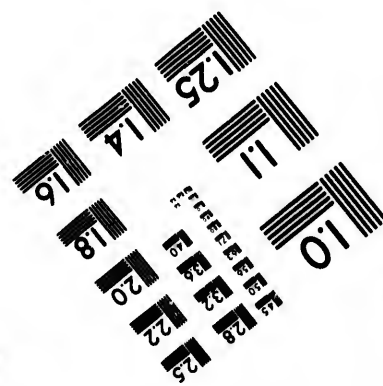
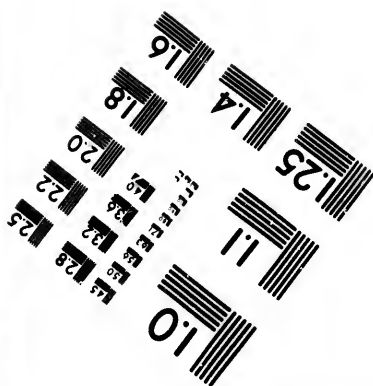
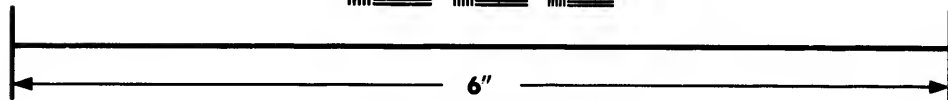
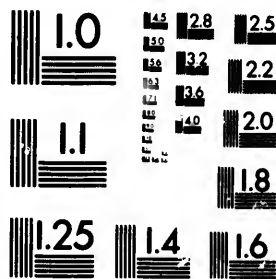


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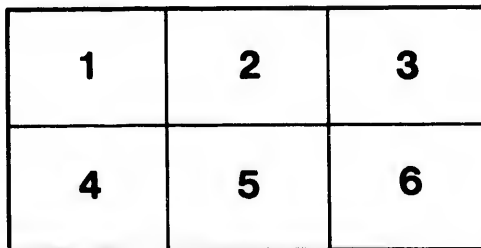
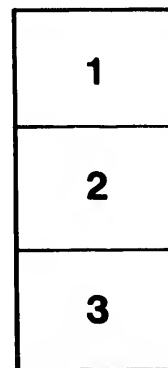
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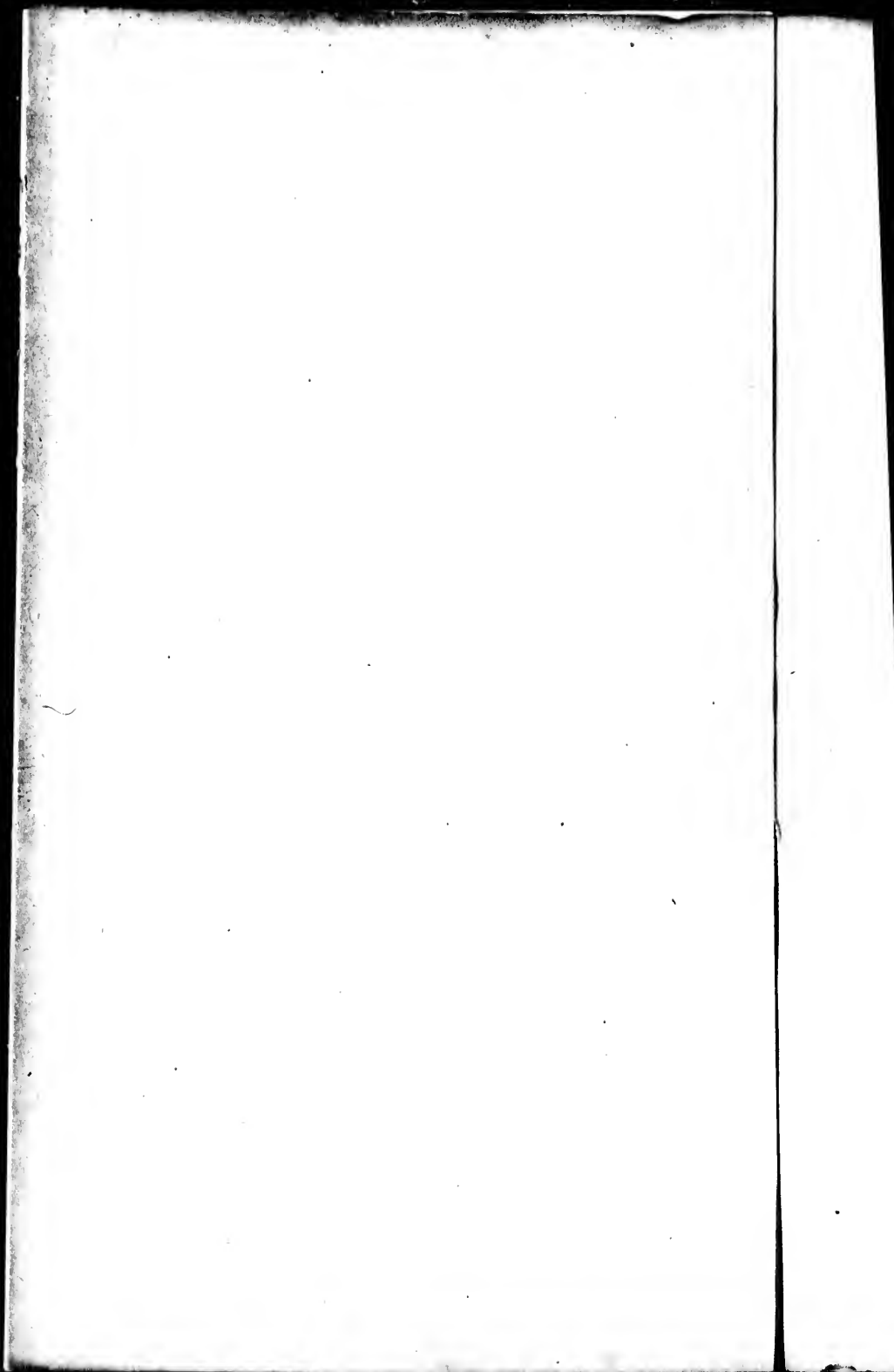
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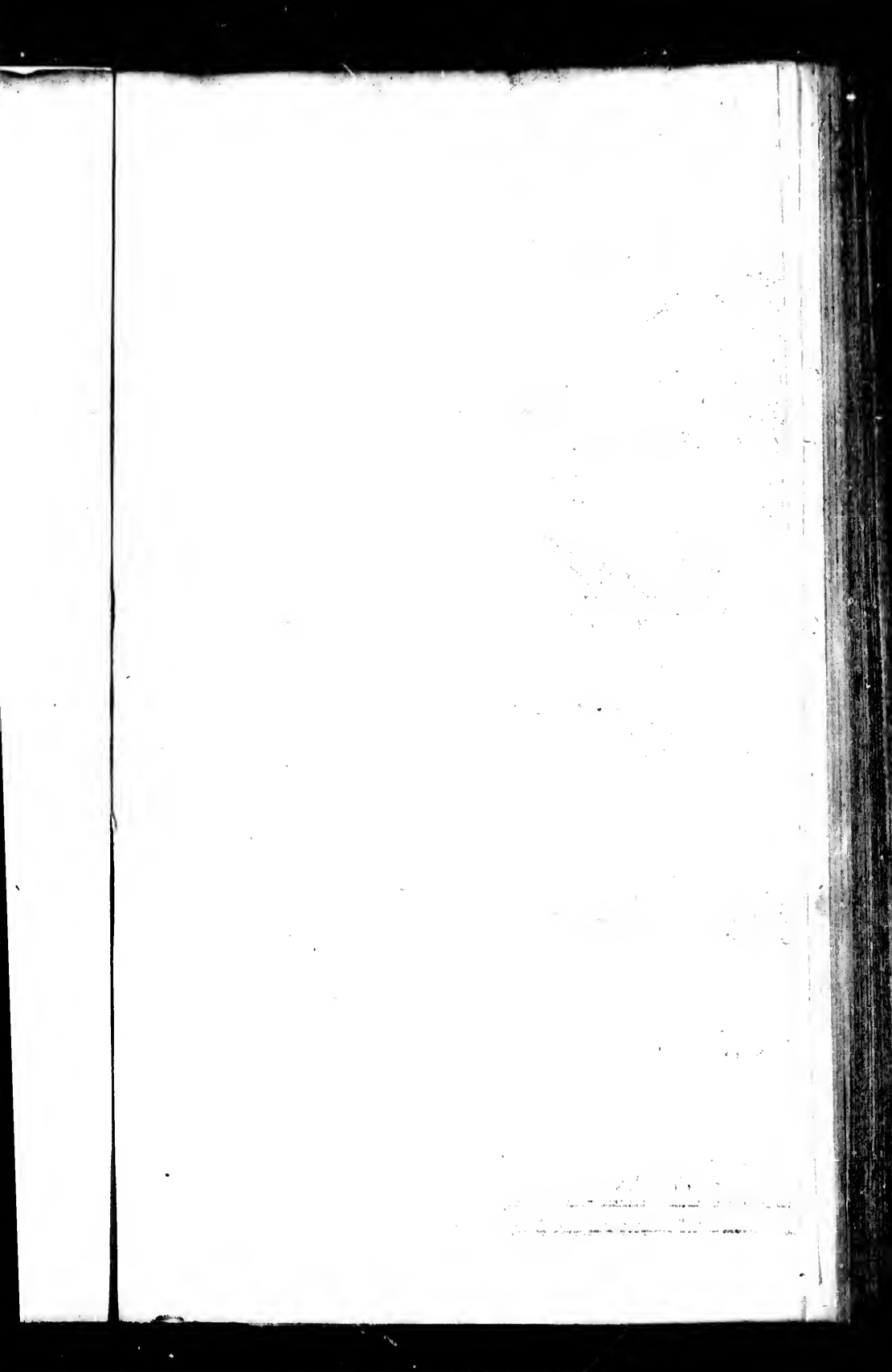
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A M E R I C A,

C O N T A I N I N G

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

BRITISH COLONIES

O N T H E

Continent and Islands of A M E R I C A.

V O L. I.

Being an ACCOUNT of the Country, Soil, Climate,
Product and Trade of

NEWFOUNDLAND,	NEW-JERSEY,	CAROLINA,
NEW-ENGLAND,	PENNSYLVANIA,	GEORGIA,
NEW-SCOTLAND,	MARYLAND,	HUDSON'S-BAY.
NEW-YORK,	VIRGINIA,	

SECOND EDITION, Corrected and Amended.

With the Continuation of the HISTORY, and the Variation in
the State and Trade of those COLONIES, from the Year 1710
to the present Time. Including OCCASIONAL RE-
MARKS, and the most feasible and useful Methods for their
Improvement and Security.

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A. WARD, J. CLARKE at the *Royal-Exchange*, C. HITCH,
J. OSBOURN, E. WICKSTEED, C. BATHURST, TIMOTHY
SAUNDERS, and T. HARRIS. M DCC XLI.

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T O

JONATHAN BLENMAN, Esq;

Attorney-General of *Barbados*.

DEAR SIR,

THERE can be no greater Pleasure to a Writer, after he has with Care and Pains finished a considerable Work, than in the favourable Reception it meets with from Persons of Knowledge and Judgment, which only can sufficiently guard him against the rash and partial Censures of common and cursory Readers, who are too apt, either out of Vanity, Envy, or Prejudice, to deal unmercifully with every thing that comes in their way.

It behoves me, therefore, to look out for good Security in the candid Opinion of some judicious Person to overbalance any Prepossession that may be conceived against me for handling a Subject at so many thousand Miles Distance from the Scenes of Action. I could be at no Loss for such a one, having had the Happiness of your Acquaintance for so great a Length of our Time, and so long had the Pleasure of your Friendship and Conversation, when we were not divided by the dreadful *Atlantic* Waste.

Your eminent Station for many Years in the Island of *Barbados* giving you all possible Opportunities of knowing its State and Interest, as

Epistle Dedicatory.

well as the Rights and Properties of the People, and that Island being in a manner Queen of the *Charibbees*, the Affairs of the *Leeward* and our other Sugar Islands are so near akin with those of *Barbados*, that every one will immediately approve of the Choice I have made of your Judgment, Candour and Friendship to protect me against all malevolent Influences in this Undertaking. The Application, Wisdom and Integrity with which you explained and defended those Rights, soon acquired you the Love, Esteem and Respect of the Inhabitants, and you had a fair Promise of these desirable things, by the Opinion conceived of you, even before your first Arrival on the Island; nor did you ill answer their Expectations, but justified them by the noble Stand you made against Oppression, and afterwards carried their Complaints to the Royal Presence, at the Hazard of your Life and your Fortune; and the Success you met with, in putting an End to that Oppression, to the Shame and Confusion of the Oppressor, could not but endear you to a People whom you had so faithfully and zealously served; yet the Zeal, with which you endeavoured to procure the Redress of Grievances in your own Colony, did not suffer you to lose Sight of those Rights of the Crown, which are necessary for its Peace, Security and Welfare.

But as I avoided enlarging on this Incident, so glorious to you, in the Body of the History of *Barbados*, because I was jealous it might offend your Moderation; I for the same Reason say no more of it in this Place. Tho' it could not but determine me to desire, that as you defended the Laws and Constitution of *Barbados*,

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Epistle Dedicatory.

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you will protect its History, at least where the Merits of the Cause will warrant your Appearance in it. And I am the more encouraged to offer you this Work, having had the Pleasure to hear from several Hands, that the History of that Island was approved on the Place, and had I been as successful in my Endeavours to procure the like Helps for our other *American Colonies*, as I have had for this, the History of them all should have been as compleat.

My waiting for new Memoirs was one, though not the chief Reason of my deferring this Impression so long, having been importuned to publish it above 25 Years ago; but my unhappy Absence from *London* for many of those Years in a vexatious Office, put that out of my Head, as well as other good things: Till now the Interest of *Great Britain*, in the Preservation and Welfare of our *American Colonies*, is so well understood, and the present Juncture for promoting and securing that Interest so favourable, that I could no longer defer this Impression, the Contents of which being largely set forth in the following Sheets, I shall not trouble you with any more of it here.

But I cannot part with you without expressing my Concern, that the Love, Esteem and Respect of the *Barbadians* will tempt you to give them the Pleasure of having you once more among them; and what Joy that would be to them, may be conceived by the Grief that appeared in the Inhabitants at your Departure. Scarce was the Death of their beloved Lord *Howe* a more sensible Affliction, and scarce did the Marks of it appear less, both in their Looks and Expressions. Your Friends in *England* can

Epistle Dedicatory.

have no Feeling of the Joy your Return would give, but will be sensible of the Grief the parting with you threw them into; yet we will put off the Thoughts of it as long as we can, if we may not for as long as you live; and whether you are in *Barbados* or *England*, I am sure I shall have the Happiness to be, for my own Length of Days,

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate Friend,

And Obliged Humble Servant,

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

Whatever particular Account has been, or might be given of any one of our Colonies, 'tis impossible, unless Men of Interest and Capacity would write it on the Spot, for an exact History of all the *British Empire* in the *West-Indies* to be framed by one Man in *America* or *Europe*, but he must inevitably be guilty of Errors, which will find Matter enough for the *Criticks* to exercise their Ill-nature upon. It will therefore be said, such a Design as this should be undertaken in the *Plantations*; and since it is so reasonable and so useful, why has it not been done? There's none can tell better than the Writer of this History, who must, in Justice to himself, own, that though he believes all who look over his Work and know any thing of the Subject of it, will rather wonder they meet with so much, than so little in it; yet he has found his Industry to inform himself fully of all Facts relating to the *Colonies* more unsuccessful than he expected. People were shy, and either did not think what they knew was worth telling, or would not be at the Trouble to tell it. Enough will take this Charge to themselves, who will presently remember how much they were solicited by the Author for *Memoirs*, and how negligent they were in furnishing him, not to give their Negligence a harder Name, which it would very well bear.

In collecting these Materials, when he sometimes met with Persons of a communicative Temper, he durst not

depend intirely on their Sincerity, for Interest always prevails over it. Every Province was the best, the most advantageous, the most inviting; and if he did not give that Account of it, the History would be worth nothing. All these Persons seem'd to take no Notice of the *Historical Events*; those they ran over as slightly as if they had been of less Moment than they are. Some would have had them quite left out, and a *Political Account* only given of our Plantations. Others, who were for keeping in a few, still enlarged on the Advantages of their respective Settlements to *England*, the Fruitfulness and Charms of the Country they lived in, the Riches to be gotten there, and the Preference that ought to be given to each over the other; and this the Author declares he met with in almost all his Informations. What then had he to do? Could it be expected that he should please every one? Would not the impartial Reader have been surprized to have found *Hudson's-Bay* preferred to *Carolina*, and *Providence* to *Barbados*? For the Comparisons are alike unequal. 'Tis true, when the Climate and the Soil would not bear a Parallel, they turned the Advantage on the Side of Commerce, and always took Care to make their own the most profitable. One who had known nothing of the *West-India Trade*, would have been imposed on by such Partiality; but though the Writer of this History never was out of *Britain*, yet there's no Part of that Trade with which he has not been acquainted above twenty Years; and he, by that Means, knew if any thing was represented to him too favourably; and when he was ever so little in the dark, he took all the Care he could to be enlightned.

Some Gentlemen he had the Happiness to know, who were free and impartial; and if they had had any Expectation of such an History, would have made Provisions for it when they were in *America*. The Historian must beg the Liberty of paying his publick Acknowledgments to some of them, that the World may see he does not publish any thing which is not warranted by good Authority.

To begin therefore with the History of *Newfoundland*. All the Account of its Trade and present State was communicated to him by one who dwelt there as a Merchant several Years. What has been added to this Edition has been taken from publick Memoirs, and consequently are the most authentick. The Succession of Governors, in a Government so very fluctuating, was difficult to be ascertained, had he had the best Information, in which falling short, he was obliged to leave it as it is.

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New-Scotland not at much to be added to the *Utrecht Treaty* History; but the true of the same *land* more precisely has happened not related heretofore publish'd by Mr. he has mention

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When he writes which others have Capt. *Congreve*,

New-Scotland has so little to be said of it, that he was not at much Trouble about it. There is not much more to be added to it now, excepting the Cession of it by the *Utrecht Treaty* to *Great Britain*, which is mentioned in this History; but the French keeping *Cape Briton Island* by Virtue of the same Treaty, renders our Possession of *New-Scotland* more precarious, and every way less valuable. There has happened nothing memorable concerning it, which is not related here; and the History of *New-England*, publish'd by Mr. *Cot. Mather*, furnish'd him with what Events he has mentioned relating to that Colony.

That Author being an Inhabitant of *New-England*, very particular and voluminous, one would have thought his History might have supplied another with Memoirs for as many Sheets as all this Work contains; yet there's no considerable Action concerning the Governors or Government, which is in Mr. *Mather's*, but this Historian has included in his History, leaving his Puns, Anagrams, Acrosticks, Miracles, Prodigies, Witches, Speeches, Epistles, and other Incumbrances, to the original Author and his Admirers; among whom, as an Historian, this Writer is not so happy as to be rank'd. The History of *New-England*, in this Impression, is as good as new; Mr. *Neal* having, since the former, published his History of it in two Volumes, in which he has thrown out all that is complain'd of in Mr. *Mather's*, and been very exact and curious in the Facts he has related, which gave me so much Assistance, that after reading his, I wrote over the History of this Province again. The great Foible of the *New-England* History is the Story of the Witches, which Mr. *Neal* has in no manner countenanced; and *New-England* must be no more charged with it, since the Assembly there have now under Consideration, by the Recommendation of Governor *Belcher*, the Means of giving Satisfaction to the Posterity of the Sufferers, by a Mistake, as it is called; as also to those of the Quakers, Fellow-Sufferers by a Mistake alike fatal. This Proceeding of Governor *Belcher* and the Assembly has set the Reputation of this Colony right, in the Opinion of all good Britons and good Protestants.

This History is continued to the present Times, by Memoirs from Mr. *Dummer's* and other printed Tracts, and we hope the whole will give intire Satisfaction to the concerned.

When he wrote of *New-York*, he corrected the Mistakes which others had led him into, by better Information from Capt. *Congreve*, who had a Command in the regular Forces there

there several Years. What is added in this Impression to *New-York*, will appear to be taken, for the most Part, from printed Tracts written and published on the Spot, by Persons of Intelligence and Authority; to which we should have only added, that the *French*, by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, recognized the Confederacy of the five Nations with the *English* of this Province, and obliged themselves to observe the Peace with those *Indians* as inviolable as with the *English*.

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

It will be seen, in the History of *Maryland*, that he had not the same Helps for that Province; but his Authorities are good as far as they go. The Author was very desirous to have procured Memoirs of it from unquestionable Hands, and he had Hopes of them, till the Impatience of the Publick for this Impression obliged him to give way to the Hurry of the Press, and to leave those Additions to another Opportunity.

The History of *Virginia* is written with a great deal of Spirit and Judgment by a Gentleman of the Province, to whom this *Historian* confesses he is very much indebted; but in some Places he was forced to leave him, to follow other Guides; and whoever compares the one History with the other, will see enough Difference to give that which is now publish'd the Title of *New*. Several old Writers and modern Papers fell into this Author's Hands, which that Gentleman never saw; however, he had seen and knew so much, that, by his Assistance, the Account of *Virginia* is one of the most perfect of these Histories of our Plantations. This refers to the History of *Virginia* which was written by Col. *Bird*, whom the Author knew when he was of the *Temple*; and the Performance answered the just Opinion he had of that Gentleman's Ability and Exactness. What he said of other Helps, has Relation to another History of *Virginia*, written by one *R. B.* which he made as much Use of as he thought necessary for the Improvement of his Work; but happening to take no Notice of some Particulars which would not at all have improved it, the Writer, for his neglecting them, has been very free with the Character of this Author's History, and not spared even some of the Passages which he took from himself. I shall only remark two Criticisms, the one is his abusing the Author for saying there was once a very great Frost in *Virginia*, when probably there never was a Year without one, of which he

gives himself censuring the *H*moirs, and not we have been from his *H*isto own. We sh^d History of *Virg* withstanding it ours; and consid ther Improvem of those who Severity.

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gives himself sufficient Information; and the other is his censuring the Historian for making use of other Men's Memoirs, and not writing a History of his own Head: However we have been so free with him in this Impression, as to take from his History what we thought worth putting into our own. We shall say nothing here of Sir *William Keith's* History of *Virginia*, because it was of little Use to us, notwithstanding it came out many Years after the Publication of ours; and considering Sir *William* did not think fit to make farther Improvements, it were to be wish'd he had not spoken of those who wrote of *Virginia* before him with so much Severity.

For *Carolina*, Mr. *Archdale* and Mr. *Boone*, of whom Mention is made in the History of that Colony, obliged him so far, as to communicate several important Facts to him, and let him into the Rise and Causes of the Differences among the People of that Province. They also printed some Tracts on the same Subject, which were very useful to him. And in this Impression he owns himself very much indebted to the Assistance he had from some Papers of Governor *Johnston's*, as also many printed Papers in the publick Collection. His Account of the new Province of *Georgia* is taken in part from the Narratives published by the Secretary of the Society, and from the Collection of Papers just mentioned.

The History of *Hudson's-Bay* may be depended upon; for the Author took it from original Papers, he having had in his Possession the Journal of a Secretary of the Factory, the Commissions and Instructions of some of the Governors, and other Memoirs, out of all which he could gather no more, and does not believe, that even by the Company's Books much more is to be gather'd. Application was made to Persons concerned in the Affairs of the Company, for Matter to continue an Account of them to this time; but it being not come to Hand before the Book was printed, the Events there are not of Importance enough to keep the rest of this History longer from the Publick; the Author knows not of any Alteration in the History, but the Cession of the Bay by the *French* in the *Utrecht* Treaty, and the Revival of the Fur-Trade, which is lately very much increased in this Kingdom, by the great Use of Furs in the present Fashion. The Reader will perceive he is not about looking into a spurious Performance, nor that he will venture much in giving Credit to what he reads, since there is no Dispute to be made of the Goodness of such Information; from which the Historian has deviated as seldom as was consistent with Decency.

Thus

Thus with much Pains and Care he went over the *British Empire* on the *Continent*, which is 16 or 1700 Miles in Length, from the Northern Bounds of *New-Scotland*, to the Southern of *Georgia*, besides the Tract known by the Name of *Hudson's-Bay*, and another bordering on the River *Mississippi*, to which the Kings of *England* pretend; but there is no Notice taken of it in this Work, because there never was any Settlement there, though it has been attempted.

This Country joins to *Florida*, and was granted by King *Charles I.* to the Earl of *Arundel*; which Grant, 60 Years ago, was assigned to Dr. *Daniel Cox*, and he was the Proprietary. He gave it the Name of *Carolana*; and in King *William's* Reign sent two Ships thither, with 200 People, to make a Settlement, intending to prosecute that Enterprize, by dispatching away more Ships with more People, over whom Sir *William Waller* was to have been Governor; but the *French* disturbing the first Adventurers, hinder'd their settling there; and this Part of the *English Territories* in *America* was so much abandoned by the *English*, that the *French* assumed to themselves the sole Propriety of it, from a Settlement of a few Huts scatter'd up and down the River, where they had no Settlement at all in Monsieur *de la Sale's* Time, as we read in the Relation of his Voyage thither, after Dr. *Cox's* Grant, and but three or four Years before the Doctor sent his People there to form a Colony; at which time the River *Mississippi* was so little known to the *French Navigators*, that the same Monsieur *de la Sale*, who had traversed a great Part of that Continent from *Canada*, and the Captain of a *French Man of War*, and a Master of another *French Vessel*, equip'd at the King's Expence, knew not where the Mouth of the River was, as those who lived to return to *France* reported.

As the Author hopes there are not many material Errors, he recommends to the *American Readers* not to condemn him presently, if they meet with things out of their Notice, but to suspect their own Knowledge and Information, as well as his; for he treats of the Plantations historically, and was therefore to relate things past as well as present; and 'twill be unjust for any one to conclude they never were, because they never heard of them, as too many will incline to do.

The Author declares once for all, that there was no Part of this History which had not been shewn to Persons who have lived in those Parts of the World, and been approved of by them; yet he is not so vain as to imagine there are not several Faults; for it was impossible to perform such a

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As to our Islands; *Barbados*, the Chief of them, makes the chief Part of his History; and the Inhabitants of that fruitful and pleasant Island may take his own Word in most Cases, he having been for above ten Years conversant with their Affairs, and kept a constant Correspondence with them. They will see that he speaks things of his own Knowledge; and as to the Memoirs of Events which happen'd before his Time, he had Recourse to the Papers of an eminent Merchant, Sir *John Bawdon*, his Uncle, and might have made it much larger, if it would not have run out the History of *Barbados* to a Size very disproportionable to that of the other Histories. *Ligon* is old, and his Geographical, and even Natural Account of the Island, differs very much from the present. His Description of Ingenio's, of working Sugar, of clothing Negroes, and several other things, seems strange to an Inhabitant of the present *Barbados*; neither does his Account of their way of Living, of the Product of the Island, as the Trees, Plants, &c. agree better with the modern ones. All the Facts in his History will be found in this, and every thing which remains in the same State as it was when he wrote. All the rest is new, and taken from original Manuscripts. The Historian has been particularly diligent in his Collections and Enquiries concerning this Island; for he takes it to be the most beneficial of any of our Colonies to *England*, *Jamaica* perhaps not excepted. He has consulted several Persons who have lived there, and communicated what he has done to them, that the Gentlemen of *Barbados*, some of whom have done him the Favour to place him in the Number of their Friends, may meet with nothing here which may in any wise injure his Reputation with them. All may not be pleased; but if he has always been a severe Observer of Truth, let his free speaking be excused; for sometimes he could not be so without it. He has not designedly run into an Error, nor told a Falsity, to gain the Good-will of any Man. Such a View would have been as vain as it was base; for where there are so many to be displeas'd for the pleasing of one, the Man must have but a small Portion of Sense, as well as Integrity, that would sacrifice the Character of a faithful Historian to that of a wretched Flatterer. He had many Opportunities to have shewn a vitious Complacency to other Mens Interests, as has been already hinted, if he could have been guilty of so much Baseness; an Instance of which he will relate, to give the World an Idea of Mens Dispositions

sitions in this Affair. When he was once in Conversation with a Gentleman, a *Proprietary in America*, on the Subject of his Country there, he summed up all he had to tell him in this Rapture: *Our Seas flow with Ambergrease, our Rivers are almost choak'd with Gold, and the worst Mineral we have, which we think not worth taking up, is Copper; for 'tis so near the Surface, that we may almost scoop and have it.* This he introduced with a most romantick Account of the Situation of his Country, the Groves of Oranges, Forests of Cedar, the Fields of Spices, the spacious Plains, noble Harbours, and so many other Advantages, that one could hardly believe he spoke true, when the Writer ask'd him how many Inhabitants there were, and he answered, *None.* Some Gentlemen have not only recommended the Praise of their Province, but even of their Part of it, which was generally done with so much Warmth, that they were immediately suspected, and nothing of that Nature reported, which was not confirmed by Persons of Ingenuity and Disinterest. In this Impression is added what has since passed in *Barbados* of most Importance. This Period takes in the Time when the Island was miserably divided into Parties, *Governor and Country*, as they were there distinguished; and it was very hard, so to clear up the Matter on both Sides, that the Cause of the one and the other might not seem perplex'd. It will be seen that his Authorities for what he says on this Subject are mostly Records or Narratives written and printed on the Spot, so that the Truth of them cannot be questioned.

Since the Article of *Barbados* was finish'd, the Author has seen a Piece written by a learned Gentleman there relating to the Government of *Mr. Byng*, whose Death we have mentioned, and whose Life in it was of short Duration. That Account shews that *Mr. Byng* had more Reason to complain of the Usage he met with from a Leader in the Assembly, and his Adherents among them, than he gave them Cause to complain of him, whose Conduct that Gentleman has justified.

As for the *Leeward Islands* and *Jamaica*, the Historian was not altogether unacquainted with their Concerns, and had several Manuscript Papers to refer to. For the Additions in the History of the *Leeward Islands* in this Impression, he was furnished with several Books and Pamphlets relating to the Differences between the Inhabitants and the Governors, and the fatal Catastrophe of one of them, *Col. Parke*, which is contained in two Volumes, published by *Mr. French* of *Antego*, who was present at his Death, and

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wrote much in his Justification; and an Answer to what Mr. French has advanced, written by one who seems to have been in the Secret and Confidence of the Party against him. *Bermudas* he has said little of; but as much of *Providence* as the Subject would bear, having been assisted in it by Col. Trot, who was once Governor there; and the Additions are of equal Authority. He could get no particular Information of *Bermudas*, excepting that the Cedar for building Ships there, has been so long and so largely work'd up, that the Trade of Building is now much lost: However, by our last Accounts from thence, we hear that some of the Inhabitants have built and equip'd two 20 Gun Ships to cruize on the *Spaniards*, with Letters of Marque and Reprizal, being man'd in Proportion to their Guns, the cruize to divide all the Prizes they take among them. The Trade of Hats is of late Years much diminish'd from what it was fifteen Years ago, when *Bermudas* Hats were the Mode among the Ladies and others of all Ranks in the Kingdom.

The Authority of *Pere Tertre*, whose History of the *Charibbee Islands* was the Foundation of our former Impression, was so good, that what he says has since been quoted in a Memorial of State relating to the Right of *Great Britain* to the Islands of *St. Lucia*, &c.

The Author having thus far given the Reader a View of his Work, recommends it to his Candour, and desires him to weigh well the Difficulties of this Undertaking, before he gives his Judgment. There is no History of any Part of the *West-Indies* in any Language so full and so particular. And the Approbation it met with in *Holland*, from the very eminent Monsieur *Le Clerc*, who, in his *Republiques*, not only made frequent Mention of it, but took large Extracts out of it; and the Writer for the *Journal des Scavans* having done the same at *Paris*, are sufficient to guard it from any disingenuous and ill-grounded Reflections that may come from Persons of less Learning and Judgment.

The curious Reader, in going over this Work, will meet with a few Places which may seem particularly to regard the Times before the *Utrecht* Peace, and consequently to confound the Periods too much; but for clearing up the History, it was necessary to leave it in this manner, because it must have been written all over new entirely to have been avoided.

T H E

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

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

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

'Tis said, People are the Wealth of a Nation, and to take away their People is to impoverish them; those that say it, mean only laborious and industrious People, and not such as have no Employ, or, which is worse, are employed only in disturbing and robbing such as have any. If this is granted, as it always has been in this Controversy, those who improve their Talents to most Advantage, are of most Value to a Nation. A Man, whose Skill amounts to no more than to earn 3 *d.* a Day by his continual Labour, cannot add to the Wealth of such a Kingdom as *England*, because it will not supply his necessary Consumption: However, even such a one is less a Burden to it than one totally idle. He who earns 6 *d.* a Day, and consumes just so much, is neither burdensom nor advantageous; but he who by his Industry and Labour, not only maintains himself and Family, but enriches

riches them, is, Addition to the contrary, he will create the National eminent Merchants, adds, To leave a Doubter but to the Kingdom left would produce of it, to be a way of Charity, reported, how long fitous, naked and Houses worth not

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riches them, is, to the Proportion of his Wealth, so much Addition to the National Stock of the Kingdom. On the contrary, he who labours not at all, or so much as not to increase the National Stock of his Country, is, to use an eminent Merchant's own Words, *just good for nothing*. He adds, *To leave this Truth plain beyond Dispute, I beg the Doubter but to consider, that if all the laborious People of the Kingdom left working, and were to live on the natural Produce of it, to be distributed by them in equal Proportions, by way of Charity, as Parish-Poor and Beggars are now supported, how long it would be before the Nation became necessitous, naked and starving, and consequently the Land and Houses worth nothing.*

Sir Dilly Thomas's Hist. Acc. of the Rise and Growth of the West-India Colonies.

Many Reasons may be urged to prove, that the Increase of People, wilfully or accidentally idle, is so far from being National Riches, that it is the surest and speediest Way to inevitable Poverty, and must decay the Value of the real and imaginary Wealth of a Nation, proportionably to the Decay of Industry; but this will be so readily consented to, it would be impertinent to enlarge upon it here. Who then will deny, that those Men who add most, by their Labour, to the intrinsic Wealth of the Nation, either real or imaginary, and consume least, are best employed? On the contrary, that those who consume most, and add least, are the worst employ'd? 'Tis true, all who are not mischievously employ'd, or totally idle, are of some Benefit to the Common-wealth; and should find due Encouragement; and those ought to be most protected, and least discouraged by the Laws, who are most usefully busied for the increasing the Value of the real and imaginary Wealth of the Nation. By real Wealth is generally understood Money, Lands, Houses, &c. by imaginary; the Art and Labour of the People.

Now as we in *England* are the Inhabitants of an Island, we have no Ways of conveying our Product and Manufactures abroad, but by Navigation, the best and easiest of all ways; we have no ways of making ourselves considerable in the World, but by our Fleets; and of supporting them but by our Trade, which breeds Seamen, and brings in Wealth to maintain them; such Hands therefore as are employed for any of these useful Ends, whether it be the Merchant, the Mariner, or the Planter, are most to be encouraged; for on them depends our Strength, and on that our Safety. If we had none, or but little foreign Traffick, could we long equip those mighty Fleets, that render the *English* Name formidable to the utmost Bounds of the Earth? Would one Man's consuming what another raised, and hand-

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ing Commodities from one to the other, do our Business without the Addition of foreign Wealth? No Commodity is truly an Increase of the National Stock, but that which is exported, and all other Trades receive their Vigour and Life from the Merchant, Commodities rising in Esteem or Value, as they are rightly distributed from Place to Place. By him the Mariner is subsisted, the Planter supplied, and they all mutually assist each other, in promoting the Advantage of all other Tradesmen in particular, and of Trade in general. By Planter in the *West-Indies*, we mean the Country Gentleman, who minds wholly the cultivating the Growths of the Place, and exporting them to *England*, from whence he yearly draws so many Manufactures, as maintain several Families in that Kingdom. 'Tis not easy to decide how much more such a Man is useful than an *English* mere Country Gentleman; when a Labourer in our *American Colonies* is by the before-cited Author said to be of more Advantage to *England*, though out of it, than any 130 of the like kind can be in it. His Explanation of this Assertion refers, in the first Place, to the *Sugar Plantations*; and the Reader shall have it abstracted from him, to judge of it as he thinks fit.

“ 1. The greatest Consumption of Sugar is made by the rich and opulent People of the Nation.” (*The Character of this Introduction given by one of the most eminent of our Colony Writers, that there could not justly be a Word taken from, or added to it, inclined me to let it pass as it was in the former Impression; but the Variations that have happened since in the Trade and Circumstances of our Colonies, has made it necessary to take Notice of them in this Manner, by printing what is new distinctly; and here the Computation of 45000 Ton of Sugar is now too large by 10000, and our Exports of Sugar from England to foreign Parts is by the Increase of the Growth of the French Sugar Colonies, and the many Advantages they have of ours in Trade become so inconsiderable, that it need not be much insisted upon. What proper Measures may be taken to increase our own Sugar Production, and recover the foreign Trade, would not have sufficient Authority to warrant their being mentioned by us.*) “ 2. The Quantity yearly produced is not less than 45000 Tuns. 3. The Moiety of this is consumed in *England*, and amounts to about 800000 *l.* in Value. The other Moiety is exported, and after it has employed Seamen, is sold for as much, and consequently brings back to the Nation in Money, or useful Goods, 800000 *l.* Add to this, that before Sugars were produced in our Colonies, it bore four times the Price

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“ it does now; and by the same Consumption at the same
 “ Price, except we made it ourselves, we should be forced
 “ to give in Money, or Money’s worth, as native Commod-
 “ ities and Labour, 2400000 *l.* for the Sugar we spend.

It is certain we bought as much Sugar of *Portugal* as a-
 mounted to 400000 *l.* yearly, which is saved by our making
 it. To continue Sir *Dalby’s* Explanation:

“ We must consider too the Spirits arising from *Melasses*,
 “ which is sent from the Sugar Colonies to the other Co-
 “ lonies, and to *England*; which if all were sold in *Eng-
 “ land*, and turned into Spirits, it would amount annually
 “ to above 500000 *l.* at half the Price the like Quantity of
 “ Brandy from *France* would cost. The *Indigo* coming
 “ from thence amounts to 50000 *l.* yearly. *Log-
 “ wood*, for which we formerly paid the *Spaniards* 100 *l.*
 “ a Tun, now comes under 15 *l.* and amounts to 1000
 “ Tuns a Year. *Ginger* amounts to 400 Tuns a Year,
 “ and is not the 6th Part of the Price of what the Nation
 “ paid formerly for that Commodity; not to speak of
 “ *Drugs, Woods, Cocoa, Piemento, Spices, Gold and Silver*
 “ from the *Spanish West-Indies*, for our Negroes and Manu-
 “ factures: By all which the Nation saves and gains by the
 “ People employed in those Colonies 4,000000 *l. per Annum.*
 “ Now if it be considered again, that in all those Sugar
 “ Colonies there is not 60000 White Men, Women and
 “ Children, it necessarily must follow, that, one with an-
 “ other, above what they consume, each of them earns
 “ for the Publick above 60 *l. per Annum.* The Rents of
 “ Houses and Lands in *England*, by Sir *William Petty’s*
 “ Computation, amount to 10000000 *l.* the Consumption
 “ to 50000000 *l.* then by reducing Labour and Con-
 “ sumption to a proper Balance with the Produce of Rents,
 “ and supposing the imaginary Wealth of the whole King-
 “ dom to increase in time of Peace the tenth Part annually,
 “ that will be but 4 Millions, which does not amount to
 “ 12 *s.* a Head clear Increase of Wealth, one with another,
 “ above necessary and constant Expences; from which it
 “ follows, beyond Controversy, that Hands employed in the
 “ Sugar Plantations are, one with another, of 130 times
 “ more Value to the Common-wealth than those that stay at
 “ home. To this some may object, that those there con-
 “ sume nothing of native Commodities, which if they did,
 “ as those do who stay at home, their Consumption would
 “ amount to 350,000 *l.* annually, at 6 *l.* 10 *s.* a Head, the

“ Allowance made by Sir *William Petty* and others; and
 “ would consequently increase the Rents at least a fourth
 “ Part of that. But, as has been said, whatever is con-
 “ sumed by idle Men, can never increase either the real or
 “ imaginary Wealth of the Nation, and nothing but the
 “ Overplus can be reckoned additional, which, according
 “ to a reasonable Computation, cannot be above 2 s. a
 “ Head; so that if we would grant that those in the Co-
 “ lonies did consume nothing of our home Produce, the
 “ Loss by the Want of them here could amount only to
 “ 1,200,000 s. annually, or 60000 l.

Thus far we have taken from the Knight, and have only to object against his Number of Souls in the Sugar Colonies, which, at the time he wrote that Tract, was as many more as he mentions, there being then 40 or 50,000 *Whites*, Men, Women and Children, at *Barbados* only. However, supposing that we should consume not above 800,000 l. in Sugar, did we make none, a third Part of what he proposes, and that there was not above 2,500,000 l. gained and saved by 120,000 Men, Women and Children, double the Number he makes it, every Soul then earns for the Publick near 20 l. and consequently every Hand employed in the Sugar Plantations is forty times as good as one that stays at home, which is all the Alteration that seems necessary in his Argument.

As to what he says may be objected, that they consume nothing of native Commodities; that Objection is best answered by the Bills of Entry at the Custom-house. A Man must be so ignorant of Trade, that one may despair of convincing him, who does not know that the Planters in our Sugar-Islands have for themselves, Servants, and Slaves, all manner of Necessaries, for the House or the Field, for Clothing or Food from *England*. Sir *Dalby* allows *free Blacks at least for one White* in the Sugar Colonies, but we cannot agree with him; for when there were 50,000 Whites, Men, Women and Children in *Barbados*, as there were when he wrote, can any one suppose there were 250,000 Blacks? There might be then 80,000, and never more, which, with 50,000 Whites, made 130,000 Souls in all; and allowing but as many more for the other Islands, who can imagine that 260,000 Souls can subsist there, where nothing is to be had but Sugar, Cotton, Ginger, and the Commodities before-mentioned, without consuming prodigious Quantities of all Sorts of Goods from *England*, besides the Provisions they have from the Northern Colonies.

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In treating of the Trade of each Colony, this Matter will be more particularly handled, with Reference to their particular Exports and Imports; but *Barbados* being the Chief of our Sugar-Islands, comes first naturally to be mentioned on all Occasions. If the Plantations take away one Man to maintain about three at home; if they take up almost half of our foreign Commerce, and are a perpetual Nursery of able Seamen; if they yearly increase the National Stock 800,000*l.* only, as by the following History will appear, they are of as much Advantage to this Nation in Trade, as near half of all their People elsewhere; for the annual Increase of the National Stock, according to Dr. *Davenant*, is not above 2,000,000*l.*

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

“ There is one main Advantage by the Plantations, which Groans of
 “ has not been sufficiently explained, and that is, that the the Planta-
 “ *English* have now several good Commodities of their own, tions.
 “ which before they had not, which does very much con-
 “ duce to the enriching them; for it is agreed by all who
 “ pretend to understand Trade, that a Country does then
 “ grow rich, and then only, when the Commodities export-
 “ ed out of it are of more Value than those that are im-
 “ ported into it. This Proportion between the Importation
 “ and Exportation, is called the Balance of Trade; and
 “ there is no way in the World for a Country to grow
 “ rich by Trade, but by setting this Balance right, and in
 “ sending out more than it takes in. Some other Tricks
 “ and Shifts there are, which make a Shew of doing great
 “ Matters; but they prove idle and frivolous, and signify
 “ nothing. A Country is, in this respect, in the same Con-
 “ dition with a private Man, that lives upon his Land; if
 “ this Man sells more than he buys, he lays up Money; if
 “ he buys more than he sells, he must run in Debt, or at
 “ least spend out of the quick Stock; and where the bought
 “ and the sold are equal, he has barely brought both Ends
 “ together.

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

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

“ Why should *England* grudge at the Prosperity and Wealth of the Plantations, since all that is ours she may account her own, not only because we are a Part of *England*, (whatever we may be accounted) as it is taken largely, but also because all comes to this Kingdom of *England*, properly so called, these two and fifty Shires. By a kind of magnetick Force, *England* draws to it all that is good in the Plantations. It is the Center to which all things tend: Nothing but *England* can we relish or fancy: Our Hearts are here, wherever our Bodies be: If we get a little Money, we remit it to *England*. They that are able, breed up their Children in *England*. When we are a little easy, we desire to live and spend what we have in *England*, and all that we can rap and spend is brought to *England*.

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

“ The Price of every Pound Weight of Tobacco imported into the Nation before we planted it, was from about 4 *s.* to 16 *s.* a Pound; and now the best *Virginia* is not above 17 *d.* to the Merchant, of which the King has 5 *d.* Two-Thirds of the Tobacco brought from these Colonies is exported to foreign Markets; which, at about three Pound a Hoghead (the least the Nation gets by it) amounts to above 200,000 Pounds, besides the great Quantity of Shipping it employs. It is not so little as a Million the Kingdom saves yearly by our planting Tobacco; so that reckoning the White People in our Tobacco Colonies to be 100,000 Men, Women and Children, they, one with another, are each of them 12 *l.* a Year Profit to the Nation. There are in those Colonies, by a probable Computation, 600,000 Negroes and *Indians*, Men, Women and Children, and would be

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“ more, could they readily get Negroes from *Guinea*,
 “ every one of which consumes yearly two Hilling-Hoes,
 “ two Weeding-Hoes, two Grubbing-Hoes, besides Axes,
 “ Saws, Wimbles, Nails, and other Iron-Tools and Ma-
 “ terials, consumed in Building and other Uses, to the Va-
 “ lue of at least 120,000 *l.* in only Iron-work. The Clothes,
 “ Guns, Cordage, Anchors, Sails, and Materials for Ship-
 “ ping, besides Beds and other Household-Goods, consumed
 “ and used by them, are infinite: Nor is the Benefit of
 “ them to the Kingdom sufficiently to be explained; there-
 “ fore let it suffice, in one Word, to say, that the Produce
 “ and Consumption, with the Shipping they give Employ-
 “ ment to, is of an infinite deal more Benefit to the Wealth,
 “ Honour and Strength of the Nation, than four times the
 “ same Number of Hands, the best employed at home that
 “ can be.

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

As for the other Colonies, *Pensylvania* is now falling into the *Tobacco-Trade*. The mentioning of *Tobacco* in *Penlylvania*, was by Information directly from Mr. Pen, who, as well as all other Proprietaries in America, were, in former Days, extremely fond of the *Tobacco-Trade*; but *Virginia* itself has found it necessary to increase the Products that furnish'd Provision for a Trade to the *Sugar-Islands*, and not to be employed wholly in planting *Tobacco*. That Province and *Maryland* have been so long in Possession of that Trade, and have brought it to such Perfection, that it would be equally vain and unprofitable for Planters in our other American Colonies to go upon it. Instead of this, *Pensylvania* has fallen upon the Culture of *Corn*, breeding of *Cattle*, and building of *Ships*; and as to *Corn*, it is now in so flourishing a Condition, that in the present time of Scarcity, several Ship-loading of *Wheat* have been sent from thence to *Ireland*, to the great Relief of the People of that Kingdom, where the *Wheat* has been confessed to be a finer Growth than their own. Thus are our Fellow-Subjects so far from drawing away the Substance of her Mother-Country, by draining her People, that not only these send them home Goods for the Increase of the National Riches, but even Bread for their Subsistence. *Carolina* into the *Silk* and *Rice*, *New-England* into that of *Naval Stores*: And indeed, since we

can so easily, so cheaply, and so safely be furnished with these Commodities from thence, it is a Reflection on our Politicks, that we will be obliged to the Northern Nations, and send for our Stores to the *Baltick*. *New-York* has the same Advantages of *Naval Stores*, and so have all the other Colonies in a less Degree. But if *New-England*, *New-York*, the *Jerseys*, *Pensylvania* and *Carolina* furnish the Sugar-Islands with Provisions and Cattle, and they could not subsist without them, as they can tell by woful Experience, 'tis enough that they are of such Advantage to *England*.

Let us further consider the many Mouths that are fed at home by this Trade, the many Families that are enriched, the vast Sums it brings into the Exchequer, to which *Barbados* did pay 50,000 *l.* yearly, though not twice as big as *Rutland*, and is after the Rate of 10 *s.* for every cultivated Acre in the Island.

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

From whence did that fatal Sicknes come which infected *Barbados* and the other Islands? Was it not from *Europe*, brought by the Soldiers sent in an ill time for their Defence, being under the leading of Captains that not only betrayed those they brought with them, but those who joined them. We may see how it was with them before the unhappy Arrival of those sickly Soldiers and Seamen.

“ We employ (says Judge *Littleton*) seven or eight hundred Ships in a safe and healthy Navigation. They find less Danger in a Voyage to our Parts, than in a Voyage to *Newcastle*; and as the Ships come safe, so the Men come sound.

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

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Is not the Situation of the Islands for annoying the *Spaniards* or *French* in *America*, a sufficient Argument for us to be as careful of their Defence, as if they were our Frontiers? And this relates more particularly to *Barbados*. Should we in *England* be so negligent of ourselves and them, as to expose them to a *French* Conquest, of which they have been in Danger more than once, what would be the Consequence? All the *Leeward Islands* must inevitably follow; nor could *Jamaica* hold out long. The *French* being to Windward, can send their Men down to *Petit Guaves* with a small Charge, and would force the Inhabitants of *Jamaica* to surrender in a few Months. The Loss of the *Sugar* Islands would soon affect the Northern Colonies, who are of great Use to *England* for their Tobacco, Masts, Timber, breeding of Seamen and Navigation. All which, except *Virginia* and *Maryland*, have their chief Dependance on the *Leeward Islands* and *Jamaica*, for their Lumber and Fishery. The Colonies of *New-England*, *New-York*, the *Ferseys*, *Pensylvania* and *Carolina*, have very little Use for any Navigation directly for *England*; but have a great Trade with the *Sugar Islands*, which is very much for the Interest of *England*; and if these Trades were lost, one third at least of the Navigation of this Kingdom would follow it. What Effect this would have on the Merchants, Manufacturers, Mechanicks and Mariners, let every reasonable Man judge.

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

Should we neglect our Islands, what Port would be left us to enter the *Spanish West-Indies*? What Damage might we not do to the *French* and *Spaniards* from *Jamaica*? Is not that Island a Key that lets us into *Hispaniola* and the *Continent*? 'Twill soon be answered, what have we got by it in this War?

The War here mentioned was that with *France*, in Queen *Anne's* time, when the Complaint was general that it was not carried on with more Vigour against the *Spaniards* and *French* in the *West-Indies*; for it was very well known, by all that knew any thing of our Trade and Security in those Parts, that it was miserably neglected; of this I had myself so much Experience, that I had the Revival of a Project for equipping and maintaining a great Number of Cruizers

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about *Jamaica*, *Hispaniola*, *Cuba*, and the *Spanish* Continent, at an Expence separate from that of the grand War, and much more easy and supportable; and though the Scheme was not rejected as impracticable, it was laid aside as unseasonable, for fear it might drain too much Money from the Call of the *Flanders* War. The Necessity of pushing the present War with Vigour against the *Spaniards* in *America* being now the general Opinion, and the apparent way of distressing of them and benefiting ourselves, renders any Argument on that Head superfluous.

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

The *Dutch*, we know, have Colonies in the *East-Indies*, do these exhaust and depopulate *Holland*; or are they at least a Burden and Inconvenience? The *Hollanders* are so far from thinking so, that they justly esteem them the chief Foundation of their Wealth and Traffick: Their *East-India* Trade depends on their *East-India* Colonies, and the Greatness and Glory of their State depend on their *East-India* Trade. Though their Colonies drain and destroy their Men as fast as ours; as their Trade and Wealth increase,

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their People increase also, and 'tis or 'twill be the same with us, when the Plantations are so far eased of their Burdens, that they may flourish, and pour in Treasure upon us, which in such Case they would again do as they have formerly done. As to the *Dutch West-India* Colonies, how do they cherish *Surinam*, though one of the basest Countries in the World? Are they not as solicitous for the Preservation of *Curaçasso*, as 'tis commonly pronounced? Did they not spare their Admiral *De Ruyter* with a Fleet, in their War with *France*, above 60 Years ago, to fall upon the *French* Sugar-Islands; and would they have done it, had they not thought them highly valuable?

What a Figure have the *Portuguese* made in *Europe*, since the *Dutch* drove them in a great Measure out of their *East-India* Trade, in Comparison to their Strength and Riches, while they were in Possession of it? The *Portuguese* have so true a Notion of the Advantage of such Colonies, that, to encourage them, they admit the Citizens of *Goa* to send Deputies to sit in the Assembly of the *Cortez*; and if it were asked, why our Colonies have not their Representatives, who could presently give a satisfactory Answer? There are some Persons who pretend the *Spaniards* have ruined themselves, by exhausting their Country for the Sake of their *American* Acquisitions. To which may be answered, their banishing the Convert-Moors, the *Jews*, and the setting up of the Inquisition, with the Tyranny of their Government, have more exhausted *Spain* than all their Settlements in the *West-Indies*. Had moderate Councils prevailed, there would have been no Scarcity of Men in that Kingdom; and their Pride and Sloth have impoverish'd them much more than their Want of Hands. Besides, grant that every Nation best understand their true Interest, do not the *Spaniards* Politicks even now justify our Assertion, that the *West-India* Colonies are highly advantageous to their Mother-Countries? What do they fight for at this time? Why do they suffer themselves to be torn to pieces on all Sides? What is this Dispute for? Would they give up the *West-Indies* to the right Owner, King *Charles* III, Matters would soon be accommodated; and without doing it, this War can never be well ended.

All true *Englishmen* were in this way of thinking when Peace was treating with the *French* at *Utrecht*, when, as is too well known to be insisted on here, the Affairs of the *Spaniards* were so desperate, that had not the Confederacy been broken by that inglorious Treaty, they could not have preserved *Old Spain* but by giving up *New*, which being then left in their Possession by the Managers of that unhappy

unhappy and inglorious Treaty, is the Occasion of the present expentive and perilous War, which they have now driven us into by their Piracies and Outrages on our Trade and People in *America*.)

We hope the Reader is by this time satisfied, that our *American* Plantations are an Advantage, and a very great one to this Kingdom.

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

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

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

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

“ The Neglect of the Plantations is not to be dated from any time within the Memory of Man; for all Governments, as well before the Revolution as after it, seem not sufficiently to know the Value of them, or not to regard the Interest of the Concerned. Indeed as long as the

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“ *French* seemed to despair of rivalling the *English* in the
 “ Sugar Trade, the Islands and Sugar Trade were thought in
 “ no manner of Danger, and consequently the Administration
 “ at home had not their Improvements and Security
 “ so much at Heart, as we now find it was for the publick
 “ Interest they should have had. The *French* grew upon
 “ us insensibly, and when we perceived the Ground they
 “ had got upon us, we found, to our Cost, it was too late
 “ to recover it without breaking in upon some Laws that
 “ had been made to the Hindrance and Detriment of those
 “ Colonies, for the Sake of several Branches of Commerce
 “ nearer home. This produced the popular Act of Navi-
 “ gation, which though well designed for the Interest and
 “ Glory of *England*, proved in its Consequence to be an
 “ Impediment to both, the heaviest Weight of it falling
 “ on our *American* Colonies, which are least able to bear it.
 “ This produced the excessive Duties on our Plantation
 “ Products, so excessive, that at first Sight, it appears mon-
 “ strous; as for Instance, to pay ten times as much Duty
 “ on Tobacco as the Commodity is worth where it grows,
 “ and for many Years more Duty for *Barbados* Sugar than the
 “ Value of it in the Country, after the Charge of planting
 “ it is deducted; not to mention the Duty and Excise on
 “ that other Staple Commodity, *Rum*, above twice as much
 “ as the prime Cost, and a like Excess on our other Plan-
 “ tation Goods, which should have been eased, instead of
 “ burdened, at least when the Colonies were young; for
 “ these Duties hinder’d their Growth, and reduced them
 “ from a flourishing to a languishing Condition. ’Tis cer-
 “ tain that when Duties are laid on, ’tis not easy to have
 “ them taken off or diminish’d; and indeed the Custom of
 “ Appropriation renders it almost impossible, and no pri-
 “ vate Wisdom can provide against that Evil.
 “ How much our Trades near home have been considered
 “ to the Disadvantage of our Colony Trades, appears par-
 “ ticularly in an Instance which has lately happened. It is
 “ not doubted but that there is enough Iron Ore or Stone
 “ in our Northern *American* Continent Colonies to answer
 “ the Demand of the *British* Iron-Trade, if Encouragement
 “ were given for making Iron there, and importing it thence;
 “ but the Influence of the *Baltick* Traders and the Iron
 “ Traders in *England*, is such a Clog to that Use and all
 “ necessary Experiments, that so great Store of Iron, which
 “ might be brought thence, lies among the Rubbish of the
 “ Earth.

“ And if Pig and other unmanufactured Iron was imported
 “ from thence to *England*, it would not only in a great
 “ Measure prevent the Waste of our remaining Woods by
 “ its Forges; but being brought home as Ballast for Ships,
 “ or at low Freight, would come so cheap to our Workers
 “ and Dealers in Hard-ware (a very numerous and profitable
 “ Body of People) that the Trade would be prodigiously
 “ increased, and consequently, not only their private Gains,
 “ but the publick Stock of the Nation; all which is too
 “ easily to be conceived to need Enlargements here. But
 “ it must be added farther, that there would be a saving to
 “ the Nation of 2 or 300,000 *l.* a Year, which the *Swedes*
 “ have had against us in the Balance of the Iron Trade for
 “ many Years past. If I am in an Error, I was led into it
 “ by the best Judges of the Iron Manufacture and Trade,
 “ the Dealers at *Birmingham*, of whom several, in Con-
 “ junction with some Gentlemen and others, formed a Soci-
 “ ety about 20 Years ago, who engaged to raise a Stock
 “ of 4000 *l.* for carrying on an Iron-work in *Virginia*.
 “ With this View they had, by the best Enquiry and In-
 “ formation of People who frequented that Country, treated
 “ for the Purchase of a Tract of Land very convenient for
 “ their Purpose, well stored with Iron-Ore, abundantly with
 “ Wood, and commodious for Water Carriage; but on
 “ weighing equally the Advanrage and Disadvantage that
 “ could be foreseen in carrying it on, the Duty of foreign
 “ Iron which must still lie upon what they raised when im-
 “ ported in *England*, was found to be such a dead Weight,
 “ that it was impossible such a Trade could live under it.
 “ Some of the *Birmingham* Men and others have since, in
 “ particular Adventures, attempted this Undertaking; but
 “ the same Difficulty that hindered the prosecuting it by
 “ that Society, have, we suppose, been a Hindrance to this
 “ Day; though, within these few Weeks, 50 Ton of Iron
 “ has been imported from *Maryland*. Much of this Kind
 “ may be said of Hemp, which thrives very well in *Carolina*,
 “ *Pensylvania*, and doubtless would do the same in the other
 “ Continent Colonies, which promises fair for a Supply of
 “ Cordage for all our maritime Demands, if the like En-
 “ couragement was given to these two Articles of our
 “ Plantation Growth, as has been to Rice, Pitch and Tar,
 “ by which Means the former, within these twenty Years,
 “ is now in so flourishing a Condition, that *Carolina* bids
 “ fair for the Rice Trade of *Europe*; and Pitch and Tar, for
 “ which we formerly paid ready Money to the Northern
 “ Nations, come now so cheap to our Ship-builders and

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“ Rope-makers, that the Charge of it is hardly felt by them,
 “ and the Bounty that is paid by the Publick, on the Im-
 “ portation of those Commodities, is doubly and trebly re-
 “ paid by lessening the Balance of Trade that was against us
 “ in those Articles.

“ That such Bounty or other Encouragement is absolutely
 “ necessary for all new Experiments in our *American* Colo-
 “ nies, must be well known to such as are acquainted with
 “ the Price of Labour there, which at home is, in most
 “ Articles of Plantation or Manufacture, the least of the
 “ Charge, but there the greatest; and in new Colonies,
 “ where the People are to labour for Life, they will not go
 “ out of the common and nearest Way, whatever Advan-
 “ tage it may be to their Mother Country, unless that Mo-
 “ ther encourages and assists them in it. They cannot af-
 “ ford, where the Price of Labour runs so high, to be al-
 “ ways paying it, and leaving the Returns from it to a
 “ Growth of 10 or 20 Years Distance. This probably
 “ has been a Hindrance to Cocoa and Cotton-planting in
 “ the Islands, and other valuable Products in the Continent
 “ Colonies.

“ It is not doubted but, from the great Plenty of Mul-
 “ berry-trees in *Carolina*, *Georgia*, and the South Parts
 “ of our *American* Colonies, the Product of Silk may in
 “ time answer the most sanguine Expectations of that kind;
 “ but then it must be considered, that the Necessities of
 “ Life and the Dearness of Labour are so great, that the
 “ Inhabitants of those Colonies, till they have more Hands
 “ to spare, cannot serve their Mother Country as they might
 “ hereafter be able to do with such valuable Experiments;
 “ but how and when that may be done, from feasible Schemes
 “ there, and due Encouragement at home, is Matter for
 “ other Consideration than in this Introduction.

“ We have just received Advice from *Carolina*, that
 “ there were no less than 91,000 Barrels of Rice exported
 “ for *European* Ports in the last Year; but it still has some
 “ Check at home, by remaining under Custom-house Enu-
 “ meration.

“ Many Observations have been made, in treating of
 “ the particular Countries and Islands, of the Advantages of
 “ their several Products to the *British* Trade, and the Im-
 “ provements that have been made therein; as also of the
 “ Disadvantages they lie under, and some Methods hinted
 “ at for removing them. This is a Subject that requires a
 “ larger and more circumstantiated Discussion than an histo-
 “ rical Preface will admit of.

" What has been said here necessarily falls under the Con-
 sideration of all that are concerned in and acquainted with
 " the Product and Trade of our *American* Plantations; but
 " what relates to their Security, being the proper Business
 " of the State, ought to be referred to the Care and Pro-
 " tection of its Ministers, who will doubtless to their own
 " Knowledge and Experience add what they have learned
 " and can learn of the Situation, Danger and Defence of
 " the *British* Colonies. But I cannot omit a few Words
 " upon what I have lately read of their present Strength in
 " Capt. *Vring's* Voyages. He tells us there are, in our
 " *American* Colonies, 1,500,000 Souls of *British* Extraction,
 " of which 30,000 are fit to bear Arms, and ready to go on
 " any Expedition against the common Enemy, *French* and
 " *Spaniards*. His Computation of 1,500,000 is doubtless
 " too large by at least a third of the Number; but his Num-
 " ber of fighting Men, if referred only to such as are fit for
 " any foreign Expedition, is within Compass. Now if one
 " third of that Number was inroll'd in the several Provinces
 " of our Continent Colonies, if they were well officer'd
 " and disciplin'd, with such proper Allowance for Loss of
 " Time as may be provided for them there or at home, they
 " would form a Corp, in 4 or 5 Years time, that could not
 " be opposed successfully by any Body of Men from *Europe*.
 " There are, in those Colonies, Ships enough for Trans-
 " ports, and Provisions enough in all of them for supply-
 " ing the several Quota's of Men, and conveying them
 " to any Rendezvous. And such Forces being more
 " used to the *American* Climates, the Food and way of
 " living in the Colonies would be more serviceable in any
 " such Expedition than double that Number sent from *Eu-
 rope*; considering also that the Fatigues, Perils and Sick-
 " ness that attend the Voyages would be very much lessen'd
 " by so short a one as that from the *British* Colonies to
 " the Islands and the *Spanish* or *French* Settlements. To
 " this Proposition I never heard any Objection made by any
 " Person that knows the least of these Matters, excepting
 " that the Planters cannot spare their Hands, though but
 " so small a Part of them, for Military Exercise and Service.
 " It would be to wrong the Wisdom of the *British* Nation
 " to imagine that it could not get over such an Objection.
 " The Sugar Islands cannot boast much of their Numbers
 " of *British* Inhabitants; they are but small, and lie in the
 " Neighbourhood of the *French* Sugar Colonies; the only
 " Means therefore that can be thought of for their Security
 " is a due Care for repairing or enlarging their Fortifications

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 " that the *British*

" keeping what Militia they have in exact and frequent Ex-
 " ercise, well furnishing their Magazines with Military Stores,
 " carefully preventing all Waste and Embezzlement. To
 " this must be added, above all things, a watchful Eye on
 " the Motions of our Neighbours the *French*; to be always
 " as forward as they can in sending Squadrons or Ships
 " thither, and stationing them there in equal Proportion to
 " the Number of the Enemies Ships stationed at their
 " Islands, which, with a stout Squadron always in Station
 " in *Jamaica* and those Seas, will be a sufficient Guard a-
 " gainst any sudden Invasion or Insult. As these Particulars
 " are all humbly offered as Hints, they are left to be better
 " digested of those who are immediately call'd to this Work;
 " but if they are thought too general, they will be more
 " particularized, enlarged and explained, as Occasion re-
 " quires.

" As I am not for lulling ourselves into a dangerous Se-
 " curity, by a flattering Scheme of our *American* Strength;
 " so neither am I for frightening my Countrymen with the
 " exaggerated Dangers of the Enemy's Strength, which has
 " been done somewhat too largely, though well designed by
 " our Colony Writers. The *French*, in *North-America*, have
 " so many Difficulties to struggle with in their perilous Na-
 " vigation, their barren and impracticable Country, that
 " their Strength consists chiefly in the little Account (more
 " than Ease and Safety) that would arise from the dislodg-
 " ing them. The *French*, in their boasted Acquisitions to
 " the Southward, and their vain Pretences to the Dominion
 " of the Piver *Mississippi*, are as yet very little formidable,
 " and probably make not so much of the Name of that
 " Trade as our South-Sea Company do with the Name of
 " theirs, in which they never employed a Ship nearer it than
 " *Porto-Bello*. Col. *Purry*, of *Carolina*, tells, that the
 " Country and the Banks of the *Mississippi* is, for 300
 " Miles from the Mouth of it, as barren at the *Terra Ca-*
 " *nadensis*, and from that 300 Miles within Land, almost
 " as far as the Lake of the *Iroquois*, belonging to our *New-*
 " *York Indians*; that River runs on the Back of our Con-
 " tinent Mountains, from whence so many fine and navi-
 " gable Rivers flow into the Sea, which has a much nearer way
 " of Communication with *European* Navigation than the
 " nearest Part of the *Mississippi*; and if there is any thing
 " so wonderfully rich and inviting in the Trade with the
 " *Mississippians* as is pretended, they lie so near the Moun-
 " tains just mentioned, which have been found to be passable,
 " that the *British* Inhabitants in our Colonies may easily
 " come

“ come into what Share of that Trade they think fit; and
 “ that Trade itself must be much better than we conceive
 “ to enable the *French* to people, and fortify themselves
 “ in a Tract of 2000 Miles, where probably there are not
 “ now a hundred *European* Families farther up than 50 or
 “ 60 Miles the Mouth of the River.

“ The Increase of the Product and Power of the *French*
 “ Sugar Islands require more the Attention and Care of
 “ the *British* State than their Settlements and Trade on the
 “ *American* Continent. We can now say no more of the
 “ Defence and Security of our own Sugar Islands, than what
 “ we have said heretofore; and as to their Product, if they
 “ were pretty near on a Par with the *French* in Duties at
 “ home, and a free Exportation in their Charge of Go-
 “ vernment and Militia, 'tis not to be doubted but the Good-
 “ ness of the Commodities, the Advantages they have in Na-
 “ vigation and the *African* Trade, would, in a short time,
 “ restore them to that Superiority which their Products had
 “ in *European* Markets. To all which, if we add the just and
 “ necessary Restraint on their Trade with the *British* Northern
 “ Colonies for Provisions, &c. they would be as little able
 “ to carry on their Sugar Works in the *American* Islands, as
 “ they could the Woollen Manufacture in *France* without
 “ *English* Wool.

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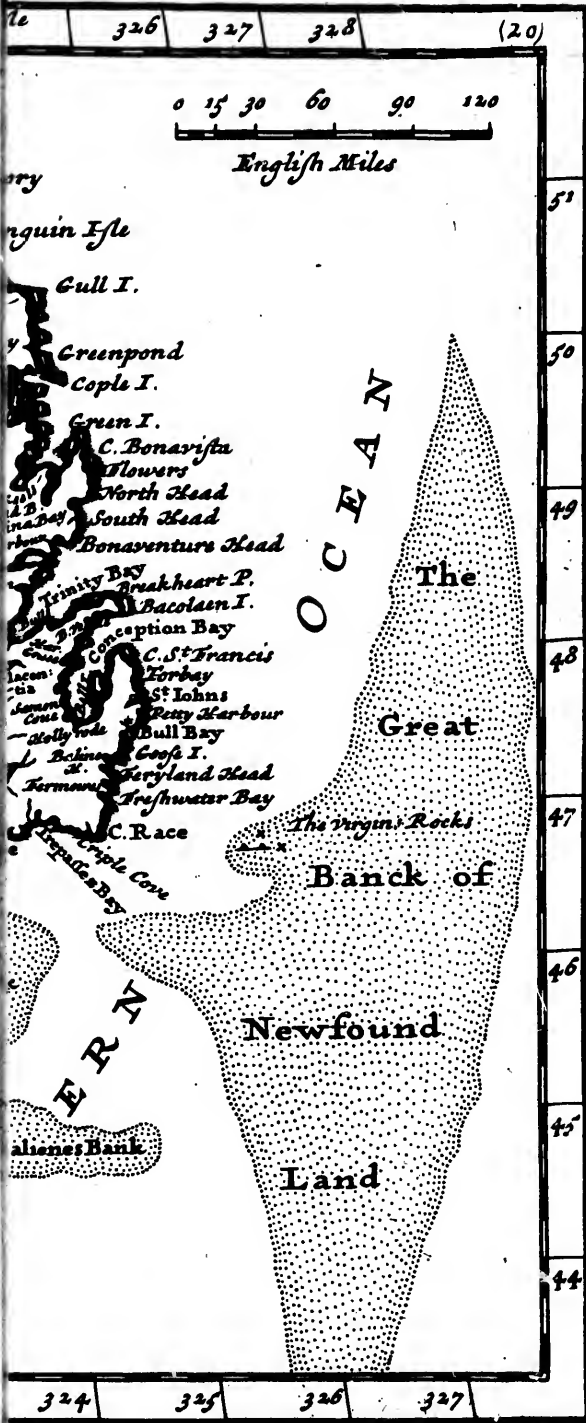
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T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
N E W F O U N D L A N D.

Containing

An Account of its Discovery, Settlement, Encrease, Inhabitants, Climate, Soil, Product, Trade and present State.

THIS large Island was discover'd by *Sebastian Cabot*, who was sent to *America* by *Henry VII*, King of *England*, in the Year 1497, to make Discoveries 4 or 5 Years only, after *Christopher Columbus* had discovered the new World, which proves to us that the *English* were the first of all the *Europeans* after *Columbus's* Discovery, that found out any Part of the *American* Continent. *Cabot* was the Son of a *Genoese* Merchant who was settled at *Bristol*, where *Sebastian* was born, and the Merchants of that City were some of the first Proprietors of, and Traders to and in this Country.

*Discover'd by
S. Cabot.
1497.*

The Island is of a triangular Figure, as big as *Ireland*, about 300 Leagues in Circuit, separate from *Canada* or *New-France*, on the Continent, to the *North*, and from *New-Scotland* to the *South*, by a Channel of much the same Breadth as that between *Dover* and *Calais*: It lies between 46 and 50 Degrees of North Lat. in the Course Ships usually hold as they return from the *West-Indies*; and the Galleons and Flota's from *New-Spain* in a homeward bound Voyage, come within 500 Miles of it: 'Tis not above 600 Leagues or 1800 Miles distant from the Lands End of *England*; and the *Great Bank* is hardly half way to *Virginia*; it has n any commodious

Its Figure.

*Latitude
and
Situation.*

Bays along the Coast, some of them running into the Land towards one another 20 Leagues.

Some Writers relate that the Fishermen of *Biscay* frequented the Banks of *Newfoundland* and fish'd there for Cod, long before *Columbus* discovered the *New-World*. The *French* pretend to prove this by some antique Verses in their Language, but that does not seem to be very likely, for the *Great Bank* being but twenty Leagues from the Island, if the *Bisks* had frequented it, they must in the Course of a very few Voyages been within Sight of it, whether they knew it or not, and they would not long have seen it without landing upon it; where, with a small search, the neighbouring Continent of *America* is as easy to be ken'd as *Calais* is from *Dover*. *Biscay* is certainly so near the Banks, much nearer than *England*, that it would not have been to be wondered at, if the *Biscainers*, who were famous Fishers, had been driven thither by Accident and against their Wills in ill Weather. But

Idle Pretences of the French to the Discovery.

the Pretence of their Fishing on the *Great Bank* not being so well prov'd as to put in a Claim for them to the Country and Fishery, they started another, and that was the Discovery of one *John Verazzan*, a *Florentine* Adventurer, sent by *Francis I.* the *French* King, to *America*, on the same Errand as *Cabot* was sent by King *Henry of England* several Years before, and they say *Verazzan* took Possession of it for *Francis*; but it is all a Dream and Impertinence; tho' if it was true it would not at all lessen the Right of the *English*; for *Sebastian Cabot* had not only taken Possession of it in the Name of *Henry VIII* long before *Francis* was King of *France*, but as a Proof of it, had brought home with him 3 of the Natives, probably the first *Indians* that ever were seen in *Europe*, except those that *Columbus* had brought to *Spain* with him in his two first Voyages thither before *Cabot's*; and not long after *Cabot's* Voyage hither, and to *Norembegua*, all the Continent so called *Northward* of 40 Degrees Lat., the *English* began to trade to *Newfoundland*. Nay, in the Reign of *Henry the VIIIth* Mr *Thorn* and Mr *Elliot*, two Adventurers of our Nation, traded here, and one Mr *Hore* attempted a Settlement here, the first of the kind by *Europeans* in *North America*, but was reduced to such Streights, that many of his Company were killed and eaten by their Fellows. Those who surviv'd were so changed, that Sir *William Butts* of *Norfolk* did not know his Son at his Return, and cou'd not be convinc'd he was the same, till he shewed him a Mark in his Body, by which Sir *William* knew him, as say the Old Writers; and it is the more remarkable, because this Knight, whom King *Henry the VIIIth* dubb'd by the Stile of Sir *William Butts* of *Norfolk*

Sir W. Butts Son here.

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Humphry Gilbert, a
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in her Name, whic
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towards *Virginia*, by
his Course, lost his
of *Canada*, which is
perishing in her.

Prince in his W
and Errors, writes
ession of the Great
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Norfolk, was really that King's Physician, and one of the Founders of the College of Physicians in London; in whose Records he is highly characteriz'd. 'Tis to be fear'd this Son of his did not deserve a very high Character, or he wou'd not have been sent or permitted to go on such a desperate Adventure, in so barbarous and desolate a Country as Newfoundland. This must be about the Year 1540, for Sir William Butts died in 1545, and Whitburn, in his Treatise of Newfoundland, which was printed A. D. 1622, speaks of this Voyage as 80 Years before, which was A. D. 1542.

The English after this neglecting the Place, the French and Portuguese resorted to it, and carry'd on a very profitable Trade for Fish, Furrs and Skins, but in the Year 1579, about 40 Years after Mr. Hore's intended Settlement miscarry'd, Captain Richard Whitburn, of Exmouth in Devonshire, was employ'd by Mr. John Cotton, a Merchant of Southampton, in a Ship of 300 Tons, to fish on the Great Bank, lying on the North Side of The Land, as this Island is generally call'd by Sailors and Traders. But his Companions not being us'd to bitter cold Weather oblig'd him to put into Trinity Harbour, where they kill'd store of Fish, Deer, Bears, Otters, Beavers, Sea-Fowl, and having made a tolerable Voyage, return'd to England.

Capt. Whitburn's first Voyage.

In 1583 Mr. Crook, a Merchant of Southampton, fitted out a Ship of 220 Tons, in which Capt. Whitburn made another Voyage to Newfoundland, and while he was there, Sir Humphry Gilbert, a Devonshire Gentleman and famous Adventurer, half Brother to Sir Walter Raleigh, came thither with two Ships and a Pinnace, and brought with him a Commission from Queen Elizabeth to take Possession of the Place in her Name, which he did accordingly, in St. John's Harbour, in Presence of Capt. Whitburn. This Knight forbid all other Nations to fish upon that Coast; and sailing from thence towards Virginia, by Reason of some unhappy difference in his Course, lost his biggest Ship, upon Shelves on the Coast of Canada, which is very dangerous, most part of her Crew perishing in her.

1583. Second Voyage.

S. Humphry Gilbert takes Possession for Queen Elizabeth.

Prince in his Worthies of Devon. among other Dreams and Errors, writes that Sir Humphry Gilbert took Possession of the Great River of St. Laurence in Canada, and invested Queen Elizabeth in an Estate of 600 Miles in Length, by cutting a Turf and Rod after the ancient Custom of England. This he did at Newfoundland, but not at Canada, of which he took Possession only by leaving his biggest Ship a Wreck on that Coast; so that, continues this Devonshire Writer, to his Conduct and Travel is owing the first Settlement

ment of the Fishing Trade in *Newfoundland*, that hath been so highly advantageous to our own, and other Kingdoms. But not to derogate from Sir *Humphry Gilbert's* maritime Merit, *England* is not so much indebted to that Knight's Conduct and Travels for the Settlement of that Trade, as to Capt. *Kircher's*, who had been there and traded there in a very large Ship, some Years before Sir *Humphry*, as the reverend Author writes, settled the Trade by cutting a Turf. He dwells pretty much on a wonderful Apparition, which prognosticated the loss of Sir *Humphry*, and his Vessel. As visionary and puerile as it is, I'll repeat it, to shew how full People's Heads were at that Time of the marvellous Things in the *American Wilderesses* and Seas.

“ Precedent to the Loss of his Ship strange Voices were
 “ said to be heard by the Watch, and those that stood at the
 “ Helm, of which there have been many Examples of the
 “ like Nature, both by Sea and Land, in which I doubt the
 “ Learned Divine was somewhat too credulous. The General notwithstanding many Persuasions to the contrary, went
 “ aboard the Squirrel, of 10 Tons; and as they chang'd their
 “ Course to return to *England*, (it was indeed to go to *Virginia*,) at the very Instant of winding about, there pass'd
 “ between them, towards the Land, a very Lion, to their
 “ seeming, in Shape, Hair, and Colour, not swimming after
 “ the Manner of a Beast, by moving his Feet, but rather
 “ sliding upon the Surface of the Water, with his whole Body
 “ in Sight, as *Dolphins*, *Porpusses*, and other such Fishes are
 “ seen to do, but boldly shew'd himself above Water, notwithstanding the Mariners presented Themselves in open
 “ View to amuse him: And thus he pass'd along, turning his
 “ Head to and fro, yawning and gapeing wide as he went
 “ and to give them a farewell, coming against the bigger Ship
 “ the *Golden Hind*, he sent forth an horrible Voice, roaring
 “ like a *Lion*, which Spectacle all plainly saw; there instantly follow'd a grievous and violent Storm, which made the Waves
 “ rise so high and horribly that all hopes of Safety had already
 “ left them. Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, nothing daunted, with his
 “ Book in his Hand, most likely the Holy Bible, or, the good
 “ Vicar, adds, *The Common-Prayer*; cry'd out aloud to his
 “ Company, in these Words: *We are so near to Heaven but
 “ at Sea as at Land*: A saying worthy a Christian Hero.
 “ He repeated these Words, till at last he was swallow'd up
 “ by the Waves. The *Golden Hind*, Capt. *Hays*, Com-
 “ mander, arriv'd safely in *England*, and the Mariners gave
 “ this Account of their Leader.”

He is cast a-
 way.

Two Years after, Sir *Bernard Drake*, another *Devonshire* Knight

Knight, was sent several *Portuguese* noted, that the *Spain*, and com We had almost Rupture, in Q Navigations to nish Armada's th having Comman to oppose them.

In the Year 1 wrote a Treatise ment in *Newfound* sinels succeeded *James* made a Gr *Bonavist* in the N Sir *Lawrence Tany* King's Serjeant, *Daniel Donne*, Sir *John Constable*, *Richard Bowdler*, M Mr. *Humphry Hoo* *William Meredith*, over a Colony thit of *Bristol*, of whic 1608, and was Ma another of the Gr *phry Hook* another *Bowdler* to have b that Name among and his Company ar *England*; they land rather Hurts, for th shews that from the gain to *Bristol*. Mr. that he entirely gain not at all disturbed as they were in *Virgi* been on the *East*, an the *English* first plan any Part of it. Mr. turn'd to *England*, b he was gone, probab of whom hereafter, thence, in his Letter

Knicht, was sent thither with a Squadron of Ships, and took several Portuguese Ships laden with Fish, and Oil: 'Tis to be noted, that the Portuguese were then Subjects to the King of Spain, and consequently their Ships Prizes to the English. We had almost always Wars with that King after the first Rupture, in Queen Elizabeth's Reign; Capt. Whitburn's Navigations to Newfoundland were interrupted by the Spanish Armada's threatening a Descent upon England, Whitburn having Command of a Ship in the Fleet, which was equipp'd to oppose them.

Sir Bernard Drake there.

In the Year 1609, Mr. John Guy, a Merchant of Bristol, wrote a Treatise to encourage Persons to undertake a Settlement in Newfoundland, and by writing and solliciting the Business succeeded so well, that in the following Year King James made a Grant of all that Part of the Island, from Cape Bonavist in the North, to Cape St. Mary's in the South, to Sir Lawrence Tanfield Lord Chief Baron, Sir John Dodderidge King's Serjeant, Sir Francis Bacon Solicitor-General, Sir Daniel Donne, Sir Waller Cope, Sir Piercival Willoughby, Sir John Constable, John Weld, Esq; Mr. Ellis Griff, Mr. Richard Bowdler, Mr. Anthony Haviland, Mr. William Lewis, Mr. Humphry Hook, Mr. John Guy, Mr. Philip Guy, Mr. William Meredith, Mr. John Doughtie and others; who sent over a Colony thither under the Direction of Mr. John Guy of Bristol, of which City he had been Sheriff in the Year 1608, and was Mayor in 1618, as was Mr. John Doughtie, another of the Grantee's, in the Year 1620, and Mr. Humphry Hook another of them in the Year 1629; I take Mr. Bowdler to have been also a Bristol Man, having met with that Name among the Magistrates of that City. Mr. Guy and his Company arriv'd at Newfoundland in 20 Days from England; they landed at Conception-Bay, and built Houses, or rather Hurts, for their Habitations during their stay, which shews that from the beginning they had thoughts of going back again to Bristol. Mr. Guy behaved so courteously to the Natives, that he entirely gain'd their Friendship, and the English were not at all disturbed by them in carrying on their Settlement, as they were in Virginia. Indeed the Indians were very rarely seen on the East, and North-East Coast of this Island, which the English first planted, and were but very few in Number in any Part of it. Mr. Guy staid here two Years, and then return'd to England, but some of his Company remain'd after he was gone, probably about Conception-Bay, for Capt. Wynne, of whom hereafter, mentions his Expectation of Men from thence, in his Letter to Sir George Calvert. He also speaks

1609
Mr. Guy, of Bristol here.

The first Newfoundland Company.

Mr. Guy's Voyage in 20 Days, 1609.

of *Bristol Plantation*, where he found as good Rye grow as in any Part of England.

1611.

In the Year 1611. Capt. *Whitburn* made another Voyage to *Newfoundland*, and the Arch-Pirate *Peter Eaton* came hither with 10 Sail of stout Ships, this Place being in those Days pretty much frequented by Pyrates, who traded with the Crews of the several Nations that fish'd there, for such Things as they wanted, getting Money enough by their Plunder. *Eaton* being rich was desirous to leave his wicked Course of Life, and enjoy the Fruits of his Adventures and Perils in Peace, in his own Country; so he engag'd *Whitburn* to solicit a Pardon for him, which *Whitburn* undertook, and it was agreed that *Eaton* should lie off the *Streights* Mouth on the *Barbary* Shore, to wait for it: But King *James* the first's Ministers not being very skilful and expeditious in their maritime Dispatches, *Eaton's* Patience was tir'd out, and he enter'd the *Streights* with his Ships and Treasure, and, as *Whitburn* writes, the Duke of *Savoy* took him into his Service, tho' what Sea Work he had for him to do, is not easy to comprehend. We are told there was very little Frost this Year in *Newfoundland* all Winter long, which, if true, is next to a Miracle, as what I am about to relate, is, if not a Fable, the Prodigy being greater than that of the *Devonshire* Vicar's *Lion*. *Whitburn* attests it to be true, that he saw it again and again in the Sobriety of his Heart and Head; take it therefore in his own Words.

Capt. Whitburn's Mermaid.

" As I was walking by the River's Side, in the Harbour of
 " *St. John's*, I saw a strange Creature, which very swiftly came
 " swimming towards me, looking cheartfully in my Face, as
 " if it had been a Woman; by the Face and Eyes, Nose,
 " Mouth, Chin, Ears, Neck and Forehead, it seemed to
 " be very beautiful and well proportion'd, having round
 " about the Head many blew Streaks resembling Hair.
 " Another of my Company, yet living, who was not far from
 " me, saw the same coming swiftly towards me, at which
 " I stept back, for it was come within the Length of a long Pike.
 " supposing it wou'd have sprung aland to me, as I verily be-
 " lieve it had such Purpose. But when it saw that I went from
 " it, it div'd a little under Water, and swam towards the
 " Place where it first landed, and often look'd back towards
 " me, by which means I saw the Shoulders and Back down
 " to the Middle, white and smooth as a Man's. It came
 " shortly after to a Boat in the Harbour, wherein was my
 " Servant *William Hawkridge*, who is now Captain of a
 " *East-India* Ship: The same Creature put both its Hand
 " on the Side of the Boat, and strove much to get into

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 Son of Sir *Walter V*
 Sir *John Vaughan*,
 Poet as well as a P

“ he and those that were with him being afraid, struck it a
 “ full Blow on the Head, by which it fell from thence; it
 “ afterwards came to two other Boats in the same Harbour,
 “ where they laid by the Shore, the Men in them for fear
 “ fled to Land.” If *Whitburn* and those other Men had pass’d
 the Examination of wise and honourable Persons, and at-
 tested the Truth of this Spectacle upon Oath, it would
 pass for the most prodigious Apparition that ever Man saw since
 he was created, but as it is, one can take it to be no better
 than Ship News.

In the Year ensuing, the *English* found some *Indian* Hab-^{1612.}
 itations, which were Huts made of Poles set round, and meet-
 ing at Top, about 10 Foot broad, cover’d with Deer Skins,
 and the Fire in the middle. In the next Year, 54 Men, 6^{1613.}
 Women, and 2 Children winter’d there, and the Season prov’d
 moderate. The *English* sow’d Wheat and Rye, and planted
 Turneps and Coleworts, which, ’tis said, grew as well as in *Eng-*
land; which is the more extraordinary, because Wheat and
 other Grain cannot now be brought to thrive there. The
 new Planters got plenty of Fish and Fowl for Food, and Bears
 and Otters for Skins: But we have Reason to believe that
 things did not answer their Expectations, for the Grantees
 grew weary of their Adventures and Attempts, the Land being
 soon alienated from them to others. *Whitburn* imputes it to
 bad Management, but as he was endeavouring to be him-
 self the M^{an}ager, one may reasonably suppose there were also
 some defects in the Climate and Country.

The next Year, *Whitburn* being again at *Newfoundland*,^{1614.}
Sir Henry Manwaring came there with 5 stout Ships, strongly
 provided to secure the Fishery. And in the following Year
 Capt. *Whitburn* made another Voyage thither, and carry’d with
 him a Commission from the Admiralty, to *Impannel Juries and*^{A Court of}
make Inquiry upon Oath, of divers Abuses and Disorders com-^{Admiralty}
mitted amongst Fishermen yearly on that Coast.^{there.} Accordingly
 as soon as he arriv’d there he held a Court of Admiralty, the
 first of that kind that ever was there holden. Several Present-^{Prodigious}
 ments of Injuries in Trade and Navigation were made, sign’d^{Fishery here}
 and seal’d by 170 Matters of *English* Ships, which shew show^{by the Eng-}
 flourishing their Fishery then was.^{lish.}

In the Year 1615. Dr. *William Vaughan* of *Carmarthen*,^{1615.}
 purchas’d a Grant of the Patentees for part of the Country,^{Dr. Vaughan}
 as well to the *South*, as to the *East*, which shews us that the^{purchases}
French had no Right nor Title to it. Dr. *Vaughan* was the^{and settles}
 Son of *Sir Walter Vaughan*, of *Golden Grove*, younger Son to^{here.}
Sir John Vaughan, the first Earl of *Carberry*. The Dr. was
 a Poet as well as a Physician, and Author of several Writings

in Verse and Prose. *A. Wood*, says of him: "Afterwards spending much Time in rambling to and fro, he took a long Journey for the Honour and Benefit of the Nation, and became the chief Undertaker for the Plantation in *Cambriol*, *Little Wales*, the Southermost Part of *Newfoundland*, now call'd by some *Britanniola*, *Little-Britain*." But whoever call'd it so was pretty singular in the Name he gave it, no use being then or since made of it, as I have any where seen; whether *Cape Breton* Isle, in this Neighbourhood, is taken from it, or *Britanniola* from that, is not worth Inquiry or Speculation. That *Dr. Vaughan* studied here as well as at *Oxford* and elsewhere, appears by his Book, *The Golden Fleece, discharging the Errors of Religion, the Vices and Decays of the Kingdom, transported from Cambriol Colchos out of the Southermost Part of the Island, call'd Newfoundland*, where I believe few People imagine there ever liv'd and wrote a Poet, this *Golden Fleece* being in Verse, dedicated to King *Charles* the First, by the Author *Dr. Vaughan*, who calls himself *Orpheus* junior, and were it not a trouble, one might remark, that neither the *Vicar's Lion*, nor the *Pilot's Mermaid*, is more a Prodigy, than an *Orpheus* in *Newfoundland*, tho' there was one actually there, if the Poet *Vaughan* was so. This *Newfoundland* Poem was printed in Quarto, in 1626. at which time *Dr. Vaughan* was still in that Country. *A. Wood* writing, I find nothing else relating to the Author, but that he was living at *Cambriol* before mention'd, in 1628; if so he govern'd *Cambriol*, as he call'd it, by his Deputies, before he arriv'd there himself; for in 1615, *Capt. Whitburn* went thither as his Deputy, or Manager, the what and whom he had to manage, we have no particular Account of: *Whitburn* writes, that *Dr. Vaughan* made him Governor for Life, that he sail'd thither with two Ships with People and Provisions for a Settlement, and Necessaries for Fishing, but that one of the Ships was taken and plunder'd by an *English* Rover that had been with *Sir Walter Raleigh*, at *Guiana*; in that unfortunate Voyage, at the end of which he was put to Death. This Capture spoilt *Whitburn's* fishing Voyage, and hinder'd his Plantation. We hear no more of any such Thing at *Newfoundland*, till *Sir George Calvert*, Secretary of State, procur'd a Grant of another Part of it, which he call'd *Avalon*, probably out of Veneration to the Memory of *Joseph of Arimathea*, who is fabled, by the Papists, to have landed in *Britain*, and to have built a Chapel for the *Britons*, whom he had converted to Christianity, at *Glassenbury* in *Somersetshire* then called *Avalon*; *Sir George Calvert* being a Romanist tho' to qualify himself for Offices, he had been an *Occasional*

A Poet lives and writes there.

Sir George Calvert has a Grant here.

Conformist to two Gentlemen of *Oxford*, *Calwell College*, time. *Sir George* *Sir Robert Cecil*, afterwards prince as he was, the U sentative in Parli was not in *New* also created *Bar* the Romish Rel Fortune in King the Restraint of and so resolv'd to Sake, as the *Pur* Cause withdrawi Company making for that Part of th in the *East*, and erected into a Pro tion'd.

How this Grant former Proprietors himself within their it, or King *James* Before *Sir George* sent Persons to pla *Capt. Edward Wynn* having a Commissi He seated himself Houses, and Store- In *May*, the next *pelin Bay*, a League Stores. There is n venturers. Their they made use of the Country, to in and there settle; fo rent in their Acco of it.

Capt. Wynn, the the 17th of *August*, Beans eared and co of them in *May*, o the contrary, yet the

Conformist to the Church of England. It is probable these two Gentlemen, Sir George Calvert and Dr. Vaughan, both of Oxford, Calvert of Trinity, and Vaughan of Jesus the Welsh College, were Inhabitants of this Island at the same time. Sir George had, as a Protestant, been Under-Secretary to Sir Robert Cecil, then one of the Clerks of the Council, and afterwards principal Secretary of State; and as much a Papist as he was, the University of Oxford chose him their Representative in Parliament, A. D. 1624, which proves that he was not in Newfoundland 'till after that Year, when he was also created Baron of Baltimore, in Ireland: His Zeal for the Romish Religion, wou'd have been no Lett to his Fortune in King James's Opinion, if he cou'd have borne the Restraint of a disguis'd Protestant, which he cou'd not, and so resolv'd to withdraw to Newfoundland, for Conscience Sake, as the Puritans were at the same time for the same Cause withdrawing to New-England. The Newfoundland Company making no use of their Patent, he procur'd one for that Part of the Island which lies between the Bay of Bulls, in the East, and Cape St. Mary's in the South, which was erected into a Province, and called Avalon, as before mention'd.

How this Grant cou'd be made without the Consent of the former Proprietors, we cannot comprehend, for he settled himself within their Limits, and he either agreed with them for it, or King James invaded the Company's Property.

Before Sir George Calvert remov'd to Avalon himself, he sent Persons to plant and prepare Things for his Reception. Cap. Wynne Governor. Capt. Edward Wynne carry'd a small Colony thither in 1621, having a Commission from Sir George to be their Governor. He seated himself at Ferryland, built a large House, Out-Houses, and Store-Houses, and Rooms to lodge his People. In May, the next Year, Capt. Daniel Powel arriv'd in Capelin Bay, a League from Ferryland, with Supplies of Men and Stores. There is no trusting to the Relations of the first Adventurers. Their Hearts were set upon a Settlement, and they made use of their Imaginations in the Description of the Country, to invite the English to follow them thither, and there settle; for the Land and its Product is very different in their Accounts of it, and those that are now given of it.

Capt. Wynn, the Governor, wrote to Sir George Calvert the 17th of August, 1622: We have Wheat, Barley, Oats and Beans eared and codded; and tho' the late sowing and setting of them in May, or the Beginning of June, might occasion the contrary, yet they ripen now so fast, that it carries the

Like.

Likelihood of an approaching Harvest. We have also a plentiful Kitchen-Garden of many things, and so rank, that I have not seen the like in England. Our Beans are exceeding good; our Pease shall go without Compare, for they are in some Places as high as a Man of an extraordinary Stature; Raddish as big as my Arm; Lettice, Cale, Cabbage, Turneps, Carrots, and all the rest is of like Goodness. We have a Meadow of about three Acres; it flourished lately with many Cocks of good Hay, and now it is made up for a Winter seeding. We hope to be well fitted with many Acres of Meadow against another Year. Of Pasture Land we have already to serve at least 300 Head of Cattle. Capt. Powell, in his Letter to Sir George Calvert, of the 28th of July, 1622, writes as follows: The Land whereon our Governor hath planted is so good and commodious, that for the Quantity I think there is no better in many Parts of England. His House, which is strong and well contrived, stands very warm at the Foot of an easy-ascending Hill on the South-East, and defended with a Hill standing on the further Side of the Haven on the North-West, the Beach on the North and South-sides of the Land lock it, and the Seas on both Sides are so near, that one may shoot a Bird-Bolt into either Sea. No Cold can offend it, tho' it be accounted the coldest Harbour in the Land; and the Seas do make the Land behind it to the South-East, being near 1000 Acres of good Ground for Hay, seeding of Cattle, and Plenty of Wood, almost an Island, safe to keep any thing from ravenous Beasts. I have, since my Coming, been a little abroad, and find much good Ground for Meadow, Pasture and arable about Aquafort, as well near the Head of the Harbour, as all the way between that and Ferryland. The Nearness of the Place, and the Spaciousness of these Grounds, will give Comfort and Help to the present Plantation. In the Close of his Letter we see the Inducement he had to say such fine things of the Country: If a Plantation be there this next Spring settled, and your Honour will let me be furnished with Charters, and give me Leave to work, I make no doubt but to give your Honour and the rest of the Undertakers such Content, that you shall have good Encouragement to proceed.

These two Adventurers, Capt. Wynn and Capt. Powell, being Welshmen, one may suppose they were the more ready to visit this Land on Account of their Countryman Dr. Vaughan, whose Settlement must have gone on after Whitburn's Voyage, if, as Mr. Wood writes, he himself resided here, and was here living in 1628.

Capt. Wynn sent Sir George Calvert the following List of the Persons who winter'd and staid with him in 1622.

Capt

The

Capt. Daniel
Mr. John Hic
Mr. Nicholas
Mr. Robert S
Sybill Dee, M
Elizabeth Ken
Joan Jackson
Thomas Wilfon
John Praler,
John Bevell, S
Ben. Hacker,
Nic. Hinckson,
Robert Bennet,
Will. Hatch,
Henry Duke, V
William Sharp

Capt. Wynn sent
brought to great

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Sir George Calv
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Avalon, that he re
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were every Year
Adventurers in the
having a better See
England to get a
call'd Maryland.
of Avalon, and go
Deputies. His So
till the Distractions
der'd his Possession
Sir David Kirk, w
who, to patch his
Climate, and try v
better with it than

Capt. Daniel Powel.	Mr. Rob. Fleshman, Surgeon.
Mr. John Hickson, Saltmaker.	Henry Dring, Husbandman.
Mr. Nicholas Hoskins.	Owen Evans.
Mr. Robert Stoning.	Mary Ruffel.
Sybill Dee, Maid.	Eliz. Sharpus.
Elizabeth Kerne, } Girls.	John Bayley.
Joan Jackson, } Girls.	Ann Bayley, his Wife.
Thomas Wilson, } Smiths.	Widow Bayley.
John Praler, } Smiths.	Joseph Panjer.
John Bevell, Stonelayer.	Robert Cow, Fisherman.
Ben. Hacker, Quarryman.	Philip Lane, Cooper.
Nic. Hinson, }	Will. Bond, } Boatmasters.
Robert Bennet, } Carpenters.	Peter Wotton, }
Will. Hatch, }	Ellis Hinkson.
Henry Duke, Boatmaster.	Gregory Fleshman, } Boys.
William Sharpus, Taylor.	Richard Higgins, }

In all thirty two.

Capt. Wynn set up a Salt-Work at *Ferryland*, which was brought to great Perfection by Mr. John Hickson.

We read that the Lord *Faulkland*, Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, sent a Colony to *Newfoundland* in the Year 1623, under Mr. Francis Tanfield, probably in Concert with the Proprietors first named, the Chief of whom was Sir Lawrence Tanfield, Lord Chief Baron; but this Sir Francis Tanfield returned home without making any Settlement.

Sir George Calvert, made Lord *Baltimore*, was so well satisfied with the Account given him of his Plantation of *Avalon*, that he removed thither with his Family, built a fine House and strong Fort at *Ferryland*, and dwelt there several Years; as did Dr. *Vaughan*, on the other Side of the Island. The *Bristol* Plantation was in being still, and *Conception*, *Trinity*, *St. John's*, *Cape de Raz* and other Stages were every Year frequented by great Numbers of English Adventurers in the Fishing Trade. The Lord *Baltimore*, having a better Settlement in view at *Virginia*, return'd to *England* to get a Grant of the Country, which is since call'd *Maryland*. However, he still retained the Property of *Avalon*, and governed the little Colony at *Ferryland* by Deputies. His Son, *Cecil Lord Baltimore*, did the same, till the Distractions in *England*, during the Civil Wars, render'd his Possession precarious; and about the Year 1654, Sir *David Kirk*, whom I take to be a demolish'd Cavalier, who, to patch his tatter'd Fortune, resolv'd to change the Climate, and try whether that of *America* would not agree better with it than that of *Britain* had done. Having the

Sir David Kirk's Settlement.

Warrant

Warrant of the then Government, he went to *Newfoundland*, and possess'd himself of the Lord *Baltimore's* Plantation, which he afterwards treated with that Lord to purchase; but the Family of *Calvert* would never formally part with their Pretences, notwithstanding which, Sir *David* lived there some time; there he died, and gave his Name to a Sound in the *South-West Shore*, not far from *Cape Breton*. He will be mentioned again in *Nova Scotia*; what is said of him and his Expedition against the *French* at *Canada*, in my first Edition, is here rectify'd.

It is a vain Contest on the side of the *English*, as well as *French*, to pretend to a Right to a Country, because a *Frenchman*, or an *Englishman*, or any Man in *English* or *French* Pay first saw it. In fact neither of them have any real Right to it. 'Tis in the *Aborigines* or *Natives* of such Country, and that Right extends to it, whether they think fit to cultivate it or not. The *Europeans* who found any Part of *America*, landed, possess'd it, and kept the Possession, were doubtless entitled to it, exclusive of all other *Europeans*; but the *French* had no such Pretension to any Part of *Newfoundland*, whereas the *English* had possess'd, planted and settled here 60 Years before the *French* began to settle and fortify the Places they possess'd themselves of, *Placentia*, and *St. Peter's*, &c. on the *Southern Shore*. *Whitburn* speaks of *Placentia* as a Bay and Harbour, or Stage for the Fishery; but not of any *French* Settlement there, which was begun soon after King *Charles II.* was restored, and by the Advantage of the *French* Colony in the Neighbourhood at *Canada*, those Intruders soon put themselves into a Condition to maintain Footing against not only the Clamours but the Power of the *English* Army, having a more numerous Colony, and better Fortifications to defend them. These Fortifications are now indeed in *English* Hands; but they make use still of their old Harbours also, as their small Settlements here were term'd, and not *Towns*, a Name indeed which they did not deserve. These Settlements began at first at *Cape St. Mary's*, on the *Southern Shore*, and afterwards were scatter'd along the Coast at 8 or 10 Miles Distance from one Harbour to another as far as *Greenpond*; passing *Cape de Raz*, the most Easterly Point of Land in the Island, we come to

The French settle on the Southern Shoar.

<i>Ferryland</i> , where were about 30 Houses and Families when I first publish'd this History	
<i>Cape Broil</i> , 12	This was the first Settlement, and the Lord Baltimore's
<i>Bay of Bulls</i> , 20	
<i>Brigas Bay</i> , 6	
<i>Bell Inn</i> , 3	

The latter i
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 by *Col. Richards*
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 Company, but no
 were 60 Soldiers
 Command; there
 Right Hand and
 the Commander's
Moderne, with *Sa*
 as before the *Engl*
 Next to *St. John's*
Kittavitty, . . .
Torbay, . . .
Holyrood, . . .
Salmon Cove, . . .
Havre de Grace,
Carboneer, . . .

Toad's Cove, 2 timore's House and Plan-
 Mummables Bay, 6 tation were near it.
 Petty Harbour, 6
 St. John's Town, 60

The latter is highly honoured in being called a Town. 'Tis situated within the Neck of the Harbour, within the Bay, form'd by a River which falls into the Sea there: The Mouth of that Harbour is about half a League over: On the North-side at the Entrance is a Battery, and another on the South-side, where there is a covered Fortification, and 8 or 10 Guns, which, with the opposite Battery, commands this Harbour, and renders it almost impossible for an Enemy to come at St. John's Town; there being, besides this, a Chain of 15 Tons Weight, which may be let down a-cross it from one Fortification to another. There was a Church before the French enter'd the Place and destroy'd it; either it must not have been so strong as we have just related, for we find it was not impossible to take it, or these Fortifications must have been made since the French Invasion. The Houses were built on the Northern Shore, and every Family had a sort of a Wharf before their Houses, called a Stage, to dry their Fish on. The Church stood about the Middle of the Town; but after the French made such Destruction there, the English removed their Dwellings nearer the Fort for their Security. The Fort is mounted with about 50 Guns, including the Outworks added by Col. Richards when he commanded there, and was sent thither on purpose, being a skilful Engineer. Since the English have been in Possession of the whole Island, their Fears of and Danger from the French are very much diminish'd; and the Garrison here, which consisted of a whole independent Company, but now seldom exceeds 15 or 20 Men. There were 60 Soldiers in the Fort when Major Floyd had the Command; there are Barracks for them within it on the Right Hand and on the Left, and opposite to the Gate is the Commander's House, a very fair Edifice, built a la Moderne, with Sash Windows, now not so much regarded as before the English were put in Possession of Placentia. Next to St. John's Town is,

Kittavitty, 20 Houses and Families.
 Torbay, 4 Houses.
 Holyrood, }
 Salmon Cove, } 12
 Havre de Grace, }
 Carboneer, 30

Bay

Bay Virds, . . .	10	Houses and Families.
Old Parlikin, . . .	6	
Trinity Harbour, . . .	12	
Bonavist, . . .	25	
Greenpond, . . .	3	

In all about 270 Families, each of which is very large and all together, before the *French* destroyed the Settlements from *Cape de Raz* to *St. John's Town*, contained 4000 *English* Inhabitants, Men, Women and Children; tho' there were but 1500 Souls *English* in 1698, the Numbers increasing at the Rate of 500 every Year, till they came to be upwards of 4000. They have not increased so since; and notwithstanding the *English* are in Possession of the whole Island, the Number of Souls *English* is not now 6000.

When the *French* landed, most of the People fled to *St. John's Town*, and all that could croud into the Fort were safe there, those that could not were abandoned to the Mercy of the Enemy, who burnt all the Houses in the West End of the Town; and the few they left, were, as they said, only spared that they might be a Receptacle for them when they came there again, which they threatened to do, but never did. They besieged the Fort with 1000 Men. Major *Loyd*, who was then Governor there, having a pretty good Garrison, made a gallant Defence for five Weeks together, during which Time the *French* held them in continual Play, Night and Day, with Attacks and Alarms; and at last, wearied out with the vigorous Resistance they made, retired, carrying off half of the *English* Prisoners, with the rest, secured themselves and the best of their Effects in the Fort. The *French* wanted Stores themselves, and if the Sloop they expected from *Quebec* had arrived with Supplies, they intended to have attack'd the Redoubt again, and have storm'd the Fort. Boasting, if they had *St. John's Town*, they would keep all the Fishery to themselves. The *English* have not only had *St. John's Town* all along, but they have now also *Placentia*, *St. Peter's* and the whole Island of *Newfoundland*; yet they have not kept, and cannot keep the Fishery to themselves.

Under, the Name of *Newfoundland*, call'd, as I have said already, *The Land* by Sea-men, the Isles are comprehended which lie on the *West-side* of it, in the Gulph of *St. Laurence*: They are 15 in Number, of which, the most considerable are *Cape Breton* Isle, *St. John's* Isle, 90 Miles long, 48 broad, and 270 in Circumference. 'Tis proper nothing else but a great Forest of Fir-trees, surrounded with

Isles in Newfoundland.

steep Rocks. there spoken of *Anticosti*, about Circuit: 'Tis fit *Canada*, and has Between *Anticosti* was the best *Canada* have no Right want the Coasts for they tell us, densis it is common 'Tis certain so many as far from being being the best or *English* or *French*

Tho' there is *the Land* has been it was not improper and are still, in former yond *Cape Bonavist* Century, when the *Greenpond-Island*, *East Part* of the *South-West*. The *North*; and it is at all in the *Eastern Bays* upon the *Coast Bonavist*, *Trinity*, *Greenpond* towards the *South-West* bour, the Bay of *St. Peter's* there is no Shore in excellent Harbours, *East* and *South Coast* be more commodious of the Country, were On that which was *St. Mary's*, *Bonavist* Arms towards the *North* *St. Peter's* lies on Leagues distant from *St. John's* the *Great Bay*, and *St. John's* Bay, which lies in a commodiously situated to three Arms or Rivers hundred Sail of Ships

steep Rocks. Cape Breton is Part of *New-Scotland*, and there spoken of. The Isle of *Assumption* is also called *Anticosti*, about 60 Leagues long, 12 broad, and 140 in Circuit: 'Tis situated at the Mouth of the great River of *Canada*, and has a pretty good Haven, call'd *Bears Port*. Between *Anticosti* and the *Flat Island* some Writers say, there was the best Cod-Fishing; if so, and it is agreed that we have no Right to *Canada*, then the *French* do neither want the Coasts of *Newfoundland*, nor *Cape Breton* Ile; for they tell us, that in this Sea, off of the *Terra Canadensis* it is common to take 100 an Hour of the best Fish. 'Tis certain so many have been caught in an Hour; but it is as far from being a common thing, as that Place is from being the best on these Coasts for Fishing; neither do the *English* or *French* ever fish between these Islands.

Tho' there is great Alteration in the Settlements since the Land has been entirely in Possession of the *English*; yet it was not improper to take Notice, what they were formerly, and are still, in some Measure: They did not sit down beyond *Cape Bonavist* till about the latter End of the last Century, when they made a Settlement, not very large, at *Greenpond-Island*, and then took up the *North-East* and *East Part* of the Country, as the *French* did the *South* and *South-West*. The *Indians*, very few in Number, living in the *North*; and it is supposed they never had any Dwellings at all in the *Eastern* and *Southern*. There are several fine Bays upon the Coasts of which the *English* first settled at *Bonavist*, *Trinity*, *Conception*, which stretch themselves towards the *South-West*; *Torbay* and *Capelin*, *St. John's Harbour*, the *Bay of Bulls*, *Fresh Water Bay* and others: For there is no Shore in the World so well accommodated with excellent Harbours, and the Bottoms of the Bays on the East and South Coasts are so near each other, nothing could be more commodious for easy Communication with all Parts of the Country, were there Inhabitants that wanted it.

On that which was the *French* Side are the Bays of *Trinity*, *St. Mary's*, *Borral* and *Placentia*, which extend their Arms towards the North or opposite Coast. The great Bay of *St. Peter's* lies on the *South-West* Side of the Island, 20 Leagues distant from the River of *Canada*. There are abundance of other Bays round about the *Western Shore*, as far as the *Great Bay*, and many more between that and *Trinity Bay*, which lies in about 49 Deg. N. L. and is very commodiously situated to receive Shipping in bad Weather. It has three Arms or Rivers, long and large enough for many hundred Sail of Ships to moor fast at Anchor, above a Mile

Newfound-land, near Canada.

Many fine Bays.

Mile from the Harbour's Mouth. The Bay of *Flowers*, near *Greenpond*, is dangerous for Shelves. The Bay of *Trepassey*, which was the Bounds of the *English*, Southward, lies in about 46 Deg. N. L. is a bold and safe Coast, and convenient for Ships in Distress to touch at, passing to and from *Virginia*, *New-England*, or the *Bermudas* Islands.

Climate.

The Climate is very hot in Summer and cold in Winter: The Naturalists solve this by the bleak Winds that come off from the Mountains of Snow and Lakes of Ice on that Continent, from the Lakes of the *Maquis* and *Illinois*, &c. to the utmost Bounds of *North America*, known to *Europeans*. The Snow lies on the Ground 4 or 5 Months; and the *English* in the *Northern* Parts were forced formerly from the Harbours into the Woods, during that Season, for the Conveniency of Firing. There they built themselves Cabins, and burnt up all that Part of the Woods where they sat down. The following Winter they did the same in another Place, and so cleared the Woods as they went. The People at *St. John's Town*, who did not remove, were put to great Streights for Firing. Wood indeed there was more than enough; but the felling and fetching was very chargeable. Capt. *Francis*, who commanded there, and was there in the Winter Season, told me, it was the greatest Part of the Profits of the smaller Officers in the Garrison to let out their Men to cut and fetch Wood at very good Rates. He said there was hardly any stirring out of the House for five Months in the Year; and I saw a Letter, written in *Newfoundland* by a Merchant, Mr. *John Horsbam* of *Plymouth*, whom Losses in Trade had obliged to remove thither, wherein this Cold is represented almost as intense as Fire, with which they endeavoured to assuage it; but at a great Expence to those that indulged themselves in it. That Merchant lived and died there in King *William's* Reign; but very little recovered his Losses by it.

Soil barren.

The Inhabitants have no Corn, nor any other sort of Provision or Necessaries, except *Fish*, *Venison* and *Wild Fowl*, but what is sent them from *Europe*. The Island is full of Mountains and impracticable Forests. Its Meadows are like Heaths, and are covered with a Sort of Moss instead of Grass. The Soil is good for nothing, being a Mixture of Gravel, Sand and Stones. Thus says the Baron *La Hontan*, and several Gentlemen, whom I have consulted on the Matter, particularly Capt. *Francis* above-mention'd; and yet Mr. *Guy*, Capt. *Whitburn*, and from them Mr. *Delaet*, a very learned Author, set it out as a Paradise. Without the Labour

Falsè Description

of the Situation of Mens Hands, says Capt. *Whitburn*, the Earth produces great

great Plenty of Strawberries, are there in a Ground is as intirely false, turers to America and Partners, the Number of Patentees got in far off for them Whitburn were, be inhabited, but 'tis in Truth on habitable World lish for the Sea wretched for its ter'd by the Charter'd no settled Government of a Ship that commanded only vernal for that Season and it was customary Masters of Ships hopes to be first Losses had happened more noble; for the Commander of the thither to defend Foreigners fishing It seems there was fore, than in the who got so much since dearly paying here, as to pretend so far, that they sent Court, to get the I to the Spaniards by recht by the Earl of Bristol. That this the Ministers for is known to every Nay, the Lord Le ally to Spain, who were about to be given to the Duke of welcome to the Mi

great Plenty of Green Pease and great Store of Hay spontaneously; Strawberries, Raspberries, Mulberries, Filberds, and Cherries are there in abundance; as also Flowers; and for Corn, the Ground is as apt to bear as the English. All which being intirely false, shews us that the first Patentees and Adventurers to America play'd the Cheat to draw in Purchasers and Partners, as our *Jobbers* do to raise Stocks and increase the Number of Bubbles; for 'tis obvious that most of the Patentees got in only to sell out; but the Market was too far off for them to make a Hand of it. Mr. *Guy* and Capt. *Whitburn* were, as we may perceiv, willing the Island should be inhabited, by the fair Description they gave of it; for 'tis in Truth one of the most uncomfortable Places in the habitable World. As it is scarce tolerable to the English for the Seasons, so it is, or at least it was, no less wretched for its Government, which I suppose is little better'd by the Change of the Seat of it. There usually was no settled Governor, but in time of Peace the first Master of a Ship that arriv'd there in Fishing Season, tho' he commanded only a Bark of 30 or 40 Tons, was chief Governor for that Season, by the Stile of *Lord of the Harbour*; and it was customary so long ago as *Whitburn's* Time, for Masters of Ships to hurry away too early in the Year in hopes to be first at the Fishery, by which he says great Losses had happen'd. In time of War the Government was more noble; for then it was lodged in the Commanders or Commander of the Squadron of Men of War, who was sent thither to defend the *Fishers* of our Nation; and to prevent Foreigners fishing there, which was always in their Instructions. It seems there was no more Care taken of that Fishery before, than in the *Utrecht* Treaty; and that the *Spaniards*, who got so much by that Treaty, that we have been ever since dearly paying for it, made so bold with the Fish-Trade here, as to pretend to a Right to it; in which they went so far, that they sent one *Gillingham* an *Irish* Papist to our Court, to get the Liberty of Fishing at Newfoundland yielded to the *Spaniards* by the Treaty which was managing at *Utrecht* by the Earl of *Strafford* and Dr. *Robinson* Bishop of *Bristol*. That this *Gillingham* was far from being snubb'd by the Ministers for coming about such an impudent Business is known to every one that knows any thing of the Matter: Nay, the Lord *Lexington*, who had not refus'd the Embassy to *Spain*, when that Monarchy and the *West-Indies* were about to be ravish'd from the House of *Austria* and given to the Duke of *Anjou*, thought this *Irish* Papist was so welcome to the Ministry, that, in his Letter to the Lord

Government

The Spaniards pretend to the Fishery.

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Dartmouth,

Dartmouth, then one of the Secretaries of State, he frequently excuses himself for not writing upon that Subject, because they had full Accounts of the Matter from Mr. *Gillingham*. Nay, the Queen's Plenipotentiaries above-mentioned went so far, as to suffer a Clause to be inserted at the End of the 15th Article of the Peace with *Spain*, whereby, to use the Words of the Report of the Secret Committee, they gave a Pretence to the Spaniards to claim a Right to fish at NEWFOUNDLAND, contrary to the 7th and 8th Article of the Treaty made with that Crown by Sir William Godolphin. The Board of Trade being consulted in this Matter, made the following Answer to Lord *Dartmouth*, dated January 13, 1712-13. *We have considered the Extract of a Memorial from the Marquis de Monteleone, relating to a Claim of the Inhabitants of Guipuscoa, to fish on the Coast of Newfoundland; and thereupon take Leave to inform your Lordship, that we have discoursed with such Persons as are able to give us Information in that Matter, and we find that some Spaniards are come hither with Passes from her Majesty, and others may have fished there privately; but never any that we can learn did do it as of Right belonging to them. We see by this, that even before the Conclusion of that French Peace the Queen's Passes had been given to the Spaniards, to take the Benefit of the most profitable Branch of the English Commerce. I thought it was better to put these things together, tho' they are antedated, that the Light in which they stand might be the stronger; the Spaniards have not carried their Point in it, and by the 4th Article of the Treaty Mr. Dodington made in December, 1713, some of the Ground lost to them by the Utrecht Peace, was recovered, and all Innovations made in Trade were to be abolish'd; the most scandalous of which was their fishing at Newfoundland. To return to the Subject, which has been interrupted by this.*

If there came two or three Men of War, the eldest Captain was Governor of the Land, as well as Admiral at Sea: If but a single Man of War, the Commander had that honourable Office; and in the Absence of the Captains of the Men of War, and of the Lord of the Harbour, the Commander of the Land Forces in the Fort of *St. John's* Town was Governor by his Place, and both the one and the other were Lord Chancellors, and decided arbitrarily in all Cases. There is no need of much Law, for the Inhabitants have not much Land, and no Money. They truck with one another for what they want and have; and Breaches of the Peace, and taking away a Man's Goods without giving Truck, stealing of Nets and Fishing-Tackle, and Trespassing

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on Stages, are the main Causes that come before the Governor for the time being.

The Governor here for the time being summoned the Criminal, whatever be the Crime, before him, and his Sentence was definitive. If it was the Land Officer, he kept every one in awe, by threatning them with a File of Musketeers; and as much as they were, and still are, without Law and Lawyers, the Want of them was and is one of their least Inconveniencies. If a Man commits Murder, he is sent in Chains to England, and unless Witnesses are sent with him, which is expensive, and not always possible, he takes his Trial at the *Old Baily*, is acquitted, and goes home again; such was the Case of a Person who was accused of Sodomy about 30 Years ago.

Capital Causes not tried here.

As for the Product of this Country, Fir and Spruce-trees are the most remarkable. They are as fit for Masts as those of Norway; but People go to Newfoundland for Cod, and if they can catch that, there is no great need of troubling themselves with Spruce or Fir. Lime and Birch-trees are as big here as any where; and almost all sorts of Timber-trees abound in this Island. As for Quadrupedes, Deer, Hares, Foxes, Squirrels, Wolves, Bears, Beavers and Otters afford Plenty of Food, Pleasure and Traffick; but Fish is the thing that every Body goes thither for: The Sea, on this Coast is almost full of it; as Cod, the Staple Commodity of the Country, Salmon, Herrings, Mackarel, Flounders, and an infinite Number of Trouts in the Rivers, which are not very broad, nor long; but there is enough of them, and of Springs of good Water. Fowl for Food and Game is to be met with every where of all Sorts, and is the greatest Convenience in the Country. But the Trade is the Magnet which draws such Numbers of Voyagers and Adventurers after it. 'Tis indeed one of the most beneficial in all Commerce; 'Tis confes'd so to be, and yet it has been miserably neglected by the English, who, thereby, not only gave the French Opportunities to fall into it, but to settle and fortify themselves in this Island; by which Means they rivall'd us in the Trade of that Fish which was caught on our own Coasts; for those of Newfoundland are as properly so call'd as the Coasts of Cornwall.

Produce.

Meat.

Fish.

Besides the great Profit which particular Merchants make by this Fishery, the Seamen it breeds, the Tradesmen it maintains, and the Shipping it requires, the Increase of the National Stock is no less than 3 or 400000*l.* yearly; for a Ship of 100 Tons, with the Charge only of Victuals and Fishing-tackle for 20 Months, shall bring to Market, in Portugal, Spain, or Italy,

3000*l.*

3000*l.* worth of Fish, and clear at least 2000*l.* to the Proprietors, and consequently encreases the publick with private Stock.

The Banks.

Tho' our Fishers seldom fish on the *Banks*, but off the Harbours in Sloops, yet the *Great Bank* and the others are so much talk'd of, that 'twill be expected we should say something of them. These *Banks* are vast *Shoals* of *Sands* lying along in the Ocean, at several Distances from the Shore. The *Great Bank* is about 20 Leagues from Cape de Raz, the nearest Point of Land to it. It is 300 Miles long, and 75 broad; the Sea that runs over it is, when 'tis Flood, several Fathom deep, and the largest Ships may venture upon it without fear of striking, except at a Place called the *Virgins*, where 'tis thought several Ships have been cast away; for many passing near them have never been heard of. The next Bank is *Vert Bank*, about 240 Miles long, and 120 Miles over, where 'tis broadest. Then *Banquero Bank* lying in the Shape of a Shoe, about the Bigness of the other. Then the Shoals of *Sand-Island*, *Whale-Bank*, the Shoals of *Acadia*, and the Bank of the Island of *St. Peter's Bay*. Off the latter, now or lately almost wholly frequented by the *French*, and on the Coasts there have been 6 or 700 Sail of Ships fishing at a Time. Round the *Great Bank*, which is cover'd when the Sea is high, and dry in some Places at ebb, there are 200 Fathom Water on all Sides of it; and about it lie several small *Islands*, call'd *Los Buchabos*, the Isles of Cod-Fish, from the prodigious Quantity of Cod there. The Fishing Season is from Spring to *September*; the 20th of *August*, some Years ago, used to be the last Day of the Season, and kept as a Holiday; but lately the Fishers stay longer: And whereas before they used to sail for *Portugal* and the *Streights* in *September*, they now seldom sail till *October*. They fish always in the Day-time, the Cod not biting by Night. *Train-Oil* is drawn off the Livers of the Fish which are thrown up in Heaps when the Cod is cured; and from thence is drawn all the *Oil* which comes from *Newfoundland*.

There are two Sorts of Trade in this Navigation; the one, and I believe the more profitable, considering the Risk is less, is that driven by the Fishers themselves, who on victual and man their Ships at *Biddisford*, *Pool*, *Dartmouth* and other Western Ports chiefly, and go away early to fish having the Hands and the Ships necessary. The other when the Masters sail directly to the *Land* to purchase Companies of Fish of the above-mentioned Fishers, or the Inhabitants off their Stages. Almost all these Inhabitants, Masters Families in whole, or in Partnership for fishing and Fish

ready to traffick with Bills of Exchange, ment of which, protested, but t and to my Loss t and *Ireland* is i *Spain* and *Italy*; *Sugar Islands*.

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ready to traffick with these Traders, who purchase their Cargoes with Bills of Exchange at two Months Date, of the Payment of which, great Care is taken; and they seldom are protested, but they have been sometimes, to my Knowledge, and to my Loss too. The Cod that is shipp'd for *Great Britain* and *Ireland* is inconsiderable to what is sent to *Portugal*, *Spain* and *Italy*; some Fish is shipp'd for *Barbadoes* and the *Sugar Islands*.

It will be expected we should say something of the *Indians*. *Indians*.
dians of this Island; but there is little to be said of them different from the *Indians* of other Parts of *America*. I cannot imagine how these or any other *Americans* came to be call'd *Indians*, or their Countries the *West Indies*. The People of Eastern *Asia* had that Name from the River *Indus*, and Chance or Whimsy only could give it to the Inhabitants of another World, as *Columbus's* was deem'd and term'd. The *Indians*, or Natives, when the *Europeans* first wrote of them, were the chief Subject of their Writings; but now their Countries are so much frequented, their Customs and Manners, especially of the Borderers on *English*, *French* and other Colonies from *Europe*, so well known, that an Account of them has nothing in it so marvellous and rare as to content the Curiosity of the better sort of Readers: I shall therefore only insert what I said of them in my first Edition. The Natives of this Island don't correspond much with the *English*; but the *French* have had some Dealings with them from *Canada*. They say they are a tractable People; and the *English*, who have dealt with them, say the same. They paint themselves, and are clothed with Stags-Skins, all their Clothing being an Apron of it round their Waists; which is the more remarkable, because other Parts of their Bodies were as sensible of Cold as their Waists; and as to their Modesty, I am satisfied there was no Distinction amongst them in Dress, either as to Modesty or Immodesty, till the *Europeans* taught them; and whether they got any thing by exchanging their native Simplicity and Ignorance for *European* Breeches and Petticoats, may be very well doubted. They are of small Stature, broad faced and breasted, their Joints well knit and their Limbs strong, as were, doubtless, our Forefathers the *Britons*, when they knew no more, nor cared for no more than the *Indians*. They had no Beards. This, in *New-England*, was owing to a Custom, or rather Law, that the meaner sort should thereby be distinguished from the greater. They were crafty, great Pilferers, dextrous at making Cans and Kettles; but we are not told of what Metal. The *Indians* in the *Caribbee* Islands made a sort of Earthen

Pots that would bear the Fire; but I no-where find that the *Indians* of *North America* had the use of Iron, and much less of Copper or Brass Utensils, before the *Europeans* brought it amongst them. The ancient Writers tell us *they believe in a God* (I am afraid they are rather Poets than Historians) *which created all things, and Men and Women, by taking a Number of Arrows and sticking them in the Ground, from whence they spring up.* One of their *Segamores* being ask'd what he thought of our Religion and the Trinity (the last a very foolish Question to be put to one that had not been prepared to receive it by *Revelation*) answered, according to the History, which I very much suspect, *There is one God, one Son, one Mother and the Sun, which are four; yet God is above all.* A much wiser Answer than I believe the Man that questioned him could have made to a Point of less Difficulty. The *Voyagers* add, *Some of them converse visibly with the Devil, and from the Devil received Advice concerning their Wars and other Matters.* This is certainly as true as the rest concerning their Religion. The *Europeans* carried this same Devil along with them to *America*, where he was never heard of before, and whatever they think fit they make the *Indians* do with them. Their young Women, at fifteen, lie with as many Men as they please for 5 or 6 Years, then each of them chooses one for a Husband, and is afterwards very constant to him. They set their Dead in the Ground upright, with their Goods and Provisions as for a long Journey. They are great Dancers and Singers, and in their Dances the Women often throw away the little Covering they have, and frisk about naked, perhaps without committing any Part of the Offence in the Action which the *Europeans* do even in the Ideas of it.

The Historical Events of this Island, from Sir *David Kirk's* coming thither to the first *French War*, are too trivial to remember, consisting only of common Accidents in Life among Fishers and their Traffick. After the *Revolution* and the breaking out of the War, the *English* and *French* there, as well as elsewhere, fell upon one another as often as they had an Opportunity of doing it with Advantage: The *English* began first and with three Men of War, the *St. Albans*, a third Rate of 66 Guns, the *Commadore's Ship*, attack'd *Placentia*; but were so warmly received by the *French*, that they were forced to retreat, making a very idle Excuse for it, that they did not think the Enemy had been so well prepared to receive them. The latter were much more successful in their Attempts on the *English*; for in the Year 1696, a Squadron of the Men of War, the *Pelican*, the *Diamond*, taken from the

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English, the Count de *Thoulouse*, the *Harcourt*, the *Philip*, the *Vendange* and some Fireships, came up with the *Saphire* Frigate, Capt. *Cleasby*, off Cape *Spear*, and gave her Chace; but she got into the *Bay of Bulls*, where *Cleasby* did all he could to fortify the Place in the little Time he had for it: The *English* who liv'd in the *Harbour* came to his Assistance, ^{The French at the Bay of Bulls.} but at the Approach of the *French* they all ran away, and cou'd not have done much good by staying, the Enemy being near ten to one. On the 11th of *Sept.* the whole *French* Squadron came down upon the *Saphire*, and fir'd with the utmost Fury. Capt. *Cleasby* made a brave Defence for two Hours, and brought most of his Ships Guns to bear on the side next the *French*; who at the same Time made a Descent, and drove the *English* who were there into the Woods; they then fir'd on the *Saphire's* Men from Shore, as well as from the Ships, and it was in vain for *Cleasby* to think of maintaining his Ship any longer, so he set her on Fire, and with his Officers and 35 of his Crew, followed his Countrymen into the Woods. When the *Saphire* was on Fire, 40 *French* came on board, endeavouring to extinguish it, but were all blown up into the Air, as soon as the Fire reach'd the Powder Room. A 100 more of the *Saphire's* Crew made the best of their way towards *Ferryland*, but were interrupted and taken by the Enemy. Capt. *Cleasby* and his Company reach'd that Harbour, where he and they did their utmost to defend that Settlement against the *French*, who came and attacked it; ^{At Ferryland.} they landed 600 Men, who approached within Musket Shot of the *English*, very resolutely, and the *English* fir'd upon them with equal Resolution, which oblig'd them to halt. The *French* return'd their Fire, and sent a Trumpet to summon them to surrender. Capt. *Cleasby*, seeing 'twas impossible for him to repell so many Men with so few, came to a Treaty ^{They take it.} and deliver'd up the Place, which was not tenable. Himself, his Lieutenant, and his 35 Men were made Prisoners of War, and sent to *France*, from whence they return'd to *England* by Exchange. The *French* destroy'd that and all the *English* Settlements, except *St. John's*, *Bonavist*, and *Carboneer* Harbours.

King *William* being inform'd what Damage they had done ashore, and how they interrupted their Fishery on the Coast, order'd a Squadron of Men of War to be equip'd, and commanded by Admiral *Nevel*, and 1500 Men were put on board under the Command of Sir *John Gibson*, Lieutenant-Governor of *Portsmouth*. Admiral *Nevel*, sail'd the following Year, 1697, and arriving at *Newfoundland*, the *French* immediately abandon'd all the Places they had taken from the *English*.

Ponti was at the same time on that Coast, with a Squadron of *French* Men of War, and Admiral *Nevil* fell in with him, but lost him in a Fog: It does not read well at all. This Expedition was generally thought to be in ill Hands. *Gibson* was a Soldier, but nothing else; and *Nevil* was not so diligent as was requisite, to have to do with such an active, vigilant Enemy as *Ponti*. Sir *John Gibson* held a Council of War, and the Sea-Officers assisting at it, 'twas debated whether they should pursue *Ponti*. The latter were for it, but the Land Officers against it, *Ponti* having more Ships than *Nevil*. If so, I do not think *Nevil* shou'd have been press'd to pursue him. The Marquis de *Nesmond* having joined *Ponti*, there's Reason to believe they might both together be superior to *Nevil* in Number of Ships, and we see by this, the laudable Care the *French* Court took of their Trade. The *French* appear'd off of *St. John's* with 15 Men of War, and *Nevil* had but 12 Ships of less Force in the Bay, but the *French* did not think fit to attack them in the Harbour; and upon their retreating, *Gibson* put his Soldiers ashore, where he built a regular Fort, which he call'd *Fort William*, and then re-embark'd his Men and return'd to *England*, leaving Lieutenant-Colonel *Handaside* Commander there, with a Garrison of 80 Men. The *English* have made such sorry Work of their *American* Enterprizes, that one is asham'd to report it, and if there should ever be occasion for another, it will be I hope better concerted, or better executed than any of them hath hitherto been, except only the Squadron that lately block'd up the *Spanish* Plate Fleet in their Port, the Concert and Execution being in that equally wise and happy.

Tho' the Peace of *Ryswick* had put an End to the Hostilities between the *English* and *French*, yet King *William* judg'd it necessary to send another Squadron of Men of War to *Newfoundland*, to see every thing in good Order. Captain *Norris*, the Admiral now living, and serving his Country, had the Command of that Squadron, and a Commission to be Governor at Land also; and for the Encouragement of this very beneficial Trade, an Act of Parliament pass'd about the same Time, That no Alien or Stranger whatsoever, not residing within the Kingdom of *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, or Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, shall at any time hereafter take Boat or use any Sort of Trade or Fishing whatsoever in *Newfoundland*, or in any of the Islands adjacent, which excluded the *French* from *Cape Breton-Isle* as well as the rest, till Mr. *Harley*, and Mr. *St. John*, advised the Queen to give it up to the Common Enemy, and that too for the very

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French Commerce, which as the Report says, the Parliament rejected with great Indignation.

Col. Handaside going for England, Capt. William Lilburn succeeded him here, in the Command of Fort William, but there being Peace with France, few Events worthy the Reader's Curiosity happen'd in this Country; where the Fishery not being disturb'd, new Inhabitants came every Year, inso- much that the People doubled in 3 Years Time.

Capt. William Lilburn, Governor.

The People doubled.

The next Year 1700, Sir Andrew Lake arriv'd there with another Squadron of Men of War; King William, notwithstanding it was a peaceable time, thinking the Newfoundland Trade of so much Importance, that it was worth the while to be at the yearly Charge of a Squadron to defend it. This Year Capt. Lilburn resign'd the Command of the Garrison in Fort William, to Capt. Humphry Haven, who did not enjoy it long, for in the ensuing Year, Capt. John Powel was made Governor of the Fort; he was succeeded the next Year by Col. Michael Richards, who being a skillful Engineer, made several Improvements at the Fort, added other Works, and so strengthen'd it, that 'tis a very regular Fortification, and one of the strongest in America.

Capt. Humphry Haven, Governor.

Capt. John Powel, Governor.

Col. Michael Richards, Governor.

A new War with France commencing in 1702, the French and English went very early into it in these Parts of the World. Sir John Leake, arriving here with a Squadron of Men of War, destroy'd 3 French Men of War, and 30 Merchantmen, in the Bay of St. Peter's, and attack'd and raz'd the Fort. Col. Richards returning to England, Capt. Lloyd was made Governor of Fort William.

Capt. Lloyd, Governor.

The next Year, 1705, was fatal to the English; the French entered St. John's Town, and laid Siege to the Fort with 1000 Men; the English, it is said, made a vigorous Defence for five Weeks, and then the Enemy left the Place, after having burnt most of the Houses and destroyed all the Fishing Stages. They carry'd away with them half the Inhabitants, especially all the Youth they could get on. Those they sent to France, came to England by Exchange; others, for want of being exchange'd, enter'd the French Service; and some were kept in Servitude at Quebec. After this Destruction at St. John's-Town, the English that remain'd there built their Houses round the Fort, under the Command of the Cannon, for fear of another Insult from the Enemy. Within the Palisadoes drawn round this new Town they also built a Church, whose Minister was lately Mr. John Jackson. But since the English have been in Possession of Placentia, all these Precautions are now of little or no use here.

Placentia, tho' no large Town, is much larger than ever St. John's was, or was like to be. When the French had it,

there

there were a Governor and a Lieutenant-Governor, a Major, 3 Captains, and Subaltern Officers, 3 Companies of Soldiers, Gunner, 1 Bombardier, 3 Serjeants, 10 Mafons, and other Artificers, 500 fighting Men, besides 300 *Indians* and *Canadians*; but the *English* have nothing like it.

The *French* came hither no more after this Descent at *St. John's-Town*, and they have now no Settlements in this Island, but they have *Cape Breton-Isle*, and all the Coasts of this and the other adjacent Isles, for the use of their Fishery, to dry their Fishes on Stages.

The Cession of Placentia, &c. an Imposition on the English Ministers.

The Cession of the *French Part of Newfoundland* to the *English* was, as in the Queen's Speech to the Parliament, an Article of the *Utrecht Peace*. Her Majesty's Words, *The French consent to deliver up Newfoundland and Placentia*; but the *Secret Committee* observe, *it must be remember'd that in the Preliminaries, sign'd in Sept. the French had reserv'd to themselves a Liberty of taking and drying Fish in Newfoundland.* A gross Imposition this on the *English Nation*. What use can the *French* have for *Newfoundland*, but to take and dry their Fish? *Canada*, the greatest Colony they have any where, is within half a Day's Sail of *Newfoundland*, *Cape Breton-Isle* almost joining to it, and the Coast of *Newfoundland*, chiefly for their Purpose to interrupt or interfere with our Fishery. They do not want *Placentia*, being so strong as they are on the adjacent Continent, and it is a small Strength or Convenience to the *English*, who have so near them the main Strength of the *French in America*. Fishing Harbours we had enough before, and do still make use of them, and those Harbours were secure enough in time of Peace. They have not, by the *Utrecht Peace*, got one Coast nor one Stage from the *French* Fishing, but have absolutely given up our Right to the most commodious Place for us to fish at in all that Part of the World; a Place that almost joins to *New-Scotland*, which is contiguous with *New-England*; a Place that intercepts the Communication between *Newfoundland* and the neighbouring Colonies, and covers the *French Colonies* and Fisheries, if ever there should be occasion to attack them. Upon the whole, let the Value of that Cession, *Cape Breton-Isle*, abandon'd by us to the *French*, and that of taking and drying Fish in *Newfoundland*, which in short is the *Newfoundland Trade*, be fairly weigh'd against the Advantages of our having *Placentia*, it will presently be seen that the latter is a Feather in the Scale against Gold; and let it be cast up how much the garrisoning and governing that Place, and its Appurtenances, have cost the *English* in 30 Years, without a Penny worth of real Service in all that Time, or ever like to be, i

Cafe of a Rupt strong in *America* it will be found Interest, when th of *Shrewsbury*, th done the *English*, in *Newfoundland*, the *French*. Both Duke made no m originally and rig of above 100 Ye right Owners, and we ourselves enjoy I find Col. *Mo* and Col. *Gledhill* small Information,

Case of a Rupture with the *French*, who are no where so strong in *America*, as within almost Sight of *Placentia*, and it will be found how rightly the *French* Court judg'd for their Interest, when they rejected all Proposals made by the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, the Queen's Ambassador, for having Justice done the *English*, in the Articles of taking and drying Fish in *Newfoundland*, and the delivering up *Cape Breton-Isle* to the *French*. Both which they insisted upon keeping, and the Duke made no more Words about it. Thus was this Trade, originally and rightfully our own, establish'd by a Possession of above 100 Years, render'd in a manner precarious to the right Owners, and secur'd, with greater Advantages than ever we ourselves enjoy'd, to Intruders.

I find Col. *Moody* made Governor of *Placentia*, in 1713, and Col. *Gledhill* in 1719, of whose Management, having small Information, I can add no more to this Article.

THE
HISTORY
OF
NEW-SCOTLAND.

From its DISCOVERY to the present Times.

NOVA-Scotia, or New-Scotland, is the Eastern Part of the Northern Continent of America, bordering on New-Hampshire, the Eastern Part of New-England. It was called Nova-Scotia, by Sir William Alexander, Scotch Secretary to King James the First, who was created Earl of Sterling. 'Tis an Idle Pretence of the French, that one John Verazzan, a Florentine, employ'd by Francis the Ist, their King, discover'd not only this Coast, but all the Continent of America, from Canada to Carolina; for besides that, if any, he made no more such Discovery of those Coasts, than a Man may do by sailing off of them. Sebastian Cabot, employ'd by King Henry the VIIth of England, had not only been in these Parts long before this pretended Discovery of Verazzan, but in Proof of it, had brought home with him two or three of the Natives. There's but a melancholy Account of this Florentine; who 'tis said, landing in this Country, call'd Acadia by the French, was murder'd, and some say eaten by the Savages. The English always took Acadia to be part of North-Virginia, for all the Continent of America, from Cape-Henry, Northward as far as was known, went by the General Name of Virginia at first, and divided into separate Settlements, was only, according to the Situation, call'd South, or North-Virginia.

The Bounds of Cape-Breton-Island, Canada to the North from 43 to 51 Degrees: the nearest to Montreal, has almost been deserted, and of no use of it. The first English Discoveries and Settlements were made by Cabot's Acquisition of the Virginia Part of the Continent beyond the Expedition; when Cabot, made a Voyage toward, as far as Canada, five or six Years before arriv'd in that Country. White Men, like the Indians, were sent toward of them. So as far as it had been the Virginia Company, and found a Settlement, belong'd to some other Person, with his small Arm, that they cou'd not get on the Deck. Among other things, of which being most of their Cannon, and landed his Men, made a great Order; the French ask'd upon which they gave. The English enter'd the next Day the French, cancelling the Patent Settlement by the French, seems look on even their Subjects set. Europeans cou'd have they thought fit to suffer'd such of the same for Europe in a Voyage to Virginia, and another Settlement. Bay on the South. Jesuits had left out court, and with these

The Bounds of this Province are the *Ocean* to the *North*, *Cape-Breton-Issland*, and the Bay of *St. Laurence* to the *East*, *Canada* to the *West*, and *New-England* to the *South*. It lies from 43 to 51 Deg. N. Lat. and from the River *St. Croix*, the nearest to *New-Hampshire*, to the great River of *St. Laurence*, has almost 600 Miles of Coast, but most of it uninhabited and desert, the *Indians* themselves making little or no use of it. That it was from the beginning of Discoveries and Settlements on this Continent, look'd upon as Part of *Cabot's Acquisitions* for the Crown of *England*, and Part of the *Virginia Patent*, which included all the Northern Continent beyond *Florida*, appears by Sir *Samuel Argal's Expedition*; where this Gentleman then Governor of *Virginia*, made a sort of cruising Voyage on the Coast Northward, as far as *Cape Cod*, in *New-England*, in the Year 1618, five or six Years before the *English*, who intended to settle, arriv'd in that Country. The *Indians* inform'd him that some White Men, like himself, were come to inhabit to the Northward of them. Sir *Samuel Argal*, who took all that Country as far as it had been discover'd by *Cabot*, to belong to the *Virginia Company*, his Employers, made towards the Place and found a Settlement, and a Ship riding before it, which belong'd to some *Frenchmen*. *Argal* drew so close to it, that with his small Arms he beat all the Men from the Deck, so that they cou'd not use their Guns, their Ship having but one Deck. Among others, there were two *Jesuits* aboard, one of which being more bold than wise, endeavour'd to fire one of their Cannon, and was shot. *Argal* having taken the Ship landed his Men, march'd to, and summoned the Fort to surrender; the *French* ask'd time to consider of it, which was deny'd, upon which they got privately away, and fled into the Woods. The *English* enter'd it and lodg'd there that Night, and the next Day the *French* came in and yielded to Sir *Samuel Argal*, cancelling the Patents that had been granted them for their Settlement by the *French King*. The Kings of *Europe* it seems look on every Country as their own, which any of their Subjects set Foot upon in *America*; as if none but *Europeans* cou'd have Property either to Land or Seas, if they thought fit to turn the Owners out of them. Sir *Samuel* suffer'd such of the *French* as were so dispos'd to take Passage for *Europe* in the Fishing Ships, and took the rest with him to *Virginia*, according to their Choice. The *French* had another Settlement, at a Place they call'd *Port-Royal*, on a Bay on the South West Coast of *Acadia*; which the two *Jesuits* had left out of pique to their Governor, *Monf. Bien-*
court, and with these *Frenchmen* separated from the others. Father

ther *Biard*, the surviving Jesuit, out of Malice to *Biencourt*, inform'd Sir *Samuel Argal* of the Settlement at *Port-Royal*, and the ease with which he might reduce it; which, upon Experience, he found to be true, and on the Surrender of the *French*, he did no Damage to their Houses, their Barns, and Mills, such as they were, but oblig'd them to quit the Country. They had sow'd and reap'd, and those of them that did not care to return home, remov'd to the River of *St. Lawrence*, where now is the Capital of *American France*. I know not whether these *Acadian French* were not the first Settlers of that now formidable Colony, formidable in Barrenness, Frost and Snow; thanks perhaps to the want of Management of the *English*, who possess the warmer, the more pleasant, and fruitful Climate. My Author says, *Argal* return'd to *Virginia*, satisfy'd with the Plunder he got in these two Settlements; if so, I suspect that a very little satisfied him.

When Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* was President of the *New-England Company*, he propos'd to Sir *William Alexander*, to procure a particular Grant for the Land to the Northward of their Patent, which was easily obtained of King *James* the 1st, and a Year after, 1622, Sir *William*, and some others whom he had got to be concern'd with him, sent a Ship with Passengers to plant and fettle there. *Newfoundland* was then very well known on Account of the Fishery, and the Ship being late in her Voyage, the Master put in and wintered there. The next Year they set sail, and made the Promontory at the North Shore of *Cape-Breton* Island. They coasted it along till they came to *Cape-Sable*, in *Acadia*, where they found three good Harbours, and went ashore at one of them, which they called *Luke's-Bay*, in which was a large River that had 8 Fathom Water at ebb. This Ship sail'd up one, and according to the Accounts that were publish'd by those that were to be Sharers in the Patent, this Country, one of the most miserable that ever was inhabited even by Barbarians, is described as a kind of Paradise. As they sail'd up the River they saw on each Side flowery Meadows, and a charming Prospect of green Hills, and shady Groves; which should have been indeed high Mountains and thick Forests: The Fields were deck'd with Roses red and white, and Lilies of a fragrant smell: Coasting thence along to the next Harbour, they came to a broader and deeper River, and a more lovely Prospect than before: The Soil was rich, stor'd with Fruit and Grain, Gooseberries and Strawberries grew there in abundance, and what is the most incredible of all, Rye, Barley, and Wheat; but these Voyagers did not say who planted them, for there was not a mortal Man to be seen there; however sailing to the next Harbour

A false Account of the Country by the Patentees.

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Harbour, 36 Miles farther, they found the Country still the same, fruitful and beautiful: The Rivers were stor'd with Cod, and other Fish, great and small: But that signified little without the Charms of the Fields and Hills, there being more than Fish enough in the neighbouring Sea to furnish the whole World. There was Plenty of Fowl at Land, as Woodcocks, Pigeons, Blackbirds, Wild-Geese, Herons: And Timber Trees of all kinds, strong Wood, and sweet Wood. But with all these Temptations, the Passengers would not stay there: And I have said this only to shew how the Parentees went about to abuse People, with the tempting Description of the Countries granted to them in *America*, to draw People in to plant or to purchase. Whoever drew up the Memorial for the use of those that were employ'd in the *Utrecht* Peace err'd egregiously, in saying that this Colony remain'd here several Years, for it made no stay and return'd the same Year, or the beginning of next, which was 1624. And the same Writer owns that *Acadia* was deliver'd up to the *French* by King *Charles* the First's Treaty of Marriage with *Henrietta Maria* of *France*: But that Treaty being in the very next Year after, Sir *William Alexander's* Colony cou'd not have been there several Years as 'tis said in that Memorial. The Writer adds, *we got it again 2 or 3 Years after*; I know not how, nor why, having parted with it by so hopeful a Treaty as that of the Marriage aforesaid: *And the North-side of the River, call'd Canada, was given to Sir David Kirk, and the South-side, call'd by the French, Acadie, fell again to Sir William Alexander*: The Memorialist in what follows did not enough consider, how much the Character of King *Charles* the First wou'd suffer in point of Wisdom, when he added farther, *though the King, when he found the French had possess'd themselves of the whole Country, declared publicly he had given away only the Forts, and not the Soil: he attempted to recover it again, but fail'd*: So the Memorialist calls the *Utrecht* Plenipotentiaries, but names not the Time when, or Means how he made that Attempt; and hardly one thing of *England*, between Queen *Elizabeth's* Death and the Revolution made any attempt to recover either Countries or Commerce which were taken from the English.

What the Memorialist drives at, is to prove, that not only *New-Scotland*, but *Canada* was the rightful Possession of the English. He affirms that King *Charles* I. included it in his grant. See what he says: "In 1627 and 28, the North-side of the River call'd *Canada* was given to Sir *David Kirk*, who was both Proprietor and Governor; and the South-side,

Canada belongs to the English.

“*South-side*, call'd by the *French Acadie*, fell again into the Hands of Sir *William Alexander*. In 1632 it was given away again, and the *French* kept it many Years.” But without any legal Right, unless King *Charles* could legally give away what was not his by Inheritance, Purchase, or Compact with any Purchaser, and did indeed belong to those *British Adventurers*, who were at the Charge of planting and settling there. *Oliver* minded not these Givings; but as soon as he was possess'd of the Government, he sent Major *Sedgwick* to retake it from the *French*, who pretended they had bought it of Sir *David Kirk*; and in Truth the *French King* had purchased Sir *David's* Right to *Canada* for 5000*l.* which was never paid. It was worth Notice, whatever Use is made of it, that the *Terra Canadensis* and the *Terra Labrador*, of which *New-Scotia* is a Part, was a *British Acquisition*, and so acknowledged by the *French*, when they purchased it of the *English*, long after *John Verazzan's* acquiring it for *France*, by being eaten up there, as has been already mentioned. Major *Sedgwick* easily dislodg'd the few *French* that had planted in and about *Port-Royal*; and *Cromwell* who did not use to part with any thing he thought worth keeping, would not suffer his Ambassador in *France* to give the least Ear to the pressing Solicitation of the *French Ministers* for Restitution of this Country. By the Treaty concluded between *Oliver Cromwell* and *Lewis XIV*, *Cromwell* insisted upon it, that it was the ancient Inheritance of the Crown of *England*. Ancient here refers to *Cabot's* Landing, and taking Seizin of it in *Henry VIIIth's* Reign, 1498 Years before *Oliver's* Time; but being afterwards informed that Monsieur *St. Estienne de la Tour*, Son and Heir to Seigneur *Claude de la Tour*, of the House of *Bouillon*, of the reformed Religion, had bought *Nova Scotia* of the Earl of *Sterlin* and was come over to *England* to solicit the Restitution of it, *Cromwell* order'd it to be restored to him, upon making out his Title.

And here it may not be improper to take Notice, that most of the *French* who transported themselves to *America* in the last Century, were Protestants, whether to the Continent or the *Islands*. Admiral *Coligni* had form'd a Scheme in the Reign of *Charles IX*. to transport a numerous Colony of *Huguenots*, to *North-America*, and intended to follow himself in Person. Great Preparations were made for the Reception of himself, and his Friends; but a treacherous Person with the Court of *France* diverted him from the Thought of it at that Time, and they soon after cut his Throat, and rid themselves of him, both at home and abroad: By which

The French
in Nova Scotia.

1654.

Driven out
by Cromwell's Orders.

Mons. de la
Tour his
Purchase.

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European Christian
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Allegiance to King

we observe that the *English* Puritans were not the first *European* Christians that thought of flying to the Wilderness, to escape the Rage and Cruelty of persecuting Prelates.

De la Tour, being put in Possession of his Province, sold it to *Sir Thomas Temple*, who, according to the Memorialist, was Proprietor and Governor, till the Restoration: If so, *Sir Thomas* must be there in Person, and it is the more likely, for that we find he was one of the Benefactors to *Harvard College*, in *New-England*. The Memorialist adds, "soon after which, *King Charles* deliver'd it up again to the *French*, and *Canada* with it, where they both reited, to the unspeakable loss and detriment of the Crown, and the Plantations, till Col. *Nicholson* lately recover'd the former." This Memorialist is strangely out in the newest Part of his History; for long before *Nicholson's* being there, *Sir William Phips* had driven the *French* out of *Port-Royal*, as we shall see presently, and the *English* kept it till the Peace of *Ryswick*, when *King William* was too much perplexed by Faction at home, to insist on those Advantages abroad, which you'd not be obtained but by the Continuance of War, in which he was shamefully cramped, and distressed by the Disaffected, Natural and Artificial. But the *French* became so troublesome to the *New-English*, when they had disciplin'd and join'd with the *Indians*, that they resolv'd upon an Expedition to unneestle them in this Neighbourhood.

Pursuant to this Resolution *Sir William Phips*, who commanded the Fleet and Forces, sail'd from *New-England* the 8th of *April* 1690, and on the 11th of *May* arriv'd before *Port-Royal*, situated at the Bottom of a little Bay or Bason, within the Bay of *Funda*, to the Eastward. It was but a poor place, defended with single Palisadoes only, which I the rather mention, because our modern Writers of the *West-India* Colonies enlarge very much on the more than ordinary Care of the *French* to fortifie their Settlements; and this was a very important one, considering how convenient it was for annoying the *English*, or being annoy'd by them; and considering also what a flourishing Trade the *French* carry'd on in Lumber, Fishing, Furrs, and Skins; insomuch that when *Ships* came thither, there were at least 6000 Souls in *Acadia*. *Meneval* the Governor, being so ill provided for Defence against Broadfides, made a very short one, and surrendered on Condition of a safe Conduct to *Canada*. Thus the *English* retook Possession of the Town and Country, demolish'd the little Fort, not worth the Name, sent away the *French* Inhabitants that were for removing, and took an Oath of Allegiance to *King William* and *Queen Mary*, of those

that staid there, which were about a third Part of the whole Number, most of them Protestants. An *English* Governor was plac'd over them, and those *English* that settled there afterwards. Sir *William Phips*, in his return towards *New-England*, demolish'd another little *French* Fort, at *St. John's* River, on the South-side of *Funda* Bay, almost at the Entrance of the *Bafon*. These were very cheap Conquests, but good Bargains for the *English*, if good use had been made of them.

La Hontan. Baron *La Hontan* says, "the *English* under-sold the *French*, and took such Measures, as he fear'd would in time drive the latter quite out of the Trade." The more remarkable this, because the very Language that some of our Writers turn upon the *French*, to alarm the *English*, as *La Hontan* endeavoured to alarm the *French*.

We heard little of *New-Scotland*, from Sir *William Phips's* being there, to Col. *Nicholson's*, in the second War with *France*. That Officer came before *Port-Royal*, in the Year 1710, happily before there was any Rumour in *America* of a Revolution in the *English* Ministers, in favour of *France*. The *French* Garrison here was still in an ill State of Defence, and made not a much better one than *Monf. Meneval* had done, but surrendered on the same Conditions. Col. *Nicholson* was appointed Governor, and ——— Esq; his Deputy.

Col. Nicholson.

I hope it will not be thought I injur'd the Ministers, at the latter end of the Year 1710, by saying they were *Frenchified* for one of the Persons prefer'd to Employment by them here, and at *Newfoundland*, was ——— *Boyce*, accus'd as an Accomplice with *Charnock*, *King*, and *Keys*, in the Assassination Plot.

Port-Royal, call'd Annapolis.

Annapolis, has not much better'd its Condition by changing its Name. It is yet but a small Town, with a few Houses, two Stories high, and that high enough, unless the Climate was milder, and the Inhabitants better able to furnish them. There is a pretty good Traffick for Lumber, Fish, and Furs; the Furs are brought to them by the Savages, who are even to this Day content to take Goods for them, which the *Europeans* can very well spare. Modern Writers have a little else to say in Praise of this Place, extoll the *Bafon* on the Edge of which it stands. It is two Leagues long, and a League broad, capable of receiving 1000 Sail of Ships, but the Experiment will certainly never be made: At the Entrance of the *Bafon*, there is 18 Fathom Water, on the one side, and 7 on the other, the Channel being divided by the *Isle de Cheures*, which stands in the middle. There's excellent

chor

chorage all over the Land which produces the best Foot, and unless the Place, Settlement, but in addition to Major have often good Peltries. It is *England*, which cannot be ready to confess the latter at a great Measure about *New-Holland*.

The reducing Service, nor only as Mr. *Dummer* "and a *Dunkirk* "Quarter from "out, and fell which made it of very well for us than as there was Reason Treaty were in to had they deny'd the session. Col. *M* after its Reduction government, with the of *Annapolis-Royal* Stores there, and much enamour'd What relates to the XIIth Article of the *Ancient Boundaries*, *Annapolis*, and all the *Lands and Islands* Possession of the said by Treaties, or by a *French King* graciously *France* from Fishing 50 Leagues, beginning to the South-West. Possession of *New* Foot; the *Fr* *Cape Breton* Island,

chorage all over the Basin, and at the Bottom lies a Point of Land which parts two Rivers, where the Tide rises 10 or 12 Foot, and on each side are *pleasant Meadows*; doubtless the Place, describ'd by the first Adventurers thither for a Settlement, but all along from Sir *Samuel Argal's* Expedition to Major *Sedgwick's*, and so on to later Times, Ships have often gone thither to load Lumber, and trade for Peltries. It is or might be made a good Barrier to *New-England*, which having a long Frontier towards the *Indians*, cannot be too safe against them, the *French* being ready to confederate with them. *New-Scotland* puts the latter at a greater Distance from them, and that will in great Measure hinder their assisting the *Eastern Indians*, about *New-Hampshire*, in time of War.

The reducing this Place was doubtless a good piece of Service, not only for the Reasons just mention'd, but because, as Mr. *Dummer* writes, "*Port-Royal* was a nest of Privateers, and a *Dunkirk* to the *American* Trade, besides it was the Head Quarter from whence Parties of *French* and *Indians* issu'd out, and fell upon the Eastern Parts of *New-England*," which made it of such Importance to the *English*, that it was very well for us the *French* had not so good an Opinion of it, as there was Reason to fear; for the Managers of the *Utrecht* Treaty were in too good Humour to have deny'd them Peace, had they deny'd the Cession of *Acadia*, tho' then in our Possession. Col. *Nicholson* going to *England* some Time after its Reduction, was solemnly invested with this Government, with the Title of Governor of *Nova-Scotia*, and of *Annapolis-Royal*, and Commander of all her Majesty's Stores there, and in *Newfoundland*. This Gentleman was much enamour'd with Government and sounding Titles.

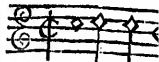
What relates to *New-Scotland* in the *Utrecht* Treaty is thus in the XIIth Article: *All Nova-Scotia, or Acadia, with all the ancient Boundaries, as also the City of Port-Royal, now call'd Annapolis, and all other Things in those Parts, which depends on Lands and Islands, together with the Dominion, Property, Possession of the said Islands, Lands, and all Rights whatsoever, by Treaties, or by any other ways obtained, &c.* To which the *French* King graciously added the Exclusion of the Subjects of *France* from Fishing on the Coast of *Nova-Scotia*, and within 10 Leagues, beginning from *Cape Sable*, and stretching along to the South-West. The Subjects of *Great-Britain* were in Possession of *New-Scotland*, when this Treaty was set on Foot; the *French* having the Fishery on the Coast of *Cape Breton* Island, and in the Sea to the Bay of *St. Laurence*,

the most profitable and commodious Fishing in those Parts, they value not the Coast either of *New-Scotland*, or *Newfoundland*, farther than what was stipulated for them, by the *British* Plenipotentiaries, to catch and dry Fish there. We shall see in its Place, how the *French* bubbled them also in pretence of *St. Christophers*. On the Coast of *New-Scotland* lies *Canso*, a Settlement of great Consequence to the *English* Fishing Trade. We shall now see how much that Trade is oblig'd to the Wisdom of our Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, by suffering the *French* to rest peaceably in that Neighbourhood, for 5 or 6 Years. Complaints came from *Canso*, that, notwithstanding four Companies of Soldiers had been some time before sent there, for their Defence, they remain'd still in great Peril from the *French* and *French Indians*, for want of Fortifications, and by 30 of the best of those Soldiers being remov'd to *Frederick's Fort*. This put the Inhabitants into so much Apprehension, that few Fishing Boats had appear'd there that Season, so that of 25000 Quintals of Fish which were wont to be caught, there was not then above 3 or 400 Quintals, so little Confidence have the Fishers in the Protection they might have from our Settlement at *Canso*.

The Indians
in New-
Scotland.

There's no need of treating of the Savages in *Acadia*, so much being said of them in the History of *New-England*: As they have less Commerce and Converse with the *English*, than the neighbouring *Indians* have, thereremain among these more of their native Barbarity and Ignorance. Those about *Annapolis* were call'd *Soursquois*, pretty near *Iroquois*, the Name given to *Indians* not in Alliance with the *French*. They were of a midling Stature, well limb'd, tawny, black-hair'd, beardless also, except the *Segamores* and Seniors, the rest being oblig'd to pluck up their Beards by the Roots, as I have seen some of our remote Peasantry do out of Choice. Their Dress was only a Covering over their Nudities; this must be in Summer Time, and with such as never saw them in Winter. In Summer they liv'd upon Fish, and upon *Indian Corn* in Winter, but did not know how to make it into Bread till they were taught by the *Europeans*: They had no Form nor Notion of Religion, which I believe is much truer than their worshipping the very same *Devil* as betray'd *Europe* as we read in the *New-England Accounts* of the *Indians*, their Conjurers whom they call'd *Autmoins*, were their Priests and Physicians. You'll find them the same in *New-England* and I suppose all over *America*; in which, except the Conjuring, they are exactly imitated by the *French* Missionaries.

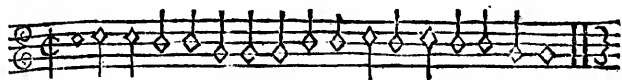
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who are all of them Doctors too as well as Priests. They had certain *Tabagia*, or Festivals, at which they us'd to sing and dance incessantly: We have met with some of their Musick and Poetry, which we believe the Curious will be pleas'd to see.



Tameja alle luya Tameja douvem Hau Hau He He.

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

Cape Breton-Island is a Subject no good *Englishman* can write or read with Pleasure. The giving of it to the *French*, by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, may prove as great a loss to the Kingdom, as the Sinking Fund amounts to, or even the Charge of the last War. This Island was always reckon'd a Part of *Nova-Scotia*, and was in express Terms inserted in King *James* the First's Patent. It lies in the South of the Gulph of *St. Lawrence*, is 60 Leagues long, 10 or 12 Broad, and 140 in Circuit, a fine Compass for Harbours and fishing Stages, and within a few Minutes Sail of the Continent; 'tis almost cut in two by the Gulph: I do not say what follows seriously, but to copy others. Queen *Anne*, by her Instructions to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, demanded the *Isle* as a Part of the *British* Dominions, to be restor'd absolutely by the *Utrecht* Peace: The Queen said in her Instructions, she wou'd upon *Cape Breton* to belong to her, and reckon'd that Island a Part of the ancient Territory of *Nova-Scotia*, which by the Treaty was restor'd to her: But alas! 'tis well the *French* wou'd let us have what they did, since our Ministers at that time were resolv'd to part with every thing rather than not to break with the War. 'Tis found they insisted upon *St. Chrich* to give it up, than we were to have it, as will be shewn in its proper Place: Had we kept or got *Cape Breton-Island* by that Treaty, The *French* Fishing in all the neighbouring Seas had been precarious, upon the entire Cession of *New-England*, which the *French* durst not contest as overforced as our Plenipotentiaries were to give them up every thing; but now from *Cape Breton-Isle*, where they fish

more at their Ease, than the *English* off the *Newfoundland* Coast, they can at Pleasure disturb our Fishery, as we might have done theirs, and have destroy'd it entirely, by the entire Possession of the Land allö; for *Cape Breton-Isle* commands the Entrance into *St. Laurence's Bay*, and is aptly situated for cutting off all Communication, not only between *Quebec* and all the Fishing Harbours in *America*, but between *Canada* and *Europe*. 'Tis easy to be explained if it was proper; but *Cape Breton-Isle* is lost to us.

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**NEW ENGLAND,
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and PENNSILVANIA &c.**

By H. Moll Geographer.

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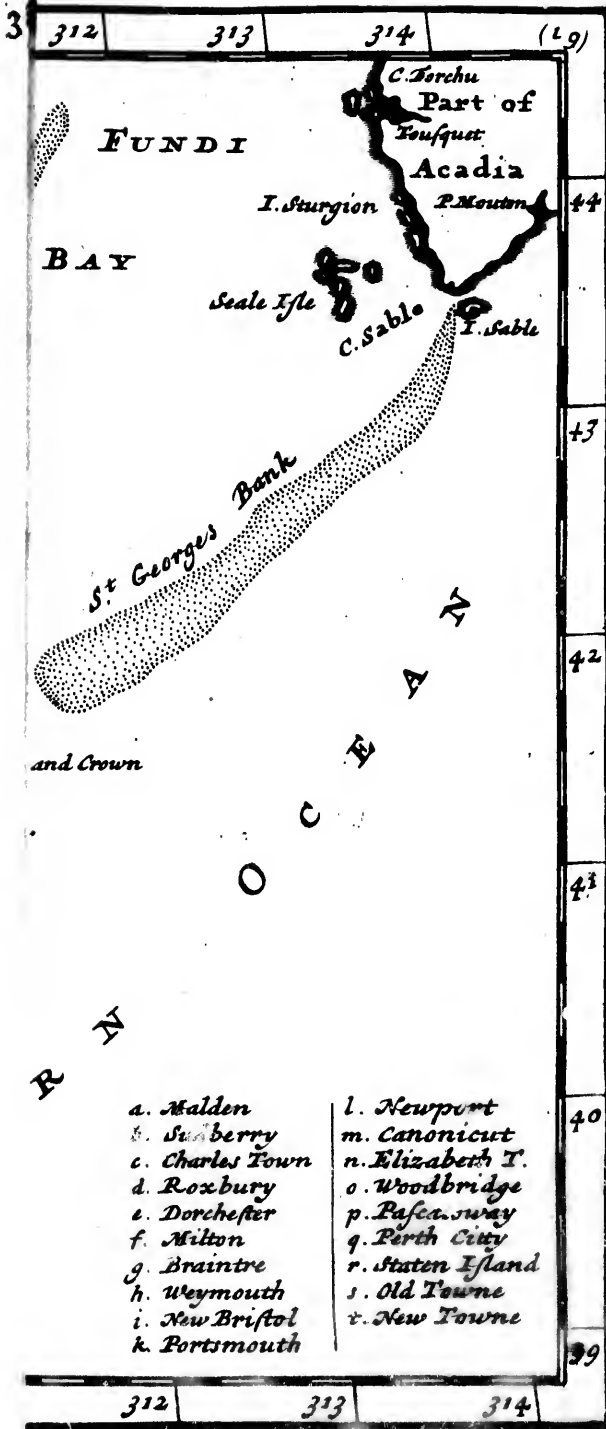




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C H A P. I.

From its Discovery and Settlement, to the breaking out of the first *Indian* or *Pequot* War,

Containing the Space of *Seventeen* Years.

THO' the Continent of *North-America* was, doubtless, discover'd by *Sebastian Cabot*, under the Auspices of *Henry VII*, King of *England*, four or five Years after *Columbus* had discover'd the vast Southern Continent, and the Islands in the Seas that bound it; and tho' Sir *Walter Rawleigh's* Adventurers, *Amidas* and *Barlow*, had traded in *Virginia*, and Sir *Francis Drake* had been ashore in the Country of which we are about to treat, yet nothing satisfactory is said of either its Discovery or Trade, till the Voyage of Capt. *Bartholomew Gosnold*, in the Year 1602. He was the first Navigator who made a considerable Stay here. He had with him 32 Sailors and Passengers, who seem'd to have had some Thoughts of a Settlement, if they met with a Place that invited them to it, they carrying with them Seed Corn to make an Experiment of its Growth in the Soil of *America*. Capt. *Gosnold* made Land in the Latitude of 42 Deg. and a few Min. Northward, among the Islands that now form the North-side of the *Massachusetts*

1602.

Capt. Gosnold's Voy. age.

chusets Bay; but not liking the Place, he steer'd to the Southward all Night, and next Morning found himself imbay'd within a mighty Head of Land, which Promontory he called *Cape Cod*, from the vast Quantity of *Cod* Fish he took there. 'Tis the Northern Point of *Plimouth* County. Here was the greatest Plenty of Fowl he ever saw; and had he had Tackling for a Whale Fishery, he might have made a rich Return. He went ashore on a small uninhabited Island, which he call'd *Elizabeth* Island, and on another Island, which he nam'd *Martba's* Vineyard, where the *Indians* had Habitations, as will be seen hereafter. Here some of his Company sow'd some *English* Corn, and saw it come up very kindly. He built a little Fort for his and his Mens Security, and traded from thence with the Savages, to whom *Europeans* were no Strangers; for the Commander of the first Body of them that came to trade with him, was dress'd with Waitcoat, Breeches, Shoes, Stockings, Hat and all Accoutrements besitting an *Englishman*; but his Attendants had only Deer-skins about their Shoulders, and Seal-skins about their Waists. Their Hair was very long, and tied up with a Knot behind. They were painted all over; but their natural swarthy Colour was easy enough to be discern'd. *Gosnold* traffick'd with them so profitably, that he made an extraordinary Voyage, and gave the Country and Inhabitants so good a Character, that the Merchants his Employers, and others, resolv'd upon a Settlement in these Parts; to which End they begg'd a Grant of King *James* I. and these *Grantees*, call'd the Council of *Plimouth*, where most of them resid'd, were authorized to plant where they should think fit and convenient, between 38 and 45 Degrees of Northern Latitude; the Country within their Patent going by the Name of *North Virginia*, as all the Continent to the Southward of it, was term'd *South Virginia*.

The principal Persons concern'd in this Grant were the Lord Chief Justice *Popham*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, who is supposed to have betrayed the beloved and unfortunate Earl of *Essex*, *Thomas Hanham*, Esq; *Raleigh Gilbert*, Esq; Some of that famous Adventurer Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, *William Parker*, Esq; *George Popham*, Esq; who, with the other Members of the Council of *Plimouth*, in the Year 1606 fitted out another Ship for *North Virginia*, the Command of which was given to Mr. *Henry Challons*, who had with him about 30 Men, and sailing away with them as far as the *Spanish* Isles probably not *West-Indian* Isles, but the *Canaries*, the Court Ships bound for *America* then took, fell in with a Fleet of *Spaniards*, was taken and sent Prisoner to *Spain*, together

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with all his Company, where they were treated after a cruel inhuman Manner, notwithstanding that King *James* was at the same Time courting the Friendship of that King by very dishonourable and disadvantageous Compliances. Tho' the rest of the Patentees were very much dishearten'd by this ill Succes; yet the Lord Chief Justice *Popham* quickly after set out another Ship at his own Charge, under the Command of Capt. *Hanham*, one of the Patentees, who brought back such an encouraging Account of the Country and Trade, that those who fell off before resolv'd now to adventure again; and accordingly Capt. *Popham* and Capt. *Gilbert*, two others of the Patentees, were dispatch'd away with two Ships, 100 Men, Ordnance, Stores and Provision for a Plantation, which they began on the Banks of the River *Sagadahock*, in *Norembequa*, next to *Casco* Bay; all the Continent from *South Virginia* being, by the old Geographers, call'd *Norembequa*. They built a Fort, to which they gave the Name of *St. George*, at the Mouth of *Sagadahock* River, more to the Northward than the present Plantation in *New-England*; but Capt. *Popham* dying, and Capt. *Gilbert* being about to return to *England*, to take Possession of the Estate fallen to him by the Death of his elder Brother, Sir *John Gilbert*, who was President of the *North Virginia* Company, those that came with them could not be persuaded to stay after they had lost their Leaders, but broke up and reimbarc'd for *England*.

Capt. Popham and Capt. Gilbert.
A. D. 1608.

But the Trade in *Peltry*, *Fish*, *Oil*, &c. turn'd to so good an Account, that Ships continued every Year to make this Voyage; and four or five Years after a Company of four Gentlemen, Capt. *Rawden*, Capt. *Langham*, Mr. *Bully* and Mr. *Skelton*, fitted out two good Ships at their own Charge, to make the same Voyage and Adventure. The chief Management of the Adventure, and the Command of the biggest Ship, was given to Capt. *John Smith*, who had been President of the Colony at *South Virginia*; *Thomas Hunt* was Commander of the other Ship. They fell in with the Land about the Island *Anabigan*, where they traded with the Natives; and Capt. *Smith*, while his Men were fishing on the Coast, travell'd up into the Country, with only 8 Men in his Company, and drew a Plan of as much of it as he could survey, which he says in his Voyages, he presented to Prince *Charles*, who gave it the Name of *NEW-ENGLAND*. *Smith* then tells us how the Prince christen'd particular Places in his Survey, which I hardly think he took much Pains about. The *Massachusetts* River he call'd *Charles* River; the Harbour of *Cape Cod*, *Milford Haven*; the Cape itself,

K. Charles I.
gave it the Name of New-England.

itself, Cape *James*; but it retain'd the Name *Gosnold* gave it. He call'd *Boston* and other Spots of Ground by other Names, which I don't believe the first Builders and Planters had any Regard to. They were drawn out of *England* by Persecutions, and had no great Reason to be fond of any thing done by their Persecutors. Capt. *Smith* made his Voyage out and home in about 6 Months, and put 1500*l* in his Pocket. The Gentlemen, on whose Account he went, were also fully reimbursed their Charges by the Product of the Skins, Fish, Oil and other Commodities.

Capt. Hunt's
Villainy to
the Indians.

When Capt. *Smith* was gone, *Hunt*, the Commander of the other Vessel, enticed between 20 and 30 of the Natives aboard him, and, contrary to the Law of Nations and the Publick Faith, clapp'd them under Hatchets and sold them to the *Spaniards* at *Malaga*, where he was bound with his Fish. His Owners turn'd him out of their Employ for his Villainy; but the Punishment was by no Means adequate to the Crime. The *Indians* of *Patuxes* highly resented it, and resolv'd to be revenged on the *English* that came on the Coast. Capt. *Hobson* was the first that came in their Way; he and Capt. *Herby* were fitted out by the Council of *Plimouth*, not only for a Trade, but with Necessaries for a Settlement, on which the Adventurers Hearts were still set. The Traffick of Furs and Fish was very advantageous; and they imagined it would be very much extended, if the *English* could winter and settle there, to carry it on without Interruption. Upon Capt. *Hobson's* Arrival, many of the *Indians* came aboard his Ship, and having been kindly entertain'd by him, promised, at their Departure, to return the next Day and begin Trade. They came with 20 *Canoes*; but refused to come aboard. *Epenow*, an *Indian*, who *Hobson* had brought with him as an Interpreter, beckon'd to them to come near, and immediately leap'd into the Water and swam to them; upon which the *English* fired at him, and the *Indians* in the *Canoes* let fly their Arrows at the *English*. Several of the *Indians* were kill'd, and *Hobson* and some of his Crew wounded, which so discouraged the rest, that they coming to trade and not to war, sail'd back to *England*. However, the Company of *North Virginia* being encouraged by Capt. *Smith*, fitted out 4 Ships in the Year 1615, and put aboard them a good Part of the Crew that had been in the Country with *Smith*. These Ships made their Voyage in 6 Months, and the Returns were very considerable. Capt. *Smith* sail'd himself for *New-England* the same Year; but losing the Masts of the Ship he was aboard in ill Weather

Capt. Hobson.

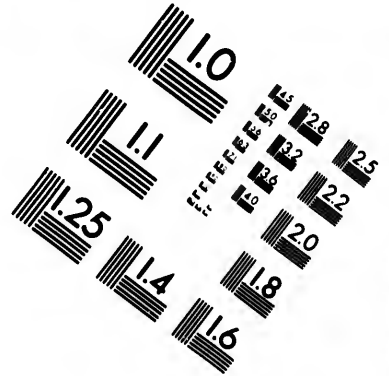
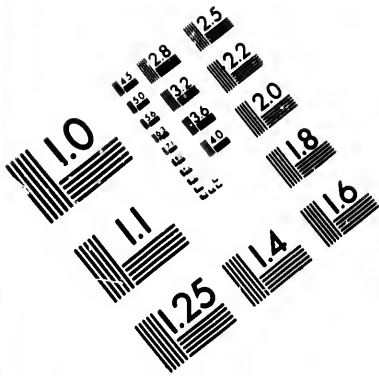
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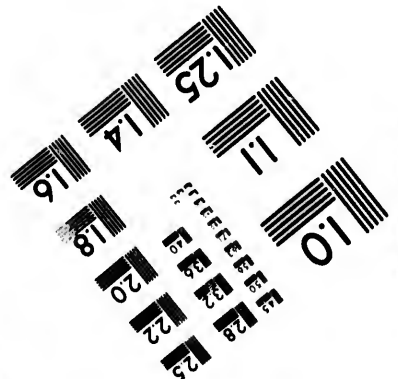
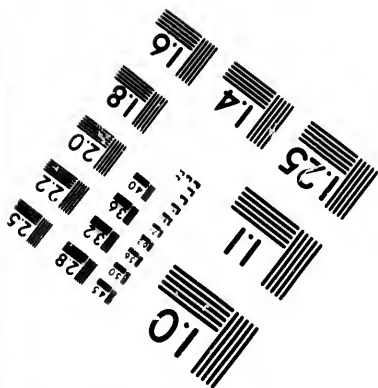
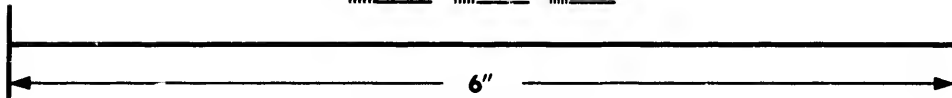
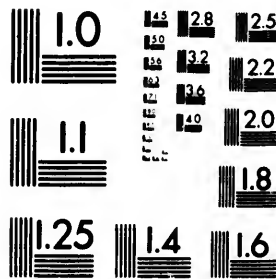
he was forced to return to *Plimouth*, whence so eager was he for the Voyage, he put to Sea again only with a Bark, and was taken by the *French*; how, where, and for what Reason we are not told; nor is it easy to guess, we having then no War with *France*, whither he was sent Prisoner. His other Ship arrived in *New-England*, and came back with a very good Cargo. Probably those aboard traded with other *Indian Nations*. The *Patuxes*, against whom the *English* were exasperated, inhabited that Part of the Country where now is *New-Bristol County*, with the *Pocassets*, now *Barnstable County*, or *Massasoits*, near *Mount Hope*; for the *Indians* did not attack them, as they did *Dormer*, who was sent in the Year 1619 to prosecute the Design of a *Plantation* and settled Trade. Capt. *Dormer* carried with him *Squanto*, a *Squanto the Patuxes Indian*, one of those that had been kidnapp'd by *Hunt*, who sold him with the other *Indians* to the *Spaniards*, from whom he made his Escape into *England*, and was Servant to one *Mr. Slaney*, who used him to well, that nothing but the Love of Liberty and his own Country could invite him to quit his Service. *Squanto* did what he could, in Gratitude for the civil Usage he had met with in *England*, to pacify his Countrymen, and bring them into a better Temper with the *English*; which he could not so soon effect as to hinder their assaulting Capt. *Dormer*, who, in a Skirmish with them, received 14 wounds, and had much ado to escape with Life. After which he sail'd for *Virginia*, leaving *Squanto* behind him, who, in time, satisfy'd his Countrymen that *Hunt's* Villainy was abhorr'd by the *English*, and that he had been punish'd for it.

The Patentees, having met with so many Discouragements, were at last so dishearten'd, that they gave up all Thoughts of making a Settlement: However, other Adventurers carry'd on a Trade to *New-England*; eight Ships were employ'd in it by the Merchants of *London* and *Plimouth* this and the next Year; and the Success was such, that the Seamen, who were Charers also, had each 17*l.* in 6 Months time, as much as 40*l.* now, and as good as 5*l.* a Month, a Master's Pay. Thus the Traffick continued, tho' the Settlement was frustrated by other more solid and noble Inducements than Lucre engaged some very religious and worthy Persons to undertake it, that they might enjoy that Liberty of Conscience in *New-England* which was deny'd them in *Old*, by persecuting Prebends, high Commission and Spiritual Courts, which had already driven many of them out of their dear native Country into *Holland*, and other Parts of *Europe*: Among these was





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was Mr. *John Robinson*, a *Brownist* Minister. The rigid Independents took the Name of *Brownists* from *Robert Brown*, a hot-headed Clergyman in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, who was a bitter Enemy to the Bishops and Ceremonies; but had more Zeal than Reason or Religion, and was so fickle, that he was the first that deserted, as well as set up his Party.

Sir *Robert Nanton*, one of the Principal Secretaries of State at the latter End of King *James's* Reign, was, tho' a University Man, a Favourer of the *Puritans*; as Sir *George Calvert*, the other Secretary and University Man, was of the *Papists*: And it was to Sir *Robert Nanton* that the former apply'd, when they thought of flying to the Wildernesses of *America* from the before-mention'd Oppressions.

There were several sensible active Men of Mr. *Robinson's* Congregation, and some who had Fortunes that were improveable, if Means of employing them were found out. The Talk of the profitable Trade to *New-England*, and the Goodness of the Climate and Soil, made them look that way. Mr. *John Brewster*, one of the principal Members, a wise Man, of about 60 Years of Age, was very forward in the Business; and it was, after much Deliberation, at last resolv'd by them to undertake the Voyage, and settle in the Country. In order to it, they got Sir *Robert Nanton* to procure the King's Consent for their transporting themselves to *New-England*. Sir *Robert* ask'd his Majesty, That such a People might enjoy their Liberty of Conscience under his gracious Protection in *America*, where they would endeavour the Advancement of his Dominions, and promote the Gospel. The King reply'd, 'Tis a good and honest Proposal. This Congregation, by their Agents in *England*, treated first with the Council of *Plymouth* for a large Tract of Land towards *Norumbegua*, *New-Hampshire*, *Main* and *New-Scotland*; but upon better Consideration, they abandoned their Purposes and resolv'd to seat themselves more to the Southward, on the Banks of *Hudson's* River, which falls into the Sea at *New-York*. To this End they contracted with some Merchants, who were willing to be Adventurers with them in their intended Settlement, and were Proprietors of the Company; but the Contract bore too hard upon them and made them the more easy in the Disappointment they met with in settling on *Hudson's* River, now *New-York*.

Several of Mr. *Robinson's* Congregation sold their Estates and made a common Bank for a Fund towards carrying on the Undertaking. The Agents hired the *Mayflower*, a Ship of 180 Tons, which was freighted with proper Goods and

Merchandize

Merchandize, and board the *Company* *Brewster*.

The whole *Company* *Brewster* *mouth* the 6th *the 9th of Nov* *ing, planting, or* *nothing could b* *to be. Here th* *and then tack'd* *but Jones, the M* *by the Hollander* *of those Parts, a* *ing out to Sea,* *breakers, where* *back again to the* *nd resolv'd, con* *Settlement ther* *ut Cape Cod no* *ad a Grant for* *to a Body Polit* *g declared ther* *ey solemnly eng* *me to Time be r* *ument was dat* *med*

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Christopher Mar
William Mullins,
William White,
Richard Warren,
John Howland,
Stephen Hopkins,

Merchandize, and order'd to *Southampton*, where she took aboard the Company that came from *Holland* with Mr. *Brewster*.

The whole Company, about 120 Persons, sail'd from *Plymouth* the 6th of *September*, and fell in with *Cape Cod* on the 9th of *November*, an ill time of the Year to begin building, planting, or indeed any hard and difficult Labour; and nothing could be more difficult and hard than theirs was like to be. Here they refresh'd themselves about half a Day, and then tack'd about to the *Southward* for *Hudson's River*; but *Jones*, the Master of the *Speedwell*, having been brib'd by the *Hollanders*, who intended themselves to take Possession of those Parts, as they did some time after, instead of putting out to Sea, intangled them among dangerous Shoals and Breakers, where meeting with a Storm, the Ship was driven back again to the Cape; upon which they put into the Harbour, and resolv'd, considering the Season of the Year, to attempt Settlement there, and to proceed forward to the Bay, but *Cape Cod* not being within the Limits of the Land they had a Grant for under the Patent, they associated themselves into a Body Politick by a formal Instrument, in which, having declared themselves Subjects of the Crown of *England*, they solemnly engaged Submission to the Laws that should from Time to Time be made for the Good of the Colony. This Instrument was dated at *Cape Cod*, *November* the 11th, and

1621.
The first Settlement.

Betray'd by the Hollanders.

Their Instrument of Association.

John Carver,
William Bradford,
Edward Winslow,
William Brewster,
Isaac Allerton,
Miles Standish,
John Aldin,
John Turner,
Francis Eaton,
James Chilton,
John Craxton,
John Billington,
John Fletcher,
John Goodman,
Samuel Fuller,
Christopher Martin,
William Mullins,
William White,
Richard Warren,
John Howland,
Stephen Hopkins,

Digory Priest,
Thomas Williams,
Gilbert Winslow,
Edmund Margefon,
Peter Browne,
Richard Billeridge,
George Soule,
Edward Tilly,
John Tilly,
Francis Cook,
Thomas Rogers,
Thomas Tinker,
John Ridgdale,
Edward Fuller,
Richard Clarke,
Richard Gardiner,
John Allerton,
Thomas English,
Edward Doley,
Edward Liefster .

OF

Of these Mr. *John Carver* was a Gentleman of a considerable Fortune, which he laid out in this Project.

William Bradford, Esq; was a *Yorkshire* Gentleman, who retired into *Holland* to avoid the Severities of the Bishops Courts.

Edward Winslow, Esq; of *Droitwich* in *Worcestershire*, travelling into the Low Countries, fell into the Company of some of Mr. *Robinson's* Congregation, engaged in Communion with them, and embark'd with the first Planters that settled here.

Capt. *Standish*, of the Family of *Standish*, of *Standish* in *Lancashire*, and Heir to a good Part of the Estate, having been fraudulently deprived of it, he went for a Soldier in the *Netherlands*, became there acquainted with Mr. *Robinson*, and joined with the other Members of his Congregation that undertook this Voyage and Design.

Mr. *William Brewster*, as he is written in this Subscription, and not *John*, as in Mr. *Neal's* Hist. p. 79, had had a learned Education in one of our Universities, and from thence enter'd himself into the Service of that well-deserving, but ill-used Minister, *William Davison*, Esq; Secretary of State to Queen *Elizabeth*, with whom he went over to *Holland* and was entrusted with Affairs of great Importance, as particularly with the keeping of the Keys of the *Cautionary Towns*. He afterwards lived in good Esteem in his own Country, till the Severities of the Spiritual Courts forced him to return to *Holland*, where he was a *Ruling Elder* of Mr. *Robinson's* Congregation at *Leyden*.

Mr. John
Carver,
Governor.

The new Comers having sign'd the Association, chose Mr. *John Carver* to be their Governor for one Year; and he, with 16 Men, went ashore in the Country, now *Barnstable* County, to look out for a convenient Place for them to build and plant, accommodated also with a convenient Harbour for Shipping. Having march'd about a Mile from the Coast, they discover'd five *Indians*, who made from them so fast, that they could not once come to the Speech with them. The next Morning they ventured higher up into the Country, and came to a large Spot of clear Ground, where *Indian* Corn had been planted. They discover'd several Graves, the Remains of a House, says my Author; and what the Remains of an *Indian* House must be, that neither Walls nor Roof, more than a homely Booth in the Country Fairs, I cannot guess, unless it be Poles. Here also they found a great Kettle, a Token of Traffick with *Europeans*; some Heaps of Sand, in which they found several Baskets of Corn in the Ear; but finding no Place for their Purpose, they return'd.

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The Chief of the Planters went on the next Discovery, as Mr. Carver the Governor, Mr. Bradford, Mr. Winslow, Capt. Standish, Mr. Howland, Mr. Coppin, Mr. Warren, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Tilly, Mr. Clarke, Mr. Allerton, Mr. English, Mr. Doley, and Jones, Master of the *Mayflower*, with his Gunner and three of his Sailors in the Ship's Boat. Their Design was to range round the whole Bay of Cape Cod, in search of a Harbour. They had been Seven and twenty Days on the Coast, and Winter was come upon them before they had the least Covering for themselves ashore. The Weather was so hard, that the least Spray of the Sea froze on their Clothes. They got down that Night, *December 6*, into the Bottom of the Bay, where now is *Taunton*, and saw 10 *Indians* about a dead *Grampus*. They landed a League off of them, and lay ashore all Night without Disturbance; but the next Day they had a Skirmish with the Natives, they being in the *Patuxet's* Country; but little Hurt was done on either Side. They then took to their Boat again, resolving to be govern'd by their Pilot, who assured them he knew of a good Harbour for Ships; and accordingly, a Day or two after, they came to such a one, call'd by the Name of the Nation *Patuxet*. They march'd up into the Country, and discover'd several Corn Fields, with little running Brooks, so that they determin'd to pitch here; and returning to their Ship, reported their Resolution to the rest of the Company, who, pursuant to that Determination, removed thither with their Ship, and arriv'd there the 16th of *December*; on the 19th they quitted their Ship, and on the 25th, being *Christmas-Day*, they began to erect a Store-house for their Goods, and some small Cottages to preserve them from the Weather. They divided themselves into 19 Families, allotting to every Person half a Pole of Ground in Breadth, and three Length, for Lodging and Gardens. They also agreed upon some Laws, and for their Civil and Military Government. To the Place of their Settlement they gave the Name of *NEW-PLIMOUTH*. They saw no *Indians* all the Winter; but were severely afflicted by Sicknes, which swept away half of their Number. About the Middle of *March*, came *Samoset*, who had learned a little broken *English* from the *English* that came on those Coasts to fish, came boldly to them, Soldier-like, with his Bow and Arrows in his hand, and bid them *Welcome*. He was one of the *Segamores*, His Princes belonging to the Northern Parts, 5 or 6 Days Journey from their Town. He was quite naked, except his Waist, which was cover'd with a Piece of Leather; a tall, straight Man, with long black Hair, but no Beard. He was so well pleased

Plymouth
Colony set-
tled.

The Indians
visit the
English.

pleas'd with his Entertainment there, that some time after, he came again with several other Natives, who eat freely, and drinking till they were merry, fell a dancing. They told the *English*, that their Great *Sachem*, or King *Massassoit* would be soon with them; and on the 22d of *March*, he came with his Brother *Quandequence*, and about 60 others, unarm'd. Capt. *Standish* met him, at the Head of the Militia of the Colony, a File of Musketeers, and conducted him into a House, where a Seat of State was prepared, being 3 or 4 Cushions piled on a green Rug. His Dress was little different from that of his Attendants, only he had a Chain of Fish Bones about his Neck. His Face was painted with a Murray Red, and both that and his Head lick'd over with Oil. He had a long Knife hanging by a String at his Bosom, and on his Back hung a little Pouch of Tobacco. His Train had also their *Pouches*, and their Faces were painted with variety of Colours. Mr. *Carver* the Governor enter'd the Room, with a Drum and Trumpet marching before him. *Massassoit* kiss'd him, and they both sitting down together, Strong Waters were brought, of which the King took so large a Draught, that it made him feverish all the time he stay'd. One of his Attendants was *Squanto*, the Indian before-mentioned, who proved a hearty Friend to the *English*, and brought his Countrymen to have a good Opinion of them. He was Interpreter between this Great *Sachem* and the Governor, who enter'd into an Alliance and Engagements of mutual Trust and good Offices; as an Instance of which, on his Part, *Massassoit* gave away all the Lands adjacent to the Settlement to the Planters Heirs and Successors forever. *Quanto* stay'd with the *English* after the *Sachem* returned home, and was very serviceable to them, in teaching them the Manner of planting their Corn and catching Fish.

So does their
King *Massas-*
soit.

William
Bradford,
Esq; Govern-
or.

In April Mr. *Carver* the Governor died, and *William Bradford*, Esq; was chosen Governor, who sent Mr *Winniflow* and Mr. *Hopkins* to return the *Sachem Massassoit's* Visit and confirm the Peace he concluded with them. The Ambassadors had the Honour to lodge on the Royal Bed by the King and Queen, two or three of the Grandees of his Court having the same Honour done them, which it seems was a Custom among *Indian* Princes who were in Friendship. Mr. *Pen* told me he had the same Favour shewn him by an *Indian* *Sachem* in *Pensilvania*, sixty Years after this, with the Improvement of one of the King's Daughters, who was directed to lie down by him. His Royal Bed was only a few Planks raised about a Foot from the Ground. *Massassoit* and his Queen lay at one End of it, under a thin Mat, and

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the Ambassadors and Grandees at the other; but the Court was so ill furnished with Provisions, that their Excellencies were almost starved. Mr. Winslow and Mr. Hopkins found the Country as they went depopulated, a Plague having lately swept away nine Parts in ten of the Inhabitants; but they understood, that the *Narragansets*, who lived on the other Side of the Bay, where now is *New-London County*, were a numerous and formidable Nation.

Hobamock, a lusty Indian Youth, taking a Liking to the English, came and lived among them; and *Squanto* and he being sent among the *Indians* about an Affair of Consequence, were kept by *Coubatant*, only because they were Friends to the Planters. *Coubatant* was a Segamore of *Namasket*, about *Bristol County*. These Segamores were Princes or Lords of small Territories, of 6, 7, or 8 Miles Extent, but subordinate to the Great Sachem. *Coubatant* made at *Hobamock* to stab him, but the Youth was too strong for him, and got away to *Plimouth*, leaving *Squanto* behind him. Immediately the Governor dispatch'd Capt. *Standish* with 14 Men to release *Squanto*, and if he was kill'd, to make Reprisals; but *Coubatant* ran away upon News of their Approach, and *Squanto* was set at Liberty. The Entrance of these 14 Men into *Namasket* struck such a Terror into the neighbouring *Indians*, that their *Sachems* and *Segamores* came in, and the Historian says, subscribed the following Instrument.

1621.

Know all Men by these Presents, that we, whose Names are under-written, do acknowledge ourselves to be the legal Subjects of King James, King of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. In Witness whereof, and as a Testimony of the same, we have subscrib'd our Names or Marks as followeth,

The Indian Princes submit to King James.

Obquamehud,	Nattawahunt,	Quadaquina,
Cawnacome,	Coubatant,	Huttamoiden,
Obbatinua,	Chillaback,	Apadnow.

The *Mayflower* return'd to England in the Spring this Year; and in May arrived a Ship belonging to Mr. *Thomas Weston*, Merchant, with seven Passengers intending to settle. After that two more Vessels arrived, with 60 Passengers; but bringing no Provision with them, they were a Burthen to the Colony at *Plimouth* and the Haven; for that they had not an indifferent Harvest, the English Seed Corn being either damaged, or not ripening because sown in the Spring, and the Indian Corn yielding little Produce, for want of Skill in planting it. The *Fortune*, a small Vessel, with seven Pas-

1622

E fengers,

sengers, arriv'd about the same time; but bringing no Provision, the Colony was reduced to Famine, and for some time had nothing to trade with the *Indians* for their Corn; but at last, a small trading Vessel came as by Accident with a good Quantity of *English Beads, Knives, Sizzars,* and such Ware as was merchantable with the Natives, which the Colony bought up with their Beaver and other Peltry, and supply'd themselves with Corn and other Necessaries.

Weston and
his Men
wicked.

Weston's Men having overstock'd *Plimouth* Town, and perhaps not liking the Strictness of the Peoples Morals and Discipline, removed to *Massachusetts*'s Bay. The Historian says, "They were a Company, and that *Weston* obtain'd a Patent for that Part of the Bay, under Pretence of propagating Church of *England* Worship; but, continues the Author, his Men were so scandalously vile and wicked, that they became a Nufance to the very Savages, who would infallibly have cut them to Pieces, had not the Colony of *Plimouth* shew'd them more Charity than in all Probability they would have shewn that Colony, if it had wanted their Assistance, as they wanted that of *Plimouth*, which *Weston* and his Followers had deserted." The Place *Weston's* Men settled at in *Massachusetts*'s Bay, was call'd *Wassagusquet*, now known by the Name of *Weymouth*, in *Suffolk* County. If *Weston's* Men first made a Settlement here and in *Massachusetts*'s Bay, 'tis certain that neither the Town of *Weymouth*, nor any of the Plantations in the Country, owe their Rise to them; for instead of being Propagators of the Religion of the Church of *England*, they fell into a riotous way of Living, soon consumed their Stock, and wanted Provisions. The Governor of *Plimouth* did what he could for them, Self-preservation being the supreme Rule. When they had barter'd away all their Goods for *Indian* Corn, they sold their Clothes and Bedding: Nay, some of them became Servants to the *Indians*, and would cut their Wood and draw their Water for a Cup full of Corn. Miserable was the Condition they were reduced to. For as their Necessities obliged them to steal from the *Indians*, the *Indians* made no Conscience of plundering them, and had enter'd into a Conspiracy to cut them all to Pieces, which they had certainly executed in a few Days, if it had not been discover'd by the following Accident.

16:3,

Mr. Bradford, Governor of *Plimouth*, being inform'd that their good Friend *Massasoit* was sick, sent the two former Ambassadors, *Mr. Winslow* and *Mr. Hopkins*. to him to give him the best Advice and Assistance they could. They took with them *Hobamock* to be their Guide and

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terpreter, *Squanto* being lately dead. That *Indian* had made himself so useful to both *English* and *Indians*, that between both he had pick'd up something worth giving away when he died, and he gave most of it in Legacies among his *English* Acquaintance. He desired the Governor to pray, *That he might go to the Englishman's God in Heaven*, which seems to have more true Affection in it, than the laboured Forms of some Christians. The Ambassadors heard, as they were on their Way to *Massassoit's* Court, that the King was dead; on which *Hobamock* cried out, with Tears running down his Cheeks, *Neen womasfu, neen womasfu, Sagamus! My Sachem, my Sachem, many have I known, but none like thee!* But when they came to *Pocanoket*, where *Massassoit* resided, they were agreeably surprized with the News of his being still living, tho' in a very dangerous way: His Sight was gone, but his other Senses were pretty intire. When Mr. *Winslow* came to his Bed-side, and *Hobamock* had told him who he was, he put out his Hand and faintly repeated these Words, *Mattaneen Wonkanet namen Winslow!* *Oh, Winslow! I shall never see thee again.* Mr. *Winslow* comforted him in the best manner he could, and gave him some Cordials, which had so good an Effect, that in a few Days he was out of Danger; and took this friendly Visit so kindly, that he discover'd the whole Plot of the *Massachusetts* and other *Indians* against *Weston's* Men first, and afterwards against all the *English*. He advised them to lose no time, but to seize the chief Conspirators, which was so easily effected, that Capt. *Standish*, having but 8 Men with him, kill'd the two Champions, *Wituwamet* and *Pecksnott*, in single Combat, one after the other, and drove the Savages they had with them into the Woods. The *Sachem* of the *Massachusetts* disown'd these Savages in their Doings, pleaded Ignorance, and begg'd Pardon, which was granted, and a Peace concluded; but a Year or two after, a Plague destroy'd him and almost all his People, which open'd a Way for the *Massachusetts* settlement. Capt. *Standish* offer'd to conduct *Weston's* Men Their Fate of Weston and his Colony. *Plymouth*, where they might remain till they could agree to dispose of themselves; but they begg'd a Supply of Corn, and shipp'd themselves aboard their Vessel, and went their way in quest of Mr. *Weston*, who was gone to the Westward a trading or fishing, and returning soon after, heard the deplorable Fate of his Plantation. Himself fared little better; he lost his Boat in a Storm, fell into the Hands of the Savages, who pillaged him of all he had, even to his Shirt; and in this Condition he came to *Plymouth*, where he

was saved from starving by the very Colony which he had a thousand ways endeavoured to destroy.

A sort of
Bishop sent
to either.

But there seems to have been a form'd Design in *England* to establish a Settlement on a Church of *England* Bottom; whether out of a truly religious Zeal, or out of Hatred to *Puritanism*, professed by the Church of *New-England*, I shall not enquire; but soon after *Weston* had shelter'd at *Plimouth*, arriv'd Capt. *Gorge*, Son of Sir *Ferdinando* before-mention'd, and several Families, which appear to have been of the *Episcopal* Party, by their bringing with them one Mr. *Murres*, a Minister, who had an Ecclesiastical Commission to be Superintendent, or Bishop of the Churches: But *Murres* finding the Bulk of the People were in a different way of thinking, made no use of his Commission, nor did *Gorge* make much more of his; but finding things not to answer his Expectations, he return'd to *England*, and, says the Historian, *his Bishop followed him*. Their Company went some to *Virginia*, and some home. There was another Attempt for a *Massachusetts* Settlement before the last which took Effect.

All this while the *Plimouth* Colony went on successfully in planting, trading and fishing. The Country about them was pretty well cleared, and the cultivated Fields produced good Harvests, that in 4 or 5 Years time they began to have Store of Corn enough, and to spare, of their own. Ships came every Year from *England* and brought over Passengers, which made the Planters at *Plimouth* begin to want Room, and that very much forwarded the Settlements in other Parts of the Country. The Returns they made them in Furs, Fish, &c. were very profitable; and tho' the *Patentees* did not much encrease their Stock by it, yet particular Persons encreas'd theirs; and the Colony was in a Condition, within the Compass of seven Years, to buy out the *Patentees*, pay off what they had been out upon this Adventure, and take the whole Property into their own Hands; for they were yet on no better Footing than their Agreement with the Council of *Plimouth*, who had the Grant of the Continent of *America* from *New-Scotland* to *Carolina*, under several Names. The Colony employ'd one Mr. *William Pierce* to take out a particular Patent for their Lands, which he did in his own Name, and not in theirs, intending the Planters should have them under him. He got a vast Tract included in his Patent and above 100 Passengers embark'd with him to go and take Possession; but after he had put twice to Sea, he was driven back by foul Weather, and his Ship so shatter'd, that he did

Pierce's
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not venture out in her again; so he assign'd back his Patent to the Company, and concern'd himself no more in the Affair.

The Planters having Advice of *Pierce's Treachery* sent ^{1629.} Mr. *Winslow* to England to solicit their Affairs, and he took ^{Mr. Winslow takes out the first Patent.} out their Patent in the Name of *William Bradford*, his Heirs, Associates and Assigns, by which the Governor became Lord of the Country; but when the Number of Freeman increased, the General Court desired the Governor to surrender the Patent to them, which he readily did; and thus, says Mr. *Neal*, the Colony became a kind of Republick, by a Patent from King *James I.* which I do not very well understand; for it appears by the Charter itself, that the first under Patent, or Patent granted by the Council of *Plymouth*, by virtue of King *James's* Grant, was not to *William Bradford*, Esq; but to Sir *Henry Roswel*, Sir *John Young*, &c. as will be seen presently; but that Mr *Bradford's* Name was inserted in the Patent, and that he so surrender'd it, is not to be doubted; and one may suppose that Sir *Henry Roswel's* Patent was for the *Massachuset* Plantation.

By this time the Number of Inhabitants at *New-Plimouth* ^{The Council appointed.} was so much increased, that instead of one Assistant, which the Governor had before, the Number was enlarged to five, reserving only to the Governor a casting Vote. The Council was afterwards increased to *seven*, and so continued till their Charter was illegally taken from them after the Restoration.

Mr. *Winslow*, at his Return to *New-England*, brought with ^{The first neat Cattle there.} him a considerable Supply for the Plantation; and, amongst other things, three Heifers and a Bull, the first neat Cattle that came thither. *Lysford* and *Oldham's* Treason being happily discover'd by the Governor, and the Traytors punish'd before any Mischief came of it in the Colony, I shall not enter into the Particulars of it, nor of the Fire which happen'd this Year in the Town, and burn'd down three Houses only, but to the Ruin of the Inhabitants, who losing their all in *New-England* by it, return'd to their Friends in *Old*, by whom they hoped to be better supported than by an infant Colony, which consisted now of 32 Houses and 180 persons, who followed their several Trades by Sea and Land, but lived together as yet like one Family, on the common stock; for tho' every Man had his Division of Land, yet the Product was put into the publick Store-house, and divided out to each Family according to their Number, to prevent Waste and Profusion, till their Store was less extensible. The Town was paied in about half a Mile in

Compass. In the Midst of the Inclosure, upon a rising Ground, was the Fort, and on the Top of it a Watch-Tower, from whence a great many Leagues at Sea might be seen, tho' there does not seem to be any Peril threatening them that way. They had made a Salt-Work, and this Year freighted a Ship of 180 Tons with Fish cured with their own Salt.

Capt. *Standish* was the next Year sent to *England*, with a Cargo of Beaver and other Furs, Fish and Oil, in two Ships, one of which was taken almost within Sight of *Plimouth* by a *Sallee* Man, which so discouraged the Adventurers in *England*, who had advanced Money for forwarding and settling the Colony, that they resolved to give over and adventure no more. I must needs own, that I am apt to believe, considering this Trade was young, and all young Trades have generally the Quality of Youth to thrive and flourish, that the Planters did take more Care of their own, than of the common Stock of the Adventurers at *PLIMOUTH* and *London*, who traded by or under the general Patent, which certainly was very reasonable and justifiable, considering how far they went, and how much they risk'd and suffer'd for it; not but that the Adventurers, if their Returns had all come safely and seasonably, would have been sufficient Gainers; and I do not suspect that the Planters defrauded them, or detain'd any thing which was not the Produce of their own particular Industry, Labour and Economy, and their own particular Improvements; for when the Company was so weary, that they began to bear hard on the Planters, and Mr. *Allerton*, one of the first *Settlers* in this Country, arrived in *England* to assist Capt. *Standish* in his Negotiations, they found there was no bringing them to any agreeable Temper with the Trade, the Company no sooner propos'd an inviting Composition, than the Planters had their Money ready to deposite to accommodate Matters with them. Their Demand on the Planters was 1800*l.* which the latter had agreed to pay by 200*l.* a Year; but on a Proposal of the Adventurers to abate Part of that Money, and quit all Claims of Right to the Planters, what the Company demanded was immediately paid down, and their Lands, Stock and Improvements were cleared and free from any Incumbrance to the Council of *Plimouth* or the Adventurers under them.

1626.

In the Year 1626, there was another Attempt made for a Settlement in the *Massachusetts* by Capt. *Woolaston* and three or four more Gentlemen of Substance, who brought with them a great many Servants, Provisions and other Necessaries. They pitch'd at a Place which they called *Mount Woolaston*

now *Braintree* had no just met with in for some time thing, soon of his Servant *Rusdale*, his the Men would *England*. *Woolaston* *Filcher* his *Plantation*, taking the way, to meet with Drink, e *Colony*, speaking many of your *stay till Rusdale for Slaves with cut this Lieutenant's tation, will receive may be free from and live together already heated out into the wide and Morton became ster, led them in They set up a *Mount of Spight to the Vanity. They afterwards, that they after the two *Dra Woolaston* and *Rusdale* ing. That Liquor for four Shillings a *col.* they must drink credible, and the worst of it, the *English*, was, selves with the *Sabbath* gality, taught them and discharge a *Mount*, and what Shot following for the better *Marksmen* were capable of doing delighted with their Bows and Ar**

now

now Braintree, in Suffolk County. Capt. *Woolleston*, who had no just Notion of the Difficulties and Hardships to be met with in beginning and perfecting a Settlement, which for some time would be in continual Want of almost every thing, soon grew weary of the Work, and sailed, with Part of his Servants, to *Virginia*, from whence he wrote to Mr. *Rusdale*, his Deputy, to bring him more of them, for that the Men would turn better to Account there than in *New-England*. When *Rusdale* went away, he appointed one *Filcher* his Lieutenant; but *Morton*, a small Sharer in the Plantation, taking the Advantage of *Filcher's* being out of the way, to make the Company that were left there merry with Drink, endeavoured to make himself Master of the Colony, speaking to them in this manner: *Gentlemen, you see many of your Companions carried away to Virginia, and if you stay till Rusdale's Return, you will be carried away and sold for Slaves with the rest; therefore I would advise you to thrust out this Lieutenant Filcher, and I, having a Part in the Plantation, will receive you as my Partners and Consociates; so you may be free from Servitude, and we will converse, plant, trade and live together as Equals.* This Speech enflaming their Spirits, already heated with Liquor, they turn'd Lieutenant *Filcher* out into the wide World as soon as he came amongst them; and *Morton* becoming their sole and absolute Lord and Master, led them into all sorts of Extravagance and Debauchery. They set up a *May-pole*, and danced round it, as much out of Spight to the *Puritans* of *Plimouth*, as out of Riot and Vanity. They abandoned themselves to Drunkenness so furiously, that they, perhaps not above 30 or 40 in Number, after the two Draughts had been made from their Colony by *Woolleston* and *Rusdale*, consumed 10*l.* in Liquor in a Morning. That Liquor was probably Distillers Spirits, at three or four Shillings a Gallon; so that, after the Calculation of 10*l.* they must drink above a Gallon a Piece, which is not credible, and the Sum or the Number must be mistaken. The worst of it, with respect to the Settlement and Trade of the *English*, was, that these Profligates, to ingratiate themselves with the Savages, and by that means support their Prodigality, taught them the Use of Fire-Arms, to charge and discharge a Musket, what Proportion of Powder to put in, and what Shot; *Morton* exercised them, and sent them fowling for them. Thus, in a little time, they became better *Marksmen* than the *English*, and being swift of Foot, were capable of doing more Execution. The *Indians* were delighted with this new Invention, that they threw away their Bows and Arrows, and gave any Price for Fire-Arms.

Capt. Woolleston's Settlement frustrated.

Morton mistakes as Massachusetts.

Teaches the Savages the Use of Fire-Arms.

When *Plimouth* Colony heard of this, they sent Messengers to expostulate with *Morton* about it, putting him in mind of the King's Proclamation, which forbad their trading with the *Indians* for any War-like Stores; but he insolently reply'd, *The King is dead, and his Displeasure with him; and if you come to disturb me again, look to yourselves, 'tis at your Peril.* Upon this, Governor *Bradford* and his Assistants resolv'd to reduce him by Force, and sent Capt. *Standish* with a Party of Men to bring him dead or alive. *Morton* stood upon his Defence, barricado'd his House, arm'd his Companions, heated them as usual with Drink, and aesy'd the Captain, who, however, ventured up to the Door, and *Morton* coming out to make a shot at him, *Standish* put by his Piece, and took him Prisoner. His Company surrender'd at Discretion. *Morton* was convey'd to *Plimouth*, and thence to *England*, with Letters to the *New-England* Council, who took little Notice of the Complaints against him; nor indeed had much at Heart the Interest of the Colony of *Plimouth*, whose Religion they did not affect, nor much like the Increase of their Numbers and Prosperity, which presaged their Endeavours to become independent of them. *Morton* made several Voyages to *New-England* afterwards, and at last ended his miserable Life at *Piscataqua*. The Behaviour of *Weston's* Men at *Weymouth*, and *Morton's* at *Braintree*, was far from being worthy the Religion they profess'd, that of the Church of *England*.

1628.

Distribution
of Land.

In the Year 1628 the Colony at *Plimouth* began to spread themselves farther into the Country, and instead of the former small Distribution of Land, the Government allotted to every one in each Family 20 Acres, to be laid out five in Length by the Waterside, and four in Breadth.

The Persecution of the Spiritual Courts continuing in *Old England*, and the *Puritans* there hearing how free and easy their Brethren began to live in *New-England*, many of the chief Persons among them had Thoughts of removing thither. No Man forwarded this more than the Reverend Mr. *John White*, Minister of *Dorchester, Dorset*, who projected a new Settlement in *Massachusetts Bay* to be an Asylum for the Divines who were silenced by the Bishops Severity in *England*. He prevailed with one Mr. *Roger Conant*, probably a Relation of that eminent *Puritan*, Dr. *John Conant*, Rector of *Exeter-College, Oxon*, and some others, to go over to *New-England* and make a Beginning, which they did before *Woolleston's* Men broke up about *Cape Ann*, the Northern Promontory of *Massachusetts Bay*; but the Misbehaviour of the *English* at *Mount Woolleston*, and other Dis-

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encouragements, made Mr. Conant soon weary of his Employment, and desirous to return, when he received Letters from Mr. White, importing, that if his and his Companions Patience would last a little longer, he would procure them a Patent, and send them over Friends, Goods, Provisions, and all things necessary for a Settlement. Upon which Mr. Conant staid, and look'd out for a proper Place to build and settle at. Mr. White, according to his Promise, so effectually solicited the Matter, that several of his Friends purchased a Patent of the Council of *Plimouth*, who had the general Grant of a great Part of this Continent, to Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcot, Esq; John Humphreys, Esq; John Endicot, Esq; and Simon Whetcomb, Esq; for all that Part of the Country that lies three Miles North of the River *Merrimack*, which falls into the Sea near *Salisbury*, and three Miles South of *Charles River*, which falls into the Sea near *Boston*, at the Bottom of *Massachusetts Bay*. But these Gentlemen took in others, some of whom being Merchants of *London*, and well acquainted with Shipping and Trade, were more proper for this Enterprize than Country Gentlemen. To the first Patentees were added Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Esq; Samuel Adderly, Esq; John Ven, Esq; Matthew Craddock, Esq; George Hammond, Esq; Increase Nowel, Esq; Richard Perry, Esq; Richard Bellingham, Esq; Nathaniel Wright, Esq; Samuel Vassal, Esq; Theophilus Eaton, Esq; Thomas Goff, Esq; Thomas Adams, Esq; John Browne, Esq; Samuel Browne, Esq; Thomas Hutchins, Esq; William Vassal, Esq; William Pinchon, Esq; George Foxcroft, Esq; most of these were Puritans. Mr. Ven is the same Man whom the Earl of Clarendon speaks of in his History, as leading the City of *London* after him in his *editious Remonstrances*, &c. Mr. Vassal is the same Man whom *Rushworth* speaks of, as strenuously opposing the tyrannous Collection of Tonnage and Poundage. He was Representative in Parliament for the City of *London*. Isaac Johnson, Esq; married, I guess, some *English* or *Scottish* Earl's Daughter, his Wife being stiled Lady *Arabella*. Sir Richard Saltonstall was of a Baronet's Family in *Northamptonshire*. The Names of those additional Patentees were inserted with the former in a new Charter or Patent, taken out the next Year for that Purpose, dated the 4th of *March*, 1628. This new Company chose Matthew Craddock, Esq; to be Governor of the Colony they were about to establish at the *Massachusetts*, and John Endicot, Esq; to be his Deputy. Him they dispatch'd away immediately, to relieve and hear in the little Colony which Mr. Conant still kept there, in Expectation

The Rise of the Massachusetts Colony.

The Extent of the Patent.

The Patentees.

Matthew Craddock, Esq; Governour.

John Endicot, Esq; Dep. Governour.

Expectation

1629.

Expectation of the Coming of their Friends. The People that went with Mr. *Endicot* were but a poor Relief, most of them fell sick of the Scurvy and other infectious Distempers; many of them died, and more would have dropp'd, had not Dr. *Fuller* of *Plimouth* come seasonably to their Assistance, and staid with them the whole Winter, till their Seasoning was pretty well over. This friendly Office was handsomly acknowledged by Mr. *Endicot*, in his Letter to Governor *Bradford* from *Neumkeak*, now *Salem*, the Indian Name for the Place where they seated. The London Adventurers making great Preparations for a numerous Embarkation with several of the Patentees, had it early in their Thoughts to provide Ministers to be their Chaplains, and cast their Eyes on the Reverend *Francis Higginson*, M. A. the silenced Minister of *Leicester*, and the Reverend Mr. *Samuel Skelton*, a silenced Minister of *Lincolnshire*, Men of excellent Learning, Parts and Piety.

The Fleet that carried over the *Grand Colony*, as it is called, to distinguish it from the Less, tho' the elder one, at *Plimouth*, consisted of these Ships.

The Grand
Embarkation
for Massachu-
setts.

The *George Bonaventure*, of 20 Guns.

The *Talbot*, of . . . 20 Guns.

The *Lion's Whelp*, of . . . 8 Guns. Perhaps the same that

The *Mayflower*, of . . . 14 Guns. carry'd over the

The *Four Sisters*, of . . . 14 Guns. first Planters.

The *Pilgrim*, of . . . 4 Guns.

Aboard these Ships embark'd about 350 Passengers, Men Women and Children, with 115 Head of neat Cattle, such as Horses, Mares, Cows, &c. 41 Goats, some Conies, and all other Necessaries; as also 6 Pieces of Cannon, Stores of Arms and Powder, Drums and Colours, for the use of the *Militia* that was to be, and which soon enough was wanted. This Fleet sailed from the Isle of *Wight* *May* the 1st, and arriv'd at *Neumkeak*, now *Salem*, the 24th of *June*.

Whatever is the Occasion of it, whether it is that the Desire or Practice of Liberty is stronger in *Englishmen* than other Nations, and this drives them too often to Licentiousness, which they mistake for Liberty; but so it happen'd, that no sooner was these new Comers settled a little in this Country and had come to an Agreement with the Colony of *Plimouth* in the Affair of Religion, which was determined to be intirely *Puritan*, but some of the last Company observing the Minister did not use the Common-Prayer Book, they set up a separate Assembly according to the Usage of the Church

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England. At the Head of these were *John Brown* and *Samuel Brown*, the one a *Merchant*; the other a *Lawyer*, and both *Patentees*. *Mr. Endicot*, the Governor, perceiving the Disturbance that was like to arise by this early Division in the Infancy of the Colony. First for the two Brothers, and the two Ministers vindicated their way of Worship with very reasonable and modest Arguments; but the *Brownes* growing angry, and endeavouring to raise a Mutiny, were sent back to *England* by the Return of the Ships which brought them over.

After this, the Colony had Peace among themselves for some time, having built many Houses at *Neumkeak*, as also a Church, gave it the Name of *Salem*, about 8 Miles to the Northward of *Boston*, now *Essex* County.

The next Year, a greater Fleet than the last was provided for this Voyage by the *London* Adventurers, no less than 10

Sails; and *Mr. Craddock*, the Governor, declining to go over in Person, the Company made Choice of *John Winthrop*, Esq; to succeed him in the Government, and appointed *Thomas Dudley*, Esq; to be his Deputy; a Man of more Experience and Eminence than *Mr. Endicot*, who was an honest, well-meaning Man, but not of Genius and Vigour sufficient

1630.
John Winthrop, Esq; Governour.
Thomas Dudley, Esq; Dep. Governour.

for the orderly Management of People who, as may be seen by the *Brownes*, were not the most manageable. *Mr. Winthrop* was the Son of *Adam Winthrop*, Esq; of *Groton* in *Suffolk*, where he served as Justice of the Peace before he was 20 Years old, having been bred to the Law. He sold his Estate, 6 or 700*l.* a Year, and turned it into proper Materials for the Service of this Plantation. *Thomas Dudley*, Esq; was born at *Northampton*, and intended also for the Law; but was diverted from his Study by a Commission which *Queen Elizabeth* gave him to command a Company of Foot in the Service of *Henry IV.* of *France*, which being at an End by a Peace between *France* and *Spain*, he return'd home, and by his Conversation with the very religious, learned and approved *Mr. Dodd*, the Gospel Minister, he became a strict *Puritan*, which obliged him to quit his Employment as Steward to the Earl of *Lincoln*, in which he was not easy as to his Conscience, on account of Conformity; and this was the Reason of his embarking in this Fleet for *New-England*.

The first Winter after the Arrival of *Mr. Endicot's* Colony proved fatal, for it carried off above 100 of the Company; and doleful Accounts are given in of the Sickliness of the Colony when these new Planters came to it, which must be occasion'd for want of being cleared only, since the Climate

mate

mate and the Voyage have had no such ill Effects on those that sail'd thither and settled there in our times. Among the Deceased was Mr. *Higginson* the Minister, who left two Sons behind him, the younger of whom the Reverend Mr. *John Higginson*, was Minister of *Salem* when the first Edition of this Volume was publish'd, 78 Years after the Death of his Father, or thereabouts.

Sir R. Saltonstall, and other Gentlemen, were likewise sent to Massachusetts.

The Admiral of the Fleet was about to sail to *New England* in the Ship call'd the *Arabella*, from the Lady *Johnson*, who, with her Husband, were aboard her. With these embark'd Sir *Richard Saltonstall*, *John Ven*, Esq; *Theophilus Eaton*, Esq; several other Gentlemen, and about 200 Passengers, who were forced out of their native Country by the Persecution.

They arrived at *Salem*, in a very sickly Condition, in July. The Lady *Arabella* died soon after they came ashore, and her Husband, Mr. *Johnson*, followed her within a Month. The Planters divided themselves into two Bodies, one settled at a Place which they call'd *Charles Town*, it being on *Charles River*, erected and form'd a Church, and chose the Reverend Mr. *John Wilson*, M. A. who came with them from *England*, to be their Pastor. He was Son of Dr. *Wilson*, Prebendary of *St. Paul's*, *Rocheſter* and *Windsor*. He had been Fellow of *King's College*, *Cambridge*, and Minister of *Sudbury* in *Suffolk*, where he was outed by Dr. *Harsnet*, Bishop of *Norwich*, for Nonconformity.

Charles-Town built.

Dorchester.

Another Body of these Planters settled at a Place which they called *Dorchester*, probably in Remembrance of the good Offices of Mr. *White*, Minister of that Borough in *England*. They chose the Reverend Mr. *Warcham*, their Pastor; but these Planters and their Ministers, upon a better Acquaintance with the Country, removed their Habitations afterwards, and seated at other Places, more commodious for Shipping and Trade; for, as we shall find hereafter, we have not found already, all the *English* who transplanted themselves to *New-England* did not come thither for the sake of Religion and Liberty of Conscience, but many came for the *Fish* and the *Furrs*, which, in those Days, soon enrich'd those that dealt in them than they do now.

The *Indians*, growing jealous of so many Foreigners among them, and being at first much more numerous than the *English*, the latter lived in fear, tho' they were well arm'd and had also Artillery. I do not see there was much Reason for them to be so afraid of the Savages, and that Terror abated upon the Desolation which happen'd to their Neighbour *Indians* by the Small-Pox; tho' the *English* gave them

all the Assistance the rest fled to the Equity and withstanding the Crown of *England*atives the several planted, which the *Spaniards* the *English* in Nation did reach Right of Inheritance what an idle in *Spaniards* he to suffer or their first form Towards the *Charles-Town* Bottom of *Massachusetts* situated for Commerce they built the Town of *New-England* Empire in *America* The next Year *England*, among the Apostles of the University of *Cambridge* and pious Mr. *Wilson* in his noted *Grace* *Effex*, where he was Bishop of *London* men sign'd a Petition in *Doctrine*, *of a peaceable* *actions*. Several Fellow-Sufferers were with him, *Hooker* was with the *Presbyterical* Rulers, like Oppression, and two Years after *Massachusetts*, and Mr. *Hooker* foot the following *South*, 40 Miles, two Colonies. The Governors of *Providence* for their *Peoples* have been Gentle

all the Assistance they could, nine in ten of them died, and the rest fled from the Infection. 'Tis a singular Instance of the Equity and Humanity of our *Puritan* Planters, that notwithstanding the Patent they had for the Country from the Crown of *England*, yet they fairly purchased of the Natives the several Tracts of Land which they possess'd and planted, which cannot be said of the *French* at *Canada*, nor the *Spaniards* any where in the *West-Indies*, nor perhaps of the *English* in other Parts of *America*; but if any *European* Nation did really buy of the *Indians*, who had the natural Right of Inheritance to the Country they alienated by Sale, what an idle impudent Practice would the Claim of the *Spaniards* be to such a Place, by virtue of the *Pope's* Donation, or their first forcible Entrance into it?

The English buy the Country of the Indians.

Towards the End of the Year, a Part of the Colony of *Charles-Town* removed to a *Peninsula*, which lies in the very Bottom of *Massachusetts-Bay*, and is the most commodiously situated for Commerce of any Place in the Country. Here they built the Town of *BOSTON*, now the *Metropolis* of *New-England*, and the biggest City of all the *British* Empire in *America*.

Boston built.

The next Year, several Ships and Passengers arrived from *England*, among whom was the Reverend Mr. *John Elliot*, the Apostle of the *Indians*. He had been educated at the University of *Cambridge*, and was Assitant to the learned and pious Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, Fellow of *Emanuel-College*, in his noted Grammar-School at *Badew*, near *Chelmsford*, in *Essex*, where he had been Lecturer, and silenced by the Bishop of *London*, notwithstanding 47 neighbouring Clergymen sign'd a Petition, testifying, That Mr. *Hooker* was orthodox in Doctrine, honest and sober in his Life and Conversation, of a peaceable Disposition, and no ways turbulent or contentious. Several of Mr. *Elliots*'s Acquaintance, who were Fellow-Sufferers with him in the *Spiritual Court*, agreed to go over with him, or come after him to *New-England*. Mr. *Hooker* was withdrawn to *Holland* from the Rage of the *Ecclesiastical* Rulers, and he and his Friends, being under the like Oppression, intended also to pass into *America*, as he did two Years after. Mr. *Winthrop*, Governor of the *Massachusetts*, and Mr. *Wilson*, Minister of *Boston*, travelled on the following Spring through the Woods as far as *Plymouth*, 40 Miles, to settle a Correspondence between the two Colonies. We see, by their padding of it, that the Governors of Provinces had not then Conveyance and Equipage for their Persons, as since they have had, tho' few have been Gentlemen of more Distinction for Birth and Character

1631.

1632.

Sir Christo-
Gardiner
arrives.

Character than Mr. *Winthrop*. About the same time, arrived at *Boston* Sir *Christopher Gardiner*, said to be of the Family of that proud and cruel Prelate, *Stephen Gardiner*, in Queen *Mary's* Reign, who being himself a Bastard, this *Christopher*, who, it seems, was a Knight of *Malta*, and, consequently, a *Papist*, must be of a collateral Branch of that Bishop's Family. He brought over with him a handsome young Wench, whom he called his Cousin, as is common among the Bawds and Bullies in the lewd Parts of *London*; and pretending to be a *Puritan*, gave out, that being weary of rambling, as he had done, over the greatest Part of the World, he was come to *New-England* to spend the rest of his Days in Retirement; but having been guilty of some Misdemeanors soon after his Arrival, he fled from Justice, and took Sanctuary among the *Indians* near *Plimouth* Colony. The Governor of the *Massachusetts* publish'd a Proclamation, promising a Reward to those that should apprehend him; upon which the *Indians* apply'd to the Governor of *Plimouth*, and asked if they should kill him? He said, No; but if they could take him alive, they should have the Reward. Accordingly they attack'd him; but the Knight defended himself so resolutely, that they had much ado to master him; which having done, after he had receiv'd several Wounds, they carried him to *Plimouth*, where he was put into a Surgeon's Hands, and when he could travel, sent to the *Massachusetts*, and from thence to *England*, where notwithstanding this was all the Punishment inflict'd on him for his *Enormities*, he complain'd loudly of the arbitrary and tyrannical Proceedings of the Governor against himself and others, and joined with Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, Capt. *Mason*, &c. against the Colonies in *New-England*. This Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* appears to be no good Friend to these *Puritans*, tho' one of the chief of the Council of *Plimouth*. The Return of his Son and his Bishop before-mentioned without Success, did not put him into a better Humour with them; and *Morton's* coming off with Impunity, after he had so basely betray'd the *English*, by teaching the Savages the use of these Arms, with which he supply'd them, and after most daring and dangerous Mutiny, shews, that the Council of *Plimouth*, of which this Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, Governor of that Town, was one of the chief, did not much affect the Colonies in *New-England*, as well on Account of their Independency, as their Religion. The Case of this Petitioning Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, and his Friend, Sir *Christopher Gardiner*, publish'd an Order for the Encouragement of the Adventurers.

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January 19, 1632.

Present

Lord Privy-Seal,	Mr. Trevor,
Earl of Dorset,	Mr. Vice-Chamberlain,
Lord Viscount Falkland,	Mr. Secretary Cook,
Lord Bishop of London,	Mr. Secretary Windebank.
Lord Cottington,	

In the Fleet which arrived from *England* the next 1633.

Year, came three famous *Puritan* Divines, as the reverend and learned Mr. *John Cotton*, B. D. Fellow of *Emanuel-College, Cambridge*, and Minister of *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, who was driven from his Church and pastoral Charge upon Information of a debauch'd Fellow of the Town, who, to be revenged of the Magistrates for punishing him according to his Deserts, swore that neither they nor their Minister, Mr. *Cotton*, kneeled at the Lord's Supper, nor observed other Ceremonies. Mr. *Cotton*, to avoid the cruel Effects of the *high Commission* Tyranny, secreted himself a while. Great Intercession was made for him by Archbishop *Laud* by the Earl of *Dorset* and other noble Lords, but in vain; the Earl sent him Word, *That if he had been guilty of Drunkenness, or Uncleanness, he might have had Honour; but the Sin of Puritanism was unpardonable.* Let the saying of this great Peer be sufficient to give the Reader an Idea of the Spirit of the Persecutors, and the Innocence and Oppression of the Persecuted. With Mr. *Cotton*, who was chosen Assistant to Mr. *Wilson*, Minister at *Boston*, came Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, before-mention'd, who was elected Minister of the Church at *Newton*, afterwards called *Cambridge*, 3 Newt n, or Cambridge built. Miles from *Boston*. Now also came over the reverend and learned Mr. *Samuel Stone*, another *Puritan* Minister; and the name of these *Men* settling in *New-England* invited over numbers of *Puritans* to support their Interests Spiritual and temporal, by the free Exercise of their Religion, and the enjoyment of good Lands and good Trade.

The next Year, the *Indians* on the Borders of *Plymouth* 1634. Colony, who were the *Pequots*, murdered several *English*, particularly Capt. *Stone* and Capt. *Norton*, who sailing in a small Bark from *New-England* towards *Virginia*, turned up the *Connecticut-River*, where in the Night the Savages got aboard the Bark, surprized and murdered *Stone* as he lay asleep in his Cabin; but *Norton* got into the Cook-Room, and bravely defended himself, till the Powder which he had set before him in an open Vessel blew up, and put out his Eyes, after which he was killed, with the rest of his Crew, being six Men.

This

This Outrage was, doubtless, not a National Quarrel of the Savages with the *English*, but a particular Attempt of some *Indians*, for the sake of Plunder. Indeed the *Indians* said they did it in their own Defence, Capt. *Stone* having seiz'd two of their Men, and oblig'd them to pilot him up the River against their Wills; and, considering the *English*, as we shall see presently, began to have an Eye towards the Lands on the Borders of the said River, the *Indians*, who could not be without Jealousy, living so near them, must conceive that this Bark was making up *Conneticut*-River to prepare the Way for other *Englishmen* to come and possess the Country without previous bargaining for it. The *Indians* said, that nine of them were order'd to watch the Bark, that they might have an Opportunity to fetch off their two Men; that *Stone* and two of his Sailors coming ashore, were surprized and kill'd in the Night as they were asleep, and that the Bark blew up, and was burnt by Accident. But as it is not likely the *English* would sleep ashore in the Night in the Savages Country, and the *Piquet* refusing to restore the Goods which they had plunder'd in the Bark, the *English* conceived an Enmity towards that Nation, which, in a very little time, paid dearly for this Robbery.

Capt. Stone
murder'd.

Tho' I shall refer the Reader to the Reverend Mr. Neal's History of *New-England* for Ecclesiastical Matters in general; yet I shall touch upon them as they lie in my way, where particular Facts recommend them to me.

Mr. Roger
Williams's
Apostasy.

Mr. *Skelton*, Minister of *Salem*, dying, that Church chose his Assistant, Mr. *Roger Williams*, to be their Pastor, who soon gave Offence to his more orthodox Brethren, by the singular Tenets, *That it is not lawful for good Men to join in Family Prayer with the wicked.* Instead of good and wicked, my Author uses the Terms *regenerate* and *unregenerate*, which is technical for a Lay Writer. *That it is not lawful to take an Oath to the Civil Magistrate*; but what follows must be Heresy in the highest Degree, *That the Patent which was had for their Lands from King Charles was invalid and injurious to the Natives, King Charles having no Power to dispose of the Lands of the Indians to his Subjects.* For my Part I cannot answer this so readily as the great Lawyers who do; that Patent would have done; neither am I intirely convinced of the Heresy in the new Notions, *That the Civil Magistrate has nothing to do with religious Principles and Divine Services, that there should be a general and unlimited Toleration for all Religions, and that to punish Men for Matters of Conscience was Persecution.* I have not the Impudence to say that it is not; and yet we shall find that the Brethren of *New-England*

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flying from the most flagitious Persecution in the Christian World, are so far from being deterr'd by their own Sufferings, and the Detorment of the Practices of their Persecutors, that they are scarce out of the Reach of them, before they themselves set up the most strange and cruel of all Persecution, as being against their Fellow Sufferers and Fellow-Exiles in the Wildernesses, to which they fled from the Fury of their implacable Enemies. It cannot now but be well known, that the Christians in Power are every where the Orthodox, and those that object to it are the Schismatics and Hereticks: Accordingly Mr. Williams, refusing to submit to the Detraction of the orthodox Ministers, the Magistrates banish'd him the Massachusetts Colony, and so many of his Followers espoused his Cause, that they form'd a Church by themselves, and built a Town, to which, and the River adjoining, they gave the Name of Prudence. It lies Southward of Plimouth, in the Country of the Narragansets, over-against Rhode-Island. By Mr. Williams's present and future Conduct, and by what we read of his Behaviour at this time, one cannot see any Reason for the Magistrates dealing with him so roughly; but what is the Moderation and Humanity of Magistrates, under the Influence of a rigid Priesthood, as these Puritan Ministers appear hitherto to be?

The Persecuted thro' Persecutors

In the Fleet that arrived this Year from England, came ^{1637.} Sir Henry Vane the Younger. He was well guarded and attended, the Fleet consisting of no less than 20 Sail, stored with Goods and Passengers. He was a very warm Nonconformist, and his Father was against his going; but the King, who was well enough pleased to have him out of the Way, oblig'd the elder Sir Henry to consent to his Son's Voyage and Absence for three Years. His Design was to begin a Settlement on the Banks of the River Connecticut; but the Magistrates, upon his Arrival, complimenting him with the Government of the Massachusetts, he resolv'd to stay among them. But he proved not so orthodox and so manageable as they expected; he did not give himself up intirely to the Direction of the ruling Ministers and Elders; he was tender of the Baptists and others, whom the Orthodox were resolv'd to handle more rigorously; he was positive in following his own Counsels; and it is very plain the Gentlemen who were sent to New-England, would not have gone so far from home, if they had not been much better pleas'd with their own Sentiments than with those of other Men; so, at the next Election, Henry Vane, I think not then a Knight, was set aside, and Mr. Winthrop restor'd to the Government, after which Henry returned to England, and his Actions there are recorded

1637. Sir Henry Vane, Jun. arrives here.

Governor of the Massachusetts.

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Colony settled.

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Windfor and
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1636.

Edward
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Esq, Govern-
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corded in all our Histories, to his Credit or Discredit, according to the Views and Inclinations of the Historians.

The Project for a Plantation on *Connecticut-River* was not dropt, tho' Sir *Henry Vane* did not proceed in it. This Settlement was become the more necessary, because the *Pequot Indians* began to grow very insolent and troublesome, and the building a Town and Fort on that River would make a good Frontier on that Side. Agents were sent to view the Country, who made such an advantageous Report of the Fruitfulness of the Soil, and Largeness of the River, as made many of the Planters of *Newton, Dorchester, Waterton* and *Roxbury* entertain Thoughts of transplanting themselves thither, being already streighten'd for Room where they were. Mr. *Hooker*, Minister of *Newton*, put himself at the Head of these new Adventurers, about 100 in Number, who set out in the Month of *July*, and travelling on Foot with their Children and Baggage 9 or 10 Miles a Day, came in 10 or 11 Days to the Banks of the River, where they pitch'd, and began a Town, which they called *Hartford*. After these came another Draught from *Dorchester*, who built a little Town, which they called *Windfor*. A third Detachment from *Waterton* built *Weathersfield*; and a fourth from *Roxbury*, built *Springfield*, in *Hampshire* County, the three former Towns being in *Hartford* County. The Towns the Planters first built on this River were 50 and 60 Miles from its Mouth, according to Mr. *Neal*, who writes, that the Ship freighted with Provisions for these Planters at the *Massachusetts* came so late in the Year, that it was frozen up at the Mouth of it 60 Miles from the Plantation. Upon which many of these new Adventurers travelled back in the Depth of Winter, and others who attempted it, were frozen to Death. The Calamities and Misfortunes which attended them are such as all new Settlements are liable to; tho' it must be confessed, that, in some Instances, these first Comers did not act with due Precaution and Preparation. Those that had Courage to stick till the Spring carried on their Plantations with such Success that they were not only in a Capacity of subsisting themselves, but of making Head against their Enemies. They had a sort of Commission from the Government of the *Massachusetts-Bay*; but finding they had extended their Plantations beyond the Limits of that Colony, they agreed upon a Form of Government among themselves, the true and natural Origin and Use of all Government. They enter'd into a voluntary Association to obey the Laws that should be made by proper Persons for the common Good, and chose *Edward Hopkins, Esq*; their Governor; and in this Situation they remain'd, as

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remain'd, as to Constitution, till *John Winthrop*, Junior, Esq; obtain'd an ample Charter for them from King Charles II.

This Settlement was scarce well fix'd before *George Fenwick*, Esq; was sent to *New-England*, on Account of several Persons of Quality in the *Puritan* Interest, who were made so uneasy at home, under the Administration of Archbishop *Laud*, that they resolv'd to seek Liberty and Ease in the Wilds and Wildernesses of *America*. The Lord Viscount *Say and Seal* and the Lord *Brooke*, two Heads of the *Puritan* Party, held Lands on this River, by Virtue of a Grant from the Earl of *Warwick*, another *Puritan*, who had a Patent from the King for all that Part of the Country, extending from the River *Narraganset*, 40 Leagues in a straight Line, near the *Sea-Shore*, towards *Virginia*, as all the Continent, South of *New-England*, was then called, as far as *Florida*. The Earl of *Warwick* assign'd his Grant to those two Lords *Brooke* and *Say*, *Charles Fiennes*, Esq; Brother to the Lord *Say*, Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, of the *Warwick* Family, Sir *Richard Saltonstal*, *Richard Knightley*, Esq; Son of Sir *Richard Knightley*, the famous *Puritan* in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, *John Pym*, Esq; *John Hampden*, Esq; *Herbert Pelham*, Esq; Names well known among the Lovers and Assertors of Liberty in those times of Oppression; and one cannot doubt but these Lords and Gentlemen furnished themselves with this Patent and Propriety to have a Place of Retreat from the *Star-Chamber*, *High Commission* Court, and all the Illegalities and Hardships, which, not long after, involved the Nation in *Civil War*.

Mr. *Fenwick* seated himself at the Mouth of the River, *Saybrook* and built a Town, which he called *Saybrook*, in which he was built.

Assisted by Mr. *Winthrop*, Jun. Son of the Governor of the *Massachusetts*. But the honourable Gentlemen, for whom Mr. *Fenwick* acted, probably finding Matters growing more to a Head at home, and foreseeing they should be more useful there for their Country and their Cause, gave over the Design of removing to *New-England*, and authorized Mr. *Fenwick* to dispose of their Lands to the Colony of *Connecticut*, who were the more willing to buy them, because they had no other Title to their Plantations without the Limits of the *Massachusetts* Patent than what Possession gave them; and truly do not see how a Charter from King *Charles* gave them a better Title than possessing and planting a Territory, which was no more his than theirs by Inheritance or Purchase.

1635.

The younger *Winthrop*, who had been Assistant to Mr. *Fenwick* while he staid in *New-England*, had a Grant of a considerable Part of the Lands in the Earl of *Warwick's* Patent

tent, and intended to settle there; but being unwilling to hinder the new Colony, he made no use of it, a sure Sign that he came cheaply by it, or that the Difficulties and Expences in new Plantations made the Soil of very little Value.

As to the State of Religion in *New-England*, I shall not meddle with it, where the Civil Transactions are now so mix'd with it that there's no parting them. Dr. *Mather* and Mr. *Neal* have exhausted that Subject in their two large Histories of *New-England*.

Lords and
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The Honourable Persons just now mention'd having, by their procuring the Patent for Lands, discover'd their Inclinations to quit *Old-England* and remove to *New*, the Court began to conceive Umbrage, and take the Alarm at such a Desertion; especially upon a Report that Sir *Matthew Boynton*, Sir *William Constable*, Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*, and *Oliver Cromwell*, Esq; were actually preparing to embark for *America*, and no doubt the Lords and Gentlemen nam'd in the Patent, were come to the same Resolution, till the Tyranny that drove them to it, compell'd them to give it over. To this End out comes a Proclamation, as ridiculously worded as ever was State Paper, that pass'd under the Pens of *Bigots*, To restrain the disorderly Transporting his Majesty's Subjects, that is, the Embarkation of the most orderly Persons in the Kingdom, withdrawing from the Rage and Rapine of the most disorderly, such as the whole Herd of Officers employ'd by the *Spiritual* and *Secular* Arm, against the most religious and peaceable Protestants in the Nation; which the wise Heads that drew the Proclamation term'd *Idle and Refractory Humours*. They might as aptly have call'd them *Drunken and Incestuous*, whose principal End was to live without the Reach of *Autbority*; they were not honest enough to say without the reach of *High Commission*, and *Spiritual Courts*, which was the truth of the Matter, and therefore falsely assert, their Design was to live without Law, according to their Lusts and Interests. Nay, this was not enough to restrain the going off of the Puritans: Bishop *Laud* and his Brethren procur'd an Order to the Lord Treasurer, at that time a Bishop, To take speed and effectual Course for the Stay of 8 Shits, now in the River of *Thames*, preparing to go for *New-England*, and for putting on Land all the Passengers and Provisions therein intended for the Voyage.

Were our Ancestors so stupid as not to concern themselves what the Issue of such tyrannical Proceedings would be? wonder not at the Stupidity of the Persecutors, blinded with false Zeal, but the more sober Part of the Kingdom could not but be sensible, that Bishop *Laud* and his Brethren

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Management cou'd not pass over without a Day of Reckoning: They procur'd an Order to the Lord Admiral to stop all Divines who did not conform to Episcopacy and Ceremonies, who frequently transported themselves to his Majesty's Plantations, wrongfully so called, for most certain it is that not one of the *Stuart's* Kings had Navigation, Trade, and the Good of the Publick so much at Heart, as to have an *English* Plantation Abroad. No Clergymen should be suffered to go Abroad without the Approbation of the LORDS, Arch-Bp. Laud, and the Bp. of London. Let the Reader remark for himself. However so many Puritans found Means to transport themselves to *New-England*, in the Summer 1637, that they overstock'd the Bay: The chief Leaders were *Theophilus Eaton*, Esq; a noted Merchant of London, and Mr. *John Davenport*, B. D. who was forc'd to quit his Church of *Coleman-street, London*, and withdraw to *Holland*, from whence he came back in Disguise and took Ship for *New-England*, at the same time that Mr. *Eaton* did. These Gentlemen finding there was not room enough for them at the *Massachusetts*, and being inform'd of a large Bay to the South-West of *Connecticut* River commodious for Trade, and capable to entertain them and those that were to follow them, purchas'd of the Natives all the Land that lies between that River and *New-York*, or *Hudson* River. Thither they remov'd, seated themselves in the Bay over against *Long-Island*, and built *Newhaven*, from whence that Colony, Province and Government, were so denominated; as also *Guildford*, *Milford*, *Stamford*, and *Brainford*, which I suppose should be *Brentford*. They also went over to *Long-Island*, and made there several Settlements, erecting Churches in all Places where they settled. But being without the Limits of the *Massachusetts* Jurisdiction, they had no Charter and no other Title to their Lands than what they had from the Natives, who only cou'd give them a just Title to them; and I must needs own, that having an honest Right to their Possessions assign'd them by the original Owners of them, and entering into a voluntary Association, to support their Body Politick under Laws and Regulations of their own making, I do not see what need they had to trouble themselves about a Charter, unless they were afraid that their Persecutors would not let them rest where they were; but as they had taken their Liberty from them in *Old-England*, so they would take from them their Property in *New*. The Men who settled in this Colony were generally *Londoners* and Merchants, who apply'd themselves at first to Trade, after the Example of their Governor, *Theophilus Eaton*, Esq; who had been an East-

Newhaven
Colony.

Theophilus
Eaton, Esq;
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Country Merchant, and travelling into *Denmark*, was employ'd by the King as his Agent at that Court. But the new Comers met with so many losses, either as Novices in the *American Trade*, or some unfortunate Accidents, that they were discourag'd in their Traffick, and were going to transport themselves to *Maryland*, or *Ireland*, where the Parliament offer'd them the City of *Gallway* for their Dwelling, with large Privileges. At last turning their Industry to Husbandry, they thriv'd wonderfully, and thought no more of removing.

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vernment.

While the *South-West* Parts of *New-England* were thus filling with Inhabitants, the *North-East* were not neglected. The *English* very much frequented the Coast for the Benefit of fishing, and the Furr Trade, for which that Part of the Country lay most handy. This put some of them on attempting a Settlement between the Rivers *Merrimack* and *Sagadahock*, and it succeeded so well in a few Years, that there were two Counties laid out, *New-Hampshire*, and *Main*, and several Towns built, as *Dover*, *Hampton*, *Wells*, *Kittery*, &c. These Planters and Traders, being settled without the Limits of the *Massachusetts* Colony, enter'd into a voluntary Combination, and form'd themselves into a Body Politick, after the manner of *Connecticut* Colony. Thus they continued till being wearied out with Feuds and Divisions, they petition'd the General Court of the *Massachusetts*, to be brought within their Jurisdiction, which was done. But how they came to lose the Privilege of choosing their Counsellors as the *Massachusetts* do, the naming of them being now in the Crown for *New-Hampshire*, I know not. It was doubtless owing to these Divisions and Feuds, the Bane of all Peace and Liberty.

Mention has been made of the Murder of Capt. *Stone* and Capt. *Norton*, with their Crew, by the *Pequot* Indians, who plunder'd their Bark, and refus'd or delay'd giving Satisfaction. These *Pequots* inhabited the Country now *Hartford* County, between the *Narragansets*, on the Coasts overgainst *Rhode-Island*, and the *Maquas*, bordering on *New-York*, farther within Land. They were a bold, stubborn People, and *Sassacus* their Sachem, or King, had such a Reputation among the Savages for his Strength and Courage, that they said he was a God and could not be kill'd: What they meant by a God may be as well interpreted a Devil, for they had not the least Notion of the Purity and Sanctity of the Holy Spirit. The *Indians* had on several Occasions shewn their ill Will to the *English*, in the *Massachusetts* and *Connecticut* Settlements, and after *Massasoit's* Death, the Settlement at *Plymouth* had sometimes been disturb'd by them. The *English* kept themselves

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still upon the defensive, rather, I should think, for the Advantage of trading with them, than out of fear of their Power; for by this Time there were 3000 *English* Planters and Heads of Families in the four Colonies, *Plimouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut,* and *Newhaven*; and according to the Rule in Political Arithmetic, 6 Persons to a Family, Men, Women, and Children, and consequently 6 or 7000 Men, of which if 1000 only had been well arm'd, and disciplin'd, they would have been enough to have driven all the *Indians*, in and bordering on *New-England*, into the Lake of the *Iroquois*, till the *French* at *Quebec* arriv'd among them, and united many Eastern and Northern *Indian* Nations against the *English*. The *Pequots* had been at War not only with the *Narragansets*, their *Indian* Neighbours, but with the *Dutch*, who had then possess'd and planted the Country, which is now *New-York*; and these Wars were the Reason that they had not given the *English* more Disturbance than they had hitherto done. To prevent a Rupture about the Affair of *Stone* they sent Messengers to Mr. *Winthrop*, Governor of the *Massachusetts*, with Presents, to desire his Friendship. The Governor was not very forward to treat with them, but at last concluded a Peace, on Condition They should deliver up the Men that had been guilty of *Stone's* Death. That they should yield up their Right to the Lands bordering on *Connecticut River*, if the *English* were dispos'd to plant there, and that there should be a free Trade between the two Nations. To this they agreed, and desired the *English* to conclude a Peace between them, and the *Narragansets*, who were in no Disposition to be reconcil'd to them. The *Pequots* soon after this, murder'd Mr. *Oldham*, an Inhabitant of the *Massachusetts*, going into those Parts with a small trading Vessel, slenderly mann'd. The Savages observing this, pickt a Quarrel with him, seiz'd his Vessel, and cut off his Head with a Hatcher, at a Place call'd by the *Indians* *Manisses*, by the *English*, *Block-Island*, between *Long-Island*, and *Rhode-Island*. *Oldham* was a brave Man, and would have made his Party good, if his Men would have stood by him; but being overpowered by Numbers, he was forc'd to submit to the Death they inflict'd upon him. Before the *English* had perfected their Settlements on *Connecticut River*, they fell upon them, kill'd nine Men at *Weathersfield*, and took two young Women Prisoners, who had been tortured to Death, if the Sachem's Wife had not taken a Fancy to them, and beg'd them of her Husband. Upon this Capt. *Endicot*, Capt. *Underhill*, and Capt. *Turner*, were sent by the Governor and Council at *Boston*, with 120 Men, to demand the Murderers; but the *Indians* refusing to surrender them, and flying

The Pequot War.

The Murder of Mr Oldham.

to the Woods, the *English*, after destroying their Corn and Cottages, return'd home.

After they were gone the Savages assaulted *Saybrook*, but without Success, tho' there were no more than 20 Men in the Fort, which was a very sorry one. They kill'd several of the People as they were at Work in the Fields, and expecting to be call'd to a severe Account for these Outrages, earnestly solicited the *Narragansets* to join with them against the *English*, which these Savages obstinately refus'd, not out of Friendship to the *English*, but out of Hatred to the *Pequots*, on the Score of old Grudges and Injuries. Instead of quarrelling they leagu'd with the *English*; but either thro' Cowardice or Treachery, did them little Service. But *Uncas*, Sachem of the *Indian* Nation, (their Nations were all very small, and consisted, not generally speaking, of above 2 or 3000 Souls) was very faithful to the *English*, who indeed had in a manner surrounded his Territories.

The Colony of *Connecticut* sent out 90 Men, under the Command of Capt. *John Mason*, afterwards Deputy Governor. The Garrison of *Saybrook*, about 20 Men, under Capt. *Underhill*, join'd *Mason*, and they both were to join the *Massachusetts* Forces under the Command of *Israel Stoughton*, Esq; Capt. *Mason* not staying for the coming up of those Forces ship'd off his Men, landed them at the *Narragansets* Port, march'd directly to the chief Sachem's Residence, and acquainted him with the Reasons of his coming with Soldiers, desiring only Passage thro' his Country, to which the Sachem yielded, but said he had too few to cope with the *Pequots*. In his march he was join'd by 500 *Narragansets*; but no sooner were they come to the *Pequots* Frontiers, about 40 or 50 Miles from Home, but they were seiz'd with a Pannick and return'd. *Uncas* and his Men staid with the *English*, declaring they would live and die with them. They had so far march'd always in the Van; but being now come so near the Enemy, they fell into the Rear, as most distant from Danger. The *Pequots* were retir'd into two strong Forts, one on the River *Mistick*, the other about 8 Miles farther in this *Sassacus* was in Person. The *English* surpriz'd the first Fort in the Night, on Intelligence from an *Indian* Spy that the Enemy was asleep. The Huts in the Fort being made of combustible Matter, the *English* soon set fire to them. Many of the Savages were burnt, and those that endeavour'd to escape were kill'd by the *English*, being shot as they climb'd the Pallisades, or sallied out at the Gates. Not above 7 or 8 of 4 or 500 *Indians* that were in the Fort, made their Escape. The *English* had but 2 Men kill'd, and about 20 wounded.

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wounded. The *Narragansets* stood all the while aloof, and with infinite Pleasure saw the Destruction of the *Pequots*, shewing their barbarous Joy by dancing, howling, and insulting over their late dreaded Enemy. *Wequash* the Indian Spy was struck with such Admiration at this Victory, that he turn'd Christian upon it, and in Time became a Preacher to his Countrymen, who insulted, and at last poisoned him. He died very religiously, committing his Soul to Christ, and his only Child to the English, wishing it might know more of Jesus than his poor Father had done. The Indian Convert poisoned.

When the English had left this Place *Sassacus* with 300 Men fell upon their Rear, which oblig'd them to march in close Order, and to retreat fighting for almost 6 Miles together. The Savages however took Care to keep pretty much out of the reach of their Bullets; and when they saw them pass the narrow Passage, where they hop'd to get some Advantage over them, they retired, and Captain *Mason* and his Men return'd home in Safety.

About a Fortnight after the *Massachuset* Forces arriv'd in the *Pequot* Harbour, and the Colony of *Connecticut* sent Capt. *Mason* with 40 Men and some Voluntiers to join them. *Sassacus's* Men having mutinied against him, and abandoned their Fort, were dispers'd in small Parties, resolving to shift every one for himself, which made it necessary for the English to scour the Woods in Parties also, to prevent their gathering together in a Body again. Several of the *Pequots* were kill'd and taken Prisoners by the English, who cut off the Heads of two Sachems, and gave a third his Life, upon Condition he should find out *Sassacus*, and inform them where he was. He found him; but *Sassacus* suspecting his Errand as soon as he was gone fled to the *Maquas*, or *Mobocks*, one of the Indian Nations, whose King with 4 other Kings or Sachems, were in England in Queen *Ann's* Reign, and I was shewn the Sachem of the *Maquas*, with his Brother Sachems, at the House where they were lodg'd in *Covent-Garden*. He was the most remarkable, because the *Maquas* or *Mobocks* were the most talk'd of of any of those Indian Nations. The English in their Scour met with a Body of 80 Indian Men, and 200 Women and Children, who slipt into a Swamp, where the English could not easily come at them; but having surrounded it, the Savages must have been shot or starv'd to death, had not a thick Fog given the Men an Opportunity to get off through the Bushes, which were well known to them, and the Women surrendered. Several of the Men that got off were afterwards kill'd in the Pursuit, and many of them were found dead in the Woods of the Wounds they had received. The Prisoners,

The good Behaviour of an Indian Princess.

The Pequots Subjected by the English.

Prisoners, about 180, were divided, some to the *Connecticut* Colony, and the rest to *Massachusetts*: The Male Children were sent away to *Bermudas*, and the Women and Girls dispersed up and down in several Towns. Among the *Massachusetts* Prisoners were the Wife and Children of an Indian Prince; she was the Woman that sav'd the Lives of the two *Weathersfield* Maids before mention'd: Her Countenance and Behaviour were very modest. Her first Request was, *That they would not abuse her Body, nor take her Children from her.* If this Woman was a Barbarian, what are the Wretches that ply nightly in our Streets, to abuse and be abus'd? The *Maguas*, at the Request of the *Narragansets*, cut off the Head of *Sassacus*, and his Country became a Province of the *English*, who appointed the Governor of it, and dispos'd of the Lands as they thought fit. These Lands are the only Property which they enjoy'd in *New-England* without Purchase from the Indian Proprietors, and the *Pequots* being the Aggressors in the Rupture, the *English*, who conquered them, had certainly an incontestable Right to their Country. It is thought that near 800 of them perished in this short War. Those that remain'd alive, at the end of it, fled into distant Parts, or submitted themselves to the Mercy of the Conquerors, who divided them between the *Narragansets* and the *Mohegins*, on the Borders of *New-York*, whose Sachem had prov'd a very faithful Ally.

While the military Men of the Colonies were thus successfully employ'd against the *Pequots*, the Peace of the Commonwealth was shamefully broken, by certain crackt-brain'd Pretenders to Gifts, Graces, and Revelations, &c. Some combated in their Preachments and Disputes for the *Covenant of Works*, some for the *Covenant of Grace*, and that so fervently that the very Being of the Settlements was much more endangered by it than by the *Pequot* War. 'Tis a shame to Religion and Reason, to find such a Mixture of Frenzy and Folly, in the Practices of Persons professing the Christian Faith, in the Truth and Purity of the Gospel. One Mrs. *Hutchinson*, who came from *Lincolnshire*, set up an Assembly at her House in *Boston*, where, very strange for an Assembly of her Sex, she pray'd, repeated, and explain'd Sermons to a numerous Congregation of Females, who infected their Husband bands with the Distemper they caught of her, and the Infection spread over the whole Town and Country. Those who are desirous to enter into the detail of the *Familistical and Antinomian* Controversies, may have full Satisfaction in the Ecclesiastical Writers of the *New-England* History, to whom

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refer; I shall only give some Hints of the Facts, in the Words of one of them.

“ The Colony of *Plimouth* was infested to such a Degree, that they starv'd away all their old Ministers, and set up Mechanics in their Room. There was such an Interest made against the next Election of Magistrates, that they were forc'd to adjourn the Court to *New-Town*, for fear of a Riot; the Faction try'd all Methods to keep their old Governor *Vane*, who was for the Covenant of Grace. They procur'd a Petition to the Court on the very Day of Election, with a Design to hinder their Proceedings to a new Choice, whereby the Time of Election being past, they would of Course have kept in their Governor *Vane* another Year; *A Seditious*.

“ but when they cou'd not obtain this, and the sober Party made a shift to carry the Election for General *Winthrop*, yet such was the Influence of the *Covenant of Grace* Some for the Covenant of Grace. among the inferior Officers, that the Sergeants, whose Place it is to attend the new Governor, laid down their Halberts and would not act; the Governor however, like a wise Man, took no farther Notice of their Behaviour at present, than to order his own Servants to take up the Halberts and march before him; but when he was settled in his Government, he made them feel the Weight of his Displeasure. Nay, the march of the Forces against the *Pequots* was retarded by these Men upon this very Account, because the Officers and Soldiers were too much under a *Covenant of Works*,” which, without quibbling, we may say was at that time especially their Duty. I may very easily run into Error here, for I am in a State of Darknes as to these two Covenants in the different Explanations of them, and the People's going together by the Ears on one side, and the other, is the greatest Farce that ever was play'd out of the *Italian Theatre*.

The two Ministers of *Boston* were involved in this Contest, as well as their Flocks. Mr. *Cotton* was on the strongest Side, that of the Magistrates; Mr. *Wheelwright* was on the side of the Covenant of Grace. As a Remedy to this Evil a *Fast* had been appointed; and had it been strictly observed for some time, without warming their Blood still more by opposite Devotions, I believe it would have had a better Effect; real continu'd and simple Fasting, being in my Opinion the best Cure in the World for Diseases both of Mind and Body. Mr. *Cotton*, and Mr. *Wheelwright*, preach'd directly contrary to one another in their Fast Sermons. The former's was the more Healing. The latter said that *the Magistrates and the Ministers*

nisters too walk'd in such a way, as was no better than a Covenant of Works. I am loth to use the term *Antinomians*: It is too technical, or too much Cant, for the Gravity of History. But the Reader cannot have a clear Idea of these Things without it. Thus it appears that Mr. *Wheelwright* was an *Antinomian* or for the *Covenant of Grace*; and his Party was set against Mr. *Cotton*, that one of them sent him a Present of a Pound of Candles, bidding his Servant tell him it was because he wanted Light. At last a Synod was call'd, a Meeting of all the Ministers and some Lay-Deputies of the several Congregations or Churches, whose Business was and is still to debate and determine the several Matters that are brought before them, and thus to present them to their several Churches for their Approbation. No Synod is allowed a Power to pass Church Censures upon Persons, or put forth any Act of Authority, Jurisdiction, or Discipline, but only in order to declare their Sentiments and give their Advice. They could not, nor cannot, make Laws and Decrees which shall bind Men, upon Pain of Excommunication and Deprivation. If a particular Person refuses to hearken to their Advice, the last Remedy is to declare they will no longer hold Communion with him. The Magistrates have Power to call a Synod, when the publick Welfare of the Country requires it. The Magistrates might be, and were present, being allowed not only to hear, but to speak.

A New-England Synod explain'd.

The *Antinomian* Tenet was condemned, as were several other Errors. However Mr. *Wheelwright* still preach'd on, and Mrs. *Hutchinson* still kept up her Assembly. The Magistrates endeavoured to bring Mr. *Wheelwright* to Reason by Admonition, yet he continuing obstinate was disfranchis'd, banish'd, and taken into Custody of the Marshal till he departed. He remain'd in Banishment 7 Years, and then returning, renounc'd his Errors, begg'd Pardon, was restor'd to his People, and liv'd 30 or 40 Years afterwards, Minister of the Town of *Hampton*.

Mrs. *Hutchinson* appearing before the Magistrates fell prophesying against them, and being excommunicated as a notorious Liar, was banish'd out of the Jurisdiction of the *Massachusetts*. Whether she told Lies or not I shall not inquire, but I believe some of the more Orthodox Writers against her did, in affirming she was brought to Bed of many monstrous Births, as if she was deliver'd of a Monster for every erroneous Tenet she held, and that her Companion Mr. *Dyr*, was brought to Bed of such an ill shap'd Thing, frightn'd and astonish'd all the Spectators. Would not you think that the Heads of these People were turn'd with whirls

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the Sea Winds, or that they were dreaming instead of acting, as Men walk in their Sleep? There were so many of these *Antinomians* or *Covenant of Grace* People oblig'd to leave the *Massachusetts*, that they purchas'd the Island *Aquetnet*, which they call'd *Rhode-Island*, of the Natives, and the agreeableness of the Place invited over so many Planters, as soon overstock'd the Island, and part of them purchas'd a Tract of Land near *Patuxet River*, in *Plimouth* Colony, in which they built two Towns, *Providence*, which gave its Name to the River, and *Warwick*, for all which they obtained a Charter of King *Charles the II*; and to this Day *Rhode-Island*, with its Appurtenances, *Warwick* and *Providence*, is a Distinct Government, independent on the other dependent Governments, whether by Charter or Commission. The Land is well cultivated, and Trade well pursu'd: The People are industrious and thriving, and whatever Spirit is in them, 'tis not that of Persecution. The unhappy Mrs. *Hutchinson* being turn'd out of the *Massachusetts* Jurisdiction, went to *Rhode-Island*, but the *Rhodians* being probably too full of their own Sentiments, to have room for all hers, she left them and remov'd to *Hebgate*, one of the *Dutch* Plantations on *Hudson's River*, where within a little while, she and her whole Family, 16 Persons, were murder'd by the Savages: Which shews us, that they did not fall on the *English* as such only, but as Foreigners and Intruders, the *Dutch* meeting with the like Treatment.

Rhode-Island planted by Antinomians.

C H A P. II.

From the End of the *Pequot* War, and the Founding of the *University*, to the Second *Indian* or *King-Philip's* War.

Containing the space of 37 Years.

SIX or seven Years before the End of the *Pequot* War, there was a Design to erect a School, for the Education of Youth in useful Learning at *New-Town*, about 6 Miles from *Boston*. The General Court of the Colony, advanc'd a sum of money towards it, in 1630, but the Sum not being sufficient, and the *Indian* War, and Differences among themselves diverting them from the farther Consideration of it, that Design

The University of Cambridge founded.

1638.

slept till the Year 1638, when the Revd. Mr. *John Harvard*, Minister of *Charles-Town*, lately come from *England*, departing this Life, bequeathed almost 800*l.* towards the carrying on the Work, for the Management of which a Committee was chosen. Encouragement was given it by the other Colonies, and private Persons contributed liberally towards it. The College being built was, in honour of their principal Benefactor, call'd *Harvard College*, which for 12 Years was only an Academical Free-School; but in *May* 1650 it had a Charter of Incorporation from the Government of the *Massachusetts* Colony, *Thomas Dudley*, Esq; being then Governor: But I shall speak of this Univerlity more largely hereafter. The Town of *Newton*, was call'd *Cambridge*, from its being settled there, which was a considerable Advantage to the Place, and increas'd and enlarg'd it in the Number of Houses and Inhabitants.

Harvard College built.

Cambridge.

By this Time there were by the exactest Computations 4000 Planters come from *England*, in all the four Grand Settlements.

The 4 Colonies, and 4 Governors. 1639.

The oldest *Plimouth* Colony was under the Government of *William Bradford*, Esq;

The *Massachusetts* Colony was govern'd by *John Winthrop*, Esq; Sen.

The *Connecticut* Colony by *Edward Hopkins*, Esq;

The *Newhaven* Colony by *Theophilus Eaton*, Esq;

The Confederacy.

Tho' these four grand Settlements were separate Jurisdictions, yet they were, like the United Provinces, Confederated into one League, for the common Good of them all. Which Confederacy, after several fruitless Essays bringing it about, was effected in the Year 1643, and they became in Fact, as well as Name, the *United Colonies*. They form'd and sign'd an Instrument, declaring, *That they all came into those Parts of America, with the same Errand and Aim, to advance the Christian Religion, and enjoy the Liberty of their Consciences with Purity and Peace.* It was firmly agreed between the four Settlements, that there should yearly be chosen two Commissioners out of each, who should meet at fit Places appointed on Purpose, with full Powers from the General Courts in each Colony, to concert and conclude Matters of general Concernment, as Peace or War, or any Thing relating to the Welfare of the Confederacy. Thus they settled their Polity or Civil Government, and form'd a Constitution that wou'd have secured to them Liberty and Peace, had their Heads been as clear and cool as their Hearts were hot when they landed in *New-England*.

In the Year being streighte having agreed *Indian* Proprietor of it. But the that they reme the Town of *S* of the *Massach* ment, which t be spoken of a the *Dutch* first Propriety of *L* Colony did, th to the Earl of suppose the *L* worth much m en. I must co of a Country th that grants it, planting, and de The next Y and his Son N ncient League League was ext between the two *New-England*, were and wou'd ion by the *Sav* contrary, that th by the *English*, ha ected them. This Year the wo Houses of Archbishop of *C* ment's Disple: Certainly nev than *New-Eng* his arbitrary out of the *K* with Inhabitan the *Puritans* ther *English* Co thousands of *F* *English* Inhabitant me may support arms; it not being

In the Year 1640, the Inhabitants of *Lyn*, in *Essex* County, being streighten'd for room, went over into *Long-Island*, and having agreed with the Earl of *Sterling's* Agents, and the *Indian* Proprietors, they began a Settlement at the West End of it. But the *Dutch* gave them so much Disturbance there, that they remov'd to the East-End of the Island, and built the Town of *Southampton*, and by the Advice of the Governor of the *Massachusetts*, erected themselves into a Civil Government, which being now annexed to that of *New-York*, must be spoken of again when we come to that Province, which the *Dutch* first enter'd upon; but not having purchas'd the Propriety of *Long-Island* of the Natives, as the *New-England* Colony did, the latter had doubtless the best Right to it. As to the Earl of *Sterling's* Grant from King *James* the First, I suppose the *Lyn* People gave little for it, for it cou'd not be worth much more than the Parchment on which it was written. I must confess I have no great Opinion of any Grants of a Country that never was heard of before, by the Prince that grants it, unless he was at the Charge of possessing, planting, and defending it.

The next Year 1641, *Massassoit* An Indian Sachem, 1641.

and his Son *Novanam*, came to *Plymouth*, to confirm the ancient League between the *English* and his *Indians*, and that League was extended to a new one, defensive and offensive between the two Nations. 'Tis obvious that the Colonies of *New-England*, who were now able to arm 2 or 3000 Men, were and wou'd not have been in the least Danger of Expulsion by the Savages, unassisted by the *French*, but on the contrary, that the *Indians* might easily have been extirpated by the *English*, had their Consciences and their Interest so directed them.

This Year the Rupture between *Charles* the First, and the two Houses of Parliament, began in *England*, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* felt the full Weight of the Parliament's Displeasure, The Revd. Mr. *Neal* observes, Certainly never was a Country more oblig'd to a Man, than *New-England* was to Archbishop *Laud*, who, by his arbitrary Proceedings, drove Thousands of Families out of the Kingdom, and thereby stock'd the Plantations with Inhabitants, in the Compass of a very few Years; as the *Puritans* went not to *Virginia* or *Maryland*, and no other *English* Colonies were then on the Continent. These Thousands of Families confirm the Computation of the *English* Inhabitants there to be now 24 or 25,000, of which we may suppose near the third Part to be Men able to bear Arms; it not being so practicable and profitable for old Men, Women,

Number of
fighting Men
there this
Year.

Women, and Children, to partake in such Adventures, as the young, strong, and active. There were now at the breaking out of the Civil War in England, 7 or 8000 Men in New-England able to bear Arms. My Computation is pretty much confirmed by *Josselin*, in his Treatise of *New-England*, where he says there were 21,200 Men, Women, and Children, transported to *New-England*. Mr. *Neal's* Objection, that his number of Ships, 298, cou'd not carry them, is not infallible, if the Ships were of any Burthen, it being but about 70 in a Ship, and I remember a transport of above 150 Passengers, Men, Women, and Children, to *Carolina*, in a Ship of 180 Tons.

Speeches in
Parliament
upon the Pet-
itioners quit-
ting the
Kingdom.

Having spoken somewhat freely of the Bishops Course in those Times, I must in my own Justification, if there needs it, add the Sense of one or two of the greatest Patriots, in that Patriot Parliament. Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, whose Speeches are some of the most valuable Parts of *Rushworth's* Collections, said, *A great Multitude of the King's Subjects striving to hold Communion with us, but seeing how far we were gone, and fearing how much farther we would go, were forc'd to fly the Land, very many into savage Wildernesses, because the Land would not bear them. Do not they what cause these Things cast a Reproach upon the Governmen?* The Honourable Mr. *Fiennes*, Son to the Lord *Say*, whose Agent built here the Town of *Saybrooke*, before mention'd, said, *A certain number of Ceremonies, in the Judgment of some Men unlawful, and to be rejected of all Churches, in the Judgment of all other Churches, and in the Judgment of our own Church but indifferent, yet what Difference, yea, what Distraction have these indifferent Ceremonies rais'd among us? What has deprived us of so many Thousands of Christians, who desired, and in all other respects deserved to hold Communion with us? I say, what has deprived us of them, and scattered them unto I know not what Places and Corners of the World, but these indifferent Ceremonies?* The famous Mr. *Pym*, whose Genius and Spirit would have shin'd in a Roman Senate with the *Cato's* and *Cicero's*, in his Speech at the Bar of the House of Lords, when he carry'd up the Impeachment of the Archbishop said, *You have the King's loyal Subjects banish'd out of the Kingdom, not as Elimelech, to seek for Bread in foreign Countries, by Reason of the great Scarcity there was in Israel, but travelling abroad for the Bread of Life, because they could not have it at home, by Reason of the Spiritual Famine of God's Word, caused by this Man and his Partakers: And by this means you have the Industry of many Thousands of his Majesty's Subjects carry'd out of the Land. But lest Objections may be made against the Sentiments of these nob*

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Orators, as being *Parliamentarians*, we will report the Judgment of so Loyal a Person, that he was excepted out of all the Parliament's offers of Pardon to Delinquents; I mean the Lord *Digby*, who complain'd that *Men of the best Conscience were then ready to fly into the Wilderness for Religion*. Mr. *Pym* in his Speech having mention'd the loss to the Nation, by the loss of the Industry of so many thousands of People, and the Famine of the Gospel by the Banishment of those Preachers, whom the Lord *Digby* term'd Men of the best Conscience, I will after Mr. *Dummer*, be more particular in the Proof of the Nation's losses, Spiritual and Temporal,

The Spiritual and Temporal Loss to England by losing so many People.

The Passage of the Planters, their Families } and Moveables,	1. 95,000
The Transportation of Cattle,	12,000.
<i>I think the Price ought not to be reckon'd, for that put Money in the Pockets of those that staid at home.</i>	
Materials for their first Cottages, &c.	18,000.
Arms, Ammunition, and Artillery,	22,000.
Provisions of all Kinds.	45,000.
	<hr/> 192,000

The last Article also put Money in the Pockets of those that staid at home.

Goods for Trade, which the Traders had the Advantage of in *America*, but no Returns coming to *England*, the national stock was lessened.

We will not now enter into the Discussion of the Question, whether that Loss was not more than made up to the *English*, the Improvement by Trade, in *Old*, as well as *New-England*, and the other Charges will admit of much Alleviation in their Consequences. The Loss to Religion will appear, by

A List of such Ministers, who were in Orders in the Church of England, but being disturb'd by the Ecclesiastical Courts for Puritanism, transported themselves to New-England for Liberty of Conscience, and the free Exercise of their holy Vocation, before the Year 1641, together with the Names of the Places where they settled.

Revd. Mr. Thomas Allen, at *Charles-Town*.

Mr. John Allen, at *Dedham*.

Mr. Avery, at *Marblehead*.

Mr. Adam Blackman, at *Straisford*.

Mr. Richard Blinman, at *Glocester*.

G

Mr.

Mr. Bruce, at *Brainford*.
 Mr. Edmund Brown, at *Sudbury*.
 Mr. Peter Bulkely, at *Concord*.
 Mr. Jonathan Burr, at *Dorchester*.
 Mr. Charles Chauncey, at *Scituate*.
 Mr. Thomas Cobbet, at *Lynns*.
 Mr. John Cotton, at *Boston*.
 Mr. Thomas Dalton, at *Hampton*.
 Mr. Richard Denton, at *Stamford*.
 Mr. Henry Dunstar, at *Cambridge*.
 Mr. Samuel Eaton, at *Newhaven*.
 Mr. John Fish, at *Chelmsford*.
 Mr. John Davenport, at *Newhaven*.
 Mr. John Elliot, at *Roxbury*.
 Mr. Henry Flint, at *Braintree*.
 Mr. Fordham, at *Southampton*.
 Mr. Green, at *Reading*.
 Mr. John Harvard, at *Charles-Town*.
 Mr. Francis Higginson, at *Salem*.
 Mr. William Hock, at *Newhaven*.
 Mr. Thomas Hooker, at *Hertford*.
 Mr. Peter Hobart, at *Hingham*.
 Mr. Ephr. Huet, at *Windsor*.
 Mr. Hull, at *Ile of Shoals*:
 Mr. James, at *Charles-Town*.
 Mr. Jones, at *Fairfield*.
 Mr. Knight, at *Topsfield*.
 Mr. Knowles, at *Water-Town*.
 Mr. Leverick, at *Sandwich*.
 Mr. Lowthrop, at *Barnstable*.
 Mr. Richard Mathes, at *Dorchester*.
 Mr. Maud, at *Dover*.
 Mr. Meverick, at *Dorchester*.
 Mr. John Mayo, at *Boston*.
 Mr. John Millar, at *Yarmouth*.
 Mr. Moxon, at *Springfield*.
 Mr. Samuel Newman, at *Rehoboth*.
 Mr. Norris, at *Salem*.
 Mr. John Norton, at *Boston*.
 Mr. James Noyse, at *Newbury*.
 Mr. Thomas Parker, at *Newbury*.
 Mr. Ralph Partridge, at *Duxbury*.
 Mr. Peck, at *Hingham*.
 Mr. Hugh Peters, at *Salem*.
 Mr. Thomas Peters, at *Saybrook*.
 Mr. George Phillips, at *Water-Town*.

Mr.

Mr. Philips,
 Mr. Abraham
 Mr. Peter P
 Mr. Reyner,
 Mr. Ezek. R
 Mr. Nath. R
 Mr. Saxton.
 Mr. Thomas
 Mr. Zach. Sy
 Mr. Skelton,
 Mr. Ralph Sn
 Mr. Smith, at
 Mr. Samuel S
 Mr. Richard S
 Mr. William T
 Mr. Waltham,
 Mr. Nath. W
 Mr. John War
 Mr. Weld, at
 Mr. Wheelwrig
 Mr. Whitfield,
 Mr. Samuel W
 Mr. John Wilfo
 Mr. Witherel,
 Mr. William W
 Mr. Young, at

Students in Old E

Mr. Samuel Arno
 Mr. John Bishop
 Mr. Edward Bulk
 Mr. Carter, of
 Mr. Francis Dear
 Mr. James Fitch,
 Mr. Hunford, of
 Mr. John Higgin
 Mr. Hough, of R
 Mr. James, of Ed
 Mr. Roger Newto
 Mr. Thomas Thac
 Mr. John Shermar
 Mr. Benjamin Wo
 Mr. John Sams,
 Mr. John Bulkely.

- Mr. Philips, at *Dedham*.
- Mr. Abraham Pierson, at *Southampton*.
- Mr. Peter Prudden, at *Milford*.
- Mr. Reyner, at *Plimouth*.
- Mr. Ezek. Rogers, at *Rowley*.
- Mr. Nath. Rogers, at *Ipswich*.
- Mr. Saxton, at *Scituate*.
- Mr. Thomas Shepherd, at *Cambridge*.
- Mr. Zach. Symmes, at *Charles-Town*.
- Mr. Skelton, at *S. Salem*.
- Mr. Ralph Smith, at *Plimouth*.
- Mr. Smith, at *Weathersfield*.
- Mr. Samuel Stone, at *Hertford*.
- Mr. Richard Street, at *Newhaven*.
- Mr. William Thompson, at *Braintree*.
- Mr. Waltham, at *Marblehead*.
- Mr. Nath. Ward, at *Ipswich*.
- Mr. John Warham, at *Windsor*.
- Mr. Weld, at *Roxbury*.
- Mr. Wheelwright, at *Salisbury*.
- Mr. Whitfield, at *Guildford*.
- Mr. Samuel Whyting, at *Lynne*.
- Mr. John Wilson, at *Boston*.
- Mr. Witherel, at *Scituate*.
- Mr. William Worcester, at *Salisbury*.
- Mr. Young, at *Southold*.

In all 77

Students in *Old-England*, who became Ministers in *New-*

Students in Old-England, Ministers in New.

- Mr. Samuel Arnold, of *Marshfield*,
- Mr. John Bishop, of *Stamford*.
- Mr. Edward Bulkely, of *Concord*.
- Mr. Carter, of *Woburn*.
- Mr. Francis Dean, of *Andover*.
- Mr. James Fitch, of *Norwich*.
- Mr. Hunford, of *Norwalk*.
- Mr. John Higginson, of *Salem*.
- Mr. Hough, of *Reading*.
- Mr. James, of *Easthampton*.
- Mr. Roger Newton, of *Milford*.
- Mr. Thomas Thacher, of *Boston*.
- Mr. John Sherman, of *Water-Town*.
- Mr. Benjamin Woodbridge, of *Newbury*.
- Mr. John Sams,
- Mr. John Bulkely.

Mr.

Notwithstanding that the *English* Planters in *New-England*, declared it was their first and principal Design in coming thither to propagate the Gospel, yet as soon as the *Puritans* prevail'd in the Parliament and the Power of the Kingdom was in their Hands, the principal Persons and Ministers in *New-England* thought fit to leave the propagation of the Gospel to others, and return to *England* to propagate their own Interests. There was no want of Ministers in *Old-England*; these Reverend Divines had put their Hand to the Plough in *New-England*; I do not see any Call they had to leave their Flocks that had followed them thither, for the sake of larger Fleeces.

Gentlemen and Ministers that return'd to England when the Parliament had the Power.

Edward Winslow, Esq; employ'd by the Parliament.

Edward Hopkins, Esq; made Commissioner of the Admiralty and chosen Member of Parliament.

Mr. *George*, afterwards Sir *George Downing*, sent Ambassador to *Holland*; a Man of no Steadiness, and but little Merit.

Mr. *William Hock*, Minister of *Newhaven*, he was made Minister of the *Savoy*, and Chaplain to *Oliver Cromwell*. He liv'd till the Year 1677, being one of those that was ejected with the 2 or 3000 Ministers turn'd out of their Livings for Conscience Sake, on *Bartholomew Day*, 1662.

Mr. *Samuel Mather*, Fellow of *Harvard College*: He went to *Ireland* with the Lord *Henry Cromwell*, then Lord Deputy, was made Senior Fellow of *Trinity College, Dublin*, and had other Preferments, which he lost by the Ejection in 1662.

Mr. *Samuel Eaton*, he became Parson of *Duckenfield* in *Lancashire*, and was driven from thence by the *Bartholomew Act*.

Mr. *John Knowles*, he was appointed Preacher to the Cathedral Church of *Bristol*, but outed in 1662.

Mr. *Thomas Allen*, Minister of *St. Edmund's* in *Norwich* where having been silenced by Bishop *Wren*, for refusing to read the Book for profaning the Sabbath: He went to *New-England*, and from thence return'd to *Norwich* and was silenced again for refusing his Assent and Consent, &c.

Mr. *John Woodbridge*, he was Chaplain to the Parliament Commissioners at the *Isle of Wight Treaty*, and Minister

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Mr. *Benjamin Woodbridge*, the first Graduate of *Harvard-College*, returning to *England*, succeeded the famous Dr. *Twisse* at *Newberry*. He was also made Chaplain to King *Charles II.* when that King pretended to be a Presbyterian himself, and that Party was restoring him to the Throne. He lost his Chaplainship, his Living, and his Liberty of Conscience about two Years after.

Mr. *Robert Peck*.

Mr. *Blinman*.

Mr. *Saxton*.

Mr. *Giles Firmin* became Minister of *Shutford* in *Essex*, turned out by the *Bartholomew Act*.

Mr. *Henry Whitfield*.

Mr. *Henry Butler*, M.A. He taught University Learning here, and returning to *England*, was benefic'd at *Yeovill* in *Somersetshire*, where he continued till he was driven away by the *Bartholomew Act*.

Mr. *Farnworth* coming back to *Old England*, was benefic'd and unbenefic'd, as were the others.

Mr. *Hugh Peters*, Minister at *Salem*; he was Chaplain to *Oliver Cromwell*, and a great Medler in State Affairs, very pragmatikal and impertinent; and tho' he was not at all concern'd in the King's Death, and must have had his Life saved, if King *Charles II.* had regarded the Promises in his Declaration, to pardon all but those that were, yet poor Mr. *Peters* was hang'd, drawn and quarter'd; and what was almost as bad as the murdering him, bely'd by an Ecclesiastical Historian, who said he had a Whore and died drunk, than which nothing can be falser; for tho' Mr. *Peters* would be whimsical, and sometimes chearful, he would not be drunk nor lewd, if his Daughter, of whom I had my Information, speaks Truth; and to hang him for his Impertinence only, was a Precedent that, for their own sake, those then at the Helm should have avoided.

New-England was in a very flourishing Condition at the beginning of the Civil War in *England*, and so continued while it lasted, and after the Conclusion of it to the Restoration, and would have flourish'd on, had their Liberty, which they enjoyed under the Parliament and *Cromwell*, been secured to them; but every thing of that kind was precarious from the Restoration to the Revolution. In the Year 1642 there were 50 Towns and Villages planted, 40 Churches

1642.

The flourish-
ing Condition
of New-
England.

erected, more than 40 Ministers Houses, a Castle, Prisons, Forts, Cartways, Causeways, &c. all at the People's own Charge. The Planters had built themselves comfortable Houses; they had Gardens, Orchards, Corn-Fields, Meadow and Pasture Ground, fenced in with Hedges as in *England*. The Merchants had commodious Houses and Ware-houses, Ports, Wharfs, Ships, Boats and Seamen; the Tradesmen Shops and Work-houses, and there was every where a Face of Business. The Planters applied themselves to Husbandry, sowing of Corn, feeding of Cattle; and the Trade of the Merchants, in Flower, Bread, Beef and Fish, was very considerable; especially the latter, as to which we read, that, when a zealous Minister said in his Sermon, in the Infancy of the Settlement at *Plimouth*, *It behoves us to approve ourselves a religious People, by endeavouring to propagate the Gospel, or otherwise we shall contradict the main End of our coming hither*, one of the Congregation cried out, *Sir, you are mistaken, our main End was to catch Fish*. And truly I think the Man was in the right; for unless the *Christian* Religion was like *Mahomet's*, to be propagated by Arms, or by Miracles, as at the preaching it, I cannot see any Duty incumbent on private Persons to abandon their native Country, their Affairs, even their Provisions for Life, to endeavour to make Savages, in the first Place, think at all, and then to think like themselves. As *Christianity* civilizes all that understand and profess it, and is the strongest Band of Society and Peace, 'tis certainly a great Blessing to inculcate and spread it; but does not seem to me to have been the Business of those that came to plant Corn and fish for Cod in *New-England*. The *New-England* Traders had all along shipped off great Quantities of Fish for *Portugal* and the Streights, and some home for *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. They sent Bread and Beef to the Sugar-Islands, and Lumber to *England* and other Places, where they had a Market. They built Ships for themselves and others, and met with few Losses at Sea.

Martha's
Vineyard
planted.

About this time *Thomas Mayhew*, Esq; took out a Patent for the Island called *Martha's Vineyard*, next to *Rhode* Island, and two little Isles near it, *Nantucket* and *Elizabeth*. He settled his Son in the former, with a small Number of Planters; and he giving himself up to Study and Devotion, had a strong Impulse in his Mind to convert the *Indians*; the more feasible Scheme, for that the Country was his Father's, and the People were in a manner to be his own, or so dependent on him, that they must be the willing to hear his Counsels, as well as receive his Commands. He

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preached to them, and many of them professed Christianity. Mr. Mayhew the Son, being shipwreck'd and drown'd not long after, Mr. Mayhew the Father went thither; and tho' he was no Minister, he carried on the Work of Conversion among the Indians successfully; so also did his Grandson, who was a Minister, as will be seen in the Sequel.

In the mean time the Indian Sachems, according to Custom, quarrel'd among themselves. Miantonimo, King of the Narragansets, hired an Assassin to murder Uncas, King of the Maquois, or rather, of a Nation between the Narragansets and Maquois; for if he is the Uncas before spoken of, his Nation was not so powerful as the Maquois, or Mohocks were. The Assassin failing in his Attempt, Miantonimo cut off his Head, and declared War against Uncas, upon a private Disgust. Uncas took the Field with all the Forces he could muster, not half the Number of Miantonimo's; however he got the better of him, took him Prisoner, and struck off his Head. The Narragansets, enraged at the Death of their King, resolved to push on the War, till they had destroyed Uncas and all his Nation. Uncas fled to the English, who promised effectually to support him; which the Narragansets hearing, immediately laid down their Arms, and begg'd Peace, which was granted them by the Government at Boston, on Condition of their defraying the Charge of the War, and delivering up the Sons of their new King as Hostages for their so doing. This they promised; but neglecting to perform it, Capt. Atherton, with a small Party, entered not only their Country, but the very Wigwan, or Palace of their Sachem Niniget, whom he took by the Hair of his Head, and clapping a Pistol to his Breast, said he was a dead Man, if he did not immediately deliver up the Hostages and pay the Money, which was done, not one of the King's Servants and Guards, as the Historian terms them, daring to lift up a Hand in their Monarch's Defence. By this incident, we see how the Strength of the Indians was broken in 20 Years time. We read of the Narragansets as a formidable People, when the English first settled at Plymouth, and now they are so impotent and tame, that a Militia Captain, with three or four Files of Musketeers, takes their King by the Beard in his own House, tho' surrounded by his Attendants. This confirms me in an Opinion, that the Indians, who daily prove weaker by the Small-Pox, Plague and War, would not have fallen out with the English, who daily grow stronger by multiplying and recruiting, had not the French set them on, and encouraged them with hopes of Assistance. The Indians having been thus outraged

War between Miantonimo and Uncas, Indian Kings.

Capt. Atherton seizes the King of the Narragansets.

raged by the *English*, the latter thought it necessary to unite all the four Colonies into one Confederacy and Body Politick, as is before related. The Instrument of this Union bears this Title.

1643.

Articles of Confederation, between the Plantations under the Government of the Massachusetts, the Plantations under the Government of Plimouth, the Plantations under the Government of Connecticut, and the Government of New-haven, with the Plantations in Combination therewith, dated the 7th of September, 1643.

From this time we are to look upon all these four Colonies as one Body, under the Name of *New-England*, with regard to all the publick Transactions with their Neighbours, tho' the private Affairs of each Province were still managed by Magistrates and Courts of their own.

The Town of *Plimouth* being overstock'd with Inhabitants, and the Land thereabouts hardly worth manuring, some of the Principal of them took a View of a Tract near *Cape Cod*, call'd, by the *Indians*, *Namsfet*. This Soil was rich, and the Situation pleasant. This they purchas'd of the *Natives*, and removing thither with their best Effects, they built the Town of *Eastham*, now in *Barnstable* County.

Eastham
built.
1644.

It is far from being a laudable Disposition in the *English*, but it is a natural one, that when they have Peace with every one else, they fall out among themselves. Those that were now in *New-England* were in no Danger of any Disturbance from the *Savages*. Indeed they could easily have cleared the Country of all the *Indians*, from the Sea to the *Maquois*, or *Mohocks*, on the Frontiers of *New-York*; but the *Savages* were serviceable to them in Trade, and might have been in Tillage and Labour, had they not been an indolent lazy sort of People. The Inhabitants of *Hingham*, in *Suffolk* County, quarrelling about the Election of their chief Military Officer, committed a Riot. Mr. *Winthrop*, Deputy-Governor of the *Massachusetts*, going thither, obliged the Rioters to give Bond to appear at the Quarter Sessions, and, on their Refusal, committed them to Prison, for Words spoken reflecting on the General Court, as encroaching on the Liberties of *Hingham*. The Majority of the Town resent'd the Imprisonment of their Neighbours, and petitioned the General Court for a free Hearing and Liberty of Speech, and complain'd of several Grievances. This Petition was signed by

Hingham
Petition.

Robert Child,
Thomas Fowle,
Samuel Maverick,
Thomas Barlow,

David Yale,
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Gentlemen,
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Six of these seven Petitioners being cited before the Court, appealed to the Parliament of *England*, and tender'd sufficient Security to abide by their Sentence; but this Court, like many others, thought they might determine the Affair themselves, and having the Power to see their Determination made good, adjudged the Offenders to be imprison'd and fin'd. However, as the Petitioners insisted chiefly on Mr. *Winthrop's* proceeding arbitrarily, in imprisoning the Men of *Hingham* for refusing to sign his Bond, the Court, to throw that Charge off from themselves, order'd Mr. *Winthrop*, at that time Deputy-Governor of the Province, to make his Defence before a vast Concourse of People. Mr. *Winthrop* first pleaded his Commission, and shewed them how unreasonable it was for them to call a Governor to Account during the time of his Administration; but the Court not thinking as he did, the Deputy-Governor came down from the Bench, and, like a Counsel at the Bar, pleaded his Cause so well, that it rais'd the Indignation of the General Court against the *Hingham* Petitioners, whom they severely fined, having acquitted Mr. *Winthrop*, who resuming his Seat on the Bench, made the following memorable Speech.

Mr. Winthrop, the Deputy-Governor, pleads his Cause as a Criminal at the Bar.

Gentlemen,

I Will not look back to the past Proceedings of this Court, nor to the Persons therein concern'd: I am satisfied that I was publicly accused, and that I am now publicly acquitted; but give me leave to say something on this Occasion, that may rectify the Opinion of the People, from whom these Distempers of the State have arisen. The Questions that have troubled the Country of late, have been about the Authority of the Magistrate, and the Liberty of the People. Magistracy is certainly an Appointment of God, and I intreat you to consider that you chose them from among yourselves, and that they are Men, subject to the like Passions with yourselves. We take an Oath to govern you according to God's Laws and our own, to the best of our skill; if we commit Errors, not willingly, but for want of skill, you ought to bear with us; nor would I have you mistake our own Liberty. There is a Liberty in doing what we list, without Regard to Law or Justice: This Liberty is indeed inconsistent with Authority; but civil, moral, federal Liberty consists in every one's enjoying his Property, and having the Benefit of the Laws of his Country; this is what you ought to contend for, with the Hazard of your Lives; but this is very consistent with a due Subjection to the Civil Magistrate, and the paying him that Respect that his Character in the common requires.

His Speech after his Acquittal. 1645.

This

This rational Discourse gave great Satisfaction to the general Court, and all that heard it, the Party of the Petitioners only excepted; and Mr. *Winthrop* became so popular after it, that he was yearly chosen Governor of the Province as long as he lived; but the *Hingham* Men deputed Dr. *Child* and Mr. *Fowle*, two of those that sign'd their Petition, to carry their Complaint to the Parliament of *England*, who would not be at Leisure to enter into the Merits of the Cause, of which they had, doubtless, a satisfactory Account from Mr. *Winthrop's* Friends.

I leave the *New-England* Church History as Dr. *Mather* and Mr. *Neal* have left it; yet I cannot omit some general Notices of things, not wholly doctrinal or speculative, but historical, such as the Conversion of the *Indians* to the *Christian* Religion. Hints have been given of a few *Indians* that seem'd well inclin'd to it, but knew not enough of it to make full Confession of. The first *English* Minister that set himself a-part to preach the Gospel to the *Savages* was the Reverend Mr. *John Elliot*, who is stiled the *Apostle of the Indians*. He was educated at *Cambridge*, and assist'd Mr. *Hooker* in his School at *Little Baden* in *Essex*, as is already mentioned. He preached, at his first coming hither, at *Boston*, and was soon after the stated Minister of *Roxbury*, about a Mile from that City, where he continued in the Exercise of his Pastoral Office almost 60 Years. He was a good Scholar, especially in the learned Languages, remarkable for Charity and Disinterestedness; the fitter Person to preach to the Natives, who had little or nothing to give him, and were as rude and ignorant, when he first went to them, as Creatures could be with human Understanding. To qualify him for the Work he was going about, Mr. *Elliot* learnt the *Indian* Language, as barbarous as can come out of the Mouth of Man, as will be seen by these Instances.

The Indians
converted to
Christianity.

Mr. Elliot
the Apostle
of the In-
dians.

of the In-
dia. Lan-
guage.

Nummatchekodtantamonganunnonash, is, in *English*, Our *Gifts*; a Word that the Reverend Mr. *Elliot* must often have Occasion to make use of. As long as it is, we meet with a longer still.

Kummogkedonattottummoctiteangannunnonash, Our *Question*.

Gannunnonash seems to be *Our*, because we find it in the End of the first Word, as well as the second, and the Beginning of both different; and this appears again in another Word.

Neowmantammoonkanurnsnash, Our *Loves*.

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Thus it seems *Kanunnonash* is *Our*, and *Norwomantammoon* is *Loves*. The longest of these *Indian* Words is to be measured by the Inch, and reaches to near half a Foot; and if Mr. *Elliot* did put as many of these Words in a Sermon of his as Mr. *Peters* put *English* Words in one of his Sermons, every one of them must have made a sizable Book, and have taken up three or four Hours in Utterance. Mr. *Elliot* made himself acquainted with this fine Language by the help of an *Indian* Servant, and, when he had matter'd it, he reduced it to a Method, which he publish'd under the Title of the *Indian Grammar*. He began his Mission in *October* 1646, accompanied with three more Persons, having beforehand given the *Indians*, whom he intended to visit, Notice of his coming, and his Purpose. *Waubon*, a grave *Indian*, no *Sachem*, with 5 or 6 of his Countrymen, met them, and bid them welcome, which promised well, since they knew their *Friend*. *Waubon* conducted the *English* into a large *Wigwam*, *Indian* Houses so called, where a great Number of the *Natives* were gathered together on this Occasion.

1646.

Mr. *Elliot* began his Lecture with Prayer: "He then reheard and explained the Ten Commandments, and informed them of the dreadful Curse of God, that would fall upon all those that broke them. He talked to them of *Jesus*, of his Birth, Death and Ascension into Heaven, from whence he would one Day come to judge the World in flaming Fire. He informed them of the blessed State of all those that believed in Christ, and lived according to his Rule. He spoke also of the Creation, and the Fall of Man, of the infinite Greatness of God, of the Joys of Heaven, and the Torments of Hell; closing all with persuading them to Repentance and a good Life.

Mr. Elliot's first Sermon to the Savages.

When Mr. *Elliot* had finish'd his Discourse, he desired the *Indians* to ask him any Questions they thought fit concerning the Points he had touched upon, one of them stood up, and said, *How shall I come to know Christ?* Another enquired, *Whether Englishmen were ever as ignorant of Jesus Christ as themselves?* A third, *Whether Christ could understand Prayers in the Indian Language?* Another proposed this Question, *How there could be an Image of God, since it was forbidden in the Second Commandment?* This probably arose from Mr. *Elliot's* saying Man was created after God's own Image. There was a Simplicity in this, but more Reflection than would be found in many of our Peasants under a like Lecture. Another asked, *If the Father be naught, and the Child good, will he be offended with that Child? Because, in the Second Commandment, it is said, he visits the Iniquities of the Fathers upon*

Indian Doubts about the Christian Religion.

the

the Children. Another was, *How all the World became full of People, if they were all once drown'd in the Flood?* Mr. Elliot gave plain and familiar Answers to all these Questions, and, after a Conference of about three Hours, returned home. As I take this Discourse to be a Specimen of his future Conduct towards the unconverted *Indians*, I shall enter no farther into it, the Ecclesiastical Writers having treated so largely of it. He succeeded so well in his good Work, that in a short time several hundred *Indians* embraced the *Christian Religion*, and their Children were catechised, instructed and bred up in it.

A Christian
Indian
Town.

To draw them off from their wild way of living, the General Court order'd Lands to be set out to build a Town upon, for such as were willing to come into civil Society, which was thankfully accepted of. The Ground mark'd out, Mr. Elliot advis'd them to fence in with Ditches and a Stone Wall. He supply'd them with *Shovels, Spades, Mattocks and Cranes* of Iron for this Purpose; he also gave Money to those that work'd hardest, by which means the Town was soon built and inclosed, the meanest *Wigwams* or Houses in it, were equal to those of the *Sachems* in other Places. They called the Town *Nomatomen*, or *Rejoicing*. I observe that the Language is made up pretty much of *ten, tan, teen, mun, net, neven, nun, ash, oag, eck, sha, mash*. The *Laws* these *Christian Indians* agreed to, are the Effect of good natural Sense, and calculated for their Benefit and Peace.

Their Laws.

1. If any Man be idle a Week, or at most a Fortnight, he shall pay Five Shillings.
2. If any unmarried Man shall lie with a Woman unmarried, he shall pay Twenty Shillings.
3. If any Man shall beat his Wife, his Hands shall be tied behind him, and he shall be carried to the Place of Justice, to be severely punished.
4. Every young Man, if not another's Servant, and if unmarried, shall be compelled to set up a Wigwam, and plant for himself, and not shift up and down in other Wigwams.
5. If any Woman shall not have her Hair tied up, but hang loose, or be cut as Man's Hair, she shall pay Five Shillings.
6. If any Woman shall go with naked Breasts, she shall pay Five Shillings.
7. All Men that shall wear long Locks, shall pay Five Shillings.

The Indians
displeas'd by
Christianity.

We see, by these Regulations, that nothing is more injurious to the Welfare of Society than Idleness, Sauntering

Wantonness and soon became in the Fields and something to call *kets, Turkies*; in the Summer, work'd with the were not so cap bred to it.

The *Indians* hours were im Elliot to come ment for a Spot Swamp, or to t Town; and se meeting at *Conco* civil and religiou

There shall be Shillings.

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They resolv'd creating their Bod ighish Fashions.

They agreed t fore and after ables, and sojou est *Christians*, th Capt. Willard, eple and other s miniter of *Bos* Mr. Allen, Minif er of Cambridge, n, the new *Ind* w Converts, wh en, Women an

Wantonness and Vanity. The *Christians*, Men and Women, soon became industrious, as well as civil; the Men laboured in the Fields and Fishery, the Women learnt to spin, and get something to carry and sell at Market, as *Brooms, Staves, Baskets, Turkies*; in the Spring, *Cranberries, Fish, Strawberries*; in the Summer, *Hurtleberries, Grapes, Fish*; several of them work'd with the *English* in Hay-time and Harvest; but they were not so capable of hard Labour as those who have been bred to it.

The *Indians* about *Concord*, observing how their Neighbours were improved by their new Religion, desired Mr. *Elliot* to come and instruct them, and address'd the Government for a Spot of Ground, either by the Side of the *Bear-Swamp*, or to the East of Mr. *Flint's Pond*, to build them a Town; and several of their Sachems and principal Men, meeting at *Concord*, agreed upon the following Laws for their civil and religious Government.

There shall be no more Powawing, upon Penalty of Twenty Shillings. More Christian Indian Laws.

Powawing was the Conjurings of their Priests. An excellent Law this; for these *Powawings* were the vilest of all Impositions on Mens Reason.

Whosoever shall be drunk, shall forfeit Twenty Shillings.

If any be convicted of Theft, he shall restore Four-fold.

Whosoever profanes the Sabbath, shall pay Twenty Shillings.

Whosoever shall commit Fornication, shall pay Twenty Shillings if a Man, Ten Shillings if a Woman.

Murder and Adultery, Death.

None to beat their Wives, on Penalty of Twenty Shillings.

They resolv'd to lay aside their old Customs of howling, tearing their Bodies, adorning their Hair, and to follow the *English* Fashions.

They agreed to pray in their Wigwams, and to say Grace before and after Meat. Let any one that eats at our grand tables, and sojourns in great Families, observe who are the best *Christians*, the *English* or the *Indians*, in these Articles.

Capt. *Willard*, of *Concord*, was chosen by them to see these and other such Orders duly executed. Mr. *Wilson*, Minister of *Boston*, Mr. *Dunster*, Minister of *Cambridge*, Mr. *Ailen*, Minister of *Charles-Town*, Mr. *Shepherd*, Minister of *Cambridge*, and several other *English*, went to *Noonstaden*, the new *Indian Town*, to confirm and encourage the new *Converts*, who had had Clothes distributed among them, Men, Women and Children, and the greatest Part of them came

came to hear Prayer and Sermon handfomly drefs'd, after the *English* Manner, almost 100 Years ago, which makes one imagine, that the *Indians* in *New-England*, perhaps not only on the Frontiers, but farther within the Land, have, by this time, very much forsaken their old Habit and Habits, and are fallen into the ways of the *Europeans*, which will much shorten our Work in these Articles.

The Christian
Indians les-
sen their Pay-
ments to the
Kings.

Most of the *Indian Sachems*, *Segamores* and *Powattans*, were alarmed at the Progress of *Christianity*. The Prince, says the reverend Historian, was jealous of his Prerogative, and the Priest of his Gain. The *Sachems* were so afraid that the *English* Government would issue out Orders for them to pray in their *Wigwams*, that *Uncas*, before-mentioned, came to the General Court of *Connecticut* at *Hertford*, and formally protested against it. *Cutshamoquin* another *Sachem*, protested against the building any Town by the *Christian* *Indians*, and very frankly told Mr. *Elliot* the Reason of it. The *Indians* who pray to God, said he, do not pay me Tribute, as formerly, which was in part true, and the Reason for their paying ceasing, the Payment should consequently have ceased. The *Christian* *Indians* had withdrawn themselves from their Authority and Protection, and put themselves under the *English*. However, *Cutshamoquin*, a happy Name for an *Indian* King, did not speak the whole Truth; for the *Christian* *Indians* within his Territory had paid him very handfomly. I am the more willing to be particular in it, because it shows the Grandeur and Riches of these *Indian* Monarchs. He complained to Mr. *Elliot*, that his Subjects of the *Christian* Religion gave him no more than they thought reasonable whereas, before they turned *Christians*, he was absolute Master of their Lives and Fortunes. The new Converts answered, that they left it to Mr. *Elliot* to judge between the King and them. We gave him, said they, at one time, 20 Bushels of Corn, and at another time, 6 Bushels more; on our hunting Days we kill'd him 15 Deer, we broke up two Acres of Land for him; we made him a great *Wigwam*, and 20 Rods of Fence, with a Ditch and Rails about it; we paid a Debt for him of Three Pounds ten Shillings, and one of us gave him a Beaver-skin of Two Pounds; we gave him many Days Work in planting Corn all together. They added, We would willingly do more, if he would govern us justly by the Word of God. *Cutshamoquin* took in great Dudgeon that his People should dare to talk so to him and of him, turned his Back to the Company, and went off in a Rage; but, not long after, turn'd *Christian* himself. And, notwithstanding the Opposition the *Christian* Religion met with from the Savages

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Sachems and *Powaws*, Kings and Priests, it obtain'd among the Natives to a great Degree. The *Praying Indians*, as the new Converts were term'd by way of Distinction, combined together in a Body, and built a Town by *Charles-River*, in the midst of the *Massachusetts*, to which they gave the Name of *Natick*. It consists of three long Streets, two on one side of the River, and one on the other, with House-cots to every Family. There is one large House built after the *English* manner, the lower Room is a large Hall, which serves instead of a Church for religious Exercises on Sundays, and for a School-house in Week-days. There's a large Canopy of Mats raised upon Poles for the Preacher, and those that come with him, and other sort of Canopies for themselves to sit under, the Men and Women being placed a-part, which indeed is sometimes done in other Places, nor much to the good Liking of either. The Upper Room is a kind of Store-house for Skins and other valuable Wares; and in a Corner of this Room *Mr. Elliot* had an Apartment partition'd off, with a Bed and Bedstead. There is a handom Fort, of a round Figure, palisado'd with Trees, and a Foot Bridge over the River in Form of an Arch. This *Indian Town* encreas'd much in Number of Houses and Inhabitants, and *Mr. Elliot* having baptis'd the *Indians*, and given the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to those duly prepared, an *Indian Church*, after the *Presbyterian* way, was form'd and settled at *Natick*, about the Year 1660.

They build
Natick,
another
Town.

The Town
and Church
described.

Mr. Elliot had taken into his House *Menequasson*, an ingenious *Indian*, whom he taught to read and write, and made him School-master at *Natick*. *Mr. Elliot* translated *Primers*, *Catechisms*, the *Practice of Piety*, *Baxter's Call to the Unconverted*, and at length the Bible; a Labour worthy other Notice than was taken of it, and other Rewards than it met with. It was printed the first time at *Cambridge*, in 1664. Some of the *Indians*, who had a Genius for Learning, were admitted into *Harvard-College*, and had a liberal Education, whereby their Congregations were furnished with Ministers of their own.

An Indian
Schoolmaster.

Mr. Elliot
translates
the Bible into
the Indian
Language

While *Mr. Elliot* was employ'd in converting the *Indians* within the Jurisdiction of the *Massachusetts*, *Mr. Leverick*, Minister of *Sandwich*, was promoting the same good Work at *Plymouth Patent*, and *Mr. Maybew* in *Martha's Vineyard*, whom some Mention has been made in the preceding Pages. *Mr. Maybew*, the Son, enter'd upon this pious undertaking, and his first Convert was one *Hiaccomes*, a young Man of about 30 Years of Age, who was, for some time after he had begun to take a Liking to the *English*,

Hiaccomes,
the Indian
Preacher,
converted.

afraid

afraid to enter into any close Correspondence with them, his Countrymen looking upon them as Enemies to their Gods and Nations. Being come once to the *English* Plantations, after several Invitations, Mr. *Mayhew* confer'd with him on the Subject of Religion, and discoursed so pathetically and convincingly of the *Christian*, that *Hiaccomes*, who had some Inclination that way before, heard with great Attention and Satisfaction, and, in a little time, renounced the Gods of his Country, and came constantly every Sunday to Mr. *Mayhew's* Meeting, and, after Evening Sermon, to his House, for further Instruction. *Pakoponeffo*, *Sachem* of the Country, understanding that *Hiaccomes* was going off from his Religion to that of the *Christian*, spoke thus to him: *I wonder you, who are a young Man, having a Wife and two Children, should love the English and their ways, and forsake the Powaws.* *Hiaccomes* made him no Reply, but continued his Visits to Mr. *Mayhew*, who taught him to read, and endeavoured to fortify him against Reproaches; which had so good an Effect on him, that he undertook to assert the Truth and Benefit of the *Christian* Faith before another *Sachem*, and the principal Men of his Nation; not very numerous, doubtless, when there were several *Sachems* in an Island not half so big as the *Wight*. *Hiaccomes's* Exhortation succeeding to the Conversion of these Men, he challenged the *Powaws*, who threatened him with their Conjurations, to do their worst; but they did not care to venture their Credit and Profit on an Experiment which, as the *Indians* became more enlightened, was very doubtful and dangerous. Mr. *Mayhew* having furnished *Hiaccomes* with sufficient Materials, that *Convert* preached to his Countrymen, and had good Success in converting them. Mr. *Mayhew* made a great Progress in it, but, after about 10 or 12 Years Labour, Mr. *Mayhew* intending a short Voyage to *England*, sail'd with Capt. *Garret* in the Year 1657, and was never heard of more, the Ship and all that was in it perishing at Sea.

Mr. *Mayhew* the Father carried on the Missionary Work by his Advice and Preaching, after the Departure of his Son and *Hiaccomes* continued Pastor of an Indian Church in *Martha's Vineyard* to his Death; and his Son *John Hiaccomes* was Minister of another Indian Church there. Mr. *Ellis* his Son also preached to the *Indians*; as did also Mr. *Richard Bourne*, Mr. *Pierfon*, Mr. *Filch* and Mr. *John Cotton*, who had all learn'd the *Indian* Language for that Purpose; and by their Instructions, several *Indians* applied themselves to the Scripture, and became useful Preachers to their Countrymen.

His King's
Speech to him
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The Accounts I have seen of the *Indian Converts* and Churches is a little confused; but the Number of them may be guess'd by what follows.

At *Natick*, the Minister *Daniel* an *Indian*, 4 or 500 when the most.

At *Mashippang*, 50 Miles from *Boston*, an *Indian* Minister.

At *Martha's Vineyard*, *Hiaccomes* the *Indian* Minister, assisted by his Son *John Hiaccomes*. Another Church there, *John Tockingsh*, an *Indian* the Minister. About 3000 Converts in this Island.

At *Nantuket-Isle*, the Minister *John Gibs*, an *Indian*; 500 Converts.

At *Sanctuit* and *Cotuit*, near *Sandwich*, in *Barnstable County*, 200. The Minister an *Indian*, *Simon Papinonit*.

At *Saconet*, in *Plimouth Colony*, a *Christian* Church; the Minister an *Indian*.

About *Cape Cod*, several *Christian* Churches, having 6 *Indian* Preachers.

Near *Eastham*, in *Barnstable County*, a Church, consisting of 500 *Indian* Converts; 4 Schools, where their Children are taught to read; 6 *Indian* Justices of the Peace, to keep good Order.

At *Punkenag*, a Church of *Indians*, preach'd to by Mr. *Thacker*, Minister of *Milton*, in *Suffolk County*.

At *Nipmug*, an *Indian* Church; the Minister *Monsieur Bondet*, a *French* Protestant.

Near *Mendham*, in *Suffolk County*, an *Indian* Church; the Minister Mr. *Rawson*, of *Mendham*.

In the Whole, there were, between the Years 1660 and 1700, above thirty Congregations of *Indian Christians*, which might make near 5000 in Number, having 24 *Indian* Preachers. I question whether the Number is much increased

since; for Mr. *Maybew*, the Grandson I suppose, in his Journal of 1713 and 1714, writes, that the Remains of the

Quots, *Mobegins*, near *New-York* and *Narragansets*, were under strong Prejudices against the *Christian* Religion.

Maybew going amongst them, obtained a Meeting, and preached to them by an Interpreter; but had only a *Thankye* for his Trouble, tho' the *English* were then so much Masters of the Country, that the *Indians* were at Mercy in his Power. He sent for the King of the *Narragansets* to come to him, and desired Leave to preach to his Subjects. *Ninimig*, that was the Name of the *Sachem*, bid him go, and say to the *English* good first; for the *Indians* could easily observe,

serve, that the Manners of the People were not answerable to the Lessons of their Preachers. *Ninnicraft* said to him, *Some of you keep Saturday, others Sunday, others no Day at all, for the Worship of God; so that if my People had a mind to turn Christians, they could not tell what Religion to be of.* Indeed I have often thought of the Difficulties the Missionaries have to struggle with, in converting the *Indians* to *Christianity*, with Respect to the Disagreement among *Christians*; and it must be said for the latter, that they are at no manner of Pains to conceal their Differences. The *French Papists* at *Canada*, if they may be termed *Christians*, tell the *Indians* of Christ, and of his being crucified; but say the *English* did it. The *English* Presbyterians in *New-England* instruct the *Indians* to pray by the Spirit, and to have Ministers ordained by Ministers, or they will not be in the right way. The *English* Episcopalians tell them they must pray as they find it in the Book, and have Ministers ordained by Bishops, or the *Christian* Religion is of no use to them. How much the poor *Indians* be scandalized at this Uncertainty in Matters that concern the Salvation or Perdition of immortal Souls, and much more at the Difference between the Doctrine and the Morals of some *Christians*.

Mr. *Mayhew*, at the Request of the *New-England* Society for propagating the Gospel, made the *Mohegin* *Indians* another Visit, and obtained another Meeting. After he had preached to them, he desired to know their Objections against the *Christian* Religion. One of them stood up and said, *We believe the Being of a God, and do worship him; but several Nations have their distinct ways of Worship, so we have ours; and we think our way good, and therefore there is no Reason to alter it.* Another said, *The Difficulties of the Christian Religion are such as the Indians cannot endure; our Fathers made some Trial of it in Mr. Fitch's time, 50 Years before, and had found Religion too hard for them, and therefore quit it; and we think ourselves no better able to bear the Hardships of it than our Fathers.* Others said, *Some Indians, who had professed the Christian Religion, had, soon after, forsaken the English, and joined with their Enemies, which certainly they would not have done, if the Christian Religion had been so excellent a thing as was pretended.* What another *Mohegin* said has so much Truth in it, that it might have been a Lesson to *Mayhew* himself, for the Use of his People: *We cannot see that Men are ever the better for being Christians; for the English, that are Christians, will cheat the Indians of their Land, and wrong them other ways; and your Knowledge of Books does but make you the more cunning to cheat others,*

Objections of
the Indians
to the Christian
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So does more Harm than Good. We perceive, by this Account, that the Conversion of the Indians was at a Stand after the Death of the first Missionaries Mr. Elliot, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Fitch, Mr. Browne, Mr. Mayhew, Senior. which was not occasioned so much by the want of Preaching, as the Wars which ensued between the English and Indians. The latter were also more and more thinn'd by Diseases, and the spreading of the English, near whom the Indians we have just mentioned lived, and were in some wise intermix'd with them. This Part of the Continent was never very populous, and the 5000 Indians, who were converted, were probably a quarter Part of all the Nations to whom they belonged. This was a very religious, generous, useful Undertaking, and, considering the New-English were scarce well settled themselves, 'tis amazing that they should so soon so well settle their Religion among the Natives, that it has lasted ever since, and is likely to last as long as there is a People in those Parts of the World. One cannot suppose that all this, which must have been very expensive as well as difficult, could be done by their own Fund and Sufficiency. Three Years after Mr. Elliot's first Mission, the Parliament of England pass an Act, A. D. 1649, to encourage the propagating the Gospel among the Indians in New-England. In order to which they erected a Corporation, consisting of a President, a Treasurer, and 14 Assistants, empowering them to receive Contributions, and make Disbursements for carrying on so good a Work. The Corporation chose Judge Steel President, and Henry Ashurst, Esq; Treasurer. He was Father of the late Sir Henry Ashurst, Bart. and Sir William Ashurst, late eldest Alderman of London. A Collection was made, pursuant to the same Act, all over England, which produced such a Sum of Money as enabled the Society to purchase Estates to the Value of about 600 l. a Year, a great part of which was bought of Col. Bedingfield, a Papist, who had run himself so much in Debt in the Cause of King Charles I. that, upon the Restoration, Bedingfield seized what he had sold them; but the Chancellor Hyde did not think fit to maintain his Violence and Injustice, and not only deeded the Land to them, but, at the Request of the reverend Mr. Baxter and Alderman Ashurst, procured them a new Charter, by which they and their Successors for ever were to be A Society for propagation of the Gospel in New-England, long before any Society with the like Stile was thought of by others; and this being already establish'd, consider'd any other unnecessary and useless, with regard to

The New-England Society for propagating the Gospel establish'd.

New-England. This Society consisted of the following Persons named in the Charter.

The Names
of the first
Society in
England.

Edward Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor.
Thomas Earl of Southampton, Lord Treasurer.
John Lord Roberts, Lord Privy-Seal.
George Duke of Albemarle.
James Duke of Ormond.
Edward Earl of Manchester, Lord Chamberlain,
Arthur Earl of Anglesey.
William Viscount Say and Seal.
Francis Warner, Esq; Alderman of London.
Erasmus Smith, Esq; *Will. Love*, Esq; 2 Aldermen
Richard Hutchinson. *Will. Peak*, Esq; 5 of London.
Joshua Woolnough, Esq; *Thomas Foley*, Esq;
George Clarke, Esq; *Thomas Coke*, M. D.
Thomas Speed, Esq; *John Micklethwait*, M. D.
Harman Sheaf, Esq; *Edmund Trench*, Esq;
James Hayes, Esq; *Charles Doyley*, Esq;
Laurence Brinsley, Esq; *Thomas Staynes*, Esq;
John Arrod, Esq; *John Farvis*, Esq;
John Docket, Esq; *William Antrobus*, Esq;
Sir William Thomson, *John Bathurst*, Esq;
Sir William Bateman, *Thomas Gillibrand*, Esq;
Sir Anthony Bateman, *John Benbowe*, Esq;
Sir Theophilus Biddolph, *Barnabas Mears*, Esq;
Sir Laurence Bromfield, *Edward Boscawen*, Esq;
Robert Boyle, Esq; *Martin Noel*, Esq;
Tempest Milner, Esq;

Very honourable Names, and it is remarkable that they are all of the Laity. These Commissioners were impow'd to appoint others in *New-England* to transact the Affairs of the Society there. The first Governor was *Robert Boyle*, Esq; the famous *Christian* Philosopher. The Powers of this Society are limited to *New-England*, and the Borders. On the Death of *Mr. Boyle*, *Robert Thompson*, Esq; was elected Governor, and the following worthy Gentlemen were lately the Society

The late
London
Commