which foreigners had placed in her public funds.

The crisis was a violent one. It was time to give the people some relief. They could not be eased by a diminution of expences, these being inevitable, either for the purpose of improving the conquests purchased by such a loss of blood and treasure, or to mitigate the feelings of the House of Bourbon, soured by the humiliations of the late war, and the sacrifices of the late peace. In default of other means, to manage with a steady hand, as well the present security as future prosperity, the expedient occurred of calling in the colonies to the aid of the mother country, by making them bear a part of her burthen. This determination seemed to be founded on reasons not to be controverted.

It is a duty imposed by the avowed maxims of all societies, and of every age, on the different members which compose a state, to contribute towards all expences in proportion to their respective abilities. The security of the American provinces requires such a

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re of assistance from them, as may enable the mo-  
er country to protect them upon all occasions. It  
s to deliver them from the uneasiness which molest-  
them, that England had engaged in a war which  
s multiplied her debts: They ought then to aid her  
bearing or lessening the weight of that overcharge.  
present, when they are freed of all apprehension  
m the attempts of a formidable adversary, which  
ey have fortunately removed, can they, without in-  
tice, refuse their deliverer, when her necessities are  
essing, that money which purchased their preserva-  
n? Has not that generous protector, for a confide-  
le time, granted encouragement to the improve-  
ent of their rice productions? Has she not lavished  
atuitous advances of money, and does she not still  
wish them on lands not yet cleared? Do not such  
enefits deserve to meet a return of gratitude, and e-  
n of services?

The British government were persuaded by these  
otives, that they had a right to establish taxation in  
e colonies. They availed themselves of the event  
the late war to assert this claim so dangerous to li-  
erty. For, if we attend to it, we shall find that  
r, whether successful or not, serves always as a  
etext for every usurpation of government; as if the  
ads of warring nations rather intended to reduce  
eir subjects to more confirmed submission, than to  
ake a conquest of their enemies. The American  
ovinces were accordingly ordered to furnish the  
oops, sent by the mother country for their secu-  
y, with a part of the necessaries required by an ar-  
y. The apprehension of disturbing that agreement  
hich is so necessary among ourselves, when surround-  
by adversaries without, induced them to comply  
th the injunctions of the parliament; but, with

such prudence, as not to speak of an act they could neither reject without occasioning civil dissention, nor recognize without exposing rights too precious to be forfeited. New-York alone ventured to disapprove the orders sent from Europe. Though the transgression was slight, it was punished as a disobedience, by a suspension of her privileges.

It was most probable, that this attack made on the liberty of the colony, would produce remonstrances from all the rest. Either through want of attention or foresight, neither of them complained. This silence was interpreted to proceed from fear, or from voluntary submission. Peace, that should lessen taxes every where, gave birth, in the year 1764, to that famous stamp-act, which, by laying a duty on all stamped paper, at the same time forbad the use of any other in public writings, whether judicial, or extra judicial.

This innovation caused all the English colonies of the new continent to revolt; and their discontent manifested itself by signal acts. They entered into an agreement or conspiracy, the only one that suited moderate and civilized people, not to use any of the manufactures of the mother country, till the bill they complained of was repealed. The women, whose weakness was most to be feared, were the first to give up whatever Europe had before furnished them with either for parade or convenience. Animated by their example, the men rejected the commodities for which they were indebted to the old world. In the northern countries, they were found paying as much for the coarse stuffs, made under their own inspection, as for fine cloths which were brought over the sea. They engaged not to eat lamb, that their flocks might increase, and in time be sufficient for the clothing of

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all the colonists. In the southern provinces, where wool is scarce, and of an inferior quality, they were to dress themselves with cotton and flax furnished by their own climate. Agriculture was every where neglected, in order that the people might qualify themselves for the industry of the workshop.

The desired effect was produced by this kind of indirect- and passive opposition, which deserves to be imitated by all nations who may hereafter be aggrieved by the undue exercise of authority. The English manufacturers, who had scarce any other vent for their goods than their own colonies, fell into that state of despondency, which is the natural consequence of want of employment: And their complaints, which could neither be stifled nor concealed by administration, made an impression which proved favourable to the colonies. The stamp-act was repealed, after a violent struggle that lasted two years, and which, in an age of fanaticism, would, doubtless have occasioned a civil war.

The colonies enjoyed the triumph but a very short time. The parliament had given up the point with the greatest reluctance: And it clearly appeared they had not laid aside their pretensions, when, in 1767, they threw the duties which the stamp-act would have produced, upon all glass, lead, tea, colours, paste-board, and stained paper exported from England to America. Even the patriots themselves, who seemed most inclined to enlarge the authority of the mother country over the colonies, could not help condemning a tax, which, in its consequences, must affect the whole nation, by disposing numbers to apply themselves to manufactures, who ought to have been solely devoted to the improvement of lands. The colonists have not been the dupes of this, any more than of

the first innovation. It has in vain been urged, that government had the power to impose what duties it thought proper upon exported goods, so long as it did not deprive the colonies of the liberty of manufacturing the articles subject to this new tax. This subterfuge has been considered as a derision with regard to a people, who, being devoted entirely to agriculture, and confined to trade only with the mother country, could not procure, either by their own labour, or by their connections abroad, the necessary articles that were sold them at so high a price. They thought, when a tax was to be imposed, it was nothing more than a nominal distinction, whether it were levied in Europe or America; and that their liberty was equally infringed by a duty laid upon commodities they really wanted, as by a tax upon stamped paper, which they had been made to consider as a necessary article. These intelligent people saw, that government was inclined to deceive them, and thought it an indignity to suffer themselves to be the dupes either of force or of fraud. It appeared to them the surest mark of weakness and degeneracy in the subjects of any nation, to wink at all the artful and violent measures adopted by government to corrupt and enslave them.

The dislike they have shewn to these new imposts, was not founded on the idea of their being exorbitant, as they did not amount to more than one livre, 8 sols (about 1 s. 3 d.) for each person: Which could give no alarm to a very populous community, whose public expence never exceeded the annual sum of 3,600,000 livres (157,500).

It was not from any apprehension that the ease of their circumstances would be affected; since the security they derived from the provinces ceded by France

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in the last war, the increase of their trade with the fa-  
 vages, the enlargement of their whale and cod fishe-  
 ries, together with those of the shark and the seal, the  
 right of cutting wood in the bay of Campeachy, the  
 acquisition of several sugar islands, the opportunities  
 of carrying on a contraband trade with the neighbour-  
 ing Spanish settlements; all these circumstances of ad-  
 vantage were abundantly sufficient to compensate the  
 small proportion of revenue which government seemed  
 so anxious to raise.

They were not concerned lest the colonies should  
 be drained of the small quantity of specie which con-  
 tinued in circulation. The pay of eight thousand four  
 hundred regular troops, maintained by the mother-  
 country in North America, must bring much more  
 coin into the country than the tax could carry out of  
 it.

It was not an indifference towards the mother-coun-  
 try. The colonies, far from being ungrateful, have  
 demonstrated so zealous an attachment to her interests  
 during the last war, that parliament had the equity to  
 order considerable sums to be remitted to them, by  
 way of restitution or indemnification.

Nor, lastly, was it ignorance of the obligations that  
 subjects owe to government. Had not even the co-  
 lonies acknowledged themselves bound to contribute  
 towards the payment of the national debt, though they  
 had, perhaps, been the occasion of contracting the  
 greatest part of it, they knew very well, that they  
 were liable to contribute towards the expences of the  
 navy, the maintenance of the African and American  
 settlements, and to all the common expenditures rela-  
 tive to their own preservation and prosperity, as well  
 as to that of the capital.

If the Americans are unwilling to aid Europe, it is,  
because:

because what need only have been asked, was exacted from them, and because what was required of them as a matter of obedience, ought to have been raised by voluntary contribution. Their refusal was not the effect of caprice, but of jealousy of their rights, which have been confirmed in some judicious writings, and more particularly in some eloquent letters, from which we shall borrow the principal facts we are going to state on a subject which must be interesting to every nation on the globe.

The English have been near 200 years established in North America, during which time their country has been harrassed by expensive and bloody wars; thrown into confusion by enterprizing and turbulent parliaments; and governed by a bold and corrupt ministry, ever ready to raise the power of the crown upon the ruin of all the privileges and rights of the people. But, notwithstanding the influence of ambition, avarice, faction, and tyranny, the liberty of the colonies to raise their own taxes for the support of the public revenue hath, on all hands, been acknowledged and regarded.

This privilege, so natural and consonant to the fundamental principles of all rational society, was confirmed by a solemn compact. The colonies might appeal to their original charters, which authorize them to tax themselves freely and voluntarily. These acts were, in truth, nothing more than agreements made with the crown; but, even supposing that the prince had exceeded his authority, by making concessions which certainly did not turn to his advantage, long possession, tacitly owned and acknowledged by the silence of parliament, must constitute a legal prescription.

The American provinces have still more authentic claims

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claims to urge in their favour. They assert, that a subject of England, in whatever hemisphere he resides, is not obliged to contribute to the expences of the state without his own consent, given either by himself, or his representatives. It is in the defence of this sacred right that the nation has so often spilt her blood, dethroned her kings, and either excited or opposed numberless commotions. Will she chuse to dispute with two millions of her children, an advantage which has cost her so dear, and is, perhaps, the sole foundation of her own independence?

It is urged against the colonies, that the Roman catholics residing in England are excluded from the right of voting, and that their estates are subjected to a double tax. The colonists ask in reply, why the papists refuse to take the oath of allegiance required by the state? This conduct makes them suspected by government; and the jealousy it excites, authorises that government to treat them with rigour. Why not abjure a religion so contrary to the free constitution of their country, so favourable to the inhuman claims of despotism, and to the attempts of the crown against the rights of the people? Why that blind prepossession in favour of a church which is an enemy to all others? They deserve the penalties which the state that tolerates them imposes upon subjects of intolerant principles. But the inhabitants of the new world would be punished, without having offended, if they were not able to become subjects, without ceasing to be Americans.

It has also been told to these faithful colonies, that there are multitudes of subjects in England who are not represented; because they have not the property required to intitle them to vote at an election for members of parliament. What ground have they to expect.

expect any greater privileges than those enjoyed by the subjects of the mother-country? The colonies, in answer to this, deny that they wish for superior indulgences; they only want to share them in common with their brethren. In Great Britain, a person who enjoys a freehold of forty shillings a-year, is consulted in the framing of a tax-bill; and, shall not the man who possesses an immense tract of land in America have the same privilege? No. That which is an exception to a law, a deviation from the general rule of the mother-country, ought not to become a fundamental point of constitution for the colonies. Let the English who wish to deprive the provinces in America of the right of taxing themselves, suppose, for a moment, that the house of commons, instead of being chosen by them, is an hereditary and established tribunal, or even arbitrarily appointed by the crown; if this body could levy taxes upon the whole nation, without consulting the public opinion, and the general inclinations of the people, would not the English look upon themselves to be as much slaves as any other nation? However, even in this case, five hundred men, surrounded by seven millions of their fellow-subjects, might be kept within the bounds of moderation, if not by a principle of equity, at least, by a well-grounded apprehension of the public resentment, which pursues the oppressors of their country even beyond the grave. But the case of Americans taxed by the great council of the mother-country would be irremediable. At too great a distance to be heard, they would be oppressed with taxes, without regard to their complaints. Even the tyranny exercised towards them, would be varnished over with the glorious appellation of patriotism. Under pretence of relieving

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the mother country, the colonies would be over-burdened with impunity.

While they have this alarming prospect in view, they will never submit to give up the right of taxing themselves. So long as they debate freely on the subject of public revenue, their interests will be attended to; or, if their rights should sometimes be violated, they will soon obtain a redress of their grievances. But their remonstrances will no longer have any weight with government, when they are not supported by the right of granting or refusing money towards the exigencies of the state. The same power which will have usurped the right of levying taxes, will easily usurp the distribution of them. As it dictates what proportion they shall raise, it will likewise dictate how that shall be laid out; and the sums apparently designed for their service, will be employed to enslave them. Such has been the progression of empires in all ages. No society ever preserved its liberty, after it had lost the privilege of voting in the confirmation, or establishment of laws relative to the revenue. A nation must for ever be enslaved, in which no assembly or body of men remains, who have the power to defend its rights against the encroachments of the state by which it is governed.

The provinces in English America have every reason imaginable to dread the loss of their independence. Even their confidence may betray them, and make them fall a prey to the designs of the mother-country. They are inhabited by an infinite number of honest and upright people, who have no suspicion that those who hold the reins of empire can be hurried away by unjust and tyrannical passions. They take it for granted, that their country cherishes those sentiments of maternal tenderness which are so consonant to her

true interests, and to the love and veneration which they entertain for her. To the unsuspecting credulity of these honest subjects, who cherish so agreeable a delusion, may be added, the acquiescence of those who think it not worth while to trouble their repose on account of inconsiderable taxes. These indolent people do not perceive that the plan was, at first, to lull their vigilance asleep by imposing a moderate duty; that England only wanted to establish an example of submission, upon which it might ground future pretensions; that, if the parliament has been able to raise one guinea, it can raise ten thousand; and that there will be no more reason to limit this right, than there would be justice in acknowledging it at present. But the greatest injury to liberty arises from a set of ambitious men, who, pursuing an interest distinct from that of the public and of posterity, are wholly bent on increasing their credit, their rank, and their estates. The British ministry, from whom they have procured employments, or expect to receive them, finds them always ready to favour their odious projects, by the contagion of their luxury and their vices, by their artful insinuations, and the flexibility of their conduct.

Let all true patriots then firmly oppose the snares of prejudice, indolence, and seduction; nor let them despair of being victorious in a contest in which their virtue has engaged them. Attempts will, perhaps, be made to shake their fidelity, by the plausible proposal of allowing their representatives a seat in parliament, in order to regulate, in conjunction with those of the mother-country, the taxes to be raised by the nation at large. Such, indeed, is the extent, populousness, wealth, and importance of the colonies, that the legislature cannot govern them with wisdom and safety, without availing itself of the advice and information

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of their representatives. But care should be taken not to authorize these deputies to decide in matters concerning the fortune and the contributions of their constituents. The expostulations of a few men would be easily overborn by the numerous representatives of the mother-country; and the provinces, whose instruments they would be, would, in this confused jumble of interests and opinions, be laden with too heavy and too unequal a part of the common burden. Let then the right of appointing, proportioning, and raising the taxes, continue to be exclusively vested in the provincial assemblies; who ought to be the more jealous of it at the present juncture, as the power of depriving them of it seems to have gained strength by the conquests made in the last war.

From its late acquisitions, the mother-country has derived the advantage of extending her fisheries, and strengthening her alliance with the savages. But, as if this success passed for nothing in her estimation, she persists in declaring, that this increase of territory has answered no end, and produced no effect, but to secure the tranquillity of the colonies. The colonies, on the contrary, maintain, that their lands, on which their whole welfare depended, have decreased considerably in their value by this immense extent of territory; that their population being diminished, or, at least, not increased, the country is the more exposed to invasions; and that the most northern provinces are rivalled by Canada, and the most southern by Florida. The colonists, who judge of future events by the history of the past, even go so far as to say, that the military government established in the conquered provinces, the numerous troops maintained, and the forts erected there, may one day contribute to enslave countries,

countries, which have hitherto flourished only upon the principles of liberty.

Great Britain possesses all the authority over her colonies that she ought to wish for. She has a right to disannul any laws they shall make. The executive power is entirely lodged in the hands of her delegates; and, in all determinations of a civil nature, an appeal lies to her tribunal. She regulates, at discretion, all commercial connections, which are allowed to be formed and pursued by the colonists. To strain an authority so wisely tempered, would be to plunge a rising continent afresh into that state of confusion from which it had with difficulty emerged in the course of two centuries of incessant labour; and to reduce the men, who had laboured to clear the ground, to the necessity of taking up arms in the defence of those sacred rights to which they are equally intitled by nature, and the laws of society. Shall the English, who are so passionately fond of liberty, that they have sometimes protected it in regions widely remote in climate and interest, forget those sentiments, which their glory, their virtue, their natural feelings, and their security conspire to render a perpetual obligation? Shall they so far betray the rights they hold so dear, as to wish to enslave their brethren and their children? If, however, it should happen, that the spirit of faction should devise so fatal a design, and should, in an hour of madness and intoxication, get it patronized by the mother-country; what steps ought the colonies to take to save themselves from a state of the most odious dependence?

Before they turn their eyes on this political combustion, they will recal to memory all the advantages they owe to their country. England has always been their barrier against the powerful nations of Europe, and

and served as a guide and moderator to watch over their preservation, and to heal those civil dissensions, which jealousy and rivalry too frequently excite between neighbouring plantations in their rising state. It is to the influence of its excellent constitution that they owe the peace and prosperity they enjoy. While the colonies live under so salutary and mild an administration, they will continue to make a rapid progress in the vast field of improvement that opens itself to their view, and which their industry will extend to the remotest desarts.

They must however accompany the love of their country with a certain jealousy of their liberties; and let their rights be constantly examined into, cleared up, and discussed. Let them never fail to consider those as the best citizens, who are perpetually calling their attention to these points. This spirit of jealousy is proper in all free states; but it is particularly necessary in complicated governments, where liberty is blended with a certain degree of dependence, such as is required in a connection between countries separated by an immense ocean. This vigilance will be the surest guardian of the union which ought strongly to cement the mother-country and her colonies.

If the ministry, which is always composed of ambitious men, even in a free state, should attempt to increase the power of the crown, or the opulence of the mother-country, at the expence of the colonies, the colonies ought to resist such an usurping power with unremitting spirit. When any measure of government meets with a warm opposition, it seldom fails to be rectified; while grievances, which are suffered for want of courage to redress them, are constantly succeeded by fresh instances of oppression. Nations, in general, are more apt to feel than to reflect, and have

no other ideas of the legality of a power than the very exercise of that power. Accustomed to obey without examination, they, in general, become familiarized to the hardships of government; and, being ignorant of the origin and design of society, do not conceive the idea of setting bounds to authority. In those states, especially where the principles of legislation are confounded with those of religion, as one extravagant opinion opens a door for the reception of a thousand, among those who have been once deceived; so the first encroachments of government pave the way for all the rest. He who believes the most, believes the least; and he who can perform the most, performs the least: And to this double mistake, in regard either to belief or power, it is owing that all the absurdities and ill practices in religion and politics have been introduced into the world, in order to oppress the human species. The spirit of toleration and of liberty, which has hitherto prevailed in the English colonies, has happily preserved them from falling into this extreme of folly and misery. They have too high a sense of the dignity of human nature not to resist oppression, though at the hazard of their lives.

It is unnecessary to inform so intelligent a people, that desperate resolutions and violent measures cannot be justifiable, till they have in vain tried every possible method of reconciliation. But, at the same time, they know, that, if they are reduced to the necessity of chusing slavery or war, and taking arms in defence of their liberty, they ought not to tarnish so glorious a cause with all the horrors and cruelties attendant on sedition; and, though resolved not to sheath the sword till they have recovered their rights, that they should make no other use of their victory, than to procure

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procure the re-establishment of their original state of legal independence.

We must be cautious, however, of not confounding the resistance which the English colonies ought to make to their mother country, with the fury of a people excited to revolt against their sovereign by a long series of excessive oppression. When the slaves of an arbitrary monarch have once broken their chain, and submitted their fate to the decision of the sword, they are obliged to massacre the tyrant, to exterminate his whole race, and to change the form of that government under which they have suffered for many ages. If they venture not thus far, they will sooner or later be punished for having been courageous only by halves. The blow will be retorted upon them with greater force than ever; and the affected clemency of their tyrants will only prove a new snare, in which they will be caught and entangled, without hope of deliverance. It is the misfortune of factions in an absolute government, that neither prince nor people set any bounds to their resentment, because they know none in the exercise of their power. But a constitution qualified like that of the English colonies, carries, in its principles and in the limitation of its power, a remedy and preservative against the evils of anarchy. When the mother country has removed their complaints, by reinstating them in their former situation, they ought to proceed no further; because such a situation is the happiest that a wise people have a right to aspire to.

If they embrace a plan of absolute independence, they must break through the ties of religion, oaths, laws, language, relation, interest, trade, and habit, which unite them together under the mild authority of the mother country. Is it to be imagined, that  
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such an avulsion would not affect the heart, the vitals, and even the life of the colonies? If they should stop short of the violence of civil wars, would they easily be brought to agree upon a new form of government? If each settlement composed a distinct state, what divisions would ensue! We may judge of the animosities that would arise from their separation, by the fate of all communities which nature has made to border on each other. But, could it be supposed that so many settlements, where a diversity of laws, different degrees of opulence, and variety of possessions, would sow the latent seeds of an opposition of interests, were desirous of forming a confederacy; how would they adjust the rank which each would aspire to hold, and the influence it ought to have in proportion to the risque it incurred, and the forces it supplied? Would not the same spirit of jealousy, and a thousand other passions, which in a short time divided the wise states of Greece, raise discord between a multitude of colonies associated rather by the transient and brittle ties of passion and resentment, than by the sober principles of a natural and lasting combination? All these considerations seem to demonstrate, that an eternal separation from the mother country, would prove a very great misfortune to the English colonies.

We may even venture to affirm, that, were it in the power of the European nations who have possessions in the new world to effect this great revolution, it is not their interest to wish it. This will, perhaps, be thought a paradox by those powers, who see their colonies perpetually threatened with an invasion from their neighbours. They, doubtless, imagine, that if the power of the English in America were lessened, they should peaceably enjoy their acquisitions, which frequently excite their envy, and invite them to hostili-

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ties. It cannot be denied, that their influence in these distant regions arises from the extent or populousness of their northern provinces, which enable them always to attack, with advantage, the islands and continental possessions of other nations, to conquer their territories, or ruin their trade. But, after all, this crown has interests in other parts of the globe which may counter-act their progress in America, restrain or retard their enterprizes, and frustrate their conquests by the restitutions they will be obliged to make.

When old and new Britain are divided, the northern colonies will have more power when single, than when united with the mother country. This great continent, freed from all connections with Europe, will have the full command of all its motions. It will then become an important, as well as an easy undertaking to them, to invade those territories whose riches will make amends for the scantiness of their productions. By the independent nature of its situation, it will be enabled to get every thing in readiness for an invasion, before any account arrives in Europe. This nation will carry on their military operations with the spirit peculiar to new societies. They may make choice of their enemies, and conquer where and when they please. Their attacks will always be made upon such coasts as are liable to be taken by surprise, and upon those seas that are least guarded by foreign powers, who will find the countries they wished to defend conquered before any succours can arrive. It will be impossible to recover them by treaty, without making great concessions, or, when recovered for a time, to prevent their falling again under the same yoke. The colonies belonging to our absolute monarchies will, perhaps, be inclined to meet a master with open arms, who

who cannot propose harder terms than their own government imposes; or, after the example of the English colonies, will break the chain that rivets them so ignominiously to Europe.

Let no motive, by any means, prevail upon the nations who are rivals to England, either by insinuations, or by clandestine helps, to hasten a revolution, which would only deliver them from a neighbouring enemy, by giving them a much more formidable one at a distance. Why accelerate an event which must one day naturally take place from the unavoidable concurrence of so many others? For it would be contrary to the nature of things, if the province, subject to a presiding nation, should continue under its dominion, when equal to it in riches, and the number of inhabitants. Or, indeed, who can tell whether this disunion may not happen sooner? Is it not likely that the distrust and hatred which has of late taken place of that regard and attachment which the provinces formerly felt for the parent country, may bring on a separation? Thus, every thing conspires to produce this great disruption, the aera of which it is impossible to know. Every thing tends to this point; the progress of good in the new hemisphere, and the progress of evil in the old.

The sudden and rapid decline of our manners and our powers, together with the crimes of princes and the sufferings of the people, will, I am afraid, make this fatal catastrophe, which is to divide one part of the globe from the other, universal. The foundations of our tottering empires are sapped; materials are hourly collecting and preparing for their destruction, composed of the ruins of our laws, the ferment of contending opinions, and the subversion of our rights, which were the foundation of our courage; the luxury of our courts, and the miseries of the country; the  
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lasting animosity between indolent men who engross all the wealth, and vigorous, and even virtuous men, who have nothing to lose but their lives. In proportion as our people are weakened, and resign themselves to each other's dominion, population and agriculture will flourish in America; the arts, transplanted by our means, will make a rapid progress; and that country rising out of nothing, will be fired with the ambition of appearing with glory in its turn on the face of the globe, and in the history of the world. O posterity! it is my warmest wish, that ye may be more happy than your wretched and despicable ancestors.



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C H A P . I .

*The first settlement of the English in New-England.*

 E derive our possessions in America from the discovery of Sebastian Cabot, in 1497. At that time the country was in general called Newfoundland, though now appropriated only to an island on its coast. Sir Walter Raleigh planted a colony on the southern part, which he called Virginia. In King Charles the First's time, Bishop Laud, a man of no abilities, who was scarcely capable of governing a college, yet was raised to the first ecclesiastical dignity, and had a great sway in all the

the temporal affairs of the kingdom, deprived great numbers of the ministers of their benefices for non-conformity, and made new regulations in religion, introducing ceremonies of a most useless and ridiculous nature, by which several great men were disgusted at the proceedings of the court, and joined those who were Puritans by principle. The severities with which they were treated determined them to seek for an asylum in New-England, where they might carry on a profitable trade of furs and skins, as well as the fishery. They solicited grants in New England, and were at great expence in settling them. It was said, that several of the great men that appeared with eclat on the great stage, even Oliver Cromwell himself, were actually upon the point of embarking for New England, when Archbishop Laud obtained an order from court to put a stop to their transportation. However, he was not able to prevent great numbers of the ministers, who had been deprived of their livings, and the laity who adhered to their opinions, from transporting themselves there.

They purchased from the company of the Plymouth country, which by their charter had not only all the coast of North America, from Nova Scotia to the southern parts of South Carolina, (the whole country being distinguished by the names of South and North Virginia) as a scene of their exclusive trade, but they had the property of the soil besides. This colony established itself in a place which they called New Plymouth. Their beginnings were but few in number. When they landed, they were supported entirely by their own private funds, without any other assistance. The first winter was terribly cold, the country all covered with wood, and affording very little refreshment for persons who were but sickly from their voyage.

ye. Near half of them perished by the scurvy, by want, and the severity of the climate; yet those who survived were not dispirited by their losses; but supported by the vigour which was then the character of Englishmen, and by the satisfaction of finding themselves out of the reach of the spiritual arm. They reduced this savage country by degrees to afford them a comfortable subsistence.

This settlement was first made in the year 1621. In 1629, the colony began to flourish in such a manner, that they became a considerable people; and by the close of the following year, they had built four towns, Salem, Dorchester, Charlestown, and Boston, which has since become the capital of New England.

The patentees settled on the river Connecticut, and established a separate and independent government there. They had settlements very thick all along the coast. These, and some in the province of Main and New Hampshire, had nothing that deserved the name of a regular form of government. The court took very little care of them. By their charter they were empowered to establish such an order, and such laws as they pleased, providing they were not contrary to the laws of England. They imitated the Jewish polity in all respects, and adopted the books of Moses as the laws of the land; the first laws they made being founded upon them. In their ecclesiastical affairs, they maintained that every parish was sovereign with itself: They had synods, but those only served to prepare and digest matters, which were to receive their sanction from the approbation of their several churches. The synods could exercise no jurisdiction either as to doctrine or discipline. The magistrates assisted in these synods, to hear, deliberate, and determine.

One would imagine that such a form as this would have been productive of great religious freedoms; but it had not this effect. A small number maintained, that no magistrate had any power to one compulsory measure in affairs of religion. This they contradicted, and used those people in such a manner, that they were at last obliged to move southward near Cape Code, where they built a town, to which they gave the name of Providence. Here they formed a government upon their own principles. This is now called Rhode Island, from an island of that name which forms a part of it. As it was persecution that first drove those people from England, so different persecutions gave rise to new colonies, and were greatly serviceable in spreading the people over the whole country. They made several laws with regard to religion, which they executed with great rigour, even to fines, banishment, and death, till an order from the king and council in England, about the year 1661, interposed to restrain them.

Some time after this, they fell into a woful delusion with regard to witchcraft. Several suffered death on this account, and it spread with such fierceness, that at last they wanted objects to vent their fury on, lodging informations against the most respectable persons, even the judges themselves; so that the accusers were at last discouraged by authority. The anguish, the horror and consternation of the people were beyond imagination, when their relatives, their friends and neighbours were accused, and imprisoned: Many of them were put on solemn trial for life, and divers condemned and executed. No one could look upon himself as safe: Many fled their country for fear, and before the imposture was discovered, such a shocking tragedy was acted, as is enough to make the ears of

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very one that heareth to tingle. Nineteen persons were condemned and executed for witchcraft. One was pressed to death for refusing to plead. Eight more lay under the sentence of death. Fifty confessed and were pardoned. One hundred and fifty were imprisoned, and two hundred, being accused, fled for their lives.

A general fast was appointed to pray to God to forgive all their errors in a late tragedy raised by Satan and his emissaries. However, the people now have much abated of their persecuting spirit.



C H A P. II.

*The climate and situation of New-England. A description of the Indian corn and cattle of New-England.*

**N**EW-ENGLAND is in length 300 miles, and the broadest part about 200. It lies between the 41st and 45th degrees of north latitude: and notwithstanding it is situated near ten degrees nearer the sun than we are in England, yet their winter begins earlier, lasts longer, and is much more severe than with us. The summer is much hotter than in most places which lie under the same parallels in Europe. But the clearing away of the woods, by which the air has a more free circulation than formerly, makes it much more healthy. The sky both in summer and winter is very serene, so that sometimes, for several months, there is not so much as the appearance of a cloud. Their rains are generally soon over, though while they last they are very heavy.

The soil is best in the southern parts, and in the low grounds are excellent meadows for pasturage; every acre producing from one to two tons of hay. They allow two acres for the maintenance of a cow. European grain does not thrive here, but the Indian corn, which is the food of the lowest class of people, flourishes prodigiously, and affords a very great increase. It is called *Maize*: The ear is about a span in length, consisting of eight rows of the corn, or more, according to the goodness of the ground, with about thirty grains in each row. It has a most beautiful appearance. On the top of the stalk hangs a flower of various colours, white, blue, black, speckled, striped; and the grain consists of all the different colours of the flower; but the generality is yellow or white.

The stalk is six or eight feet high, and of a considerable thickness, though they are not so high as they are in Virginia, and the other southern places. It has several joints, out of which spring leaves, which serve for food for the cattle; and there is a sort of juice, which produces a spirit as sweet as sugar. It flourishes most in light sandy ground with an intermixture of loam. A peck of seed is sufficient for an acre, which produces 25 bushels. They not only make bread of this corn, but frequently malt it, and the beer made of it is not to be despised. But they generally make their beer of molasses well hop'd, and the spruce fir boiled in it. Besides the different kinds of grain, they raise a great quantity of flax and hemp. An acre of their cow-pen land produces a ton of the commodity.

Their horned cattle are very numerous and large, their oxen frequently eighteen hundred weight. Their hogs are very numerous, and excellent, some of the

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large as to weigh twenty-five score. Their horses are small, but extremely hardy, and their swiftness is almost incredible. Their sheep is also numerous, and of a good kind. Their wool is long, but not near so fine as that in England. They are very successful in the manufactory of it, making cloth of as good a texture as the best drabs, though not so fine; but superior, if any thing, to that kind made in England for the country people's wear.



## C H A P. III.

*Account of the people in New-England. Their numbers, colonies, charters, code of laws, &c.*

THE yeomanry here are in general freeholders, who cultivate their own lands, without a dependence on any but Providence and their own industry; and, by the nature of their government, have a free, bold, and republican spirit. There is no part of the globe where the common people are so independent, and enjoy so many of the conveniences of life. They are bred to arms from their infancy, and their militia is far from being contemptible. If they were regularly trained and brought under a little better subordination, there is no kingdom under the canopy of heaven, nor ever existed in former times, who ever had a better army than what New-England can furnish. This is much better peopled than any other of our colonies on the continent; it is supposed to contain upwards of four hundred and seventy thousand souls, with a very small number of blacks and Indians: The proportion as follows,

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'Massachusetts

Maffachufets bay,	250,000
Connecticut,	150,000
Rhode Island,	45,000
New Hampshire,	30,000
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	475,000

All these four governments confederate together for their common safety. The richest of them is that of Maffachufets bay. This province, as well as the others, originally had a power of chusing all their own magistrates, and making such laws as they thought proper, without sending them home to be approved of by the crown: But being accused of abusing this freedom, Charles II. deprived them of it, and they remained without a charter till the revolution. Soon after this period they received a new one, though not so favourable as the former. The governor, lieutenant governor, the chief places in the law, and the revenue, are in the disposal of the crown, and also the militia; and though the council is chosen by the representatives of the people, yet the governor has a negative, by which he preserves the prerogative entire. They are allowed to appeal to the crown for any sums above three hundred pounds. All the laws they pass must be remitted to England, where if they do not receive a negative from the crown in three years, they are to have the force of laws; which they also have till the time the king's resolution is known. It has been long a matter of debate the granting a salary to the governor and the judges. They think a dependence on the people for their salaries the most effectual means of restraining them from doing any thing that is unpopular. To the government of the Maffachu-

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ets is united the colony of Plymouth, and the terri-  
 tory called Main.

The colony of Connecticut, which lies upon a ri-  
 ver of the same name, as it had never offended at the  
 revolution, their old privileges, which were the same  
 as those of the Massachusetts were formerly, are pre-  
 served to them entire.

The third and smallest of the provinces which com-  
 pose New-England, is that of Rhode Island, which  
 consists of an island of the same name, and the old  
 plantation of Providence. Those united plantations  
 have a charter the same with that of Connecticut,  
 which they have also preserved entire. In this pro-  
 vince they give an unlimited freedom to all religions,  
 which was its original constitution, and by this means  
 it is become very populous.

New Hampshire, which is the largest of them all,  
 lies more northerly than any of the rest. It is a royal  
 government; the king having the nomination of all  
 officers of justice, the militia, and the appointment  
 of the council.

The inhabitants of New England lived peaceably  
 for a long time, without any regular form of policy.  
 It was not that their charter had not authorised them  
 to establish any mode of government they might chuse,  
 but these enthusiasts were not agreed amongst them-  
 selves upon the plan of their republic; and govern-  
 ment was not sufficiently concerned about them to  
 urge them to secure their own tranquillity. At length  
 they grew sensible of the necessity of a regular legis-  
 lation; and this great work, which virtue and genius  
 united have never attempted but with diffidence, was  
 boldly undertaken by blind fanaticism. It bore the  
 stamp of the rude prejudices on which it had been  
 formed.

There was in this new code a singular mixture of good and evil, of wisdom and folly. No man was allowed to have any share in the government, except he was a member of the established church. Witchcraft, perjury, blasphemy, and adultery, were made capital offences; and children were also punished with death, either for cursing or striking their parents. On the other hand, marriages were to be solemnized by the magistrate. The price of corn was fixed at 3 livres, 7 sols, 6 deniers (2s. 11d. halfpenny) per bushel. The savages who neglected to cultivate their lands were to be deprived of them by law. Europeans were forbidden, under a heavy penalty, to sell them any strong liquors, or warlike stores. All those who were detected either in lying, or drunkenness, or dancing, were ordered to be publicly whipped. But, at the same time that amusements were forbidden equally with vices and crimes, one might swear by paying a penalty of 1 livre, 2 sols, 6 deniers (11d. 3 farthings), and break the Sabbath for 67 livres, 10 sols (2l. 19s. 3 farthings). It was esteemed an indulgence to be able to atone by money for a neglect of prayer, or for uttering a rash oath. But it is still more extraordinary, that the worship of images was forbidden to the puritans on pain of death, which was also inflicted on Roman Catholic priests, who should return to the colony after they had been banished; and on Quakers who should appear again after having been whipped. Such was the abhorrence for these sectaries, who had themselves an aversion from every kind of cruelty, that whoever either brought one of them into the country, or harboured him but for one hour, was exposed to pay a considerable fine.

Those unfortunate members of the colony, who less violent than their brethren, ventured to deny the

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coercive power of the magistrate in matters of religion, were persecuted with still greater vigour. This appeared a blasphemy to those divines which had rather choïsen to quit their country than to shew any deference to episcopal authority. By that natural tendency of the human heart from the love of independence to that of tyranny, they changed their opinions as they changed the climate; and only seemed to arrogate freedom of thought to themselves, in order to deny it to others. This system was supported by the severities of the law, which attempted to put a stop to every difference in opinion, by imposing capital punishment on all who dissented. Whoever was either convicted or even suspected of entertaining sentiments of toleration, was exposed to such cruel oppressions, that they were forced to fly from their first asylum, and seek refuge in another. They found one on the same continent; and, as New England had been first founded by persecution, its limits were extended by it. This severity, which a man turns against himself, or against his fellow creatures, and makes him either the victim or the oppressor, soon exerted itself against the Quakers. They were whipped, banished, and imprisoned. The proud simplicity of these new enthusiasts, who, in the midst of torture and ignominy, praised God, and called for blessings upon men, inspired a reverence for their persons and opinions, and gained them a number of proselytes. This circumstance exasperated their persecutors, and hurried them on to the most atrocious acts of violence; and they caused five of them, who had returned clandestinely from banishment, to be hanged. It seemed as if the English had come to America to exercise upon their own countrymen the same cruelties the Spaniards had used against the Indians.

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The spirit of persecution was at last suppressed by the interposition of the mother country, from whence it had been brought.

But, though the colony has renounced the persecuting spirit which hath stained all religious sects with blood, it has preserved some remains, if not of toleration, at least, of severity, which reminds us of those melancholy days in which it took its rise. Some of its laws are still too severe.

Some idea may be formed of this rigid severity, from a speech delivered not many years ago, before the magistrates, by a young woman who had been convicted of producing her fifth bastard child.

‘ I presume,’ said she, ‘ that this honourable court will nor refuse me permission to speak a few words in my own defence.

‘ I am a young woman, both poor and unfortunate. It is not without difficulty that I earn a decent subsistence; and I am unable to see lawyers to plead my cause in a proper manner. Listen, therefore, to the simple voice of reason. As reason alone ought to dictate laws, she is certainly intitled to examine whether they be founded on justice and humanity. That law, by which I am now dragged before your tribunal, has condemned me on former occasions. I ask not that you should depart from it on my account. I only intreat your benevolent intercessions with the governor, for a remission of that fine in which you are about to condemn me.

‘ This is the fifth time that I have appeared before you for the same offence. I twice paid heavy fines; and twice did my indigence prevent me from expiating a slight fault for the same pecuniary chastisement: For this cause alone did I suffer a disgraceful and a painful punishment. These punishments, I

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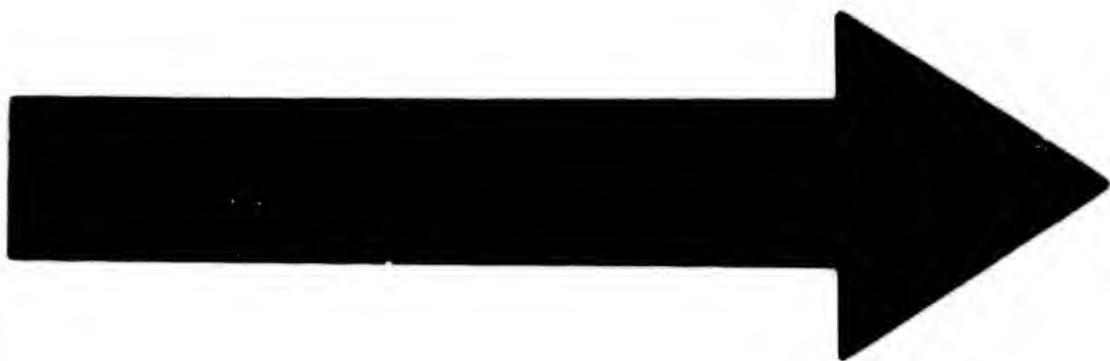
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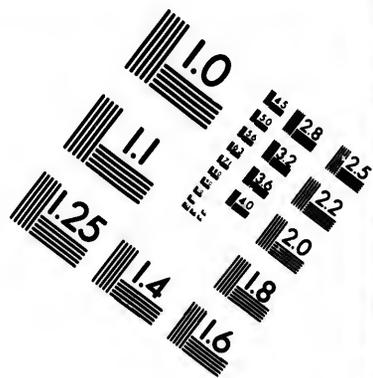
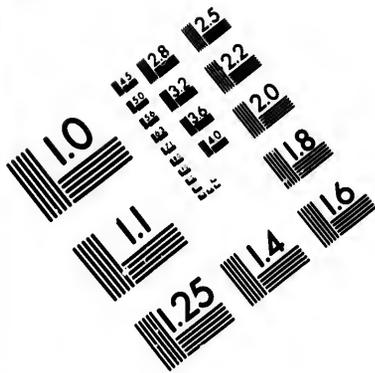
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know, are ordained by the laws. But, if laws,  
when unreasonable, ought to be abrogated, or mi-  
tigated when too severe, I will venture to pronounce  
that by which I am persecuted to be, in my parti-  
cular circumstances, both cruel and unjust. If this  
single fault, for which I am again accused at your  
tribunal, and for which heaven and nature pro-  
nounce my pardon, be accepted, my life has been  
uniformly irreproachable. If it be my misfortune  
to have what I never merited, I openly defy my e-  
nemies to charge me with the smallest acts of in-  
justice. I have examined both my heart and my  
conduct; and, I say it with truth and with confi-  
dence, they both appear to be pure as the light  
which shines upon me: After searching for my  
crime, I can find it no where but in those laws  
which torment me.

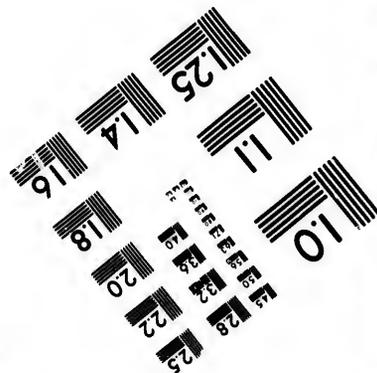
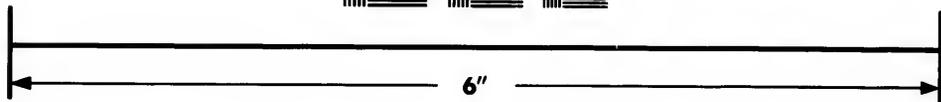
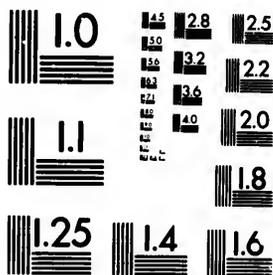
At the risk of my life have I given five children  
to the world. I have nourished them with my milk,  
and with the fruits of my industry: They have  
been a burden neither to the public nor to indivi-  
duals. With all the resolution and the tenderness  
of a mother, I have devoted myself to those pain-  
ful anxieties which their age and their weakness re-  
quire: I have trained them to virtue, which is no-  
thing but reason. They already glow, as I do, with  
love to their country. They, in time, will be ci-  
tizens like yourselves, if you wrest not from them,  
by new and inhuman fines, the funds destined for  
their subsistence, and if you force them not to fly a  
country which has endeavoured to stifle them in the  
very birth.

Is it a crime to be fruitful and to multiply our  
species, like the earth our common parent? Is it a  
crime to augment the number of colonists in a coun-





**IMAGE EVALUATION  
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try which stands in need of nothing but inhabitants? I never debauched any woman's husband; I never insnared any young man. No person has reason to complain of me, excepting, perhaps, the clergyman, who seems to be chagrined for losing the dues of his office, and because I have had children without consulting him. But is this a fault of mine? I appeal to you, my judges. You know that I am not destitute of understanding. But, would it not be the extreme of folly and stupidity, to submit to the painful duties of matrimony, and to abandon its honours? I always was, and still am solicitous of being married: And, I flatter myself, that the fruitfulness, the industry, and the frugality with which nature has endowed me, will render me not unworthy of a state so respectable; she has destined me to be an honest and a virtuous wife. I still hope to be so: While a virgin, I listened not to the pressing intreaties of love, till I had received the vows of fidelity, and the most solemn promises of marriage. But my unexperienced confidence in the sincerity of the first man I loved, made me lose my own honour by relying on his. To him I bore a child; and then he abandoned me. This man is well known to you all; he is one of your own number. I hoped this day to have seen him in court, with a view to moderate the rigour of your sentence. If he had appeared, I would have been silent. But how can I refrain from complaining of injustice, when I behold the man, who seduced and ruined me, loaded with honours and with power; when I behold him seated on that very tribunal which punished me with stripes and with infamy? What barbarous legislature first bestowed privileges on the stronger sex, and treated the weak-

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er with rigour and ferocity? Unhappy females!  
 For a poor, but natural gratification, you are condemned to encounter a thousand dangers, and to suffer a thousand infirmities: Nature has sold to you pleasures, which the men inhumanly monopolize to themselves, at a price sufficient to extinguish the most ungovernable passions.

Rather than commit treason against nature, I scruple not to expose myself to unjust dishonour, and to disgraceful chastisement: No sufferings or hardships shall ever deter me from obeying the laws of propagation, or oblige me to prevent the birth of my children, or to suffocate them after they see the light. After losing my virginity, I confess, that I disdained to assume the hypocritical appearances of chastity, by indulging in a secret and a barren prostitution: And I rather wish for the continuance of my present pains and anxieties, than to conceal the offspring of that fruitfulness originally conferred by heaven upon man and woman.

I shall, doubtless, be told, that, independent of the laws of society, I have violated those of religion. If I have sinned against religion, let religion punish me. Alas! Is it not enough, that she has banished me from the happiness of communion with my brethren? But, you urge, I have offended Heaven, and have nothing to expect but the tortures of eternal flames. If this be your creed, why do you load me with punishments in this world? No, gentlemen, Heaven is not, like you, both unjust and inexorable. If I had believed what you call a sin to be a real crime, I never would have had the audacity or the wickedness to commit it. But I dare not presume to think, that I have offended the Supreme Being by procreating children, on whom he

has

' has been pleased to confer strong, and healthy bo-  
 ' dies, and to endow them with immortal souls. Just  
 ' God! Thou art the avenger of crimes and of im-  
 ' moralities; to you I appeal against the iniquitous  
 ' sentence of my judges! I crave not vengeance;  
 ' punish them not; but soften their hearts, and en-  
 ' lighten their understandings! If you have given  
 ' woman to man for a companion in this world of  
 ' pain and misfortune, suffer him not to load with  
 ' opprobrium that sex which he himself has corrupt-  
 ' ed! Let him not infuse misery and shame into that  
 ' pleasure which was destined for a consolation to his  
 ' distresses! Let him not be so barbarously ungrateful,  
 ' as to punish the victims of his own voluptuousness.  
 ' While under the influence of passion, let him re-  
 ' tain a sense of honour and of the value of chastity;  
 ' or, after having violated both, let him at least la-  
 ' ment, in place of insulting, the unfortunate maid  
 ' whom he has robbed of her brightest jewel: Per-  
 ' mit him not to pervert into crimes, actions which  
 ' thou thyself commanded to be performed, when  
 ' you proclaimed, *Let man increase and multiply upon  
 ' the earth.*'

This speech, however, produced an affecting change  
 in the minds of all the audience. She was not only  
 acquitted of either penalty or corporal punishment,  
 but her triumph was so complete, that one of her  
 judges married her; so superior is the voice of reason  
 to all the powers of studied eloquence.

Notwithstanding this, the popular prejudice soon  
 regained its ground; whether it be that political and  
 social good often silences the voice of nature, when  
 left to herself, or that, under the English government,  
 where celibacy is not enjoined by religion, there is  
 less excuse for an illicit commerce between the sexes

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than in those countries, where the nobility and the clergy, luxury on the one side, misery on the other, and above all, the scandalous example given by the court and the church, all unite in degrading the married state, and consequently in preventing many persons from entering into it.

New England has some resources against bad laws, in the constitution of its mother country, when the people who have the legislative power in their own hands are at liberty to correct abuses; and it has others derived from its situation, which open a vast field to industry and population.



## C H A P. IV.

*Boston. Its trade. Ship-building. Distillery. Foreign traffic. Harbour, &c.—A description of Cambridge.*

**B**OSTON is a very noted and opulent trading town, the metropolis of New England, in North America, in the county of Suffolk. It is the largest city of all the British empire in America; and was built the latter end of the year 1630, by a part of the colony which removed hither from Charles-Town, and stands upon a peninsula of about four miles circumference, at the very bottom of Massachusetts-bay, about eight miles from the south of it. It is the most advantageously situated for trade of any place in North America; on the north side are a dozen small islands, called the Brewsters, one of which is called Nettle's-illand. — The only safe way for entrance into the harbour is by a channel so narrow, as well as full of islands, that three ships can scarce pass in a breast; but

but there are proper marks to guide them into the fair way; and within the harbour there is room enough for five hundred ships to lie at anchor in a good depth of water, where they are covered by the cannon of a regular and very strong fortrefs. At the bottom of the bay is a very noble pier, near two thousand feet in length, along which on the north side extends a row of ware-houses. The head of this pier joins the principal street in the town, which is, like most of the others, spacious and well built: the town has a very striking appearance at entering, as it lies at the very bottom of the bay, like an amphitheatre. It has a town house, where the courts meet, and the exchange is kept, large, and of a tolerable taste of architecture. Round the exchange are a great number of well-furnished booksellers shops, which find employment for five printing-presses. There are here ten churches, and it contains about five thousand houses, and at least thirty thousand inhabitants. That we may be enabled to form some judgment of the wealth of this city, we must observe that from Christmas 1747, to Christmas 1748, five hundred vessels cleared out from this port only for a foreign trade, and four hundred and thirty were entered inwards; to say nothing of coasting and fishing vessels, both of which are numerous to an uncommon degree, and not less than a thousand. Indeed the trade of New England is great, as it supplies a vast quantity of goods from within itself; but is yet greater, as the people in this country are in a manner the carriers for all the colonies in North America and the West Indies; and even for some parts of Europe. They may be in this respect considered the Hollanders of America. The home commodities are principally masts and yards, for which they contract largely with the

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royal navy; also pitch, tar, and turpentine; staves, lumber, and boards; all sorts of provisions, beef, pork, butter, and cheese, in vast quantities; horses, and live cattle; Indian corn and pease; cyder, apples, hemp, and flax. Their peltry or fur-trade is not so considerable. They have a noble cod fishery upon their coast, which finds employment for a vast number of their people: they are enabled by this branch to export annually above thirty thousand quintals of choice cod-fish to Spain, Italy, the British islands, Great Britain, the Mediterranean, &c. and about twenty thousand quintals of the refuse sort to the West Indies, for the negroes.

The great quantity of spirits which they distil in Boston from the molasses, received in return from the West-Indies, is as surprising as the cheap rate they vend it at, which is under two shillings a gallon. With this they supply almost all the consumption of our colonies in North America, the Indian trade there, the vast demands of their own, and the Newfoundland fishery, and in a great measure those of the African trade. But they are more famous for the quantity and cheapness than the excellency of their rum. They are almost the only one of our colonies, which nearly supply themselves with woollen and linen manufactures. Their woollen cloths are strong, close, but coarse and stubborn. As to their linens, that manufacture was brought from the north of Ireland by some presbyterian artificers, driven thence by the severity of their landlords, or rather the master workmen and employers; and from an affinity of religious sentiments they chose New England for their retreat. As they brought with them a fund of riches in their skill of the linen manufactures, they met with very large encouragement, and exercise their trade to the great advantage

advantage of the colony. At present they make very great quantities, and of a very good kind; their principal settlement is in a town, which, in compliment to them, is called Londonderry. Thus does the rigour and avarice of a few employers very often lay the foundation of the ruin of a staple commodity, by driving the mine of wealth to seek refuge in a foreign country; and hence it is from the same severity that Naples, and other states of Italy, the Swiss Cantons, &c. are stocked with looms and Irish artificers, to the great loss of the mother-country, Great Britain.

Hats are made in New England, and which, in a clandestine way, find vent in all the other colonies. The setting up these manufactures has been in a great matter necessary to them; for as they have not been properly encouraged in some staple commodity by which they might communicate with Great Britain; being cut off from all other resources, they must have either abandoned the country, or have found means of employing their own skill and industry to draw out of it the necessaries of life. The same necessity, together with their being possessed of materials for building and mending ships, has made them the carriers for the other colonies.

This last article is one of the most considerable which Boston, or the other sea-port towns in New England carry on. Ships are sometimes built here on commission, and frequently the merchants of the country have them constructed upon their own account; then loading them with the produce of their country, naval stores, fish, and fish-oil principally, they send them out upon a trading-voyage to Spain, Portugal, or the Mediterranean; where, having disposed of their cargo, they make what advantage they can by freight, until such time as they can sell the vessel

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vessel herself to advantage; which they seldom fail to do, receiving the value of the vessel, as well as the freight of the goods, which from time to time they carried, and of the first home-cargo in bills of exchange upon London; for as they have no commodity to return for the value of above 100,000 l. which they take in various sorts of goods from England, (except what naval stores they have) they are obliged to keep the balance somewhat even by this circuitous commerce; which, though not carried on with Great Britain, nor with British vessels, yet centers in its profits, where all the money made by all the colonies must center at last, namely in London. There was a report made by way of complaint to the legislature of this circuitous, though to them necessary, commerce. It was desired that the exportation of lumber, &c. to the French colonies, and the importation of sugars, molasses, &c. from thence might be stopt. On the other hand, the northern colonies complained that they were not possessed of any manufactures, or staple commodity; and being cut off from their circuitous commerce, they could not purchase so many articles of luxury from Great Britain. The legislature took a middle course: they did not prohibit their exporting lumber, &c. to the French colonies, but laid the imports from thence, as sugars, molasses, &c. under a considerable duty; for they wisely foresaw that the French would have resource to their own colonies for lumber, by which the Boston-men would be cut off from so valuable a branch of trade and navigation; and that the latter being driven to such streights, might have been also driven to some extremes, which are not to be avoided when necessity over-rules; and in fact the trade of Boston is clearly on a decline. This circumstance ought to interest us deeply;

deeply; for this colony of New England is very valuable to our common interests; even suppose it sent us nothing, nor took any thing from us, as it is the grand barrier of all the rest; and as it is the principal magazine which supplies our West Indies.

By considering the state of ship-building, the principal branch of Boston, we shall visibly perceive a great decline in that article, which must affect her intimately in all others. In the year 1738, they built at Boston forty-one topsail vessels, burthen in all six thousand three hundred and twenty-four tons. In 1743 they built thirty; in 1746, but twenty; and in 1749, but fifteen; making in the whole only two thousand four hundred and fifty tons;—an astonishing decline in about ten years. How it has been since we are not informed; but sure some enquiry should be set on foot to see if by any ill-judged schemes, or by any misgovernment, this great mischief has happened.

There is a light-house erected on a rock for the shipping, and four companies of militia, with five hundred soldiers, and good fortifications on any approach, which, in such case, may be provided with ten thousand effective men in Boston. The government is directed by a governor, a general court, and assembly, to which this city sends four members. The independent religion is the most numerous, as the professors are said to be fourteen thousand; and out of ten places of worship, six are for this profession.

Cambridge is the chief town of the county of Middlesex in New England, in North America; stands on the north branch of Charles-River, near Charles-Town, seven miles north-west of Boston. It has several fine houses and good streets. It changed its old name of

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Newton for that of Cambridge, on account of the university called Harvard College, which consists of two spacious colleges built of brick, one called Harvard College, and the other Stoughton Hall, the chief projectors and endowers thereof. It was projected in 1630, and was at first no more than a schola illustris, or academical free-school, till May 1650, when it was incorporated by a charter from the government of Massachusetts's colony; so that by donations from several learned patrons, namely, Archbishop Usher, Sir John Maynard, Sir Kenelm Digby, Mr. Baxter, and Mr. Theophilus Gale, fellow of Magdalen College, there were before the accession of Queen Anne above 4000 books of the most valuable authors. The college consists of a president, five fellows, and a treasurer. There was an additional college erected for the Indians, but being found impracticable in its intention, has been turned into a printing-house.

CH A P. V.

## CH A P. V.

*Description of New-York, Long Island, and Staten Island.*

**N**EW-YORK was formerly called Nova Belgia, from its being planted by the Dutch.

The province of New York, at present, contains Long Island, Staten Island, and the lands of the east side of Hudson's river, to the bounds of Connecticut. On the west side of Hudson's river from the sea to lat. 41. lies New Jersey.

The city of New York, at first, included only the island, called by the Indians, Manhatans, Manning's island;

island; the two Barn islands, and the three Oyster islands, were in the county. But the limits of the city have since been augmented by charter. The island is very narrow, not a mile wide at a medium, and about fourteen miles in length. The south-west point projects into a fine spacious bay, nine miles long, and about four in breadth; at the confluence of the waters of Hudson's river, and the streight between Long Island and the northern shore. The Narrows, at the south end of the bay, is scarce two miles wide, and opens the ocean to full view. The passage up to New-York from Sandy Hook, a point that extends farthest into the sea, is safe, and not above five and twenty miles in length. The common navigation is between the east and west banks, in two or three and twenty feet water. But it is said that an eighty gun ship may be brought up, through a narrow, winding, unfrequented channel, between the north-end of the east bank and Coney Island.

The city has, in reality, no natural bason or harbour. The ships lie off in the road, on the east-side of the town, which is docked out, and better built than the side, because the freshes in Hudson's river fill it in some winters with ice.

The city of New-York consists of about two thousand five hundred buildings. It is a mile in length, and not above half that in breadth. Such is its figure, its center of business, and the situation of the houses, that the mean cartage from one part to another, does not exceed above one quarter of a mile; than which nothing can be more advantageous to a trading city.

It is thought to be as healthy a spot as any in the world. The east and south parts, in general, are low, but the rest is situated on a dry, elevated soil. The streets are irregular, but being paved with round pebbles,

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No bounding beef, porson, fishsons. support of the town seen these winters, annually

This province, demands alnecticut their shipping the strained a employme

Upon fort, which the walls reside; merly for nor's hou the west spect to end there down in

According stands in Below they have command

bles, are clean, and lined with well-built brick houses, many of which are covered with tiled roofs.

No part of America is supplied with markets abounding with greater plenty and variety. They have beef, pork, mutton, poultry, butter, wild fowl, venison, fish, roots and herbs of all kinds, in their seasons. Their oysters are a considerable article in the support of the poor. Their beds are within view of the town; a fleet of two hundred small craft are often seen there, at a time when the weather is mild in winters, and this single article is computed to be worth annually 10 or 12,000 l.

This city is the metropolis and grand mart of the province, and, by its commodious situation, commands also all the trade of the western part of Connecticut and that of East Jersey. No season prevents their ships from launching out into the ocean. During the greatest severity of winter, an equal, unrestrained activity runs through all ranks, orders, and employments.

Upon the south-west point of the city stands the fort, which is a square with four bastions. Within the walls is the house in which the Governors usually reside; and opposite to it brick barracks, built formerly for the independent companies. The Governor's house is in height three stories, and fronts to the west; having, from the second story, a fine prospect to the bay and the Jersey shore. At the south-end there was formerly a chapel, but this was burnt down in the negroe conspiracy of the spring 1741. According to Governor Burnet's observations, this fort stands in the latitude of 40. 42. N.

Below the walls of the garrison, near the water, they have lately raised a line of fortification, which commands the entrance into the eastern road and the  
mouth

mouth of Hudson's river. This battery is built of stone, and the merlons consist of cedar-joists, filled with earth. It mounts 92 cannon, and these are all the works they have to defend the place. About six furlongs, south-east of the fort, lies Notten Island, containing about 100 or 120 acres, reserved by an act of assembly as a sort of demesne for the Governors, upon which it is proposed to erect a strong castle, because an enemy might from thence easily bombard the city, without being annoyed either by our battery or the fort. During the last a line of palisadoes was run from Hudson's to the east river, at the other end of the city, with block-houses at small distances. The greater part of these still remain as a monument of folly, for it cost the province about 8000 l.

The inhabitants of New-York are a mixed people, but mostly descended from the original Dutch planters. There are still two churches, in which religious worship is performed in that language. The old building is of stone and ill built, ornamented within by a small organ-loft and brass branches. The new church is a high, heavy edifice, has a very extensive area, and was completed in 1729. It has no galleries, and yet will perhaps contain a thousand or twelve hundred auditors. The steeple of this church affords a most beautiful prospect, both of the city beneath and the surrounding country. The Dutch congregation is more numerous than any other; but as the language becomes disused, it is much diminished; and unless they change their worship into the English tongue, must soon suffer a total dissipation. Their church was incorporated on the 14th of May 1696, by the name of the minister, elders, and deacons, of the reformed protestant Dutch church of the city of New-York; and

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and its estate, after the expiration of sundry long leases, will be worth a very great income.

All the Low Dutch congregations, in this and the province of New-Jersey, worship after the manner of the reformed churches in the United Provinces. With respect to government, they are in principle presbyterians; but yet hold themselves in subordination to the Classis of Amsterdam, who sometimes permit, and at other times refuse them the powers of ordination. Some of their ministers consider such a subjection as anti-constitutional; and hence, in several of their late annual conventions, at New-York, called the Cætus, some debates have arisen amongst them; the majority being inclined to erect a classis, or ecclesiastical judicatory, here, for the government of their churches. Those of their ministers, who are natives of Europe, are, in general, averse to the project. The expence attending the ordination of their candidates, in Holland, and the reference of their disputes to the classis of Amsterdam, is very considerable; and with what consequences the interruption of their correspondence with the European Dutch would be attended, in case of war, well deserves their consideration.

There are, besides the Dutch, two episcopal churches in this city, upon the plan of the established church in South Britain. Trinity church was built in 1696, and afterwards enlarged in 1737. It stands very pleasantly upon the banks of Hudson's river, and has a large cemetery, on each side, inclosed in the front by a painted paled fence. Before it a long walk is railed off from the broad-way, the pleafantest street of any in the whole town. This building is about 148 feet long, including the tower and chancel, and 72 feet in breadth. The steeple is 175 feet in height, and over the door facing the river is a Latin inscription.

The church is, within, ornamented beyond any other place of public worship in New-York. The head of the chancel is adorned with an altar-piece, and opposite to it, at the other end of the building, is the organ. The tops of the pillars, which support the galleries, are decked with the gilt busts of angels winged. From the ceiling are suspended two glass branches, and on the walls hang the arms of some of its principal benefactors. The aisles are paved with flat stones.

This congregation, partly by the arrival of strangers from Europe, but principally by proselytes from the Dutch churches, is become so numerous, that though the old building will contain 2000 hearers, yet a new one was erected in 1752. This, called St. George's chapel, is a very neat edifice, faced with hewn stone and tiled. The steeple is lofty, but irregular; and its situation in a new, crowded, and ill-built part of the town.

The rector, churchwardens, and vestrymen of Trinity church, are incorporated by an act of assembly, which grants the two last the advowson or right of presentation; but enacts, that the rector shall be instituted and inducted in a manner most agreeable to the King's instructions to the Governor, and the canonical right of the bishop of London. Their worship is conducted after the mode of the church of England; and with respect to government, they are empowered to make rules and orders for themselves, being, if we may use the expression, an independent ecclesiastical corporation.

The revenue of this church is restricted, by an act of assembly, to 500 l. per annum; but it is possessed of a real estate, at the north-end of the town, which having

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having been lately divided into lots and let to farm, will, in a few years, produce a much greater income.

The Presbyterians increasing after Lord Cornbury's return to England, called Mr. Anderson, a Scotch minister, to the pastoral charge of their congregation; and Dr. John Nichol, Patrick MacNight, Gilbert Livingston and Thomas Smith, purchased a piece of ground, and founded a church in 1719. Two years afterwards they petitioned Colonel Schuyler, who had then the chief command, for a charter of incorporation, to secure their estate for religious worship, upon the plan of the church in North-Britain; but were disappointed in their expectations, through the opposition of the episcopal party. They, shortly after, renewed their request to Governor Burnet, who referred the petition to his council. The Episcopalians again violently opposed the grant, and the Governor, in 1724, wrote upon the subject to the Lords of trade for their direction. Counsellor West, who was then consulted, gave his opinion in these words: 'Upon consideration of the several acts of uniformity, that have passed in Great Britain, I am of opinion that they do not extend to New-York, and consequently an act of toleration is of no use in that province; and therefore, as there is no provincial act for uniformity, according to the church of England, I am of opinion, that by law such patent of incorporation may be granted, as by the petition is desired.'

After several years solicitation for a charter in vain, and fearful that those who obstructed such a reasonable request, would watch an opportunity to give them a more effectual wound; those, among the Presbyterians, who were invested with the fee simple of the church and ground, conveyed it, on the 16th of March 1730, to the moderator of the general assem-

bly of the church of Scotland and the commission  
 thereof, the moderator of the presbytery of Edin-  
 burgh, the principal of the college of Edinburgh,  
 the professor of divinity therein, and the procurator  
 and agent of the church of Scotland, for the time  
 being, and their successors in office, as a committee  
 of the general assembly. On the 15th of August  
 1732, the church of Scotland, by an instrument  
 under the seal of the general assembly; and signed  
 by Mr. Niel Campbell, principal of the university of  
 Glasgow, and moderator of the general assembly and  
 commission thereof; Mr. James Nesbit, one of the  
 ministers of the gospel at Edinburgh, moderator of the  
 presbytery of Edinburgh; Mr. William Hamilton,  
 principal of the university of Edinburgh; Mr. James  
 Smith, professor of divinity therein; and Mr. Wil-  
 liam Grant, advocate, procurator for the church of  
 Scotland, for the time being; pursuant to an act of  
 the general assembly, dated the 8th of May 1731, did  
 declare, 'that notwithstanding the aforesaid right made  
 to them and their successors in office, they were  
 desirous, that the aforesaid building and edifice, and  
 appurtenances thereof, be preserved for the pious  
 and religious purposes for which the same were de-  
 signed; and that it should be free and lawful to the  
 Presbyterians then residing, or that should at any  
 time thereafter be resident in or near the aforesaid  
 city of New York, in America, or others joining  
 with them, to convene, in the aforesaid church, for  
 the worship of God in all the parts thereof, and for  
 the dispensation of all gospel ordinances; and ge-  
 nerally to use and occupy the said church and its ap-  
 purtenances, fully and freely in all times coming,  
 they supporting and maintaining the edifice and ap-  
 purtenances at their own charge.'

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Mr. Anderson was succeeded, in April 1727, by the Rev. Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton, under whose incessant labours the congregation greatly increased, and was enabled to erect the present edifice in 1748. It is built of stone, railed off from the street, is 80 feet long, and in breadth 60. The steeple, raised on the south-west end, is in height 145 feet. In the front to the street, between two long windows, is a Latin inscription gilt, and cut in a black slate six feet in length.

The French church, by the contentions in 1724, and the disuse of the language, is now reduced to an inconsiderable handful. The building is of stone, nearly a square, plain both within and without. It is fenced from the street, has a steeple and a bell, the latter of which was the gift of Sir Henry Afshurst of London.

The German Lutheran churches are two. Both their places of worship are small: one of them has a cupola and bell.

The Quakers have a meeting-house, and the Moravians a church, consisting principally of female professytes from other societies. Their service is in the English tongue.

The Anabaptists assemble at a small meeting-house, but have as yet no regular settled congregation. The Jews, who are not inconsiderable for their numbers, worship in a synagogue erected in a very private part of the town, plain without, but very neat within.

The city-hall is a strong brick building, two stories in height, in the shape of an oblong, winged with one at each end, at right angles with the first. The floor below is an open walk, except two jails and the jailor's apartments. The cellar underneath is a dungeon, and the garret above a common prison. This

edifice is erected in a place where four streets meet, and fronts, to the south-west, one of the most spacious streets in town. The eastern wing, in the second story, consists of the assembly-chamber, a lobby, and a small room for the speaker of the house. The west wing, on the same floor, forms the council-room and a library; and in the space between the ends, the Supreme Court is ordinarily held.

The library consists of a thousand volumes, which were bequeathed to the Society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, by Dr. Millington, rector of Newington. Mr. Humphreys, the society's secretary, in a letter of the 23d of September 1728, informed Governor Montgomerie, that the society intended to place these books in New York, intending to establish a library, for the use of the clergy and gentlemen of this and the neighbouring governments of Connecticut, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, upon giving security to return them; and desired the Governor to recommend it to the assembly, to provide a place to reposit the books, and to concur in an act for the preservation of them and others that might be added. Governor Montgomerie sent the letter to the assembly, who ordered it to be laid before the city-corporation; and the latter, in June 1729, agreed to provide a proper repository for the books, which were accordingly soon after sent over. The greatest part of them are upon theological subjects, and through the carelessness of the keepers many are missing.

In 1754, a set of gentlemen undertook to carry about a subscription towards raising a public library, and in a few days collected near 600 l. which were laid out in purchasing about 700 volumes of new, well chosen books. Every subscriber, upon payment of 5 l. principal, and the annual sum of 10 s. is entitled

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to the use of these books. His right by the articles is assignable, and for non-compliance with them may be forfeited. The care of this library is committed to twelve trustees, annually elected by the subscribers, on the last Tuesday of April, who are restricted from making any rules repugnant to the fundamental subscription. This is the beginning of a library, which in process of time will probably become vastly rich and voluminous; and it would be very proper for the company to have a charter for its security and encouragement. The books are deposited in the same room with those given by the society.

Besides the city-hall, there belong to the corporation, a large alms-house or place of correction, and the exchange, in the latter of which there is a large room raised upon brick-arches, generally used for public entertainments, concerts of music, balls, and assemblies.

Though the city was put under the government of a mayor, &c. in 1665, it was not regularly incorporated till 1686. Since that time several charters have been passed: the last was granted by Governor Montgomerie on the 15th of January 1730.

It is divided into seven wards, and is under the government of a mayor, recorder, seven aldermen, and as many assistants or common councilmen. The mayor, a sheriff, and coroner, are annually appointed by the Governor. The recorder has a patent during pleasure. The aldermen, assistants, assessors, and collectors, are annually elected by the freemen and freeholders of the respective wards. The mayor has the sole appointment of a deputy, and, together with four aldermen, may appoint a chamberlain. The mayor, or recorder, four aldermen, and as many assistants, form "The common council of the city of New York;"

York;" and this body, by a majority of voices, hath power to make by-laws for the government of the city, which are binding only for a year, unless confirmed by the governor and council. They have many other privileges relating to ferriages, markets, fairs, the assize of bread, wine, &c. and the licensing and regulation of tavern-keepers, cartage, and the like. The mayor, his deputy, the recorder, and aldermen, are constituted justices of the peace; and may hold not only a court of record once a week, to take cognizance of all civil causes, but also a court of general quarter-sessions of the peace. They have a common clerk, commissioned by the governor, who enjoys an appointment worth about four or five hundred pounds per annum. The annual revenue of the corporation is near two thousand pounds. The standing militia of the island consists of about 2300 men, and the city has in reserve, a thousand stand of arms for seamen, the poor and others, in case of an invasion.

The north eastern part of New York island is inhabited, principally by Dutch farmers, who have a small village there called Harlem, pleasantly situated on a flat cultivated for the city-markets.

The province of New York is not so populous as some have imagined. Scarce a third part of it is under cultivation. The colony of Connecticut, which is vastly inferior to this in its extent, contains, according to a late authentic enquiry, above 133,000 inhabitants, and has a militia of 27,000 men; but the militia of New York, according to the general estimate, does not exceed 18,000. The whole number of souls is computed at 100,000.

Many have been the discouragements to the settlement of this colony. The French and Indian irruptions, to which we have always been exposed, have driven

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driven many families into New Jersey. At home, the British acts for the transportation of felons have brought all the American colonies into discredit with the industrious and honest poor, both in the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. The mischievous tendency of those laws was shewn in a late paper, published in America, which it may not be improper to lay before the reader:

“ It is too well known that in pursuance of divers acts of parliament, great numbers of fellows who have forfeited their lives to the public, for the most atrocious crimes, are annually transported from home to these plantations. Very surprising one would think, that thieves, burglars, pickpockets, and cut-purses, and a herd of the most flagitious banditti upon earth, should be sent as agreeable companions to us! That the supreme legislature did intend a transportation to America, for a punishment of these villains, I verily believe: but so great is the mistake, that, confident I am, they are thereby, on the contrary, highly rewarded. For what, in God’s name, can be more agreeable to a penurious wretch, driven through necessity, to seek a livelihood by breaking of houses, and robbing upon the king’s highway, than to be saved from the halter, redeemed from the stench of a goal, and transported, passage free, into a country, where, being unknown, no man can reproach him with his crimes; where labour is high, a little of which will maintain him, and where all his expences will be moderate and low. There is scarce a thief in England, that would not rather be transported than hanged. Life in any condition, but that of extreme misery, will be preferred to death. As long, therefore, as there remains this wide door of escape, the number

of thieves and robbers at home will perpetually multiply, and their depredations be incessantly reiterated.

But the acts were intended, 'for the better peopling the colonies.' And will thieves and murderers be conducive to that end? What advantage can we reap from a colony of unrestrainable renegadoes? will they exalt the glory of the crown? or rather, will not the dignity of the most illustrious monarch in the world be sullied by a province of subjects so lawless, detestable, and ignominious? Can agriculture be promoted, when the 'wild boar of the forest breaks down our hedges, and pulls up our vines?' Will trade flourish, or manufactures be encouraged, where property is made the spoil of such who are too idle to work, and wicked enough to murder and steal?

Besides, are we not subjects of the same king with the people of England; members of the same body politic, and therefore entitled to equal privileges with them? If so, how injurious does it seem to free one part of the dominions, from the plagues of mankind, and cast them upon another? Should a law be proposed to take the poor of one parish, and billet them upon another, would not all the world, but the parish to be relieved, exclaim against such a project, as iniquitous and absurd? Should the numberless villains of London and Westminster be suffered to escape from their prisons, to range at large and depredate any other part of the kingdom, would not every man join with the sufferers, and condemn the measure as hard and unreasonable? And though the hardships upon us are indeed not equal to those, yet the miseries that flow from laws, by no means intended to prejudice us, are too heavy not to be felt. But the colonies must be peopled. Agreed: and will the transportation-acts ever have that tendency? No, they work the contra-

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ry way, and counteract their own design. We want people 'tis true, but not villains, ready at any time, encouraged by impunity, and habituated upon the slightest occasions, to cut a man's throat for a small part of his property. The delights of such company is a noble inducement, indeed, to the honest poor, to convey themselves into a strange country: Amidst all our plenty, they will have enough to exercise their virtues, and stand in no need of the association of such as will prey upon their property, and gorge themselves with the blood of the adventurers. They came over in search of happiness; rather than starve will live any where, and would be glad to be excused from so afflict- ing an antepart of the torments of hell. In reality, Sir, these very laws, though otherwise designed, have turned out in the end, the most effectual expedients, that the art of man could have contrived, to prevent the settlement of these remote parts of the King's do- minions. They have actually taken away almost every encouragement to so laudable a design. I appeal to facts. The body of the English are struck with terror at the thought of coming over to us, not be- cause they have a vast ocean to cross, or leave behind them their friends, or that the country is new and uncultivated; but from the shocking ideas, the mind must necessarily form, of the company of inhuman sa- vages, and the more terrible herd of exiled malefac- tors. There are thousands of honest men, labouring in Europe, at four pence a day, starving in spite of all their efforts, a dead weight to the respective pa- rishes to which they belong; who, without any other qualifications than common sense, health, and strength, might accumulate estates among us, as many have done already. These, and not the others, are the men that should be sent over, for the better peopling the

plantations. Great Britain and Ireland, in their present circumstances, are overstocked with them; and he who would immortalize himself, for a lover of mankind, should concert a scheme for the transportation of the industriously honest abroad, and the immediate punishment of rogues and plunderers at home. The pale-faced, half-clad, meagre, and starved skeletons, that are seen in every village of those kingdoms, call loudly for the patriot's generous aid. The plantations too would thank him for his assistance, in obtaining the repeal of those laws which, though otherwise intended by the legislature, have so unhappily proved injurious to his own country, and ruinous to us. It is not long since a bill passed the commons, for the employment of such criminals in his Majesty's docks, as should merit the gallows. The design was good. It is consistent with sound policy, that all those who have forfeited their liberty and lives to their country, should be compelled to labour the residue of their days in its service. But the scheme was bad, and wisely was the bill rejected by the Lords, for this only reason, that it had a natural tendency to discredit the King's Yards; the consequences of which must have been prejudicial to the whole nation. Just so ought we to reason in the present case, and we should then soon be brought to conclude, that though peopling the colonies, which was the laudable motives of the legislature, be expedient to the public, abrogating the transportation-laws must be equally necessary.

The bigotry and tyranny of some of the governors, together with the great extent of their grants, may also be considered among the discouragements against the full settlement of the province. Most of these gentlemen coming over with no other view than to raise their own fortunes, issued extravagant patents, charged

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charged with small quit-rents, to such as were able to serve them in the assembly; and these patentees being generally men of estates, have rated their lands so exorbitantly high, that very few poor persons could either purchase or lease them. Add to all these, the New England planters have always been disaffected to the Dutch, nor was there, after the surrender, any foreign accession from the Netherlands. The province being thus poorly inhabited, the price of labour became so enormously enhanced, that they have been constrained to import negroes from Africa, who are employed in all kinds of servitude and trades."

English is the most prevailing language in New York, but not a little corrupted by the Dutch dialect, which is still so much used in some counties, that the sheriffs find it difficult to obtain persons sufficiently acquainted with the English tongue, to serve as jurors in the courts of law.

The manners of the people differ as well as their language. In Suffolk and Queen's county, the first settlers of which were either natives of England, or the immediate descendants of such as begun the plantations in the eastern colonies, their customs are similar to those prevailing in the English counties, from whence they originally sprang. In the city of New York, through their intercourse with the Europeans, they follow the London fashions; though by the time they adopt them, they become disused in England. Their affluence, during the late war, introduced a degree of luxury in tables, dress, and furniture, with which they were before unacquainted. But still they are not so gay a people, as their neighbours in Boston and several of the southern colonies. The Dutch counties, in some measure, follow the example of New York,

York, but still retain many modes peculiar to the Hollanders.

The city of New York consists principally of merchants, shopkeepers, and tradesmen, who sustain the reputation of punctual and fair dealers. With respect to riches, there is not so great an inequality amongst them, as is common in Boston and some other places. Every man of industry and integrity has it in his power to live well, and many are the instances of persons, who came here distressed by their poverty, who now enjoy easy and plentiful fortunes.

New-York is one of the most social places on the continent. The men collect themselves into weekly evening-clubs. The ladies, in winter, are frequently entertained either at concerts of musick or assemblies, and make a very good appearance. They are comely and dress well, and scarce any of them have distorted shapes. Tinctur'd with a Dutch education, they manage their families with becoming parsimony, good providence, and singular neatness. The practice of extravagant gaming, common to the fashionable part of the fair sex, in some places, is a vice with which they cannot justly be charged. There is nothing they so generally neglect as reading, and indeed all the arts for the improvement of the mind, in which the men have set them the example. They are modest, temperate, and charitable; naturally sprightly, sensible, and good-humoured; and, by the help of a more elevated education, would possess all the accomplishments desirable in the sex. Their schools are in the lowest orders; the instructors want instruction, and through a long shameful neglect of all the arts and sciences, the common speech is extremely corrupt; and the evidences of a bad taste, both as to thought and language,

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language, are visible in their proceedings, public and private.

The people, both in town and county, are sober, industrious, and hospitable, though intent upon gain. The richer sort keep very plentiful tables, abounding with great variety of flesh, fish, fowl, and all kinds of vegetables. The common drinks are beer, cyder, weak punch, and Madeira wine. For dessert they have fruits in vast plenty, of different kinds and various species.

Gentlemen of estates rarely reside in the country, hence few or no experiments have yet been made in agriculture. The farms being large, the husbandmen, for that reason, have little recourse to art for manuring and improving their lands; but it is said, that nature has furnished them with sufficient helps, whenever necessity calls for their use. It is much owing to the disproportion between the number of the inhabitants, and the vast tracts remaining still to be settled, that they have not, as yet, entered upon scarce any other manufactures, than such as are indispensibly necessary for their home convenience. Felt-making, which is perhaps the most natural of any they could fall upon, was begun some years ago, and hats were exported to the West-Indies with great success, till lately prohibited by an act of parliament.

The inhabitants of this colony are in general healthy and robust, taller but shorter lived than Europeans, and, both with respect to their minds and bodies, arrive sooner to an age of maturity. Breathing a serene, dry air, they are more sprightly in their natural tempers than the people of England, and hence instances of suicide are here very uncommon. Few physicians settled in New York are eminent for their skill. Quacks abound like locusts in Egypt, and too many

many have recommended themselves to a full practice and profitable subsistence. This is the less to be wondered at, as the profession is under no kind of regulation. Loud as the call is, they have no law to protect the lives of the King's subjects from the malpractice of pretenders. Any man at his pleasure sets up for physician, apothecary, and chirurgeon. No candidates are either examined or licensed, or even sworn to fair practice.

The situation of New York, with respect to foreign markets, is to be preferred to any of our colonies. It lies in the center of the British plantations on the continent, has at all times a short easy access to the ocean, and commands almost the whole trade of Connecticut and New Jersey, two fertile and well cultivated colonies. The projection of cape Code into the Atlantick renders the navigation from the former to Boston, at some seasons, extremely perilous; and sometimes the coasters are driven off, and compelled to winter in the West Indies. But the conveyance to New York, from the east-ward through the Sound, is short, and unexposed to such dangers. Philadelphia receives as little advantage from New Jersey, as Boston from Connecticut, because the only rivers which roll through that province, disembogue not many miles from the very city of New York. Several attempts have been made to raise Perth Amboy into a trading port, but hitherto it has proved to be an unfeasible project. New York, all things considered, has a much better situation, and were it otherwise, the city is become too rich and considerable to be eclipsed by any other town in its neighbourhood.

The merchants are compared to a hive of bees, who industriously gather honey for others. The profits of their trade center chiefly in Great Britain; and for that

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that reason, among others, they ought always to receive the generous aid and protection of their mother-country. In the traffick with other places, the balance is almost constantly in their favour. Their exports to the West Indies are bread, pease, rye-meal, Indian corn, apples, onions, boards, staves, horses, sheep, butter, cheese, pickled oysters, beef, and pork. Flour is also a main article, of which there is shipped about 80,000 barrels per annum. To preserve the credit of this important branch of their staple, they have a good law, appointing officers to inspect and brand every cask before its exportation. The returns are chiefly rum, sugar, and molasses, except cash from Curacoa, and when mules, from the Spanish main, are ordered to Jamaica, and the Windward islands, which are generally exchanged for their natural produce, for they receive but little cash from the English islands. The balance against them would be much more in their favour, if the indulgence to their sugar-colonies did not enable them to sell their produce at a higher rate than either the Dutch or French islands.

The Spaniards commonly contract for provisions, with merchants in this and the colony of Pensilvania, very much to the advantage both of the contractors and the public, because the returns are wholly in cash. Their wheat, flour, Indian corn, and lumber shipped to Lisbon and Madeira, balance the Madeira wine imported here.

The logwood trade to the bay of Honduras is very considerable, and was pushed by the merchants with great boldness in the most dangerous times. The exportation of flax-seed to Ireland is of late very much increased. Between the 9th of December 1755, and the 23d of February following, were shipped off 12,528 hogsheads. In return for this article, linens are

are imported and bills of exchange drawn, in favour of England, to pay for the dry goods they purchase there. Logwood is remitted to the English merchants for the same purpose.

The fur-trade ought not to be passed over in silence. The building of Oswego has conduced more than any thing else, to the preservation of this trade. Peltry of all kinds is purchased with rum, ammunition, blankets, strouds, and wampum, or conque-shell bugles.

Their importation of dry goods from England is so vastly great, that they are obliged to betake themselves to all possible arts, to make remittances to the English merchants. It is for this purpose they import cotton from St. Thomas's and Surinam; lime-juice and Nicaragua wood from Curacoa; and logwood from the bay, &c. and yet it drains them of all the silver and gold they can collect. It is computed, that the annual amount of the goods purchased by this colony in Great Britain is in value not less than 100,000 l. sterling; and the sum would be much greater if a stop was put to all clandestine trade. England is, doubtless, entitled to all their superfluities; because their general interests are closely connected, and her navy is their principal defence. On this account, the trade with Hamburgh and Holland for duck, chequered linen, Oznabrugs, cordage, and tea, is certainly upon the whole, impolitic and unreasonable; how much soever it may conduce to advance the interests of a few merchants, or this particular colony.

Long-Island, sometimes called Nassau-island, is a large island in the province of New-York. It has Staaten-island, and that in which New-York lies, on the N. and N. W. the colony of Connecticut on the N. and the Atlantic ocean on the E. and S. It is not  
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above 18 miles in breadth, but 120 in length, stretching itself along Fairfield-county in New-England, near the mouth of Hudson's river, being furnished every where with convenient harbours. A channel of 100 miles long, and 12 broad, divides it from the continent. It contains the counties of Suffolk, Richmond, and Queen's county. The trade which the English drive here is in furs and skins; tobacco, as good as that of Maryland; horses, beef, pork, peas, wheat, and all sorts of English grain, which here yield a very great increase. These they send to the sugar-colonies, and have sugar, rum, cotton, and indigo in return. The soil is likewise so good, that all other fruits and vegetables thrive here, together with flax, hemp, pumpkins, melons, &c. In the middle of it is Salisbury plain, sixteen miles long and four broad, without a tick or a stone on it.

There being an excellent breed of horses in this island, the militia-regiment is cavalry: and there are races on the plain twice a-year for a silver cup, to which the gentry of New-England and New-York resort. There are also two or three other plains, each about a mile square, which are very convenient to the neighbouring towns.

Several islands lie off the coast, particularly the eastern; but none of them are inhabited.

They have also here a whale-fishery, sending the oil and bone to England, in exchange for cloaths and furniture. The other fisheries here are very considerable.

Staten Island is an island forming the county of Richmond, in the province of New York, about nine miles north-west of New-York city. It is about 18 miles long, and, at a medium, six or seven in breadth. On the south side is a considerable tract of good level land;

land; but the island is, in general, rough, and the hills high. The inhabitants are principally Dutch and French. The former have a church, but the latter having been long without a minister, resort to an episcopal church in Richmond town, a poor mean place, and the only one in the island. The minister receives 40 l. per annum, raised by a tax upon the county.



## C H A P. VI.

*Description of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Philadelphia.*

**N**EW Jersey, by the perpetual disputes which subsisted between the people and the proprietaries, whilst it continued a proprietary government, was kept for a long time in a very feeble state; but within a few years it has begun to reap some of the advantages which it might have had earlier from the proper management of so fine a situation. They raise very great quantities of grain at present, and are increased to near sixty thousand souls; but they have yet no town of consequence. Perth Amboy, which is their capital, has not upwards of two hundred houses; and though this town has a very fine harbour, capable of receiving and securing ships of great burden, yet as the people of New Jersey have been used to send their produce to the markets of New York and Philadelphia, to which they are contiguous, they find it hard, as it always is in such cases, to draw the trade out of the old channel; for there the correspondencies are fixed, the method of dealing established, credits given, and a ready market for needy dealers, who  
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in all countries are sufficiently numerous; so that the trade of this town, which is the only town of any trade worth notice in New Jersey, is still inconsiderable. In the year 1751, only forty-one vessels have entered inwards, and only thirty-eight cleared out, in which were exported six thousand four hundred and twenty-four barrels of flour; one hundred and sixty-eight thousand weight of bread; three hundred and fifteen barrels of beef and pork; seventeen thousand nine hundred and forty-one bushels of grain; fourteen thousand weight of hemp; with some butter, hams, beer, flax-seed, bar-iron, and lumber.

Pensylvania is defended to the east by the ocean, to the north by New York and New Jersey, to the south by Virginia and Maryland, to the west by the Indians; on all sides by friends, and within itself by the virtue of its inhabitants. Its coasts, which are at first very narrow, extend gradually to 120 miles, and the breadth of it, which has no other limits than its population and culture, already comprehends 145 miles. The sky of the colony is pure and serene; the climate, very wholesome of itself, has been still rendered more so by cultivation; the waters, equally salubrious and clear, always flow upon a bed of rock or sand; the year is tempered by the regular return of the seasons. Winter, which begins in the month of January, lasts till the end of March. As it is seldom accompanied with clouds or fogs, the cold is, generally speaking, moderate; sometimes, however, sharp enough to freeze the largest rivers in one night. This revolution, which is as short, as it is sudden, is occasioned by the north-west winds, which blow from the mountains and lakes of Canada. The spring is ushered in by soft rains and by a gentle heat, which increases gradually till the end of June. The heats

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of the dog-days would be insupportable, were it not for the refreshing breezes of the south-west winds; but this succour, though pretty constant, sometimes exposes them to hurricanes that blow down whole forests, and tear up trees by the roots, especially in the neighbourhood of the sea, where they are most violent. The three autumnal months are commonly attended with no other inconvenience but that of being too rainy.

Though the country is unequal, it is not less fertile. The soil in some places consists of a yellow black sand, in others it is gravelly, and sometimes it is a greyish ash upon a stony bottom; generally speaking, it is a rich earth, particularly between the rivulets, which, intersecting it in all directions, contribute more to the fertility of the country than navigable rivers would.

When the Europeans first came into the country, they found nothing in it but wood for building, and iron mines. In process of time, by cutting down the trees, and clearing the ground, they covered it with innumerable herds, with a great variety of fruits, with plantations of flax and hemp, with many kinds of vegetables, with every sort of grain, and especially with rye and maize; which a happy experience had shewn to be particularly proper to the climate. Cultivation was carried on in all parts with such vigour and success as excited the astonishment of all nations.

From whence could arise this extraordinary prosperity? From that civil and religious liberty which have attracted the Swedes, Dutch, French, and particularly some laborious Germans, into that country. It has been the joint work of Quakers, Anabaptists,

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Church-of-England-men, Methodists, Presbyterians, Moravians, Lutherans, and Catholics.

Among the numerous sects which abound in this country, a very distinguished one is that of the Dumpers. It was founded by a German, who, disgusted with the world, retired to an agreeable solitude within fifty miles of Philadelphia, in order to be more at liberty to give himself up to contemplation. Curiosity brought several of his countrymen to visit his retreat, and, by degrees, his pious, simple, and peaceable manners induced them to settle near him, and they all formed a little colony which they called *Euphrates*, in allusion to the Hebrews, who used to sing psalms on the borders of that river.

This little city forms a triangle, the outsidcs of which are bordered with mulberry and apple-trees, planted with regularity. In the middle of the town is a very large orchard, and between the orchard and these ranges of trees are houses, built of wood, three stories high, where every Dumper is left to enjoy the pleasures of his meditations without disturbance. These contemplative men do not amount to above five hundred in all; their territory is about 250 acres in extent, the boundaries of which are marked by a river, a piece of stagnated water, and a mountain covered with trees.

The men and women live in separate quarters of the city. They never see each other but at places of worship; nor are there any assemblies of any kind but for public business. Their life is taken up in labour, prayer, and sleep. Twice every day and night they are called forth from their cells to attend divine service. Like the Methodists and Quakers, every individual among them possesses the right of preaching when he thinks himself inspired. The favourite sub-

jects on which they love to discourse in their assemblies, are humility, temperance, chastity, and the other Christian virtues. They never violate the rest of the Sabbath, which is so much the delight of laborious as well as of idle men. They admit a hell and a paradise; but reject the eternity of future punishments. The doctrine of original sin is with them an impious blasphemy which they abhor, and, in general, every tenet cruel to man appears to them injurious to the divinity. As they do not allow merit to any but voluntary works, they only administer baptism to the adult. At the same time, they think baptism so essentially necessary to salvation, that they imagine the souls of Christians in another world are employed in converting those who have not died under the law of the gospel.

Still more disinterested than the Quakers, they never allow any law-suits. One may cheat, rob, and abuse them, without ever being exposed to any retaliation, or even any complaint from them. Religion has the same effect on them that philosophy had upon the Stoics; it makes them insensible to every kind of insult.

Nothing can be plainer than their dress. In winter, it is made of a long white gown, from whence there hangs a hood, to serve instead of a hat; a coarse shirt, thick shoes, and very wide breeches. There is no great difference in summer, only that linen is used instead of woollen. The women are dressed much like the men, except the breeches.

Their common food is vegetables; not because it is unlawful to make use of any other, but because that kind of abstinence is looked upon as more conformable to the spirit of Christianity, which has an aversion from blood. Each individual follows with cheerfulness

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ness the branch of business allotted to him. The produce of all their labours is deposited into a common stock, in order to supply the necessities of every one. Besides the cultivation, manufactures, and all the arts necessary to the little society, which are thus produced by united industry, it affords a superfluous part for exchanges proportioned to the population.

Though the two sexes live separate at Euphrates, the Dumplers do not on that account foolishly renounce matrimony. But those who find themselves disposed to it leave the city, and form an establishment in the country, which is supported at the public expence. They repay this by the produce of their labours, which is all thrown into the public treasury, and their children are sent to be educated in the mother-country. Without this wise privilege, the Dumplers would be nothing more than monks, and in process of time would become either savages or libertines.

What is most edifying, and at the same time most extraordinary, is the harmony that subsists between all the sects established in Pennsylvania, notwithstanding the difference of their religious opinions. Though they are not all of the same church, they all love and cherish one another as children of the same father. They have always continued to live like brothers, because they had the liberty of thinking as men. It is to this delightful harmony that it must attribute more particularly the rapid progress of the colony.

In the beginning of the year 1766, its population amounted to 150,000 white people. The number must have been considerably increased from that period, since it is doubled every fifteen years, according to Mr. Franklin's calculations. There were still thirty thousand blacks in the province, who met

with better usage in this province than in the others; but who were still exceedingly unhappy. A circumstance, however, not easily to be believed is, that the subjection of the negroes has not corrupted the morals of their masters; their manners are still pure, and even austere in Pensylvania. Is this singular advantage to be ascribed to the climate, the laws, the religion, the emulation constantly subsisting between the different sects, or to some other particular cause? Let the reader determine this question.

The Pensylvanians are in general well made, and their women of an agreeable figure. As they become mothers sooner than in Europe, they sooner cease to breed. If the heat of the climate seems, on the one hand, to hasten the operations of nature, its inconslancy weakens them on the other. There is no place where the temperature of the sky is more uncertain, for it sometimes changes five or six times in the same day. As, however, these varieties neither have any dangerous influence upon the vegetables, nor destroy the harvests, there is a constant plenty, and an universal appearance of ease. The œconomy which is so particularly attended to in Pensylvania does not prevent both sexes from being well clothed; and their food is still preferable in its kind to their clothing. The families, whose circumstances are the least easy, have all of them bread, meat, cyder, beer, and rum. A very great number can afford to drink French and Spanish wines, punch, and even liquors of a higher price. The abuse of these liquors is less frequent than in other places, but is not without example.

The pleasing view of this abundance is never disturbed by the melancholy sight of poverty. There are no poor in Pensylvania. All those whose birth or fortune have left them without resources, are suitably provided

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provided out of the public treasury. The spirit of benevolence is carried still farther, and is extended even to the most amiable hospitality. A traveller is welcome to stop in any place, without the apprehensions of giving the least uneasy sensation, except that of regret for his departure.

The happiness of the colony is not disturbed by the oppressive burden of taxes. In 1766, they did not amount to more than 280,140 livres (12,256 l. 2 s. 6 d.) Most of them, even those that were designed to repair the damages of war, were to cease in 1772. If the people did not experience this alleviation at that period, it was owing to the irruptions of the savages, which had occasioned extraordinary expences. This trifling inconvenience would not have been attended to, if Penn's family could have been prevailed upon to contribute to the public expences, in proportion to the revenue they obtain from the province: A circumstance required by the inhabitants, and which, in equity, they ought to have complied with.

The Pennsylvanians, happy possessors, and peaceable tenants of a country that usually renders them twenty or thirty fold for whatever they lay out upon it, have no restraints upon matrimony and the propagation of their species. There is hardly an unmarried person to be met with in the whole country. This circumstance renders marriage more happy, and procures to it more respect; the freedom, as well as the sanctity of it, depends upon the choice of the parties: They chuse the lawyer and the priest rather as witnesses, than as ministers of the engagement. Whenever two lovers meet with any opposition, they go off together on horseback; the man gets behind his mistress, and, in this situation, they present themselves before the magistrate, where the girl declares she has run away

with her lover, and that they are come to be married. So solemn an avowal cannot be rejected; nor has any person a right to give them molestation. In all other cases, paternal authority is excessive. The head of a family, whose affairs are involved, is allowed to engage his children to his creditors, a punishment, one should imagine, very sufficient to induce a fond father to attend to his affairs. A man grown up acquits in one year's service a debt of 112 livres, 10 sols (4*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* farthing): Children under twelve years of age are obliged to serve till they are one and twenty for a debt of 135 livres, (5*l.* 18*s.* 1*d.* halfpenny.) This is an image of the old patriarchal manners of the east.

Though there are several villages, and even some cities in the colony, most of the inhabitants may be said to live separately, as it were, within their families. Every proprietor of land has his house in the midst of a large plantation entirely surrounded with quickset hedges. Of course, each parish is near twelve or fifteen leagues in circumference. This distance of the churches makes the ceremonies of religion have little influence. Children are not baptized till a few months, and sometimes not till a year or two, after their birth. Without wrangling about modes of worship, in a country where every man has his own, they honour the Supreme Being more by their virtues than their prayers. Morals are more securely guarded by innocence and ignorance, than by controversies and precepts.

All the pomp of religion seems reserved for the last honours man receives before he is for ever shut up in the grave. As soon as any one dies in the country, the nearest neighbours have notice given them of the day of burial. These spread it in the habitations next

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to theirs, and within a few hours the news is thus conveyed to a distance. Every family sends at least one person to attend the funeral. As they come in, they are presented with punch and cake. When the assembly is complete, the corpse is carried to the burying-ground belonging to his sect, or, if that should be at too great a distance, into one of the fields belonging to the family. There is generally a train of four or five hundred persons on horseback, who observe a continual silence, and have all the external appearance suited to the melancholy nature of the ceremony. One singular circumstance is, that the Pennsylvanians, who are the greatest enemies to parade during their lives, seem to forget this character of modesty at their deaths. They are all desirous that the poor remains of their short lives should be attended with a funeral pomp suited to their rank or fortune.

It is a general observation, that plain and virtuous nations, even savage and poor ones, are remarkably attached to the circumstances of their burial. The reason is, that they look upon these last honours as duties of the survivors, and the duties themselves as so many distinct proofs of that principle of love, which is very strong in private families whilst they are in a state nearest to that of nature. It is not the dying man himself who exacts these honours; it is his parents, his wife, his children, who voluntarily pay them to the ashes of a husband and father who has deserved to be lamented. These ceremonies have always more numerous attendants in small societies than in larger ones; because, though there are fewer families, they are more strongly connected. This kind of intimate union has been the reason why so many small nations have overcome larger ones; it drove Xerxes and the

Persians out of Greece, and it will some time or other expel the French out of Corsica.

But from whence does Pensylvania draw the materials for her own consumption, and in what manner does she contrive to be so copiously furnished with them? With the flax and hemp, that is produced at home, and the cotton she procures from South America, she fabricates a great quantity of ordinary linens; and with the wool that comes from Europe she manufactures many coarse cloths. Whatever her own industry is not able to furnish, she purchases with the produce of her territory. Her ships carry over to the English, French, Dutch and Danish islands, biscuit, flour, butter, cheese, tallow, vegetables, fruits, salt meat, cyder, beer, and all sorts of wood for building. The cotton, sugar, coffee, brandy, and money they receive in exchange, are so many materials for a fresh commerce with the mother-country, and with other European nations, as well as with other colonies. The Azores, Madeira, the Canaries, Spain, and Portugal, open an advantageous market to the corn and wood of Pensylvania, which they purchase with wine and pistres. The mother-country receives from Pensylvania iron, flax, leather, furs, lintseed-oil, masts, and yards, for which it returns thread, wool, fine cloths, tea, Irish and India linens, hard-ware, and other articles of luxury or necessity. As these, however, amount to a much greater sum than what it buys, England may be considered as a gulph in which all the metals Pensylvania has drawn from the other parts of the world are sunk. In 1723, England sent over goods to Pensylvania only to the value of 250,000 livres, (10,937 *l.* 10 *s.*); at present she furnishes to the amount of 10,000,000 (437,500 *l.*) This sum is too considerable for the colonists to be able to pay, e-

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ven by depriving themselves of all the gold they draw from other markets; and this inability must continue as long as the improvement of their cultures shall require more considerable advances than their produce yields. Other colonies, which enjoy, almost exclusively, some branches of trade, such as rice, tobacco, and indigo, must have grown rich very rapidly. Pennsylvania, whose riches are founded on agriculture and the increase of her flocks, will acquire them more gradually; but her prosperity will be fixed upon a more firm and permanent basis.

If any circumstance can retard the progress of the colony, it must be the irregular manner in which the plantations are formed. Penn's family, who are the proprietors of all the lands, grant them indiscriminately in all parts, and in as large a proportion as they are required, provided they are paid fifty crowns (6 *l.* 11 *s.* 3 *d.*) for each hundred acres, and that the purchasers agree to give an annual rent of about one sol, (about one halfpenny.) The consequence of this is, that the province wants that sort of connection which is necessary in all things, and that the scattered inhabitants easily become the prey of the most insignificant enemy who shall venture to attack them.

The habitations are cleared in different ways. Sometimes a huntsman will settle in the midst of a forest, or quite close to it. His nearest neighbours assist him in cutting down trees, and in heaping them up one over another; and this constitutes a house. Around this spot he cultivates, without any assistance, a garden or a field, sufficient to subsist himself and his family.

A few years after the first labours were finished, some more active and richer men arrived from the mother-country. They paid the huntsman for his pains,

and agreed with the proprietors of the provinces for some lands that have not yet been paid for. They built more commodious habitations, and cleared a greater extent of territory.

At length some Germans, who came into the new world from inclination, or were driven into it by persecution, completed these settlements that were as yet unfinished. The first and second order of planters removed their industry into other parts, with a more considerable stock for carrying on their cultures than they had at first.

The annual exports of Pennsylvania may be valued at 25,000 tons. It receives four hundred ships, and fits out about an equal number. They almost all come into Philadelphia, which is the capital, from whence they are also dispatched.

Philadelphia is a province which makes part of what formerly was called *New Sweden*; is one of the principal towns in North-America, and next to Boston the greatest. It is situated almost in the center of the English colonies, and its latitude is thirty-nine degrees and fifty minutes, but its west longitude from London near seventy-five degrees.

This town was built in the year 1683, or as others say in 1682, by the well-known Quaker William Penn, who got this whole province by a grant from Charles the Second, king of England; after Sweden had given up its claims to it. According to Penn's plan the town was to have been built upon a piece of land which is formed by the union of the rivers Delaware and Skunkill, in a quadrangular form, two English miles long and one broad. The eastern side would therefore have been bounded by the Delaware, and the western by the Skunkill. They had actually begun to build houses on both these rivers; for eight capital streets,

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streets, each two English miles long, and sixteen lesser streets (or lanes) across them, each one mile in length, were marked out, with a considerable breadth, and in strait lines. The place was at that time almost an entire wilderness covered with thick forests, and belonged to three Swedish brothers called *Sven's-Saner* (sons of Sven) who had settled in it. They with difficulty left the place, the situation of which was very advantageous. But at last they were persuaded to it by Penn, who gave them a few English miles from that place twice the space of country they inhabited. However Penn himself and his descendants after him, have considerably lessened the ground belonging to them, by repeated mensurations, under pretence that they had taken more than they ought.

But the inhabitants could not be got in sufficient number to fill a place of such extent. The plan therefore about the river Skulkill was laid aside till more favourable circumstances should occur, and the houses were only built along the Delaware. This river flows along the eastern side of the town, is of great advantage to its trade, and gives a fine prospect. The houses which had already been built upon the Skulkill were transplanted hitherto by degrees. This town accordingly lies in a very pleasant country, from north to south along the river. It measures somewhat more than an English mile in length; and its breadth in some places is half a mile or more. The ground is flat and consists of sand mixed with a little clay. Experience has shewn that the air of this place is very healthy.

The streets are regular, fine, and most of them are fifty foot, English measure, broad; Arch-street measures sixty-six feet in breadth, and Market-street or the principal street, where the market is kept, near a

hundred. Those which run longitudinally, or from north to south, are seven, exclusive of a little one, which runs along the river, to the south of the market, and is called *Water-street*. The lanes which go across, and were intended to reach from the Delaware to the Skulhill, are eight in number. They do not go quite from east to west, but deviate a little from that direction. All the streets except two which are nearest to the river, run in a straight line, and make right angles at the intersections. Some are paved, others are not; and it seems less necessary since the ground is sandy, and therefore soon absorbs the wet. But in most of the streets is a pavement of flags, a fathom or more broad, laid before the houses, and posts put on the outside three or four fathom asunder. Under the roofs are gutters which are carefully connected with pipes, and by this means, those who walk under them, when it rains, or when the snow melts, need not fear being wetted by the dropping from the roofs.

The houses make a good appearance, are frequently several stories high, and built either of bricks or of stone; but the former are more commonly used, since bricks are made before the town, and are well burnt. The stone which has been employed in the building of other houses, is a mixture of black or grey glimmer, running in undulated veins, and of a loose, and quite small grained limestone, which run scattered between the bendings of the other veins, and are of a grey colour, excepting here and there some single grains of sand, of a paler hue. The glimmer makes the greatest part of the stone; but the mixture is sometimes of another kind. This stone is now got in great quantities in the country, is easily cut, and has the good quality of not attracting the moisture in a wet season.

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Very good lime is burnt every where hereabouts, for masonry.

The houses are covered with shingles. The wood for this purpose is taken from the *Cupressus thyoides*, Linn. or a tree which the Swedes here call *the white juniper tree*, and the English, *the white cedar*. Swamps and morasses formerly were full of them, but at present these trees are for the greatest part cut down, and no attempt has as yet been made to plant new ones. The wood is very light, rots less than any other in this country, and for that reason is exceeding good for roofs. For it is not too heavy for the walls, and will serve for forty or fifty years together. But many people already begin to fear, that these roofs will in time be looked upon as having been very detrimental to the city. For being so very light, most people who have built their houses of stone, or bricks, have been led to make their walls extremely thin. But at present this kind of wood is almost entirely destroyed. Whenever therefore in process of time these roofs decay, the people will be obliged to have recourse to the heavier materials of tiles, or the like, which the walls will not be strong enough to bear. The roof will therefore require supports, or the people be obliged to pull down the walls, and to build new ones, or to take other steps for securing them. Several people have already in late years begun to make roofs of tiles.

Among the publick buildings I will first mention churches, of which there are several, for God is served in various ways in this country.

1. The English established church stands in the northern part of the town, at some distance from the market, and is the finest of all. It has a little, inconsiderable steeple, in which is a bell to be rung when

it is time to go to church, and on burials. It has likewise a clock which strikes the hours. This building which is called Christ-church, was founded towards the end of the last century, but has lately been rebuilt and more adorned. It has two ministers who get the greatest part of their salary from England. In the beginning of this century, the Swedish minister the Rev. Mr. Rudmann, performed the functions of a clergyman to the English congregation for near two years, during the absence of their own clergyman.

2. The Swedish church, which is otherwise called the church of Weekacko, is on the southern part of the town, and almost without it, on the river's side, and its situation is therefore more agreeable than that of any other.

3. The German Lutheran church, is on the north-west side of the town. On my arrival in America it had a little steeple, but that being put up by an ignorant architect, before the walls of the church were quite dry, they leaned forwards by its weight, and therefore they were forced to pull it down again in the autumn of the year 1730. About that time the congregation received a fine organ from Germany. They have only one minister, who likewise preaches at another Lutheran church in Germantown. He preaches alternately one Sunday in that church, and another in this. The first clergyman which the Lutherans had in this town, was the Rev. Mr. Muhlenberg, who laid the foundations of this church in 1743, and being called to another place afterwards, the Rev. Mr. Brunholz from Sleswick was his successor. Both these gentlemen were sent to this place from Hall in Saxony, and have been a great advantage to it by their peculiar talent of preaching in an edifying manner.

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ner. A little while before this church was built, the Lutheran Germans had no clergyman for themselves, so that the every-where beloved Swedish minister at Weekacko, Mr. Dylander, preached likewise to them. He therefore preached three sermons every Sunday; the first early in the morning to the Germans; the second to the Swedes, and the third in the afternoon to the English, and besides this he went all the week into the country, and instructed the Germans who lived separately there. He therefore frequently preached sixteen sermons a week. And after his death, which happened in November 1741, the Germans first wrote to Germany for a clergyman for themselves. This congregation is at present very numerous, so that every Sunday the church is very much crowded. It has two galleries, but no vestry. They do not sing the collects, but read them before the altar.

4. The old Presbyterian church, is not far from the market, and on the south-side of Market-street. It is of a middling size, and built in the year 1704, as the inscription on the northern pediment shews. The roof is built almost hemispherical, or at least forms a hexagon. The whole building stands from north to south; for the presbyterians do not regard, as other people do, whether their churches look towards a certain point of the heavens or not.

5. The new Presbyterian church was built in the year 1750, by the New-lights in the north-western part of the town. By the name of New-lights, are understood the people who have, from different religions, become proselytes to the well-known Whitefield, who in the years 1739, 1740, and likewise in 1744 and 1745 travelled through almost all the English colonies. His delivery, his extraordinary zeal,

zeal, and other talents so well adapted to the intellects of his hearers, made him so popular that he frequently, especially in the two first years, got from eight thousand to twenty thousand hearers in the fields. His intention in these travels, was to collect money for an orphan's hospital which had been erected in Georgia. He here frequently collected seventy pounds sterling at one sermon; nay, at two sermons which he preached in the year 1740, both on one Sunday, at Philadelphia, he got an hundred and fifty pounds. The profelytes of this man, or the above-mentioned New-lights, are at present merely a sect of presbyterians. For though Whitefield was originally a clergyman of the English church, yet he deviated by little and little from her doctrines; and on arriving in the year 1744 at Boston in New England, he disputed with the Presbyterians about their doctrines, so much that he almost entirely embraced them. For Whitefield was no great disputant, and could therefore easily be led by these cunning people, whithersoever they would have him. This likewise during his latter stay in America caused his audience to be less numerous than during the first. The New-lights built first in the year 1741, a great house in the western part of the town, to hold divine service in. But a division arising amongst them after the departure of Whitefield, and besides, on other accounts, the building was sold to the town in the beginning of the year 1750, and destined for a school. The New-lights then built a church which I call the new Presbyterian one. On its eastern pediment is the following inscription, in golden letters: *Templum Presbyterianum, annuente numine, erectum, Anno Dom. MDCCL.*

6. The old German reformed church is built in the west north-west part of the town, and looks like the

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the church in the Ladugoordfield near Stockholm. It is not yet finished, though for several years together, the congregation has kept up divine service in it. These Germans attended the German service at the Swedish church, whilst the Swedish minister Mr. Dylander lived.—But as the Lutherans got a clergyman for themselves on the death of the last, those of the reformed church made likewise preparations to get one from Dordrecht; and the first who was sent to them, was the Rev. Mr. Slaughter. But in the year 1750, another clergyman of the reformed church arrived from Holland, and by his artful behaviour, so insinuated himself into the favour of the Rev. Mr. Slaughter's congregation, that the latter lost almost half his audience. The two clergymen then disputed for several Sundays together, about the pulpit, nay, people relate, that the new-comer mounted the pulpit on a Saturday, and stayed in it all night. The other being thus excluded, the two parties in the audience, made themselves the subject both of the laughter and of the scorn of the whole town, by beating and bruising each other, and committing other excesses. The affair was inquired into by the magistrates, and decided in favour of the Rev. Mr. Slaughter, the person who had been abused.

7. The new reformed church, was built at a little distance from the old one by the party of the clergyman, who had lost his cause. This man however had influence enough to bring over to his party almost the whole audience of his antagonist, at the end of the year 1750, and therefore this new-church will soon be useless.

8. 9. The Quakers have two meetings, one in the market, and the other in the northern part of the town. In them are according to the custom of this people,

people, neither altars, nor pulpits, nor any other ornaments usual in churches; but only seats and some sconces. They meet thrice every Sunday in them, and besides that at certain times every week or every month. I shall mention more about them hereafter.

10. The Baptists, have their service, in the northern part of the town.

11. The Roman Catholics, have in the south-west part of the town a great house, which is well adorned within, and has an organ.

12. The Moravian Brethren, have hired a great house, in the northern part of the town, in which they performed the service both in German and English; not only twice or three times every Sunday, but likewise every night after it was grown dark. But in the winter of the year 1750, they were obliged to drop their evening meetings; some wanton young fellows having several times disturbed the congregation, by an instrument sounding like the note of a cuckoo, for this noise they made in a dark corner, not only at the end of every stanza, but likewise at that of every line, whilst they were singing a hymn.

Those of the English church, the New-lights, the Quakers, and the Germans of the reformed religion, have each of them their burying places on one side out of town, and not near their churches, though the first of these sometimes make an exception. All the others bury their dead in their church-yards, and Moravian brethren bury where they can. The negroes are buried in a particular place out of town.

I now proceed to mention the other public buildings in Philadelphia.

The Town-hall, or the place where the assemblies are held, is situated in the western part of the town, it is a fine large building, having a tower with a bell

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in the middle, and is the greatest ornament to the town. The deputies of each province meet in it commonly every October, or even more frequently if circumstances require it, in order to consider of the welfare of the country, and to hold their parliaments or diets in miniature. There they revise the old laws, and make new ones.

On one side of this building stands the library, which was first begun in the year 1742, on a publick spirited plan, formed and put in execution by the learned Mr. Franklin. For he persuaded first the most substantial people in town to pay forty shillings at the outset, and afterwards annually ten shillings, all in Pennsylvania currency, towards purchasing all kinds of useful books. The subscribers are entitl'd to make use of the books. Other people are likewise at liberty to borrow them for a certain time, but must leave a pledge and pay eight-pence a week for a folio volume, six-pence for a quarto, and four-pence for all others of a smaller size. As soon as the time allow'd a person for the perusal of the volume, is elapsed, it must be returned, or he is fined. The money arising in this manner is employ'd for the salary of the librarian, and for purchasing new books. There was already a fine collection of excellent works, most of them English; many French and Latin, but few in any other language. The subscribers were so kind to me, as to order the librarian, during my stay here, to lend me every book, which I should want, without requiring any payment of me. The library was open every Saturday from four to eight o'clock in the afternoon. Besides the books, several mathematical and physical instruments, and a large collection of natural curiosities were to be seen in it. Several little libraries

libraries were founded in the town on the same footing or nearly with this.

The court-house stands in the middle of Market-street, to the west of the market, it is a fine building, with a little tower in which there is a bell. Below and round about this building the market is properly kept every week.

The building of the academy, is in the western part of the town. It was formerly as I have before mentioned, a meeting-house of the followers of Mr. Whitefield, but they sold it in the year 1750, and it was destined to be the seat of an university, or to express myself in more exact terms, to be a college, it was therefore fitted up to this purpose. The youths are here only taught those things which they learn in our common schools; but in time, such lectures are intended to be read here, as are usual in real universities.

At the close of the last war, a redoubt was erected here, on the south side of the town, near the river, to prevent the French and Spanish privateers from landing. But this was done after a strong debate. For the quakers opposed all fortifications, as contrary to the tenets of their religion, which allow not Christians to make war either offensive or defensive, but direct them to place their trust in the Almighty alone. Several papers were then handed about for and against the opinion. But the enemy's privateers having taken several vessels belonging to the town, in the river, many of the quakers, if not all of them, found it reasonable to forward the building of the fortification as much as possible, at least by a supply of money.

Of all the natural advantages of the town, its temperate climate is the most considerable, the winter not being over severe, and its duration but short, and the summer

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summer not too hot ; the country round about bringing forth those fruits in the greatest plenty, which are raised by husbandry. Their September and October are like the beginning of the Swedish August. And the first days in their February are frequently as pleasant, as the end of April and the beginning of May in Sweden. Even their coldest days in some winters have been no severer, than the days at the end of autumn are in the middlemost parts of Sweden, and the southern ones of Finland.

The good and clear water in Philadelphia, is likewise one of its advantages. For though there are no fountains in the town, yet there is a well in every house, and several in the streets, all which afford excellent water for boiling, drinking, washing, and other uses. The water is commonly met with at the depth of forty feet. The water of the river Delaware is likewise good. But in making the wells, a fault is frequently committed, which in several places of the town spoils the water which is naturally good ; I shall in the sequel take an opportunity of speaking further about it.

The Delaware is exceeding convenient for trade. It is one of the greatest rivers in the world : is three English miles broad at its mouth, two miles at the town of Wilmington, and three quarters of a mile at Philadelphia. This city lies within ninety or an hundred English miles from the sea, or from the place where the river Delaware discharges itself into the bay of that name. Yet its depth is hardly ever less than five or six fathom. The greatest ships therefore can sail quite up to the town and anchor in good ground in five fathoms of water, on the side of the bridge. The water here has no longer a saltish taste, and therefore all destructive worms, which have fastened

tened themselves to the ships in the sea, and have pierced holes into them, either die, or drop off, after the ship has been here for a while.

The only disadvantage which trade labours under here, is the freezing of the river almost every winter for a month or more. For during that time the navigation is entirely stopped. But this does not happen at Boston, New-York, and other towns which are nearer the sea.

The tide comes up to Philadelphia, and even goes thirty miles higher, to Trenton. The difference between high and low water is eight feet at Philadelphia.

The cataracts of the Delaware near Trenton, and of the Skulhill at some distance from Philadelphia, make these rivers useless further up the country, in regard to the conveyance of goods either from or to Philadelphia. Both must therefore be carried on waggon or carts. It has therefore already been thought of to make these two rivers navigable in time, at least for large boats and small vessels.

Several ships are annually built of American oak, in the docks which are made in several parts of the town and about it, yet they can by no means be put in comparison with those built of European oak, in point of goodness and duration.

The town carries on a great trade, both with the inhabitants of the country, and to other parts of the world, especially to the West Indies, South America, and the Antilles; to England, Ireland, Portugal, and to several English colonies in North America. Yet none but English ships are allowed to come into this port.

Philadelphia reaps the greatest profits from its trade to the West Indies. For thither the inhabitants ship almost

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almost every day a quantity of flour, butter, flesh, and other victuals; timber, plank and the like. In return they receive either sugar, molasses, rum, indigo, mahogany, and other goods, or ready money. The true mahogany, which grows in Jamaica, is at present almost all cut down.

They send both West India goods, and their own productions to England; the latter are all sorts of woods, especially black walnut, and oak planks for ships; ships ready built, iron, hides, and tar. Yet this latter is properly bought in New Jersey, the forests of which province are consequently more ruined than any others. Ready money is likewise sent over to England, from whence in return they get all sorts of goods there manufactured, viz. fine and coarse cloth, linen, iron ware, and other wrought metals, and East India goods. For it is to be observed that England supplies Philadelphia with almost all stuffs and manufactured goods which are wanted here.

A great quantity of lintseed goes annually to Ireland, together with many of the ships which are built here. Portugal gets wheat, corn, flour and maize which is not ground. Spain sometimes takes some corn. But all the money, which is got in these several counties, must immediately be sent to England, in payment for the goods which are got from thence, and yet those sums are not sufficient to pay all the debts.

To satisfy the curiosity of those, who are willing to know, how the woods look in this country, and whether or no the trees in them are the same with those found in our forests, I here insert a small catalogue of those which grow spontaneously in the woods which are nearest to Philadelphia. But I exclude such shrubs as do not attain any considerable height. I

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shall put that tree first in order, which is the most plentiful, and so on with the rest, and therefore trees which I have found but single, though near the town, will be last.

1. *Quercus alba*, the white oak in good ground.
2. *Quercus rubra*, or the black oak.
3. *Quercus Hispanica*, the Spanish oak, a variety of the preceding.
4. *Juglans alba*, hiccory, a kind of walnut tree, of which three or four varieties are to be met with.
5. *Rubus occidentalis*, or American black-berry shrub.
6. *Acer rubrum*, the maple tree with red flowers, in swamps.
7. *Rhus glabra*, the smooth leaved Sumach, in the woods, on high glades, and old corn-fields.
8. *Vitis labrusca* and *Vulpina*, vines of several kinds.
9. *Sambucus canadensis*, American Elder tree, along the hedges and on glades.
10. *Quercus phellos*, the swamp oak, in morasses.
11. *Azalea lutea*, the American upright honey-suckle, in the woods in dry places.
12. *Cratagus Crus galli*, the Virginian Azarole, in woods.
13. *Vaccinium* ———, a species of whortleberry shrub.
14. *Quercus prinus*, the chesnut oak in good ground.
15. *Cornus Florida*, the cornelian cherry, in all kinds of ground.
16. *Liriodendron Tulipifera*, the tulip tree, in every kind of soil.
17. *Prunus virginiana*, the wild cherry tree.
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18. *Vaccinium* ———, a frutex whortleberry, in good ground.
19. *Prinos verticillatus*, the winterberry tree in swamps.
20. *Platanus occidentalis*, the water-beech.
21. *Nyssa aquatica*, the tupelo-tree; on fields and mountains.
22. *Liquidambar styraciflua*, sweet gum tree, near springs.
23. *Betula Alnus*, alder, a variety of the Swedish; it was here but a shrub.
24. *Fagus castanea*, the chesnut tree, on corn-fields, pastures, and in little woods.
25. *Juglans nigra*, the black walnut tree, in the same place with the preceding tree.
26. *Rhus radicans*, the twining sumach, climbing along the trees.
27. *Acer Negundo*, the ash-leaved maple, in morasses and swampy places.
28. *Prunus Domestica*, the wild plumb tree.
29. *Ulmus Americana*, the white elm.
30. *Prunus spinosa*, sloe shrub, in low places.
31. *Laurus sassafras*, the sassafras tree, in a loose soil mixed with sand.
32. *Ribes nigrum*, the currant tree, grew in low places and marshes.
33. *Fraxinus excelsior*, the ash tree in low places.
34. *Smilax laurifolia*, the rough bind weed with the bay leaf, in woods and on pales or enclosures.
35. *Kalmia latifolia*, the American dwarf laurel, on the northern side of mountains.
36. *Morus rubra*, the mulberry tree on fields, hills, and near the houses.
37. *Rhus vernix*, the poisonous Sumach, in wet places.
38. *Quer-*

38. *Quercus rubra*, the red oak, but a peculiar variety.
39. *Hamamelis virginica*, the witch hazel.
40. *Diospyros virginiana*, the persimon.
41. *Pyrus coronaria*, the anchor tree.
42. *Juniperus virginiana*, the red juniper, in a dry poor soil.
43. *Laurus aestivalis*, spice-wood in a wet soil.
44. *Carpinus ostrya*, a species of horn beam in a good soil.
45. *Carpinus betulus*, a horn beam, in the same kind of soil with the former.
46. *Fagus sylvatica*, the beech, likewise in good soil.
47. *Juglans* ———, a species of walnut tree on hills near rivers, called by the Swedes *Butternustre*.
48. *Pinus Americana*, Pensylvanian fir tree; on the north side of mountains, and in vallies.
49. *Betula lenta*, a species of birch, on the banks of rivers.
50. *Cephalantus occidentalis*, button wood, in wet places.
51. *Pinus tada*, the New Jersey fir tree, on dry sandy heaths.
52. *Cercis canadensis*, the fallad tree, in a good soil.
53. *Robinia pseudacia*, the locust tree, on the corn-fields.
54. *Magnolia glauca*, the laurel-leaved tulip tree, in marshy soil.
55. *Tilia Americana*, the lime tree, in a good soil.
56. *Gleditsia triacanthos*, the honey locust tree, or three thorned acacia, in the same soil.

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57. *Celtis occidentalis*, the nettle tree, in the fields.  
 58. *Annona muricata*, the custard apple, in a fruitful soil.

The American evergreens are

1. *Ilex Aquifolium*, holly.
2. *Kalmia latifolia*, the spoon tree.
3. *Kalmia angustifolia*, another species of it.
4. *Magnolia glauca*, the beaver tree. The young trees of this kind only keep their leaves, the others drop them.
5. *Viscum album*, or mistletoe; this commonly grows between the *Nyssa aquatica*, or tupelo tree, upon the *Liquidambar styraciflua*, or sweet gum tree, the oak and lime tree, so that their whole summits were frequently quite green in winter.

6. *Myrica cerifera*, or the candleberry tree; of this however only some of the youngest shrubs preserve some leaves, but most of them had already lost them.

7. *Pinus Abies*, the pine.
8. *Pinus sylvestris*, the fir.
9. *Cypressus thyoides*, the white cedar.
10. *Juniperus Virginiana*, the red cedar.

Several oaks and other trees drop their leaves here in winter, which however keep them ever green, a little more to the south, and in Carolina.



## C H A P. VII.

*Description of Virginia. An account of the cultivation of tobacco, &c.*

**I**N 1586, and under the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Walter Raleigh procured several merchants and gentlemen to advance large sums of money towards carrying on the design he had formed of making further discoveries in the West-Indies: and in the year following he obtained letters patent from the Queen, "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 in the possession of any Christian nation." In April following, the merchants and gentlemen, by Sir Walter's directions, 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, sailed away to 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 the computation of able seamen, they went about one thousand leagues out of their way. Their voyage however was prosperous, and they anchored in an inlet by Roanoke, at present under the government of North Carolina. They landed upon certain islands on the coast between Cape Fear and the bay of Chesapeake; and concluded, that the place of their landing was on the main continent of America; but going up to the top of a small eminence

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a little distance from the shore, they perceived it to be a little island, of about twenty, or as Mr. Harriot judged, of fifteen miles in length, and six in breadth. This island was called Wococón, and lay between Cape Hatteras and Cape Fear; and must therefore be the island of Ocoock, or at least some of the other small islands along that coast. It was covered with tall and stately trees, cedars, pines, cypress, sassafras, and many others of excellent smell and quality; and abounded in deer, rabbits, and wild fowl, in incredible numbers.

They saw none of the natives, till the third day after their landing, when they spied three in a canoe. One of them went ashore, and waited without any signs of fear till the English rowed to him. He spoke much to them in his own language, and then boldly came aboard their vessels. They gave him a shirt, a hat, wine, and meat, with which he was much pleased. Having attentively viewed every thing, he went away; and within half an hour he had loaded his canoe with fish, which he brought and divided between the ship and the bark.

The next day several canoes came, and in one of them the king's brother. His name was Granganameo; the king was called Wingina, and the country Wingandacoa. The king himself at that time lay, at his chief town, ill of the wounds which he had lately received in a battle. Granganameo, leaving his canoes at some distance, went to the point of land where the English had gone to the Indian the day before. Having spread a mat, he sat down upon it; and when the English came to him well armed, he shewed no fear; but made signs to them to sit down, stroaking his own head and breast, and then theirs, to express his love. The natives were a proper, well-

proportioned people, very civil in their behaviour, and highly respectful to Granganameo. For none of them sat down, or spoke a word in his presence, except four; on whom the English also bestowed presents. But Granganameo took them all from them, and made signs, that every thing belonged to him. After some small traffic, he went away; but returning in two days, he eat and drank very merrily with them. Not long after, he brought his wife and children on board. They were of mean stature, but well-favoured, and very bashful and modest. His wife had a band of white coral about her forehead, and bracelets of pearl in her ears, hanging down to her middle, of the bigness of large pease. As to the rest, they were decked with red copper, and such ornaments as are at present in fashion and esteem among our Indians.

After this, there came down, from all parts, great numbers of people with leather, coral, and divers sorts of dyes. But when Granganameo was present, none durst trade but himself, and those who wore red copper on their heads, as he did. He would have given a bag of pearls for a suit of armour; but the English refused, as not regarding them, that they might thereby the better learn where they grew. He was very just to his promise; for they often trusted him, and he never failed to come within his day to where they found his word. He commonly sent the English every day a brace of bucks, conies, hares, and fish; and sometimes melons, walnuts, cucumbers, pease, and divers kinds of roots. And the English, to try the strength and goodness of the soil, put some of their pease into the ground, which grew wonderfully, and were found in ten days time fourteen inches high.

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An acquaintance being thus contracted by mutual returns of kindness and beneficence, Captain Amidas, with seven more, ventured up the river Occam, as they call it, which must be Pamptico sound. The next evening they came to the isle of Raonoke, at the mouth of Albemarle sound, about seven leagues, as they say, from the harbour, where they first entered. But this is a gross mistake, and must be an error in the copy ; for by the scale in With's map, it cannot be less than thirty leagues, from Wococon to Roanoke. On this island they found a small town, consisting of nine houses ; in one of which Granganameo lived. He was absent ; but his wife entertained them with wonderful courtesy and kindness. She made some of her people draw the boat up, to prevent its being injured by the beating of the surge ; some she ordered to bring them ashore on their backs ; and others, to carry their oars to the house, for fear of being stole. When they came into the house, she took off their cloaths and stockings, and washed them, as likewise their feet in warm water. When the dinner was ready, they were conducted into an inner room, where they got boiled venison, and roasted fish ; and as a desert, melons, boiled roots, and fruits of various sorts. While they were at meat, two or three of her men came in with their bows and arrows, which made the English take to their arms. But she, perceiving their distrust, ordered their bows and arrows to be broken, and themselves to be beaten out of the gate. In the evening the English returned to their boat ; and putting a little off from shore, lay at anchor. At which she was concerned, and brought their supper, half-boiled, pots and all to the shore side ; and seeing their jealousy, she ordered several men, and thirty women, to sit all night upon the shore, as a guard ; and sent five mats

to cover them from the weather. In short, she omitted nothing, that the most generous hospitality and hearty desire of pleasing could do, to entertain them.

And this was the farthest discovery made upon this first voyage, except some confused and uncertain accounts of the country, which they gathered from the Indians. They returned to England about the middle of September, carrying with them two of the natives, Manteo and Wanchese; and their discovery was so welcome there, that the Queen herself was pleased to name the country VIRGINIA, in memory of its having been first found out in the reign of a virgin Queen. Or as some have been pleas'd to gloss and interpret it, because it still seem'd to retain the virgin purity and plenty of the first creation, and the people their innocency of life and manners. And soon after their return, Mr. Raleigh was elected, together with Sir William Courtenay, knight of the shire for the county of Devon. On the 14th of December, he caused a bill to be brought into the house to confirm his patent for discovering foreign countries, which being committed to Mr. Vice-Chamberlain Hatton, Secretary Walsingham, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Richard Grenvil, Sir William Courtenay, and others, it was in a few days pass'd after many arguments, and a proviso added. And not long after the Queen was pleas'd to knight him, upon occasion, it is said, of this grateful discovery. But Mr. Osborne, an ingenious observer on her reign, says with respect to Sir Francis Vere, a man nobly descended, and Sir Walter Raleigh, exactly qualified, that they, with such others, were set apart in her judgment for military services. Neither did she ever raise them above knighthood; saying, when solicited to

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make Vere a Baron, that in his proper sphere, and her estimation, he was above it already.

The advantageous accounts, which these first adventurers gave of the fertility, pleasantness, and wholesomeness of the country, induced Sir Richard Greenville himself to make a voyage thither the next year. And he accordingly set out from Plymouth the 9th of April, with seven ships. Having made the usual circuit of the Canaries and West-Indies, where they took two rich Spanish prizes, and forced a profitable trade, they fell in with the continent of America near Cape Fear, and were in great danger of being lost upon it. But having happily escaped, they came to an anchor off the island of Wococon the 26th of May. They immediately sent to the isle of Roanoke, to Wingina the King; and Mr. Arundel went to the main, with Manteo, who proved throughout their whole stay very faithful and useful to them. Soon after, the General, Sir Richard Greenville, went himself to the main, with a select body of men; and ranging about, discovered several Indian towns. At one of them the Indians stole a silver cup; for which they burnt their town, and destroyed their corn, and so returned to their ships at Wococon. At Hatteras, whither they went soon after, Granganameo, the King's brother, came aboard the Admiral with Manteo. This is the last visit he made to the English; for some time this year he died, and in him they lost a sincere and hearty friend.

Sir Richard Greenville, having only made that small excursion on the continent, returned to England this summer. In his way home, he took another Spanish prize, of three hundred tons, richly laden, and with her arrived at Plymouth the 18th of September. But she left behind him an hundred and eight persons, as

a colony, to keep possession of, and inhabit the country. Of these he constituted Mr. Ralph Lane governor, a military man of note, who was afterwards knighted, and applying himself to the sea-service, was of eminent command in the English navy. With him remained Captain Philip Amidas, as admiral, one of the commanders in chief of the first adventure, Mr. Thomas Harriot, Captain Stafford, Mr. Kendal; with several others of name in the expedition.

This colony chose Roanoke, an island at the mouth of Albermarle sound, for the place of their habitation; and their chief employment was to reconnoitre and view the country. Their farthest discovery to the southward was Secotan, an Indian town, by their reckoning, eighty leagues from Roanoke, lying up between the rivers Pampticoe and Neus, in North Carolina. To the northward they went an hundred and thirty miles to the Chesapeakes, a nation of Indians, seated on a small river, to the south of our bay, now called Elizabeth river, from whom, as these first discoverers tell us, the bay itself took its name. To the north-west, these discoverers went up Albemarle sound and Chowan river, an hundred and thirty miles, to a nation of Indians called the Chawonocks, inhabiting above the fork of that river, where one branch takes the name of Meherrin, and the other of Nottoway.

The King of the Chawonocks, whose name was Menatonon, was lame, but the most sensible understanding Indian they had met with. He amused Mr. Lane and his company with a story of a copper mine, and of a pearl fishery, which by the description was somewhere upon the coast, and with a strange relation of the head of the river Moratuc, now called Roanoke. This river was described, as springing out of a rock,

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so near the sea, that in high winds the surge beat over into the spring. And the English very sanguinely concluded this sea to be either the bay of Mexico, or the South sea, or at least some arm that opened into it. Having their heads filled with these chimerical fancies, they formed many schemes, and undertook a very fatiguing and hazardous voyage up that river. And so eager were they, and resolutely bent upon this golden discovery, that they could not be persuaded to return, as long as they had one pint of corn a man left, and two mastiff dogs, which, being boiled with sassafras leaves, might afford them some sustenance in their way back. But after some days spent in vain, and having undergone much misery and danger, they at last returned, and joyfully arrived at their old habitation on Roanoke island.

The death of Granganameo had caused a great alteration in the affairs of the colony. For whilst he lived, his credit with the king, joined to the interest of Ensenore, their father, had restrained his perfidy and malice, and kept him within bounds. But upon the death of Granganameo, he changed his name from Wingina to Pemissapan, and became a secret but bitter enemy to the English. To his machinations chiefly were owing the many hardships and dangers, they had encountered in their last journey up the river Chowan. For he had given secret intelligence to those Indians of the coming of the English; and had craftily insinuated jealousies into the Indians of the English, and into the English of the Indians. But a rumour being spread, that Mr. Lane and his company were all either slain or starved in this journey, he began to act more openly. He blasphemed the God of the English, and endeavoured, by all the devices he could, to hurt and annoy them. And Ensenore, his

aged father, the best friend the English had left after the death of Granganameo, lost all his credit to assist or serve them. But their return soon after, and their bringing the son of Menatonon, their greatest king, prisoner, joined to the testimonies of Manteo, and three other Indians, that went with them, how little they valued any people they met, or feared hunger, death, or any thing else, restrained his devices for the present, and brought Ensenore again into credit and esteem.

Soon after, Menatonon, King of the Chawonocks, sent a present of pearl to Mr. Lane: and Okisco, King of Weopomeoke (another powerful nation, possessing all that country from Albemarle sound and Chowan river, quite to the Chesapeakes and our bay) came himself, with twenty four of his principal men, to own subjection to the Queen of England. All which so wrought on the heart of Wingina, that, by Ensenore's persuasions, they came and made weirs for the English, when they were ready to famish, and planted their fields of corn, which they intended to abandon. But this good intelligence was soon broke off by the death of Ensenore, which happened on the 20th of April. For Wingina, under pretence of solemnizing his father's funeral, had laid a scheme of drawing together sixteen or eighteen hundred Indians, and of cutting off all the English at once. But his design took wind, and at last was fully discovered to Mr. Lane by his prisoner Skico, King Menatonon's son. Then the English, in their turn, endeavoured to seize all the canoes upon Roanoke, and thereby to have all the Indians in the island at their mercy. But they took the alarm, and after a small skirmish, in which five or six Indians were slain, the rest escaped and fled into the woods. After this, neither side cared much for trusting the other; and at last, after much

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tricking and dissimulation on both parts, Wingina was entrapped by the English, and slain, with eight of his chief men. This is the account of that action, as it is delivered by the persons concerned in it. But Mr. Harriot, who was likewise upon the spot, blames the violence and forwardness of the English; and thinks, that the causes of suspicion and resentment had been better dissembled and passed over.

In the time of these confusions and broils with the Indians, Mr. Lane had been obliged, through want of provisions, to send Captain Stafford, with twenty more, to Croatan, on the south part of Cape Look-out, to shift for themselves, and to see if they could spy any sail pass by the coast. In like manner he detached Mr. Prideaux, with ten, to Hatteras, upon the same design; and other small parties he sent to the main, to live upon roots and oysters. Seven days after the death of Wingina, Captain Stafford (who through the whole voyage was very vigilant and industrious, and spared no labour or danger, to perform any serious and important service, committed to him) sent Mr. Lane word, that he descried twenty-three sail of ships; and the next day he came himself with a letter from Sir Francis Drake. Sir Francis was then returning from an expedition against the Spaniards in the West-Indies, where he had taken Cartagena, and the capital city of Hispaniola; and had burnt St. Anthony, and St. Helena, on the coast of Florida, and done much other damage to the enemy. He had orders from the Queen to visit the colony of Virginia in his return, and to afford them such assistance and encouragement as was proper. He therefore offered to supply their wants, and to do any thing else, in his power, towards their relief and the furtherance of the undertaking; and after mature deliberation,

ration, he appointed them a ship of seventy tons, with an hundred men, and four months provisions, besides two barks and four small boats, with able masters and sufficient gangs. But just as all was ready, there arose such a storm, as had like to have driven the whole fleet ashore. Many ships were forced out to sea, among which was that lately given to the colony, with all their provisions and company aboard.

This accident did not discourage the admiral, but he allotted them another ship of an hundred and seventy tons, with all provisions as before, to carry them to England the next August, or when they should have made such discoveries as they thought sufficient. But their harbour, which was very indifferent, would not receive a ship of her burthen; and to lie in the open road, exposed to the winds and sea, was very dangerous: and therefore, after consultation, it was unanimously agreed, to desire the admiral to take them home with him in his fleet; for they had already undergone much misery and danger, and there appeared but little hopes of Sir Richard Greenvil's return. And so this first attempt towards a settlement became abortive, and they all arrived safe at Portsmouth the latter end of July 1686. But in his way home, Sir Francis Drake touched on the coast of New-England; where he landed, and spent two or three days in trading with the natives, and one of the Indian kings came and submitted himself to Queen Elizabeth.

Upon this voyage, Sir Walter Raleigh, by the Queen's advice and directions, sent, at no small expence, Mr. John With, a skilful and ingenious painter, to take the situation of the country, and to paint, from the life, the figures and habits of the natives, their way of living, and their several fashions, modes, and superstitions; which he did with great beauty and

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and exactness. And besides this painter, Sir Walter sent upon this voyage a domestic of his, one Mr. Thomas Hariot, a mathematician, and highly in his patron's intimacy and friendship. He was a man of learning, and a very observing and understanding person; and went chiefly to make observations on the situation of the country, and to assist Mr. With in the plan.

But whilst Mr. Lane and the colony were in the above mentioned straits and difficulties in America, Sir Walter Raleigh was not idle at home. He provided a ship of an hundred tons, and loaded her with plenty of all things necessary for the settlement; but it being Easter before she departed, Mr. Lane and his company had shipped themselves for England in Sir Francis Drake's fleet, a few days before her arrival. Having therefore spent some time in seeking them up the country without effect, they returned that summer to England, with all their provision.

About a fortnight after the departure of this ship, Sir Richard Grenvil arrived with three ships more, well provided; but he neither found that ship, according to his expectation, nor could hear any news of the colony, which he himself had left there the year before. Therefore, after travelling in vain up and down to seek them, finding their habitation abandoned, and being unwilling to lose the possession of the country, he landed fifty men on the island of Roanoke, plentifully furnished with all provisions for two years, and so returned to England.

The next year, three ships were sent, under the command of Mr. John White, who was appointed Governor of the colony, with twelve assistants, as a council. To these Sir Walter Raleigh gave a charter, and incorporated them by the name of the Governor

vernor and assistants of the city of Raleigh in Virginia, with express directions to seat at Chesapeake; which, however useful and important, they nevertheless disobeyed and neglected. Having taken the old route by the West-Indies, they had like to have been cast away upon Cape Fear, through the error or design of Simon Ferdinando. He had been with Captain Amidas in the first expedition; and being made pilot in this, was suspected of a design to ruin the whole voyage. But being prevented by the vigilance of Captain Stafford, they arrived all safe at Hatteras the 22d of July.

They went immediately to Roanoke, to look for the fifty men, left there by Sir Richard Grenvil, but they found nothing but the bones of a man; and where the plantation had been, the houses were undestroyed, but overgrown with weeds, and the fort defaced. They refitted the houses; and Mr. George How, one of the council, straggling abroad, was slain by the Indians. Soon after, Captain Stafford, with twenty men, and Manteo, who, I believe, had been again in England this voyage, went to Croatan, to enquire if they could hear any news of the colony. There they understood, that Mr. How had been slain by some of Wingina's men of Dassamonpeake; that the fifty, left the year before, had been suddenly set upon by three hundred Indians, of Secotan, Aquascogoc, and Dassamonpeake; that after a small skirmish, in which one Englishman was slain, they retired to the water-side, and having got their boat, and taken up four of their fellows gathering crabs, and oysters, they went to a small island by Hatteras; that they staid there some time, but after departed they knew not whither; and with this account Captain Stafford returned to the fleet at Hatteras.

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However, Mr. White endeavoured to renew and keep up a good understanding with the several nations of Indians on the sea-coast. But finding his offers of friendship not much regarded, he resolved no longer to defer his revenge on those of Desfamonepeake. This nation was seated right opposite to Roanoke island, on the main, in the neck of land, between the river now called Allegator, and the Narrows. About midnight, Mr. White set forward, with Captain Stafford, and twenty-four men, whereof Manteo was one, who was their guide, and behaved himself like a most faithful Englishman. They landed by break of day, and having got beyond the town, they assaulted some Indians that were sitting by a fire. One was shot through, and they hoped to have been fully revenged, but were soon undeceived, and found that they were their friends of Croatan, come to gather their corn, because they understood, that the Desfamonepeake Indians had fled after the death of Mr. How. Manteo, their countryman, was grieved at the mistake; but however imputed it all to their own folly. And so having gathered what was ripe, and left the rest unspoiled, they returned to Roanoke.

On the 13th of August, Manteo, according to command from Sir Walter Raleigh, was baptized, and stiled Lord of Roanoke and Desfamonepeake, in reward for his fidelity. And on the 18th, the governor's daughter, wife to Ananias Dare, one of the council, was delivered of a daughter, which, being the first child born there, was called Virginia. And soon after there arose a dispute between the governor and his assistants or council, concerning a person to be sent to England to solicit supplies. All refused, except one, who was thought very unequal to the business. At last they unanimously pitched upon the governor as the fittest

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fittest person; and having signed a paper, testifying his unwillingness to leave the colony, they at length prevailed upon him, with much importunity, to undertake it. Leaving therefore above an hundred persons on one of the islands of Hatteras, to form a plantation, he departed, and after many crosses and difficulties got first to Ireland, and from thence went to England.

At this time the nation was in great commotion and apprehension of the Spanish invasion and invincible Armada, as it was vainly called, and the Queen caused frequent councils to be held, by the oldest and most experienced commanders at sea; and also appointed a council of war, of such persons as were in highest repute for military skill and knowledge, in order to put the land-forces of the kingdom in the best posture of defence. For this purpose were chosen the Lord Grey, Sir Francis Knolles, Sir Thomas Leighton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir John Norris, Sir Richard Grenvil, Sir Richard Bingham, Sir Roger Williams, and Ralph Lane, Esq; late governor of Virginia, who were therefore all entirely taken up with those important consultations.

However, having laid a plan of operations, and made proper dispositions for the defence of the nation, Sir Walter found leisure to fit out a small fleet for the relief of the colony, at Biddeford, early the next year, which was put under the command of Sir Richard Grenvil, and only waited for a fair wind. But the alarm of the vast and formidable armament, made by the King of Spain, increasing, all ships of force, then in any readiness, received orders from the state to stay in their harbours, for the defence of their own country; and Sir Richard Grenvil was personally commanded not to depart out of Cornwall, where Sir

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Walter Raleigh then was himself mustering and training the forces, and performing other duties of his office, as lieutenant of that country. However, Governor White laboured so strenuously with them, that he obtained two small barks, and put to sea from Biddeford, the 22d of April, 1588. But these vessels, though of little force, being more intent on a gainful voyage, than the relief of the colony, ran in chace of prizes; till at last, one of them, meeting with two ships of war, was, after a bloody fight, overcome, boarded, and rifled. In this maimed, ransacked, and ragged condition, she returned to England in a month's time; and in about three weeks after the other also returned, having perhaps tasted of the same fare, at least without performing her intended voyage, to the distress, and, as it proved, the utter destruction of the colony in Virginia, and to the great displeasure of their patron at home.

These disappointments gave much vexation to Sir Walter Raleigh, who had by this time expended, as we are authentically assured, not less than forty thousand pounds upon the enterprise. He had also, not long before, received, as a reward for his great services in the Irish wars, a very large grant, out of the Earl of Desmond's lands there; the terms of which he fairly and honestly endeavoured to fulfil, by planting those lands with English, and made use of none of the arts and frauds, which others of those grantees were charged withal. So that this great bounty of the Queen was at present rather a burthen and charge to him, than any real profit or advantage. Besides which, he was among the foremost of the military geniuses of that time, who were fired with the Spanish invasion, and prosecuted the war against them with great cost and industry, and with an incredible courage and success.

cess. For all these reasons, Sir Walter Raleigh made an assignment, by indenture, bearing date the 7th of March 1588-9, to Thomas Smith, with other merchants and adventurers, of London, and to Governor White, and other gentlemen, for continuing the plantation of Virginia. By this indenture, he grants to the said Thomas Smith, John White, and the rest, according to a charter, formerly granted for the city of Raleigh, free liberty to carry to Virginia, and there inhabit, such of her Majesty's subjects, as would willingly accompany them: as also to them, their heirs, or assigns, free trade and traffic to and from Virginia, or any other part of America, where the said Sir Walter, his heirs, or assigns, did, or might claim any interest, title, or privilege. And he did farther, for their encouragement, and for the common utility, freely and liberally give them one hundred pounds, to be employed for planting the Christian religion in those barbarous and heathen countries.

But the new assignees were not so diligent and careful of the business, as they ought to have been; for it was a year after, March 1589-90, before any thing was undertaken by them for the relief of the colony. Then Mr. White, with three ships, set sail from Plymouth; and passing by the West-Indies, they staid some time there, to perform some exploits, as they called them, which was to attack and plunder the Spaniards, among whom they got a considerable booty. On the 3d of August, they fell in with some low sandy islands, to the westward of Wacocon. From thence they went to Croatan, and so to Hatteras. There they descried a smoke, at the place where the colony had been left three years before. The next morning, they discharged some cannon, to give notice of their arrival; and having fitted out two boats, Cap-  
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tain Cooke and Captain Spicer went ashore, but found no man, nor the sign of any, that had been lately. The next day, they prepared to go to Roanoke; but the wind being hard at north-east, one of the boats, in passing a bar, was half filled with water, and the other overfet. Captain Spicer, with six more, were drowned; but four who could swim a little, and did not trust themselves to their legs on the shoals, but kept in deep water, were saved by the care and dexterity of Captain Cooke in the other boat. This accident so discomfited the sailors, that they could hardly be prevailed upon to make any farther search for the colony. But indeed, considering the shoals and dangers, with their ignorance and inexperience of the coast, which they unfortunately happened upon in this their first attempt towards a settlement, it is rather to be wondered they met not with more accidents and misfortunes than they really did.

The sailors being at length encouraged by the forwardness and readiness of their captains, two boats more were fitted out for Hatteras, with nineteen men. When Mr. White left the colony three years before, they talked of going fifty miles up into the main; and it had been agreed between them, that if they left the place, where they then were, they should write the name of the place, to which they went, on some tree, door, or post; and if they had been in any distress, they should signify it, by making a cross over it. When they landed therefore, they sounded a trumpet, but received no answer; and going up to the fire, they found it was nothing but the grass and some rotten trees burning. Then searching up and down the island, they at last found three fair Roman letters carved, C. R. O. but without any sign of distress; and looking farther, they saw CROATAN,  
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carved in fair capital letters on one of the chief posts, but still without the cross, as a sign of distress. Their houses were taken down, and a high palifado built, after the manner of a fort. They likewise found where the goods had been buried; but many of them had been dug up, and scattered about, and all were spoiled: yet Mr. White knew and distinguished several of his own among them. With this joyful discovery, as they hoped, of where they were, they returned to their ships; but had like to have been cast away by a violent storm, that continued all that night.

The next morning, weighing anchor for Croatan, which was an Indian town on the south-part of Cape Lock-out, one of their cables broke, and carried off another anchor with it. But letting go their third, the ship went so fast adrift, that she was near stranding. Discouraged with these misfortunes, and having but one anchor left, and their provisions near spent, they gave over all thoughts of farther search for the present, and determined to go to the West Indies, to winter and refresh themselves, chiefly perhaps with more Spanish plunder, and to return in the spring, to seek their countrymen. But the Vice-Admiral was obstinately bent upon going directly for England; and the wind being contrary, the rest were obliged, within two days, to make the Western-islands, where they arrived the 23d of September 1596, and met with many of the Queen's ships, their own consort, and divers others.

The following year, 1591, Sir Richard Greenvil was sent, by the Queen, Vice-Admiral to the Lord Thomas Howard, with seven ships of war, and a few other small vessels, to intercept the Spanish plate-fleet. At the Azores, this small squadron was surpris'd by fifty-three capital ships, purposely sent from Spain: and

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and Sir Richard Greenvil, who was unwilling to leave a great part of his men, then on shore for water and other necessaries, to the insolence and barbarity of the islanders, staid so long in getting them off, that he was hemmed in between the enemy's fleet and the island of Flores. In this dangerous situation, he scorned to shew any signs of fear, or to owe his safety to flight; but he bravely bore down upon the enemy, and endeavoured to break through them, in which attempt he maintained a gallant and obstinate fight, with the best of the Spanish ships, for fifteen hours together. He was at once laid aboard by the *St. Philip*, a ship of fifteen hundred tons and seventy-eight large pieces of ordinance, and four other of the stoutest ships in the Spanish fleet, full of men, in some two hundred, in some five hundred, and in others eight hundred soldiers, besides mariners; and he never had less than two large galleons by his side, which, from time to time, were relieved by fresh ships, men, and ammunition. Yet he behaved himself with such uncommon bravery and conduct, that he disabled some, sunk others, and obliged them all to retire. Neither did he ever leave the deck, though wounded in the beginning of the close fight, till he received a dangerous wound in the body by a musket-bullet. When he went down to have it dressed, he received another shot in the head, and his surgeon was killed by his side. By this time also most of his bravest men were slain, his ship much disabled, his deck covered with dead and wounded, and scattered limbs, and his powder spent to the very last barrel. Yet in this condition he ordered the vessel to be sunk, but it was prevented by the rest of the officers; though many of the crew joined with him, and the matter-gunner, if he had not been restrained, would have killed himself,

self, sooner than fall into the hands of the Spaniards. When the ship, or rather wreck, was surrendered, Sir Richard was carried on board the Spanish Admiral, where he died within two days, highly admired by the very enemy, for his extraordinary courage and resolution. And when he found the pangs of death approach, he said to the officers, that stood round him, in the Spanish tongue, *Here die I, Richard Grenvil, with a joyful and quiet mind, having ended my life like a true soldier, that fought for his country, Queen, religion, and honour: thus summing up, in short, all the generous motives, that fire the breasts of the truly brave and great, to exert themselves beyond the common pitch of humanity.*

And such was the gallant end of this noble gentleman, who, next to Sir Walter Raleigh, was the principal person concerned in this first adventure of Virginia. He was a man eminently fitted to serve his country in peace or war, by land or sea, and was so deeply rooted in the affection and esteem of his illustrious kinsman, Sir Walter Raleigh, that he honoured his death with a particular relation of the action by his own excellent pen, which he caused to be immediately printed the latter end of the same year 1591, to obviate some aspersions cast upon him by some of the Spaniards. The rest of the English ships having sea-room, fought bravely, and did every thing that could be expected from valiant men, whilst they had the advantage of the wind. The Lord Howard was for even hazarding the whole fleet in the rescue of Sir Richard Grenvil, and for charging up to the place where he was engaged. But he was over-ruled by the officers, whose prudence is commended even by Sir Walter Raleigh; although no person can certainly say, I think, what might have been the event, had

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fix ships of war more besides the privateers fallen upon an enemy, whom one ship alone had for so long a time kept in such warm action. When the night parted them from the enemy, they all went off safe, and in their way home took several rich prizes. Sir Richard's ship too, the *Revenge*, of 500 tons burthen, and about 20 iron guns, made good her name; for a few days after she foundered at sea, and drowned two hundred Spaniards, who had been put aboard to carry her to Spain.

But Sir Walter Raleigh being, by the above-mentioned assignment, eased in some measure of the undertaking of Virginia, was soon engaged by his active and enterprising genius in other adventures and discoveries. He contributed generously towards the discovery of the North-West passage, and other things of the like nature. But having lost his Royal Mistress's favour, by debauching one of her maids of honour, whom he afterwards married, he undertook in person, in the year 1595, the voyage and discovery of Guiana, a rich country up the river Oronoque, in South America. After his return, he wrote a most excellent discourse upon his expedition, in which his chief aim was to engage the Queen and nation in the prosecution of the enterprize, and settlement of the country. But all his reasons were overpowered by the envy of some great men to his person and merit; and altho' he was restored to the Queen's favour, yet he could never get any thing done to effect this important and judicious design. However he never quitted it himself, but sent twice immediately after, to make farther discoveries, and to keep up the good dispositions of the natives towards the English. Even after his fall, and when he was in the Tower, he found means to continue this design; and his last voyage thither,

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after his release, with the fatal consequences of it, is too well known, to need a particular relation here. Neither was he, notwithstanding the assignment, negligent or forgetful of the colony, which had been seated in Virginia upon his account. For he sent five several times, to search after, and relieve them; and last he dispatched Samuel Mace of Weymouth, in March 1602. But he, like all the rest, performed nothing, returning with idle and frivolous allegations.

However, these efforts of Sir Walter were only intended to bring off those poor people, and no ways in prosecution of his first design of settling a colony. So that all thoughts of Virginia were abandoned, and the project lay dead for near twelve years, when it was revived by Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, who undertook a voyage thither, and set sail from Dartmouth, on the twenty sixth of March 1602, in a small bark, with thirty two men. He kept as far north as the winds would permit, and was the first that came in a direct course to America.

On the 11th of May, being about the latitude of forty-three, they made land on the coast of New England, as it hath been since called. But as all this continent bore the name of Florida, till the discovery of the English in 1584, so afterwards all that tract of country, from 34 to 45 degrees of northern latitude, was called Virginia, till from different settlements it got different names. The land was low; the shore white sand, and rocky, yet over-grown with fair and stately trees. Coming to an anchor, eight Indians, in a shallop, with mast and sail, came boldly on board them. By their signs, and by the shallop and other things, which they had, they judged that some Biscayneers had been fishing there. But finding no good harbour, they weighed, and stood to the southward

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into the sea. The next morning, they found themselves embayed with a mighty head-land; and going to the neighbouring hills they perceived it to be part of the continent, almost environed with islands. Here, in a few hours, they caught more cod than they knew what to do with; from whence the place obtained the name of Cape Cod. And they thence also concluded, that a good fishery might be found there in the months of March, April, and May.

Soon after they went to the islands, and anchored near one of them. They found it four miles in compass, without house or inhabitant. In it was a lake, near a mile in circuit; and the rest so overgrown with vines, which covered all the trees and bushes, that they could scarce pass through them. They likewise found plenty of strawberries, raspberries, gooseberries, and divers other fruits in bloom, and therefore called the island Martha's Vineyard. They then visited the rest of the isles, and found them replenished with the like products. One they named Elizabeth's Island, in honour to their ancient sovereign, in which they planted wheat, barley, oats, and pease, which sprung up nine inches in fourteen days. From hence they went to the main, where they stood for some time, ravished at the beauty and delicacy of the country. But soon after returning to Elizabeth's Island, they spent three weeks in building a house, in a small island of about an acre of ground, which stood in the midst of a large lake of fresh water, about three miles in circumference.

They saw several of the natives, with whom they made mutual presents, and had some small traffick. They were of an excellent constitution of body, active, strong, healthful, and very ingenious, as divers of their toys testified. The baser sort would steal, but

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those of better rank were very civil and just. Not one of the English was affected with any sickness; but they rather grew more healthy and strong, notwithstanding their bad diet and lodging. Twelve had resolved to stay; but, considering how meanly they were provided, they were at last all obliged to leave this island, not without much sorrow and reluctance, and arrived at Exmouth the 23<sup>d</sup> of July.

In the beginning of next year died Queen Elizabeth, who was succeeded by King James VI. of Scotland. He was scarce warm in his throne, before, as a preface of his future weak and inglorious reign, he confined Sir Walter Raleigh in the Tower, for a most mysterious and inextricable plot. This great man, as he was the first undertaker and mover of these discoveries, is usually looked upon as the founder and father of our country. And indeed we are proud to own for such, a person of his distinguished merit and parts, who was one of the brightest ornaments of his age and country, highly in the favour and esteem of Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards the sacrifice of her mean and pusillanimous successor. But yet it must be confessed, that his adventurers touched but once, and then slightly, on that country; but still kept on in the same unfortunate tract, on the shoaly and impetuous coast of North-Carolina. Although his judgment soon distinguished from the accounts he received, the advantages of Chesapeake for seating his capital city of Raleigh; and had his orders been followed, it might perhaps have given a quite different turn to the affairs of the colony. For it would not only have freed them from the hazards and difficulties they encountered on that dangerous coast, and every where have supplied them with safe and convenient harbours, but would have naturally led them to the

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search and discovery of one of the most commodious countries perhaps in the world, for shipping and vessels.

The same year 1603, by the persuasions of Mr. Richard Hackluyt, a curious and inquisitive gentleman, and soon after a prebend of Westminster, who published the noted collection of voyages and travels, the mayor and aldermen, with most of the merchants of Bristol, raised a stock of a thousand pounds, and fitted out two vessels. But first they obtained the leave and permission of Sir Walter Raleigh, as proprietor of the country, to make discoveries in Virginia. Martin Pring was made captain, an understanding gentleman and able mariner; and Robert Saltern, who had been with Captain Gosnold the year before, was appointed his assistant and pilot. But as, for the most part, they followed Captain Gosnold's course, their discoveries were nothing extraordinary or different from his.

But another bark was this year sent from London, under the command of Captain Bartholomew Gilbert, who had likewise been with Captain Gosnold. After some small trade in the West-Indies, they fell in with the coast of America in about 37 degrees of northern latitude; and some authors say, they run up into Chesapeake bay, where the captain, going ashore, was killed with four of his men. This struck such a damp and discouragement into the rest, that they immediately weighed anchor, and returned to England, without any further attempt or discovery.

Two years after, Captain George Weymouth was sent by the Earl of Southampton and the Lord Arundel of Warder, to make discoveries on the coast of Virginia. He intended to the southward of 39; but was forced by the winds farther northward, and fell

among some shoals in 41 deg. 20 min. But having happily disengaged themselves, on the 18th of May they made land. It appeared to be a main high land, but they found it an island of six miles in compass. From thence they could discern the continent and very high mountains; and coasting among the islands, adjoining to the main, they found an excellent harbour. They dug a garden the twenty-second of May; and among their seeds, they sowed barley and pease, which grew up eight inches in sixteen days; although they judged the mould much inferior to what they found afterwards on the main. On the 30th of May, the captain, with thirteen more, went to view and discover the continent; and having found a fair river, running up into the country, they returned back to bring in the ship. What river this was, and what part of the American coast they fell upon, is difficult to determine exactly. For their neglecting to tell us what course they steered, after they were disengaged from the shoals, renders it doubtful, whether they fell in with some part of the Massachusetts bay; or rather farther southward, on the coast of Rhode-Island, Naraganset, or Connecticut; although I am most inclined to believe this river was either that of Naraganset or Connecticut; and the island, what is now called Block-Island. However it is certain, that Oldmixon (the author of the book entitled *The British Empire in America*) according to his usual custom, is here most egregiously bewildered and lost; for after having injudiciously enough, determined the small island the first made, of six miles in compass, to be Long-Island on the coast of New-York, he immediately after, with still greater absurdity and grossness, calls this the river of Powhatan, now James river, to the southward as he says, of the bay of Chesapeake.

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When Captain Weymouth returned aboard, he found that the Indians had contracted an acquaintance with his crew; that they had had some small trade together; and that there was much outward shew of kindness and civility between them. For as the English intended to inhabit their country, and as it was the chief design of the noble adventurers, who had sent them, to propagate Christianity among those barbarous people, they used them very kindly; and exchanging hostages, would sometimes lie ashore with them, and they sometimes aboard with the English. At last they were very pressing with the captain, to go to the main, to trade with their Bashabas, or chief Lord. He accordingly manned his boat with fourteen hands, and attended them. But having plainly discovered their treachery, and that it was only a stratagem to cut them off, he seized five, and ever afterwards treated them with great civility, but never more trusted them. Soon after, he returned for England, and arrived at Dartmouth the 18th of July.

Captain Bartholomew Gosnold had made a voyage to the northern parts of Virginia, in the year 1602, as hath been before related. He was so wonderfully pleased with the pleasantness and fertility of the places he saw, that, after his return to England, he made it his business to solicit all his friends and acquaintance, to join with him in an attempt to settle so delightful a country. After some years spent in vain, he at last prevailed with Captain John Smith, Mr Edward Maria Wingfield, the Rev. Mr. Robert Hunt, and divers others, to join in the undertaking. But settling colonies is an enterprize of too great burthen and expence for a few private persons; and therefore, after many vain projects, they applied themselves to many of the nobility, gentry, and merchants, and, by their great

charge and industry, recommended their scheme so effectually to them, that they came into it very heartily.

From this time the colony of Virginia continued to improve, till it arrived to its present flourishing condition.

Virginia is remarkably pleasant and commodious; having the river Patowmack on the N. E. which separates it from Maryland; the Atlantic on the E. Carolina on the S. and the Apalachian mountains on the W. which divide it from a vast tract of land in Canada, and then Louisiana. The extent of Virginia, is from lat. 36. 30. to 39. 30. N. on the W. side of Chesapeake bay, but on the E. side only from Cape Charles, in lat. 37. 13. to 38. N. The breadth, as far as planted, is about 100 miles, but to the westward it has no bounds, which by our late conquest of Canada are pretty secure now from the invasion of the French, and their Indian allies.

The air of Virginia depending very much on the winds, is of various temperaments. For those from the N. or N. W. are extremely sharp and piercing, or tempestuous, while the S. and S. E. are hazy or sultry. The winter in this country, is dry and clear; snow falls in great quantities, but seldom lies above a day or two; and the frost, though keen, is seldom of any long duration. The spring is something earlier than in England; May and June are pleasant, July and August sultry, while September is noted for prodigious showers of rain. Towards the coast the land is low, and for an hundred miles inland, with hardly a hill or stone to be seen all that way. Here are trees of various species, and of an incredible size, with a bundance of pasture-grounds. The soil produces rice, hemp, Indian corn, flax, silk, cotton, and wild grapes. But tobacco, the staple commodity of Virginia, is

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much cultivated, that the inhabitants hardly mind any thing else, so that this plant may be brought to a tolerable market. And this trade is brought to such perfection, that the sweet-scented tobacco which grows on James and York rivers is reckoned the best in the world, and generally vended in Great Britain for home consumption, in various sorts of snuffs and smoaking. The other sort called Aranoacke turns to as good an account, being exported to Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Germany.

Though the common way of traffic here, is by bartering of one commodity for another, or of any one for their staple tobacco; they have some silver coins among them, both English and Spanish. Notwithstanding the great plenty of excellent timber and naval stores in Virginia, and the whole country being but one continued harbour, after entering Chesapeake bay, between Capes Charles and Henry, yet they build no shipping.

They have few towns; the principal are James town and Middle plantation, now Williamsburg, in the latter of which there is a college. This is the capital, seat of the governor, assembly, and courts: so that the Virginia planters residing on their estates or farms, most of which lies contiguous to some great river that falls into the bay above mentioned, ships can come up almost to their doors, and take in their cargoes of tobacco.

It is but very lately that in Virginia they begun to build forts, a well-regulated militia by land, and the cruizers sent from Britain by sea, being their main defence.

When any person is, through age or sickness, &c. disabled from working, he is placed out at some planter's house, and supported at the public expence.

And such is the hospitality of the Virginia planters, that a stranger travelling in this country may be entertained at their houses gratis; so that public inns in such a country are unnecessary.

Virginia is divided into 25 counties: and in these are 54 parishes, 30 or 40 of which are supplied with ministers, and to each parish belongs a church, with chapels of ease in such of them as are of large extent. The minister's maintenance is commonly settled at 16,000 pounds of tobacco annually, besides perquisites.

In this colony are said to be only two presbyterian, and three quaker meeting-houses.

The counties are as follows, namely, Norfolk, Princess Ann, Nansemond, Isle of Wight, Surry, Henrico, Prince George, Prince Charles, James county, York, Warwick, Elizabeth, New-Kent, King and Queen's county, Middlesex, Essex, or Rappahanock, Richmond, Stafford, Westmoreland, Lancaster, Northumberland, Accomack, and Northampton.

Tobacco is a sharp, caustic, and even poisonous plant, which was formerly of great repute, and is still used in medicine. Every body is acquainted with the general consumption made of it, by chewing, smoking, or taking snuff. It was discovered in the year 1520 by the Spaniards, who found it first in the Jucatan, a large peninsula in the gulph of Mexico, from whence it was carried into the neighbouring islands. Soon after, the use of it became a matter of dispute among the learned, which the ignorant also took a part in; and thus tobacco acquired some reputation. By degrees fashion and custom have greatly extended its consumption in all parts of the known world. It is at present cultivated with more or less success in Europe, Asia, Africa, and several parts of America.

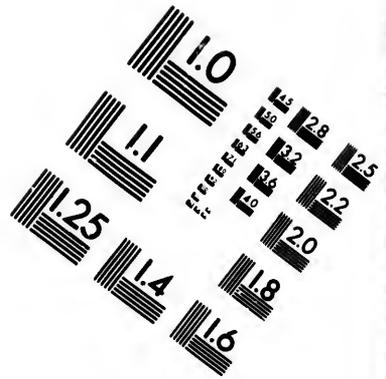
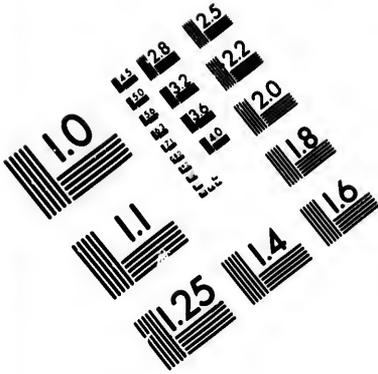
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The stem of this plant is straight, hairy, and viscous; and its leaves are thick, flabby, and of a pale green colour. They are larger at the bottom than at the summit of the plant. It requires a soil of a good consistence, but rich, even, and deep, and not too much exposed to inundations. A virgin soil is very fit for this vegetable, which requires a great deal of sap.

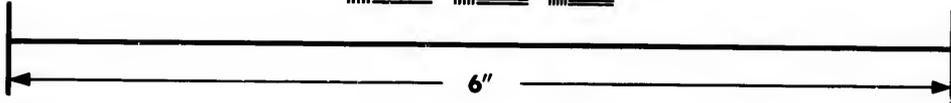
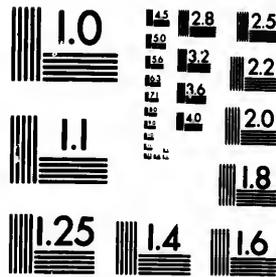
The seeds of the tobacco are sown in layers. When it has grown to the height of two inches, and has got, at least, half a dozen leaves, it is gently pulled up in damp weather, and transplanted with great care into a well prepared soil, where the plants are placed at the distance of three feet from each other. When they are put into the ground with these precautions, their leaves do not suffer the least injury; and all their vigour is renewed in four and twenty hours.

The cultivation of tobacco requires continual attention. The weeds which gather about it must be plucked up; the head of it must be cut off when it is two feet and a half high, to prevent it from growing too long; it must be stripped of all sprouting suckers; the leaves which grow too low down upon the stem, those that are in the least inclined to decay, and those which the insects have touched, must all be removed, and their number reduced to eight or ten at most. A single industrious man is able to take care of two thousand five hundred plants, which ought to yield one thousand weight of tobacco. It is left about four months in the ground. As it advances to maturity, the pleasant and lively green colour of its leaves is changed into a darker hue; the leaves are also curved, and the smell they exhale is increased, and extends to a great distance. The plant is then ripe, and must be cut.





**IMAGE EVALUATION  
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



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The plants, when collected, are laid in heaps upon the same ground that produced them, where they are left to exude only for one night. The next day they are laid up in warehouses, constructed in such a manner, that the air may have a free access to them on all sides. Here they are left separately suspended as long as is necessary to dry them well. They are then spread upon hurdles, and well covered over, where they ferment for a week or two. At last they are stripped of their leaves, which are either put into barrels, or made up into rolls. The other methods of preparing the plant, which vary according to the different tastes of the several nations that use it, have nothing to do with its cultivation.

Of all the countries in which tobacco has been planted there is none where it has answered so well as in Maryland and Virginia. As it was the only occupation of the first planters, they often cultivated much more than they could find sale for. They were then obliged to stop the growth of the plantations in Virginia, and to burn a certain number of plants in every habitation throughout Maryland. But, in process of time, the uses of this herb became so general, that they have been obliged to increase the number both of the whites and blacks who are employed in preparing it. At present, each of the provinces furnishes nearly an equal quantity. That from Virginia, which is the mildest, the most perfumed, and the dearest, is consumed in England and in the southern parts of Europe. That of Maryland is fitter for the northern climates, from its cheapness, and even from its coarseness, which makes it better adapted to less delicate organs.

As navigation has not yet made the same progress in these provinces, as in the rest of North America, the tobacco

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tobacco is commonly transported in the ships of the mother country. They are very often three, four, and even six months in completing their cargo. This delay arises from several very evident causes. First, as there are no magazines or general receptacles for the tobacco, it is necessary to go and fetch it from the several plantations. Secondly, few planters are able to load a whole ship; and, if they were, they would not chuse to venture their whole upon one bottom. In short, as the price of the freight is fixed, and is always the same, whether the articles are ready for embarkation or not, the planters wait till they are pressed by the captains themselves to hasten the exportation. All these several reasons are the cause why vessels only of a moderate size are generally employed upon this service. The larger they were, the longer time they would be detained in America.

Virginia always pays forty-five livres (1 *l.* 19 *s.* 4 *d.* halfpenny) freight for every barrel of tobacco, and Maryland only 39 livres, 5 sols, 6 deniers (1 *l.* 14 *s.* 5 *d.* farthing). This difference is owing to the less value of the merchandise, and to the greater expedition made in loading it. The English merchant loses by the carriage; but it is made up to him by the commissions. As he is always employed in all the sales and purchases made for the colonists, he is amply compensated for his losses and his trouble, by an allowance of five per cent. upon these commissions.

This navigation employs two hundred and fifty ships, which make up in all 30,000 tons. They take in a hundred thousand barrels of tobacco from the two colonies, which, at the rate of eight hundred pounds a barrel, make eighty millions of pounds weight. That part of the commodity which grows between York and James rivers, and in some other places, is extremely

dear; but the whole, taken upon an average, sells only for four sols, three deniers (not 2 *d.* farthing) a pound in England, which makes in all 16,875,000 livres (738,281 *l.* 5 *s.*) Besides the advantage to England of exchanging its manufactures to the amount of this sum, it gains another by the re-exportation of four fifths of the tobacco. This alone is an object of 10,125,000 livres (442,968 *l.* 15 *s.*) besides what is to be reckoned for freight and commission.

The custom-house duties are a still more considerable object to government. There is a tax of 11 sols, 10 deniers and a half (about 6 *d.* farthing) upon every pound of tobacco that enters the kingdom; this, supposing the whole eighty millions of pounds imported to remain in it, would bring the state 47,499,997 livres, 10 sols (2,078,124 *l.* 17 *s.* 9 *d.* 3 farthings); but as four fifths are re-exported, and all the duties are remitted upon that portion, the public revenue gains only 19,000,000 livres, 2 sols, 7 deniers (831,250 *l.* 0 *s.* 1 *d.* farthing.) Experience teaches, that a third of this must be deducted for prompt payment of what the merchant has a right to be eighteen months in paying, and to allow for the smuggling that is carried on in the small ports, as well as in the large ones. This deduction will amount to 6,333,351 livres, 18 sols, 6 deniers (277,084 *l.* 2 *s.* 11 *d.* farthing) and there will consequently remain for government no more than 12,666,715 livres, 17 sols, 6 deniers (554,168 *l.* 16 *s.* 4 *d.* halfpenny.)

We shall here observe, that there were neither horses, cows, sheep, nor hogs in America, before they were carried thither by the Europeans; but now they are multiplied so extremely that many of them, particularly in Virginia, and the southern colonies, run wild. Beef and pork is sold here from one penny

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to twopence a pound: their fattest pullets at sixpence a-piece; chickens, at three or four shillings a dozen; geese, at ten pence; and turkeys, at eighteen pence a-piece. But fish, and wild fowl, are still cheaper in the season, and deer are sold from five to ten shillings a-piece. This estimate may serve for the other American colonies, where provisions are equally plentiful and cheap, and in some still lower. Besides the animals transported from Europe, those natural to the country are deer, of which there are great numbers, a sort of panther or tyger, bears, wolves, foxes, and racoons. Here is likewise that singular animal called the Opossum, which seems to be the wood-rat mentioned by Charlevoix, in his history of Canada. It is about the size of a cat, and besides the belly common to it with other animals, it has another peculiar to itself, which hangs beneath the former. This belly has a large aperture, towards the hinder legs, which discovers a large number of teats on the usual part of the common belly. Upon these, when the female of this creature conceives, the young are formed, and there they hang like fruit upon the stalk, until they grow in bulk and weight to their appointed size; then they drop off, and are received into the false belly, from which they go out at pleasure, and in which they take refuge when any danger threatens them. In Virginia there are all sorts of tame and wild fowl. They have the nightingale, called from the country, whose plumage is crimson and blue; the mocking bird, thought to excel all others in his own note, and including that of every one; the humming bird, the smallest of all the winged creation, and by far the most beautiful, all arrayed in scarlet, green and gold. It sips the dew from the flowers, which is all its nourishment.

rishment, and is too delicate to be brought alive into England.



## C H A P. VIII.

*Description of Maryland.*

**I**T was in the reign of Charles the First, that the Lord Baltimore applied for a patent for a part of Virginia, and obtained in 1632, a grant of a tract of land upon Chesapeake bay, of about an hundred and forty miles long, and an hundred and thirty broad, having Pennsylvania, then in the hands of the Dutch, upon the North, the Atlantic ocean upon the East, and the river Potowmack upon the South. In honour of the queen he called this province Maryland.

Lord Baltimore was a Roman catholic, and was induced to attempt this settlement in America, in hopes of enjoying liberty of conscience for himself, and for such of his friends, to whom the severity of the laws might loosen their ties to their country, and make them prefer an easy banishment with freedom, to the conveniencies of England, embittered as they were by the sharpness of the laws, and the popular odium which hung over them. The court at that time was certainly very little inclined to treat the Roman catholics in a harsh manner, neither had they in reality the least appearance of reason to do so; but the laws were of a rigorous constitution; and however the court might be inclined to relax them, they could not in policy do it, but with a great reserve. The puritan party perpetually accused the court, and indeed the episcopal church, of a desire of returning to popery; and this accusation

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accusation was so popular, that it was not in the power of the court to shew the papists that indulgence which they desired. The laws were still executed with very little mitigation; and they were in themselves of a much keener temper, than those who had driven the puritans about the same time to seek a refuge in the same part of the world. These reasons made Lord Baltimore desirous to have, and the court willing to give him, a place of retreat in America.

The settlement of the colony cost the lord Baltimore a large sum. It was made under his auspices by his brother, and about two hundred persons, Roman Catholics, and most of them of good families. The settlement at the beginning did not meet with the same difficulties, which embarrassed and retarded most of the others we had made. The people were generally of the better sort, a proper subordination was observed amongst them, and the Indians gave and took so little offence, that they ceded one half of their principal town, and some time after the whole of it, to these strangers. The Indian women taught ours how to make bread of their corn; their men went out to hunt and fish with the English; they assisted them in the chase; and sold them the game they took themselves for a trifling consideration; so that the new settlers had a sort of town ready built, ground ready cleared for their subsistence, and no enemy to harass them.

They lived thus, without much trouble or fear, until some ill-disposed persons in Virginia insinuated to the Indians, that the Baltimore colony had designs upon them; that they were Spaniards and not Englishmen, and such other stories as they judged proper to sow the seeds of suspicion and enmity in the minds of these people. Upon the first appearance, that the malice of the Virginians had taken effect, the new planters

planters were not wanting to themselves. They built a good fort with all expedition, and took every other necessary measure for their defence; but they continued still to treat the Indians with so much kindness, that partly by that, and partly by the awe of their arms, the ill designs of their enemies were defeated.

As the colony met with so few obstructions, and as the Roman catholics in England were yet more severely treated in proportion as the court-party declined, numbers constantly arrived to replenish the settlement; which the lord proprietor omitted no care, and withheld no expence to support and encourage; until the usurpation overturned the government at home, and deprived him of his rights abroad. Maryland remained under the governors appointed by the parliament and by Cromwell until the restoration, when Lord Baltimore was reinstated in his former possessions, which he cultivated with his former wisdom, care, and moderation. No people could live in greater ease and security; and his lordship, willing that as many as possible should enjoy the benefits of his mild and equitable administration, gave his consent to an act of assembly, which he had before promoted in his province, for allowing a free and unlimited toleration for all who professed the Christian religion of whatever denomination. This liberty, which was never in the least instance violated, encouraged a great number, not only of the church of England, but of presbyterians, quakers, and all kinds of dissenters, to settle in Maryland, which before that was almost wholly in the hands of Roman catholics.

This Lord, though guilty of no mal-administration in his government, though a zealous Roman catholic, and firmly attached to the cause of king James the second, could not prevent his charter from being questioned

questioned in that arbitrary reign, and a suit from being commenced to deprive him of the property and jurisdiction of a province granted by the royal favour, and peopled at such a vast expence of his own. But it was the error of that weak and unfortunate reign, neither to know its friends, nor its enemies; but by a blind precipitate conduct to hurry on every thing of whatever consequence with almost equal heat, and to imagine that the sound of the royal authority was sufficient to justify every sort of conduct to every sort of people. But these injuries could not shake the honour and constancy of Lord Baltimore; nor tempt him to desert the cause of his master. Upon the revolution he had no reason to expect any favour; yet he met with more than king James had intended him. He was deprived indeed of all his jurisdiction, but he was left the profits of his province, which were by no means inconsiderable; and when his descendents had conformed to the church of England, they were restored to all their rights as fully as the legislature has thought fit that any proprietor should enjoy them.

When upon the revolution, power changed hands in that province, the new men made but an indifferent requital for the liberties and indulgencies they had enjoyed under the old administration. They not only deprived the Roman catholics of all share in the government, but of all the rights of freemen; they have even adopted the whole body of the penal laws of England against them; they are at this day meditating new laws in the same spirit; and they would undoubtedly go to the greatest lengths in this respect, if the moderation, and good sense of the government in England did not set some bounds to their bigotry; thinking very prudently that it were highly unjust, and equally impolitic, to allow an asylum abroad to  
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any religious persuasions which they judged it improper to tolerate at home, and then to deprive them of its protection, recollecting at the same time in the various changes which our religion and government has undergone, which have in their turns rendered every sort of party and religion obnoxious to the reigning powers, that this American asylum, which has been admitted in the hottest times of persecution at home, has proved of infinite service, not only to the present peace of England, but to the prosperity of its commerce, and the establishment of its power. There are a sort of men, who will not see so plain a truth; and they are the persons who would appear to contend most warmly for Liberty; but it is only a party liberty for which they contend; a liberty which they would stretch out one way to narrow it in another; they are not ashamed of using the very same pretences for persecuting others, that their enemies use for persecuting them.

This colony, as for a long time it had with Pennsylvania the honour of being unstained with any religious persecution, so neither they nor the Pennsylvanians have ever until lately been harrassed by the calamity of any war, offensive or defensive, with their Indian neighbours, with whom they always lived in the most exemplary harmony. Indeed, in a war which the Indians made upon the colony of Virginia, by mistake they made an incursion into the bounds of Maryland; but they were soon sensible of their mistake, and atoned for it.

Maryland, like Virginia, has no considerable town, and for the same reason; the number of navigable creeks and rivers. Anapolis is the seat of government. It is a small but beautifully situated town upon the river Severn.

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Here is the seat of the governor, and the principal custom-house collection. The people of Maryland have the same established religion with those of Virginia, that of the church of England; but here the clergy are provided for in a much more liberal manner, and they are the most decent, and the best of the clergy in North America. They export from Maryland the same things in all respects that they do from Virginia. Their tobacco is about forty thousand hogsheads. The white inhabitants are about forty thousand; the negroes upwards of sixty thousand.



C H A P . I X .

*Description of Carolina. Its first settlement, trade, &c. Charles-Town. Raising and manufactory of pitch, tar, rice, and indigo.*

**T**HERE is not, perhaps, throughout the new world, a climate to be compared with that of Carolina. The two seasons of the year, which, for the most part, only moderate the excesses of the two others, are here delightful. The heats of the summer are not excessive; and the cold of the winter is only felt in the mornings and evenings. The fogs, which are always common upon a coast of any length, are dispersed before the middle of the day. But, on the other hand, here, as well as in every other part almost of America, the inhabitants are subject to such sudden and violent changes of weather, as oblige them to observe a regimen in their diet and cloathing, which would be unnecessary in a more settled climate. An-  
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other inconvenience, peculiar to this tract of the northern continent, is that of being tormented with hurricanes; but these are less frequent and less violent than in the islands.

A vast, melancholy, uniform, unvaried plain extends from the sea-shore fourscore or a hundred miles within land, where the country, beginning to rise, affords a more pleasing prospect, and a purer and drier air. This place, before the arrival of the English, was covered with one immense forest, reaching as far as the Apalachian mountains. It consisted of large trees growing, as nature had cast them, without order or design, at unequal distances, and not encumbered with underwood; by which means, more land could be cleared here in a week, than in several months, in other climates.

The soil of Carolina is very various. On the coast, and about the mouths of the rivers, it is either covered with useless and unhealthful morasses, or made up of a pale, light, sandy earth, which produces nothing. In one part it is barren to an extreme; in another, among the numberless streams that divide the country, it is excessively fruitful. At a distance from the coasts, there are sometimes found large wastes of white sand, which produce nothing but pines; there are other lands, where the oak and the walnut-tree announce fertility. These alternate variations cease, when you get into the inland parts; and the country every where is agreeable and rich.

Admirably adapted as these spots are for the purposes of cultivation, the province does not want others equally favourable for the breeding of cattle. Thousands of horned cattle are bred here, which go out in the morning without a herdsman to feed in the woods, and return home at night of their own accord.

cord. Their hogs, which are suffered to fatten themselves in the same manner, are still more numerous and much better in their kind. But mutton degenerates there both in flesh and wool. For this reason, it is less common.

In 1723, the whole colony consisted only of four thousand white people, and thirty two thousand blacks. Its exportation to other parts of America, and to Europe, did not exceed 4,900,000 livres (216,562 l. 10 s.) Since that time, it has acquired a degree of splendor, which it owes entirely to the enjoyment of liberty.

The trade of Carolina, besides the lumber, provision, and the like, which it yields in common with the rest of America, has three great staple commodities, indigo, rice, and the produce of the pine, turpentine, tar, and pitch. The two former commodities South Carolina has entirely to itself; and taking in North Carolina, this part of America yields more pitch and tar than all the rest of our colonies.

Rice anciently formed by itself the staple of this province; this wholesome grain makes a great part of the food of all ranks of people in the Southern parts of the world; in the Northern it is not so much in request. Whilst the rigour of the act of navigation obliged them to send all their rice directly to England, to be re-shipped for the markets of Spain and Portugal; the charges incident to this regulation lay so heavy upon the trade, that the cultivation of rice, especially in time of war, when these charges were greatly aggravated by the rise of the freight and insurance, hardly answered the charges of the planter; but now the legislature has relaxed the law in this respect, and permits the Carolinians to send their rice directly to any place to the Southward of Cape Finisterre. This prudent

prudent indulgence has again revived the rice trade; and though they have gone largely, and with great spirit, into the profitable article of indigo, it has not diverted their attention from the cultivation of rice; they raise now above double the quantity of what they raised some years ago; and this branch alone of their commerce is, at the lowest estimation, worth one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling annually.

Indigo is a dye made from a plant of the same name, which probably was so called from India, where it was first cultivated, and from whence we had for a considerable time the whole of what we consumed in Europe. This plant is very like the fern when grown, and when young, hardly distinguishable from lucern-grass; its leaves in general are pennated, and terminated by a single lobe; the flowers consist of five leaves, and are of the papilionaceous kind, the uppermost petal being larger and rounder than the rest, and lightly furrowed on the side; the lower ones are short and end in a point; in the middle of the flower is situated the stile, which afterwards becomes a pod, containing the seeds.

They cultivate three sorts of indigo in Carolina, which demand the same variety of soils. First, the French or Hispaniola indigo, which, striking a long tap-root, will only flourish in a deep rich soil; and therefore, though an excellent sort, it is not so much cultivated in the maritime parts of Carolina, which are generally sandy; but no part of the world is more fit to produce it in perfection than the same country, an hundred miles backwards; it is neglected too on another account, for it hardly bears a winter so sharp as that of Carolina.

The second sort, which is the false guatemala, or true bahama, bears the winter better, is a more tall  
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and vigorous plant, is raised in greater quantities from the same compass of the ground; is content with the worst soils in the country, and is therefore more cultivated than the first sort, though inferior in the quality of its dye.

The third sort is the wild indigo, which is indigenous here; this, as it is a native of the country, answers the purposes of the planter the best of all, with regard to the hardiness of the plant, the easiness of the culture, and the quantity of the produce; of the quality there is some dispute, not yet settled amongst the planters themselves; nor can they as yet distinctly tell when they are to attribute the faults of their indigo to the nature of the plant, to the seasons, which have much influence upon it, or to some defect in the manufacture.

The time of planting the indigo, is generally after the first rains succeeding the vernal equinox; the seed is sowed in small straight trenches, about eighteen or twenty inches asunder; when it is at its height, it is generally eighteen inches tall. It is fit for cutting, if all things answer well, in the beginning of July. Towards the end of August a second cutting is obtained; and if they have a mild autumn, there is a third cutting at Michaelmas. The indigo-land must be weeded every day, and the plants cleansed from worms, and the plantations attended with the greatest care and diligence; about twenty-five negroes may manage a plantation of fifty acres, and compleat the manufacture of the drug, besides providing their own necessary subsistence, and that of the planter's family. Each acre yields, if the land be very good, sixty or seventy pounds weight of indigo; at a medium, the produce is fifty pounds. When the plant is beginning to blossom, it is fit for cutting; and when cut, great care

care ought to be taken to bring it to the steeper, without pressing or shaking it, as a great part of the beauty of the indigo depends upon the fine farina which adheres to the leaves of this plant.

The apparatus for making indigo is pretty considerable, though not very expensive; for besides a large pump, the whole consists only of vats and tubs of cypress wood, common and cheap in this country. The indigo when cut is first laid in a vat about twelve or fourteen foot long, and four deep, to the height of about fourteen inches, to macerate and digest. Then this vessel, which is called the steeper, is filled with water; the whole having lain from about twelve or sixteen hours, according to the weather, begins to ferment, swell, rise, and grow sensibly warm; at this time spars of wood are run across to mark the highest point of its ascent; when it falls below this mark they judge that the fermentation has attained its due pitch, and begins to abate; this directs the manager to open a cock, and let off the water into another vat, which is called the beater; the gross matter, that remains in the first vat, is carried off to manure the ground, for which purpose it is excellent, and new cuttings are put in as long as the harvest of this weed continues.

When the water, strongly impregnated with the particles of indigo, has run into the second vat or beater, they attend with a sort of bottomless buckets, with long handles, to work and agitate it; which they do incessantly until it heats, froths, ferments, and rises above the rim of the vessel which contains it; to allay this violent fermentation, oil is thrown in as the froth rises, which instantly sinks it. When this beating has continued for twenty, thirty, or thirty-five minutes, according to the state of the weather,

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(for in cool weather it requires the longest continued beating) a small muddy grain begins to be formed, the salts and other particles of the plant, united and dissolved before with the water, are now reunited, and begin to granulate.

To discover these particles the better, and to find when the liquor is sufficiently beaten, they take up some of it from time to time on a plate, or in a glass; when it appears in an hopeful condition, they let loose some lime water from an adjacent vessel, gently stirring the whole, which wonderfully facilitates the operation; the indigo granulates more fully, the liquor assumes a purplish colour, and the whole is troubled and muddy; it is now suffered to settle; then the clearer part is let to run off into another succession of vessels, from whence the water is conveyed away as fast as it clears at the top, until nothing remains but a thick mud, which is put into bags of coarse linen. These are hung up and left for some time until the moisture is entirely drained off. To finish the drying, this mud is turned out of the bags, and worked upon boards of some porous timber with a wooden spatula; it is frequently exposed to the morning and evening sun, but for a short time only; and then it is put into boxes or frames, which is called the curing, exposed again to the sun in the same cautious manner, until with great labour and attention the operation is finished, and that valuable drug called Indigo, fitted for the market. The greatest skill and care is required in every part of the process, or there may be great danger of ruining the whole; the water must not be suffered to remain too short or too long at a time, either in the steeper or beater; the beater itself must be nicely managed so as not to exceed or fall short; and in the curing, the exact medium be-

tween too much or too little drying is not easily attained: Nothing but experience can make the overseer skilful in these matters.

There are two methods of trying the goodness of Indigo; by fire and by water; if it swims, it is good, if it sinks it is naught, the heavier the worse; so if it wholly dissolves into water it is good. Another way of proving is by the fire ordeal; if it entirely burns away it is good, the adulterations remain untouched.

There is perhaps no branch of manufacture, in which so large profits may be made upon so moderate a fund, as that of indigo; and there is no country in which this manufacture can be carried on to such an advantage as Carolina, where the climate is healthy, provision plentiful and cheap, and every thing, necessary for that purpose, had with the greatest ease. To do justice to the Carolinians, they have not neglected these advantages; and if they continue to improve them with the same spirit, in which they have begun, and attend diligently to the quality of their goods, they must naturally and necessarily come to supply the whole consumption of the world with this commodity; and consequently make their country the richest, as it is the pleasanter and most fertile part of the British dominions.

In all parts of Carolina, but especially in North Carolina, they make great quantities of turpentine, tar and pitch. They are all the produce of the pine. The turpentine is drawn simply from incisions made in the tree; they are made from as great an height as a man can reach with an hatchet; these incisions meet at the bottom of the tree in a point, where they pour their contents into a vessel placed to receive them. There is nothing further in this process. But tar requires a more considerable apparatus and great trouble.

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They prepare a circular floor of clay, declining a little towards the center; from this is laid a pipe of wood, the upper part of which is even with the floor, and reaches ten feet without the circumference; under the end the earth is dug away, and barrels placed to receive the tar as it runs. Upon the floor is built up a large pile of pine-wood, split in pieces, and surrounded with a wall of earth, leaving only a small aperture at the top where the fire is first kindled. When the fire begins to burn, they cover this opening likewise to confine the fire from flaming out, and to leave only sufficient heat to force the tar downwards to the floor. They temper the heat as they please, by running a stick into the wall of clay, and giving it air. Pitch is made by boiling tar in large iron kettles set in furnaces, or burning it in round clay holes made in the earth. The greatest quantity of pitch and tar is made in North Carolina.

The climate and soil, in these countries, do not considerably differ from those of Virginia; but where they differ, it is much to the advantage of Carolina, which on the whole may be considered one of the finest climates in the world. The heat in summer is very little greater than in Virginia; but the winters are milder and shorter, and the year in all respects does not come to the same violent extremities. However the weather, though in general serene, as the air is healthy, yet like all American weather, it makes such quick changes, and those so sharp, as to oblige the inhabitants to rather more caution in their dress and diet, than we are obliged to use in Europe. Thunder and lightning are frequent; and it is the only one of our colonies upon the continent which is subject to hurricanes; but they are very rare, and not so violent as those of the West Indies. Part of

the month of March, and all April, May, and the greatest part of June, are here inexpressibly temperate and agreeable; but in July, August, and almost the whole of September, the heat is very intense; and though the winters are sharp, especially when the North-West wind prevails, yet they are seldom severe enough to freeze any considerable water; effecting only the mornings and evenings, the frosts have never sufficient strength to resist the noon-day sun; so that many tender plants which do not stand the winter of Virginia, flourish in Carolina; for they have oranges in great plenty near Charles-town, and excellent in their kinds, both sweet and sour. Olives are rather neglected by the planter, than denied by the climate. The vegetation of every kind of plant is here almost incredibly quick; for there is something so kindly in the air and soil, that where the latter has the most barren and unpromising appearance, if neglected for a while, of itself, it shoots out an immense quantity of those various plants and beautiful flowering shrubs and flowers, for which this country is so famous, and of which Mr. Catesby in his Natural History of Carolina has made such fine drawings.

The whole country is in a manner one forest, where our planters have not cleared it. The trees are almost the same in every respect with those produced in Virginia; and by the different species of these, the quality of the soil is easily known; for those grounds which bear the oak, the walnut, and the hickory, are extremely fertile; they are of a dark sand, intermixed with loam, and as all their land abounds with nitre, it is a long time before it is exhausted; for here they never use any manure. The pine barren is the worst of all; this is an almost perfectly white sand, yet it bears the pine-tree, and some o-

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ther useful plants naturally, yielding good profit in pitch, tar, and turpentine; when this species of land is cleared, for two or three years together it produces very tolerable crops of Indian corn and pease; and when it lies low, and is flooded, it even answers well for rice. But what is the best of all for this province, this worst species of its land is favourable to a species of the most valuable of all its products, to one of the kinds of Indigo. There is another sort of ground which lies low and wet upon some of their rivers; this is called swamp, which in some places is in a manner useless, in others it is far the richest of all their grounds; it is a black fat earth, and bears their great staple rice, which must have in general a rich moist soil, in the greatest plenty and perfection. The country near the sea and at the mouths of the navigable rivers, is much the worst; for the most of the land there is of the species of the pale, light, sandy coloured ground; and what is otherwise in those parts, is little better than an unhealthy and unprofitable salt-marsh; but the country, as you advance in it, improves continually; and at an hundred miles distance from Charles-town, where it begins to grow hilly, the soil is of a prodigious fertility, fitted for every purpose of human life. The air is pure and wholesome, and the summer-heats much more temperate than in the flat country; for Carolina is all an even plain for eighty miles from the sea; no hill, no rock, scarce even a pebble to be met with; so that the best of the maritime country, from this sameness, must want something of the fine effect which its beautiful products would have by a more variegated and advantageous disposition; but nothing can be imagined more pleasant to the eye than the black country, and its fruitfulness is almost incredible. Wheat grows extremely

tremely well there, and yields a prodigious increase. In the other parts of Carolina they raise but little, where it is apt to mildew and spend itself in straw; and these evils the planters take very little care to redress, as they turn their whole attention to the culture of rice, which is more profitable, and in which they are unrivalled; being supplied with what wheat they want in exchange for this grain, from New-York and Pennsylvania.

The land in Carolina is very easily cleared every where, as there is little or no underwood. Their forests consist mostly of great trees at a considerable distance asunder; so that they can clear in Carolina more land in a week, than in the forests of Europe they can do in a month. Their method is to cut them at about a foot from the ground, and then saw the trees into boards, or convert them into staves, heading, or other species of lumber, according to the nature of the wood, or the demands at the market. If they are too far from navigation, they heap them together, and leave them to rot. The roots soon decay; and before that they find no inconvenience from them, where land is so plenty.

The aboriginal animals of this country are in general the same with those of Virginia, but there is yet a greater number and variety of beautiful fowls. All the animals of Europe are here in plenty; black cattle are multiplied prodigiously. About fifty years ago it was a thing extraordinary to have above three or four cows, now some have a thousand; some in North Carolina a great many more; but to have two or three hundred is very common. These ramble all day at pleasure in the forests; but their calves being separated, and kept in fenced pastures, the cows return every evening to them; they are then milked

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detained all night, milked in the morning, and then let loose again. The hogs range in the same manner, and return like the cows, by having shelter and some victuals provided for them at the plantation; these are vastly numerous, and many quite wild; many horned cattle and horses too run wild in their woods; though at their first settlement there was not one of those animals in the country. They drive a great many cattle from North-Carolina every year into Virginia, to be slaughtered there; and they kill and salt some beef, and a good deal of pork, for the West Indies, within themselves; but the beef is neither so good, nor does it keep near so long as what is sent to the same market from Ireland. They export a considerable number of live cattle to Pennsylvania and the West-Indies. Sheep are not so plenty as the black cattle or hogs, neither is their flesh so good; their wool is very ordinary.

Charles-town is between the two navigable rivers, Cooper and Ashley, surrounded by the most beautiful plantations of the colony, of which it is the center and the capital. It is well built, intersected with several agreeable streets, and its fortifications are tolerably regular. The large fortunes that have been made in this town, from the accession and circulation of its trade, must necessarily have had some influence upon the manners of the people: Of all the towns in North-America, it is the one in which the conveniencies of luxury are most to be met with. But the disadvantage its road labours under, of not being able to admit of ships of above two hundred tons, will make it lose its present splendor. It will be deserted for Port Royal, which admits great numbers of vessels of all kinds into its harbour. A settlement has already been formed there, which is continually increasing, and will

probably meet with the greatest success. Besides the productions of North and South Carolina, which will naturally come to its market, it will also receive those of Georgia, a colony that has been lately established in its neighbourhood.



## C H A P. X.

*Description of Georgia and Savannah.*

**G**EORGIA is a large tract of land in Carolina, on the borders of Spanish Florida, in North America. It is separated from South Carolina by the river Savannah on the N. has the Atlantic ocean on the E. is bounded by Indian Florida on the W. and parted from Spanish Florida on the S. by the river Alatomacha. Its extent is 170 miles from N. to S. near the sea, but widens in the more remote parts to above 150, and is 300 from the middle part of the sea-coast to the Appalachian mountains, or not much short of it, and stretches out on the N. W. even as far as the river Mississippi.

In 1732, some persons distinguished not only by their families and fortunes, but by their public spirit, and universal benevolence, pitying the distressed of great numbers of people in these kingdoms, who had no means of subsistence, bent their thoughts to consider how they might be employed, both for their own good, and that of the public; and being fully convinced, that this country, inferior to none of our possessions on the continent of America for climate and situation, was the most capable of becoming a fruitful, populous, and useful tract, though then lying entire-

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ly waste, and over-run with vast woods, which sheltered a few Indians, runaway negroes, and other banditti: being moreover convinced, that when these woods were in a great measure cleared, there could not be a more pleasant or fruitful country in the world; that a colony planted here would also be of unspeakable advantage to our settlements in Carolina, by becoming an effectual frontier against the Spaniards and French, or the incursions of the Indians instigated by either; the want of which security they had greatly complained of. The government had it likewise in their view to raise wine, oil, and silk, and turn the industry of this new people for the timber and provision trade, which the other colonies had carried on too largely, into channels more advantageous to the public. From these, and many other important reasons, these gentlemen were induced to apply to his majesty George II. who was pleased to grant them a charter, dated the 9th of June 1732, constituting them a corporation under the name of Trustees for establishing a colony in Georgia; which included all that country situated in South Carolina, which lies from the most northern stream of the river Savannah, along the coast, to the most southern stream of the Alatomacha, and W. from the sources of the said rivers, respectively in direct lines, as far as the South, or Pacific sea. The charter granted the corporation the term of twenty-one years from its date, during which they were empowered to appoint all such governors and other officers, both by sea and land, as they thought fit, (the custom-house officers excepted) provided that every such governor be approved of by his majesty: and that the militia of the country be subject in the mean time to the governor of South Carolina: but that after the expiration of the twenty-

one year, the governor and all other officers should be nominated and appointed by the crown, and the property in chief revert to it. The said charter having impowered them also to have a common seal, the trustees had one with the following devices, namely, on one side two figures of rivers resting upon urns, and representing the Alatomacha and Savannah, the N. and S. boundaries of Georgia; and between these the genius of the colony, sitting with the cap of liberty on her head, a spear in one hand, and a cornucopia in the other, with this motto, 'Colonia Georgia Augusta;' on the reverse are silk worms at work, with this motto, 'non sibi sed aliis.' The trustees being impowered also by their charter to collect benefactions, and lay them out in cloathing, arming, sending out, and supporting colonies of poor people, whether subjects or foreigners, till they could build houses, and clear lands; they not only subscribed liberally themselves, but obtained considerable sums from other well disposed people, and had a grant of 10,000 l. from the parliament. All this the trustees employed in the proper necessaries for transporting a colony into a country, of which they had previously published a most exaggerated and flattering description. In reality the country differs little from South Carolina, only that the summers are hotter, and the soil in general of a poorer kind. The colony was sent over under the care of Mr. Oglethorpe, who very generously bestowed his own time and pains without any reward, for the advancement of the settlement; and in November following went over with 116 poor people, mostly husbandmen, carpenters, bricklayers, and other workmen; who were not only furnished with their working tools, but instructed in military discipline, well fitted out with small arms and stores; be-

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sides tools for erecting fortresses, and 74 pieces of cannon for defending them. They were besides furnished with 12 tons of Parsons's best beer, and were also to stop at the Madeiras to take in wine. Large sums were afterwards collected, and 25,000 l. at one time granted by parliament for the support of the planters. The Swiss, Saltzburghers, and other foreign protestants, as well as the British planters, were furnished by the trustees with necessaries, till by their labour, and the produce of the country, they were able to subsist themselves.

The trustees having resolved upon the laying out of towns, assigned to every inhabitant a lot of 25 acres of land, as near as possible to his town. But having very well observed that many of our colonies, especially that of South Carolina, had been very much endangered, both internally and externally, by suffering the negroes to grow so much more numerous than the whites, an error of this kind they judged, in a colony which was not only to defend itself, but to be in some sort a protection to others, would have been inexcusable: they for that reason forbid the importation of negroes into Georgia. In the next place they observed that great mischiefs happened in the other settlements from making vast grants of land, which the grantees jobbed out again, to the discouragement of the settlers; or what was worse, suffered to lie idle and uncultivated. To avoid this mischief, and prevent the people from becoming wealthy and luxurious, which they thought inconsistent with the military plan upon which this colony was founded, they allowed in the common course to each family but 25 acres, as has been said: and none could, according to the original scheme, by any means come to possess more than 500: neither did they give an inheritance in

fee simple, or to the heirs general of the settlers; but granted them the lands heritable only by their male issue. They likewise forbid the importation of rum into the province, to prevent the great disorders which they observed to arise in the other parts of North America. These regulations, though well intended, and meant to bring about very excellent purposes; yet might at first, as it afterwards plainly appeared, that they were made without sufficiently consulting the nature of this country, or the disposition of the people which they regarded. For in the first place, as the climate is excessively hot, and field-work very laborious in a new colony, as the ground must be cleared, tilled, and sown, all with great and incessant toil, for their bare subsistence, the load was too heavy for the white men, especially men who had not been seasoned to the country: the consequence of which was, that the greatest part of their time, namely, all the heat of the day, was spent in idleness, which brought certain want with it. It is true that all our colonies on the continent, even Virginia and Carolina, were originally settled without the help of negroes. The white men were obliged to the labour, and they underwent it, because they then saw no other way: but it is the nature of man not to submit to extraordinary hardships in one spot, when they see their neighbours on another, without any difference in the circumstances of things, in a much more easy condition. Besides, no methods were taken to animate them under the hardships they endured. All things contributed to dispirit them.

A levelling scheme in a new colony is a thing extremely unadvisable. Men are seldom induced to leave their country, but upon some extraordinary prospects. The majority of mankind must always be indigent;

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igent; but in a new settlement they must be all so, unless some persons are on such a comfortable and substantial footing as to give direction and vigour to the industry of the rest. Persons of substance found themselves discouraged from attempting a settlement, by the narrow bounds which no industry could enable them to pass; and the design of confirming the inheritance to the male line was an additional discouragement. The settlers found themselves not upon a par with the other colonies. There was an obvious inconvenience in leaving no provision at all for females, as in a new colony the land must be, for some time at least, the only wealth of the family. The quantity of 25 acres was undoubtedly too small a portion, as it was given without any consideration of the quality of the land; and was therefore in many places of very little value: add to this, that it was clogged, after a short free tenure, with a much greater quit-rent than is paid in our best and longest settled colonies. Indeed, through the whole manner of granting land, there appeared I know not what low attention to the trifling profits that might be derived to the trustees or the crown by rents and escheats, which clogged the liberal scheme that was first laid down, and was in itself extremely injudicious.

The entailed male grants were so grievous, that the trustees themselves corrected that error in a short time. The prohibition of rum, though specious in appearance, had a very bad effect. The waters in this unsettled country running through such an extent of forest, were not wholesome drinking, and wanted the corrective of a little spirits, as the settlers themselves wanted something to support their strength in the extraordinary and unusual heat of the climate, and its dampness in several places disposing their bodies to  
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agues and fevers. But what was worse, this prohibition in a manner deprived them of the only vent they had for such few commodities as they could send to market; namely, lumber and corn, which they could sell no where but in the sugar islands; and under this restriction of negroes and rum, they could take very little from them in return.

These and several other inconveniencies in the plan of this settlement, raised a general discontent in the inhabitants; they quarreled with one another, and with their magistrates; they complained; they remonstrated; and finding no redress, many of them fled out of Georgia, and dispersed themselves, where they deemed the encouragement better, to all the other colonies: so that of above 2000 people who had transported themselves from Europe, in a little time not above 6 or 700 were to be found in Georgia. The mischief grew worse and worse every day, till the government revoked the grant to the trustees, took the province into their own hands, and annulled all the particular regulations that had been made. It was then left on the same footing with Carolina.

Though this step has probably saved the colony from entire ruin, yet it was not perhaps so well done to neglect entirely the first views upon which it was settled: these were undoubtedly judicious; and if the methods taken to compass them were not so well directed, this was an argument not against the designs themselves, but a reason for some change in the instruments designed to put them in execution. Certainly nothing wants a regulation more than the dangerous inequality in the number of negroes and whites, in such of our provinces where the former are used. South Carolina, in spite of its great wealth, is really in a more defenceless condition than a knot of poor townships

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townships on the frontiers of New England. In Georgia, the first error of, absolutely prohibiting the use of negroes might be turned to very good account; for they would have received the permission for employing them under what qualifications soever, not as a restriction, but as a favour and indulgence: and by strictly executing whatever regulations we should make in this point, by degrees we might see a province fit to answer all the ends of defence and traffic too: whereas we have let them use such a latitude in that affair, which we were so earnest to prevent, that Georgia, instead of being any defence to Carolina, actually stands in need of a considerable force to defend itself.

With regard to the scheme of vines and silk, we were extremely eager in this respect in the beginning; and very supine ever since. At that time such a design was clearly impracticable, because a few people seated in a wild country must first provide every thing for the support of life, by raising of corn, and breeding of cattle, before they can think of manufactures of any kind: and they must grow numerous enough to spare a number of hands from that most necessary employment, before they can send such things in any degree of cheapness or plenty to a good market: but now little is said of either of these articles, though the province is longer settled, and grown more populous.

At present Georgia is beginning to emerge, tho' slowly, out of the difficulties that attended its first establishment. It is still but indifferently peopled, though it is now upwards of 42 years since its first settlement. Not one of our colonies was of so slow a growth, though none had so much of the attention of the government, or of the people in general, or raised

raised so great expectations in the beginning. They export some corn and lumber, to the West Indies; they raise some rice, and of late have gone with success into indigo. It is not to be doubted but in time, when their internal divisions are a little better composed, the remaining errors in the government corrected, and the people begin to multiply, that they will become an useful province. But in order to see the justness of some part of the above reflections, it will be necessary to resume the thread of history, with regard to the settlement of Georgia. Before Mr. Oglethorpe's arrival in this country with the first colony, in January 1732-3 (having in February following fixed at a town on the banks of the river Savannah, and given it that name) it was by the natives called Yamacraw, from an Indian nation, whose chief, Tomo-chichi, who had been banished with others from his own country, readily admitted and entered into a close friendship with him: which was the more agreeable to both parties, as there was no other Indian nation within 50 miles. About this time also the chief men of the Lower Creek nation, consisting of eight tribes, who are allied together, and speak the same language, though each under a distinct government, came to the number of fifty persons with their attendants, (some of them after a journey of five days) to make an alliance with this colony. These Indians laid claim from the Savannah river as far as St. Augustine, and up Flint river, which falls into the bay of Mexico. They addressed Mr. Oglethorpe by one of their monarchs, whom the English called Long King, as being tall; in which place he first claimed all the lands to the S. of the river Savannah; and concluded with saying that they freely gave the English up their right to all the land they did not use themselves.

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themselves. Then the chief men laid before Mr. Oglethorpe a bundle of buck-skins, being one from each of their eight tribes, which they said was the best present they had to make, and which they gave with a good heart. The long king did not forget to thank him for his kindness to his cousin Tomo-chichi and his Indians; saying, that though he was banished from his nation, he was a good man, and had been a great warrior, and that the banished men had chose him their king for his wisdom and justice.

Next Tomo-chichi advanced with the Yamacraw Indians, who were of the Creek nation and language, as did other chiefs, when articles of alliance and commerce were agreed on; and they were dismissed with presents, besides eight cags of rum for their respective towns. By this treaty the rates of goods were settled; reparation to be made for injuries on both sides; criminals to be tried and punished by the English law; the trade was to be withdrawn from any Indian town offending against the treaty. Finally, the Indians promised, with true hearts and love to the English brethren, to encourage no other white people to settle in their country: and to all this they set the marks of their respective families.

Next year also an alliance was made with another Indian nation in this country, called the Natchees; which tended very much to the security of the colony. And the same year the planters reaped their first crop of Indian corn, which yielded them 1000 bushels.

Mr. Oglethorpe, in a letter to a person of honour in London, gives the following character of the Creek Indians, with whom, especially their chiefs, he had some time conversed.

Their

Their morals, says he, were so good, that I thought nothing was wanting to convert them to christianity, but a divine who understood their language. They abhor murder and adultery; they disapprove of polygamy, and know nothing of theft; though it is frequent, and even reckoned honourable by their neighbours the Natchees. Revenge and drunkenness seem to be their most favourite vices: though they do not think that any injury, except murder or adultery, deserves the former. As to adultery, they think the injured husband has a right to revenge by cutting off the adulterer's ears: and if he cannot do this, to kill him the first time he can do it with safety. As to murder, the next in blood is obliged to kill the murderer, else he is treated by his nation as infamous. And so weak is the executive power among them, that there is no other way to revenge the shedding of blood. For their kings can do no more than persuade, all the power they have being to assemble their old men and captains for their advice, in which they generally come to some unanimous resolution, or else break up the conferences without determining any thing. They seem, both in expression and action to be thorough masters of the oratory which we so much admire in the Greeks and Romans: their speeches are generally adorned with similies and metaphors: but in the conferences among the chief men, they are more laconic. In fine, they generally address themselves to the passions of the youth, and the reason of the old men. For instance, says Mr. Oglethorpe, Tomo-chichi in his first speech said to me among other things, 'here is a small present:' and then he gave me a buffalo's skin, painted on the inside with the head and feathers of an eagle, which he desired me to accept, because the eagle denoted speed, and the buffalo

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buffalo strength : that the English were as swift as the bird, and as strong as the beast : since, like the first, they flew from the utmost parts of the earth over the seas ; and, like the second, nothing could withstand them. That the feathers of the eagle were soft, and signified love : the buffalo's skin warm, and signified protection ; and therefore he hoped, that we would love and protect their little families.

Mr. Oglethorpe returning to England, in 1734, with Tomo-chichi, his wife queen Senauki, their son Tooana-kowki, one of their war-captains, and five other Indian chiefs, Tomo-chichi had an audience of his majesty at Kensington on the first day of August, when he made a speech, in which he told the king,

‘ that he was come for the good of the whole nation  
 ‘ called the Creeks, to renew the peace which subsisted long ago with the English. I am come over,  
 ‘ continued he, in such old days, that I cannot live  
 ‘ to see any advantage of it to myself : I am come for  
 ‘ the good of the children of all the nations of the  
 ‘ Upper and Lower Creeks. These are the feathers  
 ‘ of the eagle, which is the swiftest of birds, and  
 ‘ flieth all round our nations : these feathers are an  
 ‘ emblem of peace in our land, where they have been  
 ‘ carried from town to town : and we have brought  
 ‘ them over to leave with you, O Great King, as a  
 ‘ sign of everlasting peace. O Great King, whatsoever words you shall say unto me, I will tell them  
 ‘ faithfully to all the kings of the Creek nations.’

His majesty returned a most gracious answer, as did likewise the queen, whom he addressed as follows.

‘ I am glad to see this day, to have the opportunity of beholding the mother of this great people.  
 ‘ As our people are joined with your majesty's, we  
 ‘ do

' do humbly hope to find you the common mother  
' and protectress of us, and all our children.'

The attendants of Tomo-chichi would willingly have appeared at court, as they commonly go in their country, which is quite naked, except a covering round their waist; but were dissuaded from it by Mr. Oglethorpe. However, their faces were variously painted, after their country fashion; some half black, others with triangular figures, and others with bearded arrows instead of whiskers. Tomo-chichi and his wife were dressed in scarlet trimmed with gold. They dined soon after with the lady Dutry at Pultney, and then waited on the archbishop of Canterbury; but his grace being very weak, Tomo-chichi only desired his blessing; and in a conference with his son-in-law Dr. Lynch, he expressed great joy to him, as believing that some good persons would be sent among them, in order to instruct their youth.

These Indians, particularly Tomo-chichi, shewed, during their stay here, that they were men of good sense, and besides hearty well-wishers to a friendly correspondence betwixt this nation and theirs; and desired of the trustees, that the weights, measures, prices, and qualities of goods to be purchased by them with their deer and other skins might be settled; and that no body might be allowed to trade with the Indians in Georgia without a licence from the trustees; that the Indians, in case of injury or fraud, might know where to complain. They further desired, that there might be but one storehouse in each Indian town, from which the traders might supply them with goods at the fixed rates, because they said the traders had often arbitrarily raised the prices of their goods, and given them short weight and measures; and, by their impositions of this kind, created frequent

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quent animosities between the English and Indians; which had often ended in wars prejudicial to both of them. Upon these remonstrances the trustees prepared the following acts, which being laid before the king and council in January 1735, were, after a report from the board of trade, ratified by his majesty.

1. An act for maintaining the peace with the Indians in the province of Georgia.
2. An act to prevent the importation and use of rum and brandy in that province, or any kind of spirits, or strong waters.
3. An act for rendering the colony more defensible, by prohibiting the importation of negroes.

October 30, 1734, Tomo-chichi, &c. being conducted in the king's coaches to Gravesend, embarked for their own country, after four months stay in England; during which time they were allowed by his majesty 20 l. a week for their subsistence, and were very magnificently entertained, not only by the court, but by several persons of distinction: and every thing remarkable in London and Westminster shewn them, in order to give them a just idea of English politeness, and of our nation's regard for the Creeks; in return for which they promised inviolable attachment and fidelity to the British nation. They carried presents from hence to the value of 400 l. and the duke of Cumberland, then but 13 years of age, presenting the young prince Tooana-kowki with a gold watch, told him at the same time to call upon Jesus Christ every morning when he looked upon it; which he promised to do. In the same ship went with them fifty-six Saltzburghers, who, with another body of them that followed not long after, settled in a town by them called Ebenezer, upon the river Savannah: and by their sobriety and industry have become a thriving settlement.

In

In 1735, a ship from Georgia brought over to England a speech made there by one of the Indian kings of Cherrickaw, &c. It was curiously written in red and black characters on the skin of a young buffalo, and translated into English as soon as delivered in the Indian language, in presence of above fifty of their chiefs, and of the principal inhabitants of Savannah. The said skin was set in a frame, and hung up in the Georgia office in Westminster. It contained the Indians grateful acknowledgments for the honours and civilities paid to Tomo-chichi, &c. their admiration of the grandeur of the British court and kingdom; and expressed their great happiness in Mr. Oglethorpe's coming among them.

The trustees of Georgia being encouraged by an extraordinary supply of 20,000 l. granted by parliament, and considerable benefactions, as well in Carolina as in England, began to think of making very considerable embarkations to strengthen the S. part of Georgia; and resolved that these should mostly be of people from the N. of Scotland, and persecuted German protestants, in order to obviate any objection that might be made against sending our own poor away. In pursuance of which, not only the above-mentioned Saltzburghers, but 160 Scots highlanders, were sent over in 1735, the latter of which arrived in Georgia the January of the year following, and settled on the Alatamba river, 16 miles by water from the island of St. Simon, in a district which, at their desire, is to this day called Darien, where they soon after built a town, to which they gave the name of New Inverness.

Next month, Mr. Oglethorpe arrived again in Georgia from England with forty seven persons, who were settled on the island of St. Simon; and hands  
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were set to work on building the town of Frederica. He was welcomed by Tomo-chichi, &c. and the Creek Indians, who came down upon this occasion; and in consequence of their claim of right to this country, were treated with; and accordingly agreed that the English should possess not only St. Simon's, but all the adjacent islands.

In the same month of February the Saltburghers were, at their own request, removed by Mr. Oglethorpe from Ebenezer to a place they liked better, at the mouth of the river, where he marked out another town for them called by the same name.

In September following a treaty was concluded between Mr. Oglethorpe and the governor of St. Augustin, by which it was particularly stipulated, that the English garrison and artillery should be withdrawn from the island of St. George, (which lies near the influx of St. John's river and the Atlantic ocean, forty miles N. of Augustin) provided that none of the king of Spain's subjects, or other persons, should inhabit or fortify the said island: and that it should not prejudice the right of the king of Great Britain to the said island, or any other of his dominions, or the claims of his majesty to the continent.

In the spring of the year 1737, upon advice from Carolina, that notwithstanding the late treaty, which it seems was not relished at the court of Madrid, the Spaniards were preparing at St. Augustin and the Savannah to make an attack on the colony of Georgia, his majesty ordered a regiment of 600 men to be sent to Georgia: and, for their encouragement, the trustees of the colony made a grant for an allotment of five acres in land to each of these soldiers, to cultivate for his own use and benefit, during their continuance in this service: and resolved that if any one

was inclined to quit it at the end of seven years, and settle in the colony, he should not only have a regular discharge, but, on a proper certificate of his good behaviour, be entitled to a grant of twenty acres of land. This year also the parliament granted the colony another supply of 20,000 l. and the trustees sent off another embarkation of persecuted German protestants: in consequence of which, among other measures taken for defence of the colony, a considerable fort was begun at Savannah.

The trustees, who had by letters and instructions to the magistrates of Georgia, constantly exhorted and encouraged the people to a cultivation of their land, as that on which they were solely to depend for their support, struck off from the store all such as had neglected it; which carried off many of the colony, who had gone thither from the mother-country, or had joined it from other parts of our American colonies, purely to gain a year or two's subsistence; and also several others, who, for want of considering the hardships that attended the first settlement of a country, were weary of their labour.

In March 1738, the trustees of Georgia, upon finding that the people of the colony were uneasy at the renure of their lots being confined to heirs male, resolved, that in default of such issue, the legal possessor of any land might by his last will, or other written deed, appoint his daughter, or any other female relation, his successor, provided that the lot so granted and devised should be personally claimed in the proper court in Georgia, within 18 months after the death of the grantor or devisor, And soon after this, every legal possessor was impowered to appoint any other person as his successor.

In September 1739, they also caused it to be published

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lished in the London Gazette, as they did afterwards in that of Carolina, ' That the lands already, or here-  
' after to be granted, should not only, on failure of  
' male issue, descend to the daughters of such grantees;  
' but if there were no issue, either male or female, the  
' grantees might devise such lands: and that, for want  
' of such devise, such lands should descend to the heirs  
' at law; provided that the possession of the person  
' who enjoyed such devise should not be increased to  
' more than 500 acres: and that the widows of the  
' grantees should hold and enjoy the dwelling-house,  
' garden, and one moiety of the lands their husbands  
' should die possessed of, for the term of their lives."

And moreover, to shew how very desirous the trustees were of giving the people of this colony all the satisfaction imaginable, they caused it to be added, that no fee or reward should be taken directly or indirectly for entering such claim by any persons whatsoever.

In the mean time the inhabitants of Frederica had in three days, cut a road of six miles through thick woods from the town to the soldiers fort. In October Tomo-chichi, together with four other Indian kings of the Creeks, 30 of their warriors, and 52 attendants, waited on general Oglethorpe at Savannah; and acquainted him, that though the Spaniards had decoyed them to St. Augustin, on pretence that he was there, and offered them great presents to fall out with the English, they adhered inviolably in their fidelity to his Britannic majesty; and that the Creek nation would come with 1000 warriors wherever he would command them. As the Indian traders who came amongst them from Carolina used bad weights, they desired that general Oglethorpe would order them brass weights and sealed measures, which should be lodged with each of the respective kings: and at the same time in-

vited him to come up the ensuing summer to see their towns; which he accordingly promised to do. After the general had made them handsome presents, they danced all night, and set out next day for the towns which lie 400 miles to the W. of Savannah.

Next year the general, in compliance with their invitation, travelled through a country very little known, and very difficult for Europeans, to the town of Coneta, though not less than 500 miles from Frederica. Here he conferred not only with the chiefs of all the tribes of this nation, but also with the deputies of the Checraws and Chickesaws, who lie between the English and French settlements: and on the 21st of August he made a new treaty with the nations of the Lower Creeks, more ample than the former; which we shall the rather insert, as it shews the situation and limits of the Creek nations, as set out by themselves.

The whole estates, after unanimously declaring that they adhered in their ancient love to the king of Great Britain, and to the agreements made in 1733 with the trustees, farther declared, that all the dominions, territories, and lands, from the Savannah river to St. John's river, and all the intermediate islands, and from St. John's river to the bay of Apalache, and from thence to the mountains, do by ancient right belong to the Creek nations, who have maintained possession of it against all opposers by war, and can shew heaps of the bones of their enemies by them slain in defence of their land. And they further declared, that neither the Spaniards, nor any other nation, have any right to the said land; and that they will not suffer them, or any other person, except the trustees of Georgia, to settle on the said lands. And they acknowledge the grant which they have already made to the said trustees of all the land upon the Savannah river as far as the river Ogee-

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che; and all the lands along the sea-coasts as far as St. John's river, and as high as the tide flows, and all the islands as far as the said river, particularly the islands of Frederica, Cumberland, and Amelia, to which they have given the names of his Britannic majesty's family, out of gratitude to him: but they declare, that they did, and do reserve to the Creek nation all the land from Pipe-makers-Bluff to Savannah, and the islands of St. Catherine, Ossebow, and Sappalo. And they further declare, that the said lands are held by the Creek nation as tenants in common: and Mr. Oglethorpe doth declare, that the English shall not enlarge or take up any lands, except those granted as above to the trustees by the Creek nation, and will punish any person that shall intrude upon the lands so reserved.

This same year, namely, 1739, Mr. Augspurger, a Swiss, brought over from Georgia a parcel of raw silk, and deposed before a master in chancery, that he received it from Thomas Jones the trustees store-keeper at Savannah, who told him it was the produce of Georgia; which being shewn to an eminent silk-weaver, and a raw silk merchant, they declared it was as fine as any Italian silk, and worth at least 20 shillings a pound.

This year also the trustees extended the tenures so far, that the daughter of any grantee, or any other person, was made capable of enjoying, by devise or inheritance, any number of acres not exceeding 2000. A licence was also granted to all the land-owners in Georgia, to lease out any part of their lots, for any term not exceeding three years; and that to any person then residing in Georgia, and who should hereafter reside there during the term of such lease.

A general release was likewise passed afterwards, by which no advantage was to be taken against any of

the present land-owners in Georgia, for any forfeiture incurred at any time before Christmas 1740, on account of the tenure or cultivation of land: and the possessors of 500 acres were not obliged to cultivate more than 120 acres thereof in 20 years from their grants: and those who had under 500 acres, and about 50, to cultivate in proportion, in order to prevent any forfeiture for want of cultivating the quantities required. Thus the freeholders in Georgia are really become tenants in tail general; and have more power than is commonly given in marriage-settlements, because they may, with the licence of the common council of the trustees, mortgage or alienate; and, without any application, have it absolutely in their power, on failure of issue in tail, to dispose thereof by their last will.

Thus have we traced the history of this new colony of Georgia from its first settlement to the present time, whence it will appear, among other things, how much the public is interested in the support of such a barrier, as Georgia is, by its natural situation, to other northern colonies on the continent. And the importance of this settlement to Great Britain will be further evident, when it is considered, that it has proved the most effectual expedient possible for securing the Indian nations in its interest, which inhabit the vast countries to the W. of Georgia; especially considering the views which the French had of the same kind, who thought, in a little time, to have completed that chain of correspondence, and indeed of contiguity between their colonies of Canada and Louisiana, on which their being formidable to us in North America absolutely depended: since, if they had brought their scheme to bear, they would have surrounded all our colonies on the continent from Nova Scotia to Georgia. But by

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this settlement we seem to have broke the links of their intended chain, by engaging in our interest those very Indian nations that are most capable of doing them service, and hurting us; particularly the faithful and brave nations of the Upper and Lower Creeks, a country so called from its being intersected with rivers, and extending from that of the Savannah to the lakes of Florida, the Cherokees mountains, and the river Coussa.

The western boundary of Georgia is all that territory claimed by the French in Louisiana, and by the Spaniards in Florida. The land of this province, lying low near the sea, is covered with woods; but begins to rise into hills at the distance of 25 miles from the shore, which at length terminate in mountains, running in a line from N. to S. on the back of Virginia and Carolina, and ending in Georgia, about 200 miles from the Apalachee bay, in the gulph of Mexico. The country being level from the foot of those mountains to the sea, made it necessary to fortify the banks of the Savannah and Alatamha, in order to prevent the incursions of the French and Spaniards by land. Canoes may sail on the former river for 600 miles, and boats for 300. The coast of Georgia is defended from the fury of the ocean by a range of islands running along it; and the islands and continent being well furnished with wood, the intermediate channel is very delightful. Upwards of 70 miles from the coast of Georgia are sand-banks, and the water shoaling gradually, till within six miles of land, the banks are so shallow as to be further impracticable, except in the channels between these bars; which were thought a sufficient defence against an enemy's fleet: yet, in July 1742, the Spaniards, to the number of 5 or 6000 men, besides Indians, in about 50 vessels

from St. Augustine, after passing these channels, made a descent upon Georgia; particularly they attacked the island of St. Simon, which, with the town of Frederica, would have been lost, had it not been for the bravery of the English and good conduct of general Oglethorpe, who, assisted by a small body of Indians, under the command of Tomo-chichi's son, soon repulsed them, and utterly frustrated their scheme: and though one of the forts of St. Simon was abandoned upon this invasion of the Spaniards, yet upon the general's approach they abandoned it with some precipitation.

Georgia has not a very fertile soil; but is a good barrier, as has been said, against the French and Spaniards, with their Indian allies; for which reason the parliament of Great Britain have at different times, as has been already shewn, granted considerable sums for planting and fortifying it: but misunderstandings arising between the general and the government of South Carolina, (of which private animosity we had but too many fatal instances in the late war with Spain) this colony is not in such a defensible state as to resist the attacks of the French and Spaniards; and besides, the general was not supplied with the necessary stores, nor properly seconded by those most nearly concerned in the event of his enterprises.

After passing the above-mentioned bars, ships meet with a secure and commodious harbour in the mouth of the Savannah river: and to the S. of it is a still more capacious road, called Tekysound, where a large fleet may anchor in between 10 and 14 fathoms water, being landlocked, and having a safe entrance over the bar. The tide of flood generally rises on this coast to seven feet.

In Georgia are several towns already built by the trustees of that colony; particularly two already known

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in trade, namely, Savannah and Augusta, besides Ebenezer, all three situated on the river of the former name. Savannah is the capital of the colony: and in the S. division of Georgia is Frederica, on the island of St. Simon, in the mouth of the river Alatamaha, with several forts to defend the island and neighbouring country.

The reverend Mr. John Westley, who a few years ago was minister of Savannah, to which he went over with Mr. Oglethorpe, and had a particular conference there with some of the chiefs of the Chickesaw Indians, gives us an account of their sense of a divine providence in the following particulars; and how well they were thereby prepared for receiving the gospe! They said that they believed that there are four beloved things above; namely the clouds, the sun, the clear sky, and he who lives in it; that he made all men at first out of the ground; that if he will, he can save men from their enemies, be they ever so numerous, and destroy them all. They acknowledged that when bullets flew thick on each side of them, and though they had even entered the bodies of some of them, he (the good-being) did not suffer them to hurt the one, or kill the other: that when their enemies came against them, the beloved clouds came in their behalf: so that much rain had often fallen upon them, and sometimes hail, and that in a very hot day: that when many French and Indians came against one of their towns, the beloved ground made a noise under them, and the beloved ones in the air behind them, like that of drums, guns, and shouting; whereupon their enemies were afraid, and all went away, leaving their provisions and guns behind them. The Indians added, that they always think of these beloved ones wherever they are: that they talk of them, and to them, abroad and at home, in

peace, in war, before and after battle; and indeed whenever, or wherever, they meet. They believed, that the souls of bad men walked up and down the place where they died, or where their bodies lie: and that there are only a few whom the beloved one chuses for children, and is in them, takes care of them, and teaches them.

We shall next proceed to the natural history of Georgia. This country produces Indian corn, as also wheat, oats, and barley, of which the two last grains grow best. Very good wheat is likewise reaped in May; and they mow the grass in June. Here are potatoes, pumpkins, water and musk melons, cucumbers, all sorts of English green pease (which, with proper care and culture, may be had almost the whole year round) and garden beans, but the Windsor sort will not flourish here; Indian pease, all sorts of fallading the year round, and all sorts of sweet herbs, and pot-herbs: rice too, were it proper, might be cultivated here with success. Here are nectarines, plums, and peaches; which three, especially the last, are almost as common as appletrees are in Herefordshire. The plums are ripe the beginning of May; peaches and nectarines the latter end of June. Here are no hazelnuts, but chincapins very sweet and good; wild grapes in abundance, which are ripe in June; as also four or five sorts of good windberries; presimmins, much like our medlars; wild cherries, that grow in sprays like currants, and are not much larger, but taste lie a small black cherry, and are ripe in May. Here are a few English cherries in the gardens and orchards; also apple, pear, and a few apricot-trees: many of the apple-trees bear twice a year; but the latter crop is small. Here are great quantities of white mulberry-trees, the fruit of which is not to compare with those

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of England, though the leaves are the best food for the silk worms. Olives flourish here in the greatest perfection; and so do oranges, especially in the S. part of the province, where an orange-tree has been known, in seven years, to rise 15 feet from the root to the branches. The chief timber-trees, are pines in abundance, six or seven species of oaks, hiccory, black walnut, cedar, white and black cypress, white and red laurels, bays, myrtle, of whose berries they make candles; sassafras, an infusion of which makes good drink; beech-trees, and many others which have no particular name. In some places here the land is as good as any in England, were there but hands enough to cultivate it.

This country affords a great deal of wild game, particularly in winter, that is, from the beginning of November to the month of March; such as wild geese, ducks, teals, and widgeons, wild turkeys from 20 to 30 pounds weight, turtle-doves in abundance, curlews, sand-birds, woodcocks, and partridges, but much smaller than in England; deer, a creature between a rabbit and a hare, which is very good eating: and when it is very cold weather in the northern parts of America, here are vast flights of wild pigeons, which are very easy to shoot. The chief game here in the summer season is deer and ducks, which latter are called summer-ducks; and the poorer sort of people kill great numbers of possums and racoons: the possums, if young and fat, eat very much like a sucking pig; and the taste of the racoons, which are commonly fat, resembles that of lamb. The possums have a false belly, or natural pouch, into which the young ones run if they are frightened; and then it immediately closes up like a bag or purse. Here are many tygers, but small, and bears, the flesh of whose cubs eats like that

of young pigs. Here are wild cattle, and wolves, that often run away with the calves of the tame ones. In the woods are abundance of snakes, but none venomous, except the rattle snake; for the bite of which, however, the Indians have a secret and sure remedy, if applied in a little time after it. In the rivers are abundance of sharks and alligators. Here is plenty of fish, which, in summer especially, are very cheap, such as trouts, mullet, whittings, black-fish, rock-fish, sheeps-heads, drum-fish, bass, sturgeon, which are hard to catch, and sundry other very good kinds. With regard to shell-fish, here are oysters innumerable, but not so good as the English, crabs, clams, mussels, coucks, and prawns, so large that half a score of them will serve a moderate stomach.

Provisions here are all at a reasonable rate; as is the beer of Old England, the rum of our plantations, Lisbon and Madeira wines, (which last is the principal wine drank here) likewise brandy. Here are oranges and limes very cheap, and ere long will be much cheaper, great quantities having been lately planted. In the mean time they have oranges from Charlestown, in Carolina. Soap is made here very cheap, as in Georgia is plenty of pot-ashes.

But of all manufactures, none seems so practicable, and withal so beneficial here, as the raising of silk, the soil of Georgia being extremely proper for the culture of mulberry-trees, and the climate no less agreeable to silkworms. There are great hopes too of raising wine here in time, though hitherto this has met with some difficulties. The external coat of the natural grape produced here is not strong enough to contain the juice: so that, when ripe, it bursts. The frosts about the vernal equinox often kill the vines also, when shooting: and with regard to European grapes, many of them

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are destroyed by the insects of this country. Yet experience has shewn, that by grafting the European on the wild vine, all these inconveniencies are in a good measure prevented: for then it shoots later, and thus escapes the frost better, the skin of the grapes becomes thicker and stronger, and the insects do the less harm. Some vines brought hither from Portugal and Madeira have thriven very well, even in the most barren parts of the province. In fine, nothing is wanting in this country but a sufficient number of inhabitants, to render our settlement as fruitful and beneficial as it is pleasant.



## C H A P . XI.

*Description of Canada.—Quebec.*

**C**A N A D A is 800 miles in length, and 200 in breadth, being between 61 and 81 degrees west longitude, and 45 and 52 degrees north latitude. The French comprehended under the name of Canada, a very large territory, taking into their claim part of New Scotland, New England and New York, on the east; and to the west, extending it as far as the Pacific Ocean. That part, however, which they have been able to cultivate, and which bore the face of a colony, lay chiefly upon the banks of the river St. Lawrence, and the numerous small rivers falling into that stream. This being reduced by the British arms in the late war, is now formed into a British colony, called the Province of Quebec.

The climate of this extensive province is not very different from the northern colonies, but as it is much further from the sea, and more northerly than a great part of these provinces, it has a much severer winter,

though the air is generally clear, but like most of those American tracts, that do not lie too far to the northward, the summers are very hot and exceeding pleasant.

Though the climate be cold, and the winter long and tedious, the soil is in general very good, and in many parts extremely fertile, in wheat, barley, rye, with other sorts of grains, fruits, and vegetables; tobacco, in particular, thrives well, and is much cultivated. The isle of Orleans, near Quebec, and the lands upon the river St. Lawrence, and other rivers, are remarkable for the richness of their soil. The meadow grounds in Canada which are well watered yield excellent grass, and breed vast numbers of great and small cattle.

The uncultivated parts of North America, contain the greatest forests in the world. They are a continued wood, not planted by the hands of men, and in all appearance as old as the world itself. Nothing is more magnificent to the sight; the trees lose themselves in the clouds, and there is such a prodigious variety of species, that even among those persons who have taken most pains to know them, there is not one perhaps that knows half the number. The province we are describing, produces, amongst others, two sorts of pines, the white and the red; four sorts of firs; two sorts of cedar oak, the white and the red; the male and female maple; three sorts of ash-trees, the free, the mungrel, and the bastard; three sorts of walnut-trees, the hard, the soft, and the smooth; vast numbers of beech-trees, and white wood; white and red elms, poplars. The Indians hollow the red elms into canoes, some of which, made out of one piece, will contain 20 persons; others are made of the bark, the different pieces they sew together with the inner  
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rind, and daub over the seams with pitch, or rather a bituminous matter resembling pitch, to prevent their leaking; and the ribs of these canoes are made of boughs of trees. About November, the bears and wild cats take up their habitation in the hollow elms, and remain there till April. Here are also found cherry-trees, plum-trees, the vinegar-tree, the fruit of which, infused in water, produces vinegar; an aquatic plant, called alaco, the fruit of which may be made into a confection; the white thorn; the cotton-tree, on the top of which grow several tufts of flowers, which, when shaken in the morning, before the dew falls off, produces honey, that may be boiled up into sugar, the seed being a pod, containing a very fine kind of cotton; the sun-plant, which resembles a marigold, and grows to the height of seven or eight feet; Turkey corn, French beans, gourds, melons, capillaire, and the hop-plant.

Near Quebec is a fine lead-mine, and in some of the mountains, we are told, silver has been found, though we have not heard that any great advantage has been made of it as yet. This country also abounds with coals.

The rivers branching through this country are very numerous, and many of them large, bold, and deep. The principal are, the Outtauais, St. John's Seguinay, Desprairies, and Trois Rivieres; but they are all swallowed up by the river St. Lawrence. This river issues from the lake Ontario, and takes its course north-east, washes Montreal, where it receives the Outtauais, and forms many fertile islands. It continues the same course, and meets the tide upwards of 400 miles from the sea, where it is navigable for large vessels; and below Quebec, 320 miles from the sea, it becomes broad, and so deep that ships of the line contributed,

contributed, in the last war, to reduce that capital. After receiving in its progress innumerable streams, this great river fall into the ocean at Cape Rosieres, where it is 90 miles broad, and where the cold is intense, and the sea boisterous. In its progress it forms a variety of bays, harbours, and islands, many of them fruitful and extremely pleasant.

The great river St. Lawrence, is that only upon which the French (now subjects of Great Britain) have settlements of any note; but if we look forward into futurity, it is nothing improbable that Canada, and those vast regions to the west, will be enabled of themselves to carry on a considerable trade upon the great lakes of fresh water, which these countries environ. Here are five lakes, the smallest of which is a piece of sweet water, greater than any in the other parts of the world; these are, the lake Ontario, which is not less than 200 leagues in circumference; Erie, or Oswego, longer, but not so broad, is about the same extent. That of the Huron spreads greatly in width, and is in circumference not less than 300, as is that of Michigan, though like lake Erie, it is rather long and comparatively narrow. But the lake Superior, which contains several large islands, is 500 leagues in the circuit. All of these are navigable by any vessels, and they all communicate with one another, except that the passage between Erie and Ontario, is interrupted by a stupendous fall or cataract, which is called the fall of Niagara. The water here is near a mile wide, where the rock crosses it, not in a direct line, but in the form of a half-moon. When it comes to the perpendicular fall, which is 170 feet, no words can express the consternation of travellers at seeing so great a body of water falling, or rather violently thrown, from so great an height, upon the rocks below;

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low; from whence it again rebounds to a very great height, appearing white as snow, being all converted into foam through those violent agitations. The noise of this fall is often heard at the distance of fifteen miles, and some times much farther. The vapour arising from the fall may sometimes be seen at a great distance, appearing like a cloud, or pillar of smoke, and in the appearance of a rainbow, whenever the sun and the position of the traveller favours. Many beasts and fowls here lose their lives, by attempting to swim, or cross the stream in the current above the fall, and are found dashed in pieces below, and sometimes the Indians, through carelessness or drunkenness, have met with the same fate; and perhaps no place in the world is frequented by such a number of eagles as are invited hither by the carnage of deer, elks, bears, &c. on which they feed. The river St. Lawrence, as we have already observed, is the outlet of these lakes; by which they discharge themselves into the ocean. The French have built forts at the several straits, by which these lakes communicate with each other, as well as where the last of them communicates with the river. By these they effectually secured to themselves the trade of the lakes, and an influence upon all the nations of America which lay near them.

These make the most curious, and hitherto the most interesting part of the natural history of Canada. It is to the spoils of these that we owe the materials of many of our manufactures, and most of the commerce as yet carried on between us and the country we have been describing. The animals that find shelter and nourishment in the immense forests of Canada, and which indeed traverse the uncultivated parts of all this continent, are stags, elks, deer, bears, foxes, martins, wild cats, ferrets, weasels, squirrels of a large size and greyish

greyish hue, hares, and rabbits. The southern parts in particular breed great numbers of wild bulls, deer of a small size, divers sorts of roebucks, goats, wolves, &c. The marshes, lakes, and pools, which in this country are very numerous, swarm with otters, beavers or castors, of which the white are highly valued, being scarce, as well as the right black kind. The American beaver, though resembling the creature known in Europe by that name, has many particulars which render it the most curious animal we are acquainted with. It is near four feet in length, and weighs sixty or seventy pounds; they live from fifteen to twenty years, and the females generally bring forth four young ones at a time. It is an amphibious quadruped, that continues not long at a time in the water, but yet cannot live without frequently bathing in it. The savages, who waged a continual war with this animal, believed it was a rational creature, lived in society, and was governed by a leader, resembling their own sachem or prince. It must needs be allowed, that the curious accounts given of this animal by ingenious travellers, the manner in which it contrives its habitation, provides food to serve during the winter, and always in proportion to the continuance and severity of it, are sufficient to shew the near approaches of instinct to reason, and even in some instances the superiority of the former. Their colours are different; black, brown, white, yellow, and straw-colour, but it is observed, that the lighter their colour, the less quantity of fur they are clothed with, and live in warmer climates. The furs of the beaver are of two kinds, the dry and the green; the dry fur is the skin before it is applied to any use; the green are the furs that are worn, after being sewed to one another, by the Indians, who besmear them with unctuous substances, which

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which not only render them more pliable, but give the fine down that is manufactured into hats, that oily quality which renders it proper to be worked up with the dry fur. Both the Dutch and English have of late found the secret of making excellent cloths, gloves, and stockings, as well as hats, from the beaver fur. Besides the fur, this useful animal produces the true castoreum, which is contained in bags in the lower part of the belly, different from the testicles; the value of this drug is well known. The flesh of the beaver is a most delicious food, but when boiled it has a disagreeable relish.

The musk rat is a diminutive kind of beaver, (weighing about five or six pounds) which it resembles in every thing but its tail; and it affords a very strong musk.

The elk is of the size of a horse or mule. Many extraordinary medicinal qualities, particularly for curing the falling sickness, are ascribed to the hoof of the left foot of this animal. Its flesh is very agreeable and nourishing, and its colour a mixture of light-grey and dark-red. They love the cold countries; and when the winter affords them no grass, they gnaw the bark of trees. It is dangerous to approach very near this animal when he is hunted, as he sometimes springs furiously on his pursuers, and tramples them to pieces. To prevent this, the hunter throws his clothes to him, and while the deluded animal spends his fury on these, he takes proper measures to dispatch him.

There is a carnivorous animal here, called the carcajou, of the feline or cat kind, with a tail so long, that Charlevoix says he twisted it several times round his body. Its body is about two feet in length, from the end of the snout to the tail. It is said, that this animal, winding himself about a tree, will dart from  
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thence upon the elk, twist his strong tail round his body, and cut his throat in a moment.

The buffaloe, a kind of wild ox, has much the same appearance with those of Europe; his body is covered with a black wool, which is highly esteemed. The flesh of the female is very good; and buffaloe hides are as soft and pliable as chamois leather, but so very strong, that the bucklers which the Indians make use of are hardly penetrable by a musket ball. The Canadian roebuck is a domestick animal, but differs in no other respect from those of Europe. Wolves are scarce in Canada, but they afford the finest furs in all the country: their flesh is white, and good to eat; and they pursue their prey to the tops of the tallest trees. The black foxes are greatly esteemed, and very scarce; but those of other colours are more common: and some on the Upper Mississippi are of a silver colour, and very beautiful. They live upon water-fowls, which they decoy within their clutches by a thousand antic tricks, and then spring upon and devour them. The Canadian poll-cat has a most beautiful white fur, except the tip of his tail, which is as black as jet. Nature has given this animal no defence but its urine, the smell of which is intolerably nauseous; this, when attacked, it sprinkles plentifully on its tail, and throws it on the assailant. The Canadian wood-rat is of a beautiful silver colour, with a bushy tail, and twice as big as the European: the female carries under her belly a bag, which she opens and shuts at pleasure; and in that she places her young when pursued. Here are three sorts of squirrels; that called the flying squirrel, will leap 40 paces and more, from one tree to another. This little animal is easily tamed, and is very lively, except when asleep, which is often the case; and he puts up wherever he

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can find a place, in one's sleeve, pocket or muff; he first pitches on his master, whom he will distinguish among 20 persons. The Canadian porcupine is less than a middling dog; when roasted, he eats full as well as a sucking pig. The hares and rabbits differ little from those in Europe, only they turn grey in winter. There are two sorts of bears here, one of a reddish, and the other of a black colour; but the former is the most dangerous. The bear is not naturally fierce, unless when wounded, or oppressed with hunger. They run themselves very poor in the month of July, when it is somewhat dangerous to meet them; and they are said to support themselves during the winter, when the snow lies from four to six feet deep, by sucking their paws. Scarce any thing among the Indians is undertaken with greater solemnity than hunting the bear; and an alliance with a noted bear-hunter, who has killed several in one day, is more eagerly sought after than that of one who has rendered himself famous in war. The reason is, because the chase supplies the family with both food and raiment.

Of the feathered creation, they have eagles, falcons, goshawks, tercols, partridges, grey, red, and black, with long tails, which they spread out as a fan, and make a very beautiful appearance; woodcocks are scarce in Canada, but snipes, and other water-game, are plentiful. A Canadian raven is said by some writers to eat as well as a pullet, and an owl better. Here are black birds, swallows, and larks; no less than twenty-two different species of ducks, and a great number of swans, turkeys, geese, bustards, teal, water-hens, cranes, and other large water-fowl; but always at a distance from houses. The Canadian woodpecker is a beautiful bird. Thrushes and goldfinches are found here; but the chief Canadian bird of melody

dy is the white-bird, which is a kind of ortolan, very showy, and remarkable for announcing the return of spring. The fly-bird is thought to be the most beautiful of any in nature; with all his plumage, he is no bigger than a cock-chaffer, and he makes a noise with his wings like the humming of a large fly.

Some writers are of opinion that the fisheries in Canada, if properly improved, would be more likely to enrich that country than even the fur trade. The river St. Lawrence contains perhaps the greatest variety of any in the world, and these in the greatest plenty and of the best sorts.

Besides the great variety of other fish in the rivers and lakes, are sea-wolves, sea cows, porpoises, the lencornet, the goberque, the sea-plaife, salmon, trout, turtle, lobsters, the chaourafou, sturgeon, the archigau, the gilthead, tunny, shad, lamprey, smelts, conger eels, mackarel, soals, herrings, anchovies, and pilchards. The sea-wolf, so called from its howling, is an amphibious creature; the largest are said to weigh 2000 pounds; their flesh is good eating: but the profit of it lies in the oil, which is proper for burning, and currying of leather; their skins make excellent coverings for trunks, and though not so fine as Morocco leather, they preserve their freshness better, and are less liable to cracks. The shoes and boots made of those skins let in no water, and, when properly tanned, make excellent and lasting covers for seats. The Canadian sea-cow is larger than the sea-wolf, but resembles it in figure: it has two teeth of the thickness and length of a man's arm, that, when grown, look like horns, and are very fine ivory as well as its other teeth. Some of the porpoises of the river St. Lawrence are said to yield a hoghead of oil, and of their skins waistcoats are made, which are ex-

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cessive strong and musket proof. The lencronet is a kind of kuttle-fish, quite round, or rather oval; there are three sorts of them, which differ only in size; some being as large as a hoghead, and others but a foot long; they catch only the last, and that with a torch: they are excellent eating. The goberque has the taste and smell of a small cod. The sea-plaife is good eating; they are taken with long poles armed with iron hooks. The chaourafou is an armed fish, about five feet long, and as thick as a man's thigh, resembling a pike; but is covered with scales that are proof against a dagger: its colour is a silver grey; and there grows under his mouth a long bony substance, ragged at the edges. One may readily conceive, that an animal so well fortified is a ravager among the inhabitants of the water: but we have few instances of fish making prey of the feathered creation, which this fish does, however, with much art. He conceals himself among the canes and reeds, in such a manner that nothing is to be seen besides his weapons, which he holds raised perpendicularly, above the surface of the water: the fowls, which come to take rest, imagining the weapon to be only a withered reed, perch upon it, but they are no sooner alighted, than the fish opens his throat, and makes such a sudden motion to seize his prey, that it seldom escapes him. The fish is an inhabitant of the lakes. The sturgeon is both a fresh and salt-water fish, taken on the coast of Canada and the lakes, from eight to twelve feet long, and proportionably thick. There is a small kind of sturgeon, the flesh of which is very tender and delicate. The achigan, and the gilthead, are fish peculiar to the river St. Lawrence. Some of the rivers breed a kind of crocodile, that differs but little from those of the Nile.

Before

Before the late war, the banks of the river St. Lawrence, above Quebec, were vastly populous, but we cannot precisely determine the number of French and English settled in this province, who are undoubtedly upon the encrease. The different tribes of Indians in Canada are almost innumerable; but these people are observed to decrease in population where the Europeans are most numerous, owing chiefly to the immoderate use of spirituous liquors, of which they are excessively fond. But as liberty is the ruling passion of the Indians, we may naturally suppose that as the Europeans advance, the former will retreat to more distant regions.

All the accounts I have seen of Quebec are so faulty and deficient, that, I believe, I shall not displease you by a true representation of this capital of New France. It indeed merits your knowledge, were it only on account of the singularity of its situation, for perhaps it is the only city in the world, that can boast a fresh water harbour, capable of containing one hundred men of war of the line, at one hundred and twenty leagues distance from the sea. It lies on the most navigable river in the universe.

The river St. Lawrence up to the isle of Orleans, that is, for about one hundred and twelve leagues from its mouth, is no where less than from four or five leagues broad, but above that isle it narrows so, that before Quebec it is not above a mile over. Hence this place got the name of Quebeis, or Quebec, which in the Algonquin tongue signifies a straitning, or strait. The Abenakis, whose language is a dialect of the Algonquin, call it Quelibec, which signifies a place shut up or concealed, because, as you enter from the little river of Chandiere, by which these savages  
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come to Quebec from Acadia, the point of Levy, which jets out beyond the isle of Orleans, entirely hides the south channel of the river St. Lawrence, as the isle of Orleans that on the north; so that from thence, the port of Quebec appears like a large bason, or bay, land-locked on all sides.

The first object, which presents itself on entering the road, is a beautiful cascade, or sheet of water, about thirty foot broad, and forty high, which appears just at the entry of the little channel of the isle of Orleans, and is seen from that long point on the south of the river, which, as I observed, hides the isle of Orleans. This cascade is called the fall of Montmorency, and the point, the point of Levy, in honour of two successive viceroys of new France; viz. the admiral Montmorency, and his nephew the duke of Ventadour. One would naturally conclude that so plentiful a fall of water, which never decreases, should proceed from a large river. It is however only supplied by an inconsiderable brook, which in some places is not ankle deep, but it never dries up, and issues from a fine lake, about twelve leagues distant from the fall.

The city lies a league higher on the same side, and in the place where the river is narrowest. But between it and the isle of Orleans is a bason, a full league in diameter every way, into which the river St. Charles empties itself from the north-west. Quebec stands exactly between the river and Cape Diamond, which advances out behind it. The anchorage, or road, is opposite in twenty five fathom, good ground: however when the wind blows hard at north-east, ships often drive, but without danger.

When Samuel Champlain founded this city in one thousand six hundred and eight, the tide sometimes  
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flow'd to the foot of the rock; since that time the river has by degrees retreated, and left dry a large space of ground, on which the lower town is built, and which at present is sufficiently elevated above the water mark, to secure it from any fears of inundation. The first thing you meet at landing is an open place of a middling compass, and irregular form, with a row of houses in front tolerably built, having the rock behind them, so that they have no great depth. These form a pretty long street, which take up all the breadth of the ground, and extend from right to left to two passages which lead to the high town. This opening is bounded on the left by a small church, and on the right by two rows of houses running parallel to each other. There is also another range of buildings between the church and the port, and along the shore, as you go to Cape Diamond; there is a pretty long row of houses on the edge of a bay, called the Bay of Mothers; this port may be regarded as a kind of suburb to the lower town.

Between this suburb and the latter you ascend to the high town, by a passage so steep, that they have been obliged to cut steps in the rock, so that it is not only practicable on foot, but as you turn from the lower town to the right hand, there is a way more easy, with houses on each side. In the place where these two passages meet, begins the high town towards the river, for there is another part of the lower town towards the river St. Charles. The first building you meet, as you ascend from the right hand, is the episcopal palace; the left is surrounded with houses. As you advance about twenty paces further, you find yourself between two squares. That on the left is the place of arms, adjoining to the fort, which is the residence of the governor-general; opposite to it is the convent

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convent of Recollects, and part of the remainder of the square is surrounded with well-built houses:

In the square on the right stands the cathedral church, which is the only parish church in the city. The seminary lies on one side in a corner, formed by the great river and the river St. Charles; opposite the cathedral is the Jesuits college, and in the space between handsome buildings. From the place of arms run two streets, crossed by a third, and which form a large square or isle, entirely taken up by the church and convent of Recollects. The second square has two descents to the river of St. Charles, one very steep, joining to the seminary, with but few houses; the other near the Jesuits inclosure, which winds very much, has the hospital on one side about midway, and is bordered with small houses. This goes to the palace, the residence of the intendant of the province. On the other side the Jesuits College near their church is a pretty long street, with a convent of Ursuline nuns. As to the rest, the high town is built on a foundation of rock, partly marble and partly slate; it has greatly increased within twenty years past.

Such is the topography of Quebec, which takes up a considerable extent. The houses are large, and all of stone, yet there are reckoned but about seven thousand souls. To give a fuller idea of this city, I shall now speak of its principal edifices, and conclude with its fortifications.

The church in the lower town was built in consequence of a vow made during the siege of Quebec, in one thousand six hundred and ninety. It is consecrated by the name of our lady of victory, and serves as a chapel of ease to the inhabitants of the lower town. The building is plain, its chief ornament being its neatness and simplicity. Some sisters of the

congregation are settled between this church and the port; their number is four or five, and they keep a school.

The bishop's palace is a long quadrangle, and a fine structure.

The cathedral would make but a mean figure in one of the smallest French towns; judge then if it merits to be the only episcopal see of the French empire in America, an empire of greater extent than that of the ancient Romans. Its architecture, the choir, the grand altar, and chapels have all the air of a country church. The most tolerable part is a very high tower, solidly built, and which at a distance makes no ill appearance. The seminary, which joins this church, is a large square, and has all the conveniences proper to this climate. From the garden you see the road, and the river St. Charles, as far the sight can reach.

The fort is a handsome building with two wings. You enter by a spacious and regular court, but there is no garden, because it is built on the ridge of a rock. This defect is supplied in some measure by a fine gallery, with a balcony, or ballustrade, which surrounds the building. It commands the road, from the middle of which a speaking trumpet may be heard, and you see all the lower town under your feet. Leaving the fort to the left, you cross a pretty large esplanade, and by an easy descent you reach the summit of Cape Diamond, which forms a natural platform. Besides the beauty of the prospect hence, you breathe the purest air, and may see numbers of porpoises, white as snow, playing on the surface of the waters. On this Cape also are found a kind of diamonds, more beautiful than those of Alencan; I have seen some as well cut by nature, as if they had been done by the ablest artist. Formerly they were abundant here, and  
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hence this Cape took its name; but at present they are rarely found. The descent on the side of the country is yet more easy than that from the esplanade.

The fathers Recollect have a large and fine church, such as might even do them honour at Versailles. It is neatly wainscotted, and adorned with a large gallery, a little clumsy, but the work around well wrought. This part is the work of a lay-brother; nothing is wanting, but it would be proper to remove some pictures coarsely daubed, the rather as F. Luke has painted others, which need not such foils. The convent is answerable to the church, large, strongly built, and commodious, with a spacious garden, kept in good order.

The convent of the Ursulines has suffered twice by fire, as well as the seminary. Their revenue is besides so small, and the portions they receive with the young Canadian ladies so inconsiderable, that the first time their monastery was burnt, the government were going to send them back to France. They have however found means to recover themselves each time. They are cleanly and commodiously lodged; this is the effect of the good reputation they have in the colony, as well as owing to their frugality, temperance, and industry. They gild, they embroider, and in general are all employed; what they do is generally in a good taste.

The Jesuits' college is a noble building. It is certain, when Quebec was only a confused heap of French barracks, and huts of savages, this edifice, the only one of stone, except the fort, made some figure. Its situation is no way advantageous, being deprived of the view of the road, which it formerly enjoyed, by the cathedral and seminary, so that it only commands

the adjoining square. The court is small and dirty, and looks like that of a farm-house. The garden is large, and well kept, and is terminated by a small wood, the remains of that ancient forest, which once covered the whole mountain. The church has nothing beautiful without, but a handsome chapel. It is covered with slate, in which it has the advantage of all the churches of Canada, which are only roofed with planks; the inside of it is highly ornamented. The gallery is light, bold, and has a ballustrade of iron, painted, gilt, and delicately wrought. The pulpit is all gilt, and the wood and iron work exquisite. The three altars are well placed, and there are some good pictures. It has no roof, but a flat ceiling, well wrought. The floor is of wood and not stone, which makes this church warm, while others are insupportably cold. I shall not mention the four pillars of a cylindrical form, of porphyry, jet black, without speck, or veins, which La Honton has placed over the great altar. No doubt they would make a better figure than the present ones, which are hollow, and coarsely marbled. This writer had been pardonable, if he had disguised the truth only to beautify the church.

The Hotel Dieu, or hospital of Quebec has two great halls, appropriated to the different sexes. The beds are clean, the sick carefully attended, and every thing commodious and neat. The church lies behind the women's apartment, and has nothing remarkable but the great altar, whose painting is fine. This house is served by the nuns hospitallers of St. Auguste of the congregation of the mercy of JESUS, who first came here from Dieppe. Their apartments are convenient, but according to appearances their funds are too small to make any progress. And as their house is

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is situated on the slope of the hill, on an eminence which commands the river St. Charles, they have a tolerably good prospect.

The house of the intendant is called the palace, because the supreme council assembles here. It is a large building, whose two extremities sink some feet, and to which you ascend by a double flight of steps. The front of the garden, which has a prospect to the river St. Charles, is much more agreeable than that you enter at. The king's magazines form the right side of the court, and the prison lies behind them. The gate you enter at is hid by the mountain, on which stands the high town, and which on this side only presents the eye with a steep and disagreeable rock.

About a quarter of a league in the country stands the general hospital; this is the most beautiful building in Canada, and would be no disgrace to the finest town in France. The Recollects formerly possessed this spot of ground. M. de St. Valier, bishop of Quebec, removed them into the city, bought their right, and laid out one hundred thousand crowns in the building, furniture, and endowment. The only fault of this edifice is its marshy situation; but the river St. Charles in this place, making a turn, its waters do not flow easily, and the evil is without remedy.

The prelate founder has his apartment in the house, where he usually resides; his palace in the city, which he also built, he lets out for the benefit of the poor. He condescends even to officiate as chaplain to the hospital and the nuns, and performs the duties of that place, with a zeal and assiduity that would be admirable even in an ordinary priest. Tradesmen, or others, whose great age deprives them of the means of getting their subsistence, are received on this founda-

tion as far as the number of beds will allow, and are served by thirty nuns. It is a colony of the Hotel Dieu at Quebec, but to distinguish them, the bishop has made some peculiar regulations, and those admitted here wear a silver cross on their breast. The nuns for the most part are of good families, and as they are often poor, the bishop has given portions to several.

I have already said the number of people does not exceed seven thousand: But amongst these you find a select Beau Monde; whose conversation is desirable; a governor-general with his household, nobility, officers; an intendant with a supreme council, and inferior magistrates, a commissary of marines, a grand provost, a grand hunter, a grand master of waters and forests, whose jurisdiction is the longest in the world, rich merchants, and such as appear to live at ease, a bishop and numerous seminary; two colleges of Recollects and Jesuits, three nunneries, polite assemblies, both at the lady governess's and lady intendant's; so that it is scarce possible but a man must pass his time agreeably in this city.

Indeed every body here contributes to this end, by parties at cards, or of pleasure, the winter in sleds, or on skis, the summer in chaises, or canoes. Hunting is much used, several gentlemen having no other resource. As to news indeed there is little, because the country affords none, and the packets from Europe come all at a time, but then they furnish matter of discourse for some months: The sciences and arts have their turn, and embellish conversation.

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## C H A P. XII.

*Description of Florida.*

**F**LORIDA is a country of North America, situated on the E. side of the Mississippi-river, and extending to the W. frontiers of Carolina and Georgia. The name of Florida has been given by the Spaniards to all that part of the continent, lying N. of the gulph of Mexico, and bordering on the Atlantic ocean to the E. At present it has different names: for within these limits are comprised most of the English colonies in North America, and those parts called by the French Louisiana, and New France. But some separate Florida from New France on the N. by the Apalachian mountains, and the gulph of Mexico on the S. Florida Proper is, at present, that peninsula lying between Georgia and Cape Florida, between lat. 25 and 30 N. and between long. 81 and 85 W. the principal, and almost the only place possessed by the Spaniards, being the town of St. Augustine, which is defended by a fort a little way from it. But the town is very small, and the fort not able to resist the usual force employed in a siege, though it has baffled some attempts made by the English to take it in the late war with Spain: but it must be allowed to have been with a force hardly equal to that of the garrison, and in want of the proper necessaries for a siege. The cape of Florida is situated in lat. 25. 20 N. long. 80. 20. W.

The air of Florida is pure and temperate, and the country, in general, healthy: being but a few degrees N. of the tropic of Cancer. It is subject rather to

heat than cold: but though the former is sometimes very great, it is tempered by the sea-breezes; and towards the Apalachian mountains the air is generally cool. And to this is ascribed, that the natives, who are of an olive-colour, and well shaped, are of a large size, more robust and agile, and longer lived than the Mexicans.

The country abounds with all sorts of timber and fruit trees, especially oaks, firs, pines, but these last without bearing fruit, nut-trees, small cherry-trees, mulberry-trees, both white and red lentisques, limes, chestnut, cedar, laurel, and palm-trees, with vines, which grow naturally, of which last is a kind whose grapes are larger and better than those in France; prune, or plumb-trees, the fruit of which is very delicious: these they eat plentifully from the trees, and keep some dried for winter-provision; perhaps these plumbs are what are otherwise called piakimines; they have also logwood, and many other dying woods, shrubs, fustic, &c. But the tree most valued in this country is sassafras, which the natives of Florida called palama, or pavama; and large quantities of it are exported, every year, from this country. It never rises to a greater height than a small pine. It grows on the shore, and on the mountains; but always in a soil neither too dry, nor too moist. The drink made of it is light, has an aromatic taste and smell, resembling that of fennel, and is hot in the second degree. When several trees of sassafras are together, in the same place, they diffuse an odour, which differs but little from that of cinnamon.

The Spaniards of San Mattheo, and St. Augustine, namely, those on the rivers Dauphine and May, having been almost every one seized with fevers, from using bad food, and muddy unhealthy water, were told

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told by the French to take sassafras in the same manner as they had seen it used by the savages. These cut the root into small pieces, which they boiled in water, then drinking the liquor fasting, and at their meals, it perfectly cured them. Several other experiments have been made with it: and if we may believe them, there is hardly any malady which can withstand the efficacy of this drink. It was their sole remedy, and universal preservative in Florida: but when they are scarce of provisions they do not use it, because it would create an eager appetite, still more insupportable than any disorder whatever. They add, that sassafras is an admirable specific against the venereal distemper. But it appears that the savages have recourse more frequently to an herb the French call esquine, not only against this terrible disorder, but against all those that are contagious. In several maladies they cut in little bits the roots, small boughs, and leaves of the sassafras, and make a decoction in the following manner. They steep an ounce of it for a whole night in twelve pounds of water; then they boil all this on a gentle fire, till the water is evaporated to a third part. But in this, regard must be had to the temperament of the patient, who ought to observe an exact regimen all the time he uses this remedy. It is even assured, that this decoction is very pernicious, when the malady is inveterate, or the patient very weak. Some, before they use this remedy, purge themselves very strongly; and this is the surest way: but others are content to make use of this decoction for their common drink, mixing a little wine with it, and use no previous evacuation.

It is certain that sassafras has always been looked upon as an excellent remedy against complaints in the stomach and breast; and generally against all maladies

which proceed from cold. Francis Ximenes relates, that happening to be in the bay of Ponco de Leon, and in great want of water, he bethought himself to cut some sassafras into small pieces, and steep it in a sort of water, almost as salt as that of the sea; and that at the end of eight days he drank of the water, and found it very sweet.

Among the shrubs of this country, the most remarkable is *caffina*, or *apalachine*; and among their simples, they particularly boast of *apoyomati*, or *patzifranda*; which the aforesaid Ximenes describes, as having leaves which resemble those of leeks, but longer, and more slender: its stalk is a sort of rush, full of pulp, knotty, and a cubit and a half in height. The flower is small and narrow, the root slender, very long, full of knots or bunches, round and hairy. The Spaniards call these, *chapelets de Sainte Helena*, and the French, *palenotes*. These small knobs, when cut and exposed to the sun, become very hard, black in the inside, and white without. They have an aromatic smell, nearly resembling that of *Galangals*. They are hot and dry in the third degree; something astringent and resinous: however, they are not to be met with but in moist and watery places.

The savages, after bruising the leaves of this plant between two stones, procure from hence a juice, with which they rub their bodies all over, after bathing; being persuaded, that it fortifies the skin, and communicates an agreeable odour to it. The Spaniards have learned of them also to reduce this simple to a powder, which they take in wine, when they are attacked with the stone, and for diseases of the reins caused by some obstruction. They bruise it; and take it in broth for disorders of the breast. They apply it in plaisters for stopping the too great velocity of the blood,

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blood, fortifying the stomach, and curing pains of the matrix. And lastly, it is pretended, that upon all this coast of Florida to Mexico, they sometimes gather ambergris, the best of which is worth its weight in gold.

The many rivers with which Florida is watered, not only abound with fish, but render it inferior to no country, either in pleasantness or fertility. The coast indeed is sandy; but a little further from the sea the soil is so good as to yield all sorts of grains, without the least trouble in the world. The meadows abound with grass, and the woods swarm with deer, goats, roebucks, two kinds of lions, leopards, wolves, hares, rabbits, &c. With regard to the winged species, here are vast numbers of turkeys, partridges, parrots, pelicans, bustards, pheasants, pigeons, ring-doves, turtles, black-birds, thrushes, herons, storks, cranes, snipes, eagles, goshawks, falcons, and all birds of prey; swans, geese, ducks, and many others peculiar to America, the most beautiful in the world both for variety of feathers, and delicate colours.

Almost every where they have two crops of Indian corn in a year, and in some parts of the country, three: and it is said, that when the new crop comes in, they throw away a great part of the old for want of room in their granaries. All along the coast, and two or three hundred miles up the country from the sea, they have the root mandihoca, of which the cassava flour and bread is made in the greatest part of America, betwixt the two tropics; and it is reckoned as good as our manchet, and six times cheaper. Here is another sort of grain like our oats, and when rightly prepared, exceeds our best out-meal. It grows spontaneously in marshy places, and by the sides of rivers, like rushes. The Indians, when it is ripe, take hand-

fuls, and shake them into their canoes, and what escapes them, falling into the water, produces, without any further trouble, the next year's crop. In Florida they have also the tunas, a most delicious food, especially in hot weather; and so wholesome, that when ripe, Europeans call it the cordial julap.

There is good beef, veal, and mutton, with plenty of hogs, especially on the sea coast; acorns, coconuts, and other mast. Here are not only cattle for draught of the Tartar breed, but horses for the saddle: the latter so incredibly cheap, that one may be purchased for five shillings worth of European goods at prime cost, and a good one for an ordinary hatchet. Their cattle have a long black sort of hair, or rather wool, so fine, that with some small mixture, it is thought it would be preferable to common wool for hats, cloathing, and other necessaries.

Besides the above-mentioned wild animals, they have elks, or buffaloes, panthers, bears, wild cats, beavers, otters, foxes, racoons, squirrels, martins, and a rat with a bag under his throat, into which it receives its young, when forced to fly. Though cotton grows wild here in great plenty, yet it is not manufactured: and some of the most civilized nations in this country, especially those of the better sort, are cloathed with a substance like good coarse serviceable linen in Europe, very white, and made of the inward bark of trees that abound here, and said to be as durable. Of the same, and other barks, they make thread, cords, and ropes.

Pearls are to be found here in great abundance; But the Indians value our beads more. Upon the whole coast, for 200 leagues, are several vast beds of oysters: and in fresh water lakes, and rivers, is a sort of shell-fish between a muscle, and a pearl-oyster, in

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in which is found abundance of pearls, and many larger than ordinary. Here are two sorts of cochineal; one of the wild sort, which is far inferior to what is cultivated in the gardens and fields; and the plant of which indigo is made, is very common in most of the south parts of this province.

From Cape Florida to Mexico, both to the E. and W. of the Mississippi, is to be found also, especially after high south winds, a sort of stone-pitch, which the Spaniards, who call it copper, moisten with grease, and use it for their vessels in the nature of pitch; than which they say it is much better in hot countries, it not being apt to melt. On both sides the Mississippi are several springs and lakes which produce excellent salt. The plants producing hemp and flax are very common in this country; and that sort of silk grass, of which are made such stuffs as come from the East Indies, called herb-stuffs. Vast flights of pigeons come hither at certain seasons of the year for above a league in length, and half as broad; which roost on the trees in such numbers, that they often break the boughs. In many places are mines of pit-coals, and iron-ore is also found near the surface of the earth, from which a metal is extracted little inferior to steel. Here are also some mines of quicksilver, or rather the mineral from which it is extracted, and only used by the natives to paint their faces and bodies in time of war, or on high festivals. In diverse parts of Florida are also great quantities of orpiment and sandaracha.

With regard to the topography of Florida to the E. of the Mississippi, Mr. Cox says, that about twelve miles above its mouth a branch of it runs out on the E. side, which, after a course of 160 miles, falls into the N. E. end of the great bay of Spirito Santo. That at first it is very narrow and shallow, but by the accession

cession of several large streams and rivulets, it becomes a very pretty river, navigable by the greatest boats and floops; and forms pleasant lakes, particularly Pontchartrain.

About sixty leagues higher up on the E. side is the river of Yasona, which comes into the Mississippi, two or three hundred miles out of the country; and its borders are inhabited by the nations of the Yafones, Tounicas, Kowronas, &c. Sixty leagues higher is the river and nation of Chongue, with some others to the E. Thirty leagues higher, the Mississippi receives a river which issues from a lake about ten miles distant, twenty miles long, and receives four large rivers.

1. The Casqui, or Cufates, the most southern of these being the river of the Cherokees, a mighty nation, among which are its principal sources. It comes from the S. E. and its heads are among the mountains which separate this country from Carolina, and is the great road of the traders from thence to the Mississippi, and intermediate places. Forty leagues above the Chicazas, this river forms four delicate islands, namely, Tahogale, Kakick, Cochali, and Taly; and these have each a nation inhabiting them.

2. The river Onespere, which, about 30 leagues to the N. E. of the lake, divides into two branches, of which the most southern is called the Black-river; but with very few inhabitants upon either, these having been destroyed, or driven away by the Iroquois. The heads of this river are situated in that vast ridge of mountains which run on the back of Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, through which mountains is a short passage to the sources of the great river Polomack on the E. side of them; by which the Indians may one time or other, in conjunction with the French of Mississippi, insult and harass our colonies just mentioned.

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3. The river Ohio, or Hohio, is more to the N. It is a vast river which comes from the back of New York, Maryland, and Virginia. In the Indian language it signifies a fair river, and is navigable for six hundred miles. It runs through the most pleasant countries in the world, and receives ten or twelve rivers, besides innumerable rivulets. Several nations formerly dwelt on this river, as the Chawanoes, or Chouanons, a great people, who, with many others, were totally extirpated by the Iroquois, who made this river their usual road, when they entered into a war with the nations either to the S. or W. 4. The most northerly river which runs into the said lake, and which comes, like the rest, from the N. E. is the Ouabacha, or St. Jeremy's river. Twenty-five leagues above the Ohio is the great island of the Tamaraos, with a nation opposite to it that goes by its name; and another by that of Catiokia, who dwell on the banks of the Chepuffo. Thirty leagues higher is the river Checagou, or the river of the Illinonecks, corruptly called by the French the river of the Illinois; which nation lived upon this river in about sixty towns, and consisted of 20,000 fighting men, before they were destroyed by the Iroquois, and driven to the W. of the Mississippi. This is a large pleasant river; and about 250 miles above its entrance into the Mississippi is divided into two branches: the lesser comes from N. and by E. and its source is within four or five miles of the W. side of the great lake of the Illenonecks, or Michigan. The largest comes directly from the E. and issues from a morass within two miles of the river Miamiha, which runs into the same lake. On the S. E. side is a communication between these two rivers, by a land carriage, of two leagues, about fifty miles to the S. E. of the lake. The course of the  
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Checagou is above four hundred miles navigable above half way by ships; and most of the rest by sloops and barges. It receives many small rivers, and forms two or three lakes; one especially called Pimeteovih, twenty miles long, and three broad, which affords great quantities of good fish; as the adjacent country does game both of fowls and beasts. Besides the Illinonecks, are the nations Pronaria, Cascaquia, and Caracotanon; and on the N. branch dwell part of the nation of the Mascoutans. On the S. E. bank of the river Checagou, M. de Sale erected a fort which he called Crevecoeur, or Heart-breaker, on account of the troubles he met with here. The fort stands about half way betwixt the gulph of Mexico and Canada; and was formerly the usual road of the French to and from both, till they discovered a shorter and easier passage by the rivers Ouabacke and Ohio, which rise at a small distance from the lake Erie, or some rivers entering into it. Eighty leagues higher, the Mississippi receives the Misconsiag, a river resembling that of the Illinonecks in breadth, depth, and course; and the country adjacent to its branches is alike pleasant and fruitful. Sixty miles before it falls into the Mississippi, it is joined by the river Kikapouz, which is also navigable, and comes a great way from the N. W. Eighty miles farther, almost directly E. is a communication by land-carriage of two leagues, with the river Misconqui, which runs to the N. E. and after a passage of 150 miles from the land carriage, falls into the great bay of Ponkeontamis, or the Puans, which joins on the N. W. side to the great lake of the Illinonecks. Higher up the Mississippi is the river Chabadeba, above which the Mississippi forms a fine lake twenty miles long, and eight or ten broad. Ten miles above that lake is the river Tortoises, a large

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large fair river, which runs into the country a good way to the N. E. and is navigable forty miles by the largest boats.

With regard to the rivers which do not communicate with the Mississippi, only two large ones are betwixt it and the peninsula of Florida, namely, the Coza, Coussa, or Mobile, and Palache. The distance between these two rivers to the E. is about 190 miles; and the coast between them is very deep and bold. The chief harbour betwixt them also, and indeed the best upon all this coast of the gulph of Mexico, is Pensacola.

In lat.  $26^{\circ}$ .  $56'$  and a good way upwards, the coast of the main land of Florida cannot be approached, by reason of its being bordered with islands and peninsulas; most of which are very low and barren, and between these hardly canoes of bark can pass. Every where on this coast is shelter for vessels, and sometimes a little fishing and hunting. It appears that few savages inhabit this part of the country. But this coast is the kingdom, as it were, of oysters, as the great bank of Newfoundland, the gulph and river of St. Lawrence, are that of cod and haddock. All the low lands on the coast, as far as they can be approached, are bordered with mangler-trees, to which adhere a prodigious quantity of small oysters, of an exquisite taste. Others a great deal larger, and not so delicious, are to be met with in the sea; and that in such numbers, that they form shelves therein, which at first one takes for rocks level with the surface of the water.

French Florida, or New France, as some accounts call it, is situated between  $30$  and  $36$  degrees of N. lat. namely from Cape François to Charles-fort. Its soil is commonly fertile, well watered, intersected by various

various rivers, some of which are pretty considerable, as may be seen above; all of them extremely abounding with fish.

It has long been thought that in this country are mines of gold, silver, and copper; also pearls and precious stones. But in proportion as things have been more narrowly examined, it has been found that indeed in some places there is copper, and pearls of a sorry kind in two or three rivers: but that the little gold and silver which has been observed to be in the hands of the savages, came from the Spaniards, a great number of whom were shipwrecked at the entrance of the gulph of Bahama, and the adjacent coast of Florida. Their vessels, for the most part, being laden with the riches of America, were often cast away upon the sand banks, which are thick sown all along this coast: so that the savages were careful to make advantage of their misfortune; and it is remarked also, that those of them who are nearest the sea were much better provided with the spoils than such as are more inland.

These barbarians are of a deeper hue, and more inclining to red, than the savages of Canada; and this is the effect of an oil with which they rub their bodies, the nature of which it has not hitherto been possible to discover. The difference, in other respects, betwixt them and the other people of North America is hardly perceivable. They are less cloathed, because they inhabit a warmer country. They are more subject to their chiefs, which the French accounts call *Parouftis*, or *Paracouftis*, and to which the Castilians give the general appellation of *Caciques*. But whatever idea the Spanish historians would willingly convey to us about the power and riches of these *Caciques*, they are reducible to very little at bottom.

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brave, and fierce, yet for all that tractable, when they are treated with mildness and discretion. They are not so cruel towards their prisoners as the Canadians are; and though they be men-eaters, as these are, they do not push inhumanity so far as to take pleasure in seeing the sufferings of an unhappy wretch, or make an art of tormenting him. They content themselves with retaining in slavery both the women and children which they take in war: they sacrifice men to the sun, and it is made a duty of religion among them to eat the flesh of such victims.

The Paraoustis are always at the head of their troops when they march, and in the field of battle, holding a head-piece, or a kind of armed mace in one hand, and an arrow in the other. The baggage is carried by hermaphrodites, of which they have a great number in this country, if we may credit Rene de Laudonniere, who resided long among them. These people have also the usage of scalping their enemies, or taking the skin off their heads, after killing them; and in the rejoicings, which follow a victory, the old women lead the procession, having these hairy scalps on their heads; at which time one would take them for real furies. The Paraoustis can determine nothing on occasions of importance, without first assembling the council, where, before they speak on business, they begin with swallowing a large draught of cassina, or apalachine, and afterwards they distribute some to all those who compose the assembly.

The sun is in some measure the only deity among the Floridians: all their temples are consecrated to him; but the worship they pay varies according to the different districts. It is given out, that their morals are very much corrupted throughout all Florida; and that the venereal disease, which the isles of America have

have communicated, is very common among them. This at least is certain, that the higher you approach to Florida, in coming from Canada, the more disorders you find among the savages; and what lewdness is at this day to be seen among the Iroquois, and other nations still more northerly, is in a good measure derived from the intercourse they have had with those of the western and southern countries. Polygamy is not allowed in Florida, except to the Paraoullis, who do not even give the name of wife but to one of their women. The others are no more than real slaves; and their children have no right to the succession of the father, those of the first being only legitimate.

Great honours are paid to these chiefs during their life, and still more after their death. The place where they are buried is surrounded with arrows stuck in the ground; and the cup, out of which they used to drink, is placed upon the tomb. The whole village mourns, and fasts for three days. The hut of the deceased is burnt with every thing he himself made use of, as if nobody were worthy to occupy them after him. Lastly, the women cut off their hair and strew it over the grave, to which several go by turns for the space of six months, in order to bewail the dead three times a-day. The Paraoullis of the neighbouring villages come also to pay their last duty to the deceased.

Almost the same ceremonies are used upon the death of any of the ministers of their religion, who are likewise the physicians of the country, and differ but little from the jugglers of Canada, unless it be that they are more addicted to sorceries; and besides they have to do with a more superstitious people. Almost the whole education which they give their children consists in training them up to run well, without any distinction.

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distinction of sex; and prizes are proposed for such as excel in this exercise. Hence it comes that all of them, both men and women, are of surprising agility. One perceives them at the top of the highest trees before, as it were, one sees them climb. They are very dexterous in drawing the bow, and darting a kind of javelin, which they use in war with success. Lastly, they swim very fast, and even the women, though loaded with their children, which they carry in their arms, or on their backs, cross great rivers by swimming.

M. Albert, having visited several Parauustis, one of them, whose name was Andusta, invited him to a very singular kind of festival, celebrated in honour of a deity which is called Toya. By the laws of the country no strangers are admitted to it: so that great precaution was taken to let the French see it, without their being perceived by the natives. Andusta first led them into a large place, or area, of a round figure, which the women had cleaned very carefully. Next morning at break of day a number of savages, painted with different colours, and adorned with plumage, came out of the hut of the Parauusti, who was also upon the area, round which they ranged themselves in good order. After this three Jonas, for so they call their priests, appeared in an odd dress, with I know not what instrument in their hands. They advanced to the middle of the place, where after they danced a long time, by turning several times round, and singing in a very mournful tone, the assembly answered them in the same note.

This they begun three times, when every one of them taking their flight all at once, as if some panic had seized them, set on running with all their might towards the neighbouring wood. The women after  
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this took their husbands places, and did nothing else for the rest of the day but mourn and wail: yet at intervals they seemed to be furious, threw themselves upon their daughters, made incisions on their arms with muscle-shells, filled their hands with the blood which issued from the gashes, and flung it into the air, crying out thrice, Hé Toya. Andusta, who kept company with the Frenchmen which he had placed in a little corner, where they could not be perceived, was not a little disturbed upon seeing them laugh; though he took no notice of it at that time.

The men continued for two days and two nights in the woods; after which, coming back to the place whence they had departed, they danced a-new, and sung, but in a gayer strain: they afterwards played several pretty diverting tricks; and the whole ended in a grand feast, at which they eat to excess; yet the actors of the farce had tasted nothing all the time.

One of them told a Frenchman, that during the two days in the wood, the Jonas had called up the God Toya, who shewed himself to them: that they had put several questions to him, all which he answered; but that they durst not reveal any thing they had heard, for fear of drawing the Jonas displeasure upon them. We next shall give some further particulars about these savages.

The natives of both sexes wear only a deer-skin round their waist: their legs and arms, in particular, are stained by certain juices, with several figures which are indelible: they have long black hair, which naturally falls down upon their shoulders; but they have a method of combing, curling, and twisting it about their heads; so that it looks very agreeably. Their weapons are bows and arrows, which they manage with great dexterity; and they point the latter  
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with fish-bones, or sharp stones. They are subtle and dissembling, above all other Americans; but withal bold and courageous. The women are remarkably graceful and well-shaped: and are not only capable of performing all domestic offices, but also bear their husbands company when they go either to hunt or to war. All their corn is laid up in public granaries, and distributed out to every family according to its number; the whole stock being so contrived as to serve but half the year, though the soil is capable of yielding much more than they have occasion for: but they sow no more than what serves them for that term; and they live the rest of the year upon roots, dried fruit, flesh and fish, and are particularly fond of the crocodile's flesh, which is delicious and smells like musk. Their common drink is water; but are never without a good quantity of liquor called cassina, which they drink as we do tea. It is an infusion of the leaves of a tree of the same name and mentioned above, which is much valued for its diuretic quality.

With regard to that part of Florida which borders on the gulph of Mexico, England has had an undoubted title to it ever since the reign of Henry VII. by whose commission Sebastian Cabot discovered all this coast fronting the Atlantic ocean from lat. 28 to 50 N. about twenty years before it had been visited by any other Europeans: then indeed the S. part of this continent towards the gulph, or streights of Bahama, was visited by the Spaniards under Juan Ponce de Leon; as it was ten years afterwards by Vasquez Ayllon, in 1527 by Pamphilo Navarrez, and in 1534 by Ferdinando Soto: but their cruelties so enraged the natives, that they expelled all one after another. The last expedition of the Spaniards hither was in 1558, by order of Velasco, then viceroy of Mexico: but falling  
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into feuds almost as soon as they came, they returned without making any settlement; nor have they ever since made any on this part of the continent, except at St. Augustine and St. Matthew.

This province, called by the French Louisiana, was named Carolina by king Charles I. in a grant which he made of it, October 30, in the 5th year of his reign, to Sir Thomas Heath, knight, his attorney-general. The extent of this grant, as set out in the charter, was all the continent on the W. of Carolina from the river St. Mattheo; situated, according to the patent, in lat. 31. N. (though since found to lie exactly in lat. 30. 10.) to the river Passo Magno, in lat. 36. N. and extending in long. from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean: a tract which was not then possessed by any Christian power, together with all the islands of Veanis and Bahama, and several adjacent islands lying S. from the continent within the said degrees of lat. to be all called by the name of the Carolina islands. Sir Robert Heath conveyed Carolina to the earl of Arundel, who was at the expence of planting several parts of the country; but he was prevented from further improvements by the war with Scotland, in which he was general for king Charles; and afterwards by the civil wars in England, and the lunacy of his son. At the beginning of Cromwell's protectorate, captain Watts (whom king Charles II. knighted, and made governor of St. Christopher's) being upon this coast, and meeting with one Leet an Englishman, who was in great favour with the Paraousti, or petty king of the country, through his influence the English were allowed to trade, and incited to settle here. Not long after this, Paraousti also sent an ambassador to England: and the English had divers tracts of land given them by the Indians, and surveyed the continent

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ment, of which there is a map still extant, for above 200 miles square.

It appears further from a memorial presented to king William III. by the late Dr. Coxe, that the five nations in the territory of New York, (called Iroquois by the French) who have, for above eighty years, voluntarily subjected themselves to the crown of England, and conquered all the country from their own habitations to the Mississippi-river, and even beyond it; made a sale and surrender of all those their conquests and acquisitions in the reign of king James II. to the government of New York: which is another proof of their being the property of the English.

Dr. Coxe, who, by conveyances from one to another after the death of the earl of Arundel, became proprietor of Carolina, sets forth in the abovementioned memorial, that at the expence of several thousand pounds he had discovered divers of its parts; first from Carolina, afterwards from Pennsylvania by the Susquehanah-river: and that then he had made a discovery more to the S. by the great river Ochequiton.

Here it is proper to observe, that in September 1712, the late French king granted letters patent to Mr. Crozat his secretary for the sole trade to this country, by the name of Louisiana, extending above 1000 miles along the coast of the gulph of New Mexico; and almost as much from the said gulph to Canada: and it appears by the patent that the French altered the names of the rivers, harbours, &c. as well as of the country itself, which had been usually called Spanish Florida: and that under a pretence of a new discovery of it, they declared themselves possessors of this vast tract, which had been discovered and possessed for 200 years, partly by the Spaniards, and partly by the English: for by comparing the patent with the

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maps, it is evident, that it inclosed all the English colonies of Carolina, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New England, &c.



## C H A P. XIII.

*An Account of Nova Scotia.—Halifax.*

**T**HIS country was, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, considered as a part of Virginia, and as such was included in the charter of the western company established by King James I.

In the year 1618, Mr, Samuel Argall, governor of Virginia, made a cruising voyage round the coast northwards, as far as Cape Cod in New England, when the Indians informing him that some white men, like himself, were come to inhabit to the northward of them, he being sensible that all the country, as far as it had been discovered by Cabot, belonged to the Virginia company his employers, sailed thither, and found a settlement, with a French ship riding before it. This vessel having but one deck, Sir Samuel soon drove the men from it with his small arms, and having taken the ship, landed his men, marched to the fort, and summoned it to surrender. The French asked time to consider of it; but this being denied, they got privately away, and fled into the woods; upon which the English entered the place, and having lodged there that night, the French came the next day, and surrendered themselves to Sir Samuel, cancelling the patents that had been granted for their settlement by the French king. Sir Samuel now permitted those who chose it, to stay and take a passage to Europe in  
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the fishing vessels, which then frequented that coast, and the rest that were willing to join the English, he took with him to Virginia.

Sir Samuel being then informed, that the French had another settlement at a place they called Port Royal, situated on a bay on the south-west coast of Acadia, sailed thither without delay, and obliged them also to surrender; when resolving that they should quit the country, he made those who did not care to return home, to remove to the river of St. Laurence, where Quebec, now the capital of Canada, has since been built.

In the year 1621, Sir William Aléxander, afterwards created Earl of Stirling, applied to King James I. for a grant of the country to the north of New-England; when it was suggested to that king that the tract of country on the continent of North America, belonging to the crown, being very large, and not likely to be planted by the English in any reasonable time, it would be a very wise and prudent measure, to grant, under the great seal of Scotland, a part of it to his subjects of that kingdom, upon a supposition that it would be more beneficial to them, and more for the interests of these kingdoms, if they went over and settled there, than if, as they frequently did, they removed to Poland, Sweden, and Russia, where there were at that time many thousand Scots families.

These reasons appeared of such weight to King James, that he readily granted a patent to Sir William, and the next year, that gentleman, and some others who were concerned with him, sent a ship with passengers to plant and settle there.

At that time Newfoundland was well known, on account of the fishery, and the ship being late in her voyage, put in, and wintered there. In 1623, they

failed from thence, and made the Cape at the north shore of the island of Cape-Breton, and coasting till they came to Cape Sable in Acadia, they found three good harbours, and went ashore at one of them, which they called St. Luke's Bay. They there found a large river, that had eight fathoms water at ebb, and having sailed up to it, the ship returned to England, and the proprietors published an account of the country, which they described as a kind of paradise. Sir William Alexander himself wrote and published a book on this subject; and King James in order to facilitate this plantation, erected a new order called the knights of Nova Scotia.

Thus that country, called by the French, Acadia, obtained the name of Nova Scotia, or New Scotland, from its being intended to be settled by the Scots; but the scheme of that settlement was unhappily turned into a jobb, and by that means defeated. Afterwards another grant was made of the northern part of the country to Sir David Kirk, from whom the French king bought it, or at least agreed to give him 5000 l. for it. Though it is evident this proprietor had no more right to dispose of the property of the crown in that country, than a nobleman in England has to dispose of his estate to the French king, yet this is an evident proof that the French acknowledged the right by which the proprietor held it, and had so just an opinion of the pusillanimity of King James, as to be in no apprehensions of his vindicating the unalienable rights of the nation.

Oliver Cromwell, however, sent major Sedgwick to dislodge the French from Port Royal, which he did; and though he afterwards consented that a French proprietor should enjoy the country, yet it was upon condition that he should purchase it of the Earl of

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of Stirling, which he afterwards did, and then sold it to Sir Thomas Temple, who was both proprietor and governor at the restoration: after which the French settled there again, and continued in the quiet possession of the country till the year 1690, when they were dispossessed by Sir William Phips, governor of New England; but it was afterwards given up again to the French, by King William III. at the treaty of Ryswick.

In all these changes the island of Cape Breton followed the fate of Nova Scotia, and both continued in the hands of the French till the year 1710, when governor Nicholson made himself master of Port Royal, which was then become a place of great consequence, as it gave the French an opportunity of distressing our trade, to such a degree, that it was properly stiled the Dunkirk of America. The taking of this place was therefore considered as an important service; and Queen Anne, to shew that she would never part with it, gave it her own name, and called it Annapolis Royal. Upon colonel Nicholson's return to England, she made him governor of Nova Scotia, and of Annapolis Royal, and commander of all her majesty's forces there, and in Newfoundland.

Things were in this situation, when the treaty of Utrecht was concluded, by which our right to Nova Scotia was confirmed in the plainest terms, it being there declared, That all the country of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, with all its ancient boundaries, the city of Port Royal, now called Annapolis, and every thing in those parts that depend on lands and islands, together with the dominion, property, and possession of these islands and lands, shall be for ever veiled in the crown of Great Britain: to which the French king added, the exclusion of the subjects of France from

fishing on the coast of Nova Scotia, and within thirty leagues, beginning from Cape Sable, and stretching along to the southwest.

This colony was however much neglected for many years ; for though Nova Scotia had been so long delivered up to the English, yet we had scarce any settlement there except at Annapolis Royal, and Canso, while the French had a number of little towns and villages, scattered along the coast, and on the banks of the rivers; but the English commander at Annapolis was in some degree acknowledged as governor. The country was then divided into ten or twelve districts, and each district annually chose a deputy to be approved by the commander and council at Annapolis. This deputy was a sort of agent for his countrymen the descendants of the French in that district, and reported the state of it from time to time; but in what manner is not difficult to determine. There was no civil power: the French missionaries, who were not only appointed by the bishop of Quebec, but absolutely under his direction in their several districts and villages, acted as the sole magistrates, or justices of the peace; yet all complaints might, if the parties thought proper, be brought before the commander and the council at Annapolis, which was very rarely done.

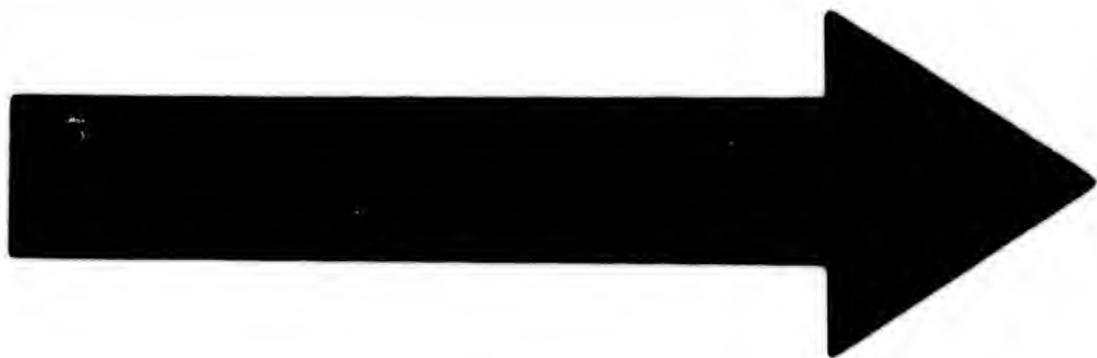
In this wretched situation were these two settlements in the beginning of the last war, surrounded by disguised enemies, continually encroaching, and whose numbers daily increased. At length these descendants of the French, though professedly the subjects of Great Britain, joined with that nation, destroyed Canso, and laid siege to Annapolis, but without success, so that at the conclusion of the peace in the beginning of the year 1749, there were no other English in Nova Scotia, besides the garrison of Annapolis.

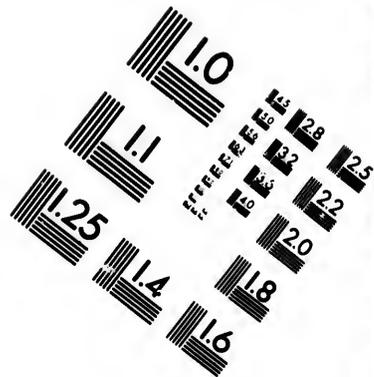
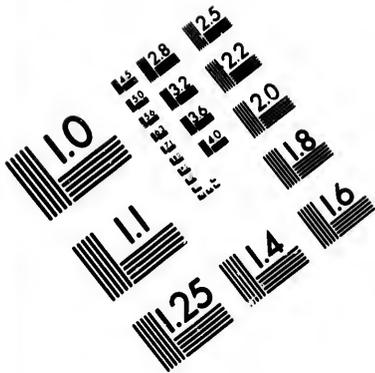
polis, and the inhabitants who lived within a few miles round that place.

However, the peace was no sooner concluded, than the Earl of Halifax projected the complete settlement of Nova Scotia by the English, and animated with the warmest zeal for the honour and interest of his country, resolved to use his utmost endeavours to carry it in the most effectual manner into execution. He with the other lords commissioners of trade and plantations, having gained his Majesty's approbation, they in March 1749, published proposals, offering proper encouragement to such of the officers and private men as after the late conclusion of the peace, had been dismissed his majesty's land and sea-service, and were willing to accept of grants, in order to settle in Nova Scotia. Fifty acres of land in fee-simple were offered to every private soldier or seaman, free from the payment of any quit rents or taxes, for the term of ten years, and at the expiration of that time, they were to pay only one shilling a-year for every fifty acres. But this was not all; every private soldier or seaman who had a family, was to have ten acres for every person of which his family consisted, including women and children; and farther grants were to be made to them on the like conditions, in proportion as their families increased, or to their abilities for cultivating the land.

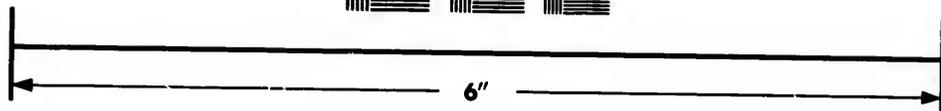
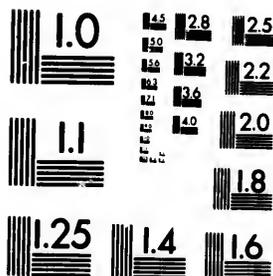
Eighty acres were offered, on the same conditions, to every officer in the land-service under the rank of ensign, and that of lieutenant in the sea-service, and to those who had families, fifteen acres more for every person of which their families consisted.

On the same conditions, 200 acres were to be granted to every ensign, 300 to every lieutenant, 400 to every captain, and 600 to every officer above the rank of captain in the land-service. Every lieutenant





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in the sea-service was to have 400 acres, and every captain 600; while such of the above officers who had families, were offered a further grant of thirty acres over and above their respective quotas, for every person belonging to them.

The same conditions that were proposed to private foldiers and sailors, were also offered to carpenters, shipwrights, smiths, masons, joiners, brickmakers, bricklayers, and all other artificers necessary in building or husbandry.

In short, all who were willing to accept these proposals were to be subsisted with their families, not only during their passage, but for twelve months after their arrival at Nova Scotia, and to be furnished with arms and ammunition, as far as should be thought necessary for their defence; with a proper quantity of materials and utensils for husbandry, clearing and cultivating their lands, erecting houses, carrying on the fishery, and such other purposes as might be found proper for their support.

These generous proposals had all the success that could be desired; and about the beginning of May most of the transports set sail from Portsmouth, with above 3000 families, and soon after others followed from Liverpool and Ireland. This embarkation, which was the largest ever made on such an occasion, was doing at once what in other settlements had not been done under a long course of years. This great number of settlers arrived safe in Chebucto harbour on the 28th of July, after a pleasant passage of between five and six weeks; losing few or none in the voyage, which was in a great measure owing to the ventilators, fixed in the transports; a happy invention then but lately discovered.

On the arrival of this numerous body, they found  
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the Sphinx of twenty guns, which had entered the harbour a few days before, with colonel Cornwallis, their governor, on board. His excellency had been informed of the arrival of the French at Cape Breton, which had been just restored to that nation; he therefore sent for the English garrison from Louisburgh, and they soon after entered the harbour, with the regiments of Hopson and Warburton, on board other transports; the officers bringing with them all their furniture, several milch cows, and other stock, with military stores, and ammunition of all sorts. About the same time there also arrived a company of rangers from Annapolis, and encamped near the new settlers in order to give them assistance and protection.

The next care of the governor, was to pitch upon a proper spot for the first settlement; and as the peninsula appeared preferable, both on account of its commodious situation, and the fertility of the soil, the able-bodied men on board each ship were employed in clearing ground in order to build a town at the south point, at the entrance of Sandwich river; but many objections being soon found against that place, another spot was chosen by the governor, at about the distance of a mile and a half from it, on the side of Chebucto harbour, and on the declivity of a rising ground that commands the whole peninsula, and would shelter the town when built from the north-west winds. The beach they found was a fine gravel, convenient for small boats, the anchorage was every where good for large ships, within gunshot of the town, and small but navigable rivers of fresh and wholesome water flowed round about it.

Here then they made a second, and more successful attempt; and indeed, it would not have been easy to have chosen a more happy situation. They therefore

cleared the ground in as expeditious a manner as possible, and having erected a great wooden house for the governor, with proper storehouses, the ground was laid out so as to form a number of straight and beautiful streets, crossing each other at equal distances, upon a most excellent plan, said to have been formed by the earl of Halifax. The work went on briskly; the people of New England brought several ships laden with planks, door cases, doors, window-frames, and other parts of houses; and the people being employed in ships companies, this created an emulation, that rendered their labours remarkably successful; so that in about three years time, this town, which was named Halifax, from that noble lord, to whom this settlement owed its beginning, was finished, and every family had a good house of their own, of which the master was landlord. Within the same space of time were also erected a church, and wharfs, the town was palisadoed, and other fortifications erected: some land was also cleared for agriculture, and already planted, notwithstanding the opposition they met with from the French, and their tools, the Indians.

To explain this last circumstance, it is necessary to observe, that in the beginning of the settlement, and soon after the landing of the English, one hundred black cattle and some sheep were brought them by land from a French settlement at Minas, a town about thirty miles from the bottom of Bedford Bay; and French deputies also coming to make their submissions, it was proposed to cut a road thither, those deputies promising to contribute fifty men towards carrying on that work. The English also received the promise of friendship and assistance from the Indians, their chiefs waiting upon the governor for that purpose. But these submissions and these promises were soon broken,

broken, by the perfidy of the French court, which disapproved of these proceedings, and resolved to harass the English before their town was built, and their fortifications erected. Instructions were therefore sent from France to be communicated to the descendants of the French in Nova Scotia, and immediately the scene was changed. The French engaged the Indians to use their utmost endeavours to prevent the new colony from proceeding; and the year in which peace was proclaimed and Cape Breton restored, was not expired, when the town began to be frequently attacked in the night; and the English, in a country which in the strongest terms had been secured by treaty to the British crown, could not stir into the adjoining woods, without the danger of being shot, scalped, or taken prisoners. The English however prosecuted the settlement with indefatigable industry, and the town, as has been already mentioned, was soon happily finished.

But it was impossible to clear woods, and plough lands without separating into small parties; and this work was rendered extremely dangerous; for though the French and Indians durst not attack any considerable body of the English, yet they frequently fell upon small parties; and though they had been often repulsed, they always returned whenever they could find an opportunity of doing it to advantage. Complaint of this open war in a time of peace, was now made to the court of France, when his Most Christian Majesty proposed that commissaries should be appointed to settle the bounds of Nova Scotia; but those of the French, endeavouring by all the arts of sophistry to prove, that Nova Scotia, ceded to the English, by the treaty of Utrecht, was no more than the peninsula of that country, the British commissaries justified our claim

claim to the whole, by memorials filled with the strongest and most evident proofs: and the most trifling answers being returned to these, admiral Boscawen was sent to seize the French ships in North America, that England might have once more something to return to France, as an inducement to that faithless nation to adhere to her treaties. But this expedient was in vain; France appeared evidently to have concerted the means of conquering all the British dominions on the continent of America, and a war was entered into to prevent it. During which the town of Halifax became firmly established; and that being the principal station for our men of war, it naturally caused a quick circulation of money, and the inhabitants are in a very prosperous situation.

Nova Scotia is situated in between  $41^{\circ}.30'$  and  $49^{\circ}.20'$  north latitude, and between  $60$  and  $66^{\circ}$  of west longitude; and is bounded by the bay of St. Laurence, on the north-east; by the river of St. Laurence, on the north-west; by New-England, on the south-west, and by the bay of Fundy, and the Atlantic ocean on the east. According to these limits it contains about 420 miles in length, and 380 in breadth. The south eastern part is a large peninsula, extending from the north-east to the south west, and joined to the main land by an isthmus a little above the gulph of Canso. Though the weather is very sharp in winter, yet the air, especially about the town of Halifax, is remarkably clear, so that the severest frosts are frequently accompanied with a fine azure sky, and sunshine: but though the cold in winter is very severe, the summer is hotter than in England.

The coast has the advantage of many bays, harbours, and creeks, and the land is enriched by many rivers, some of which are navigated for a long course by the  
native

native Indians. The harbour of Chebucto, upon which is situated the metropolis, may justly be esteemed one of the finest in the world, and has extraordinary advantages for a fishery. The entrance into it is from the south, with a large island of an irregular form, lying on the north-east side, named Cornwallis Island, from the first governor of Halifax. Betwixt this island and the opposite shore, on the south-west, is a channel deep enough for the largest ships. This island, as well as a smaller one that lies higher up the harbour, named George Island, is very commodiously situated for a fishery, and has conveniencies of all sorts proper for drying and curing fish.

About two miles higher up the harbour, is a river on the south-west side, with a small harbour at its entrance. This river, which was called by the first settlers of Halifax, Sandwich River, is at the mouth about as wide and deep as the Thames at London-bridge, and is salt-water, for about four or five miles up, when it terminates where a small fresh water rivulet falls into it from the north. From the mouth of Sandwich river to the opposite side of the harbour, is about two miles, with good anchoring ground for the largest ships in any part of it, and a fine watering-place on the north-east side: the land on both sides is exceeding high, and in general very rich and fertile, but covered with wood,

About four or five miles north from the above river is a narrow entrance of half a mile into Bedford Bay, which is about twelve miles in circumference, and has several creeks at the bottom of it, abounding with the finest salmon in the greatest plenty: there are also several islands in it; and a great quantity of pines fit for masts grow on the western side of it. This bay,

bay, with the harbour, and Sandwich River, divide the peninsula from the main land.

Upon the opposite shore are several large rivers, among which that of St. John is the most considerable. It is ten leagues distant from the gut of Annapolis, and has a very long course. There are prodigious falls of water near its mouth, no less than thirty fathoms deep, occasioned by the great head of water above, and the channel here being pent up between two steep mountains. By this river, and the assistance of some land-carriage, there is a communication with the river of St. Lawrence; the French had therefore erected a fort upon it, which was taken by the English in the beginning of the last war.

The woods abound with game, especially partridges, wild ducks, wild geese, woodcocks, herons, pigeons, &c. among the beasts are most of the sorts found in New England. The trees are oak, fir, spruce, birch, &c. and the fruit found growing wild, are gooseberries, raspberries, strawberries, &c. In short, most of the fruits that are found on the continent, all grow and thrive here, as in our other provinces and colonies.



#### C H A P. XIV.

*Description of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Hudson's Bay.*

**M**assachusetts is the principal subdivision of New England, in North America. It is bounded on the N. by New Hampshire; on the E. and S. by the Atlantic ocean and Connecticut; and on the W. by

by New York. Its length is 112 miles, and its breadth 38; producing Indian corn in abundance, though but little other grain. Here is plenty of mutton, beef, pork, fowl, and fish, with flax and hemp; and the inhabitants are employed in manufactures of linen, woollen, and leather. They build great numbers of ships, having plenty of timber and other materials for that purpose. They have copper and iron mines, and some of the latter is manufactured; but their fabrics in general, particularly those of hats, are discouraged by the mother country. They furnish the sugar-islands with salt provisions, in return for which they take sugar and molasses. They have stills making rum; and some sugar bake-houses are lately erected.

The government is a mixture of royal and charter kind: for the King appoints the governor, the assembly nominates the council: nor will they fix the governor's annual salary, the better, as they think, to keep him in dependence on themselves.

This is, by far, the most powerful among the British colonies, having a sufficient number of mariners to man a large fleet: and being able to raise about 20,000 soldiers, in case of necessity.

The bulk of the people are of the independent persuasion; but several among them have lately come over to the Church of England.

There is also a large and deep bay in the same country, called Massachuset's bay.

Connecticut is a county, or colony in New England, in North America, (comprehending New Haven, though deemed a county) bounded on the W. by New York and Hudson's river: divided from Long-island by an arm of the sea southward; it has Rhode-island, with part of Massachuset's colony on the E. and the residue

residue of Massachuset on the N. The Connecticut-river, which is one of the largest and best in New England, runs through the heart of it, dividing itself into different parts, and is navigable above forty miles for ships of burden, and many more for smaller. The country on both sides the river abounds with timber, and it is here that they produce so great a quantity of tar and turpentine, as to require numbers of hands to extract it. The business of the people here is, beside fisheries, that of timber-felling, or cutting timber for knee-timber, plank for ship-building, deals, baulks, and spars for houses, masts and yards for ships. And the New-England merchants sent a present to Charles II. of several masts so large as to serve for first-rates. The great floats of this timber brought down this river have very much improved their navigation. Several sorts of metals have been found here, as lead, iron, copper. The iron mines are still worked, and greatly improved; but the attempts to raise a stock for working the lead and copper have failed. This colony is in a thriving state, populous, and increasing, containing about 40,000 people; notwithstanding the ravages of the east parts of it by the French and Indians; beside the piracies in Queen Anne's time, when their fishing ketches were almost all destroyed.

Rhode Island is the third and smallest of the provinces which compose New England, lying off Mount Hope. It consists of a small island of that name, and the old plantation of Providence. It is a distinct government, by virtue of a charter granted by King Charles II. The island, whence the province has its name, lies in Narrhaganset bay, and is about fifteen or sixteen miles in length, and four or five in breadth. Its first inhabitants were those that were banished from  
Boston,

Boston, in the year 1639; and was for some years the general asylum for such as suffered from the spirit of persecution. Those whom Mr. Neale calls the sectaries, were such as espoused the covenant of grace, and on that account were persecuted by those who held the covenant of works; and there were for many years great contentions between them and their neighbours, the Massachusetts. But since there have been two churches in the island, the one Presbyterian, and the other according to the Church of England, they are tolerably good neighbours.

Rhode Island is, with justice, called the Paradise of New England, for the fruitfulness of the soil, and the temperateness of the climate; which, though not above sixty miles south of Boston, is much warmer in the winter, and, being surrounded by the ocean, is not so much affected by the land-breezes as the towns on the continent are. There is a very considerable trade carried on from hence to the sugar-colonies, with butter and cheese, horses, sheep, beef, pork, tallow, timber, frames for houses, &c. The pleasantness of the island invited so many planters hither, that it was in a few years overstocked, and some of them were obliged to return to the continent, where they purchased a tract of land, now covered with the towns of Providence and Warwick. It is indeed no wonder that this province should be so well peopled, if we consider its happy situation for trade, the goodness of its climate, and that there has been for some years an unlimited freedom of religion.

Hudson's Bay, or Streight, is in the N. part of Canada, in North America, where the English company, of the same name, have several settlements and forts, who, by their agents, carry on here a traffic with the native Indians for beaver-skins and other valuable furs to a considerable

considerable amount, being one of the most profitable trades our merchants deal in. But the garrisons and forts here seem not to be of a strength sufficient for holding out long against an attack from the French and their Indian allies in that neighbourhood. This bay is about 300 leagues wide from S. to N. but above 530, by reckoning from the bottom of James bay, in lat. 51 N. to that of Repulse bay in lat. 67. 10. N. Its breadth is unequal, being about 130 leagues where broadest; but it grows narrower both to the southward and northward, being not much above thirty-five leagues broad in some places. At the mouth of Hudson's bay is Resolution island, also Mansfield island. And in the streight are Charles island, Salisbury island, and Nottingham island. From Resolution island to Cape Diggs, at the entrance of the bay, is about 140 leagues in length. The land on both sides, namely, Labrador and North Main, are inhabited by savages, of which we have little or no knowledge. That part of the bay on the W. side, in about lat. 57. is called Button's bay, and the eastern part, from lat. 55. 15. to lat. 51. and the most southern part is called James's bay. The coast from Cape Henrietta Maria, in lat. 55. 15. where James's bay begins, to the bottom of the bay is about 100 leagues, and of much the same breadth all the way, being between fifty and sixty leagues over.

On the eastern shore, or Labrador coast, lie several islands, called the North sleepers, the West sleepers, Baker's dozen, Belchier's isles; and in James's bay are Bear island, Viner's island, Charlton island, Cape Hope island, &c. All the country from Button's bay S. and E. as far as Labrador, is called New South Wales.

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bay prior to Hudson, who first discovered it for the English.

Hudson's river is a large river of North America, whose source has not been discovered. Running southward, it approaches the Mohawk's river, within a few miles of Sacoundaga, in North America. In the general we know that it has its source in the mountainous uninhabited country, between the lakes Ontario and Champlain. From its approach near Saucondauga, it runs N. and N. easterly towards lake St. Sacrament, now lake George, within ten miles of it. The course then to New York is very uniform, being in the main S. 12. or 15°. W. The distance from Albany to Lake George is computed at sixty-five miles. This river in that interval is navigable only to batteaus, and interrupted by rifts, which occasion two postages of half a mile each. In the passage from Albany to Fort Edward, the whole land carriage is twelve miles. There are three routes from Crown Point to Hudson's river, in the way to Albany; one through Lake George, another through a branch of Lake Champlain, bearing a southern course, and terminating in a basin, several miles E. of Lake George, called the South bay. The third is by ascending the Wood-cek, a shallow stream about thirty yards broad, which coming from the S. E. empties itself into the S. branch of the Lake Champlain. The place where these routes meet on the banks of Hudson's river is called the carrying-place. Here Fort Lyman, since called Fort Edward, is built; but Fort Henry, a much stronger garrison, was erected at the S. end of Lake George, after the repulse of the French forces under the command of baron Dieskaw, on the 8th of September, 1755. General Shirley thought it more adviseable to strengthen Fort Edward in the concurrence of the three routes,

than

than to erect the other at Lake George, seventeen miles to the northward of it, and wrote a very pressing letter to Sir William Johnson, who then commanded the provincial troops. The passage through the highlands is about sixteen miles; the tide flows a few miles above Albany. The navigation is safe, and performed in sloops of forty or fifty tons burden. About sixty miles above the city of New York the water is fresh, and in wet seasons very low, and abounds with variety of fish.

The advantages of this river for penetrating into Canada, and protecting the southern colonies, from the irruptions of the French, by securing the command of the lakes, and cutting off the communication between the French settlements on St. Laurence and Mississippi, must be very apparent, though but lately attended to.

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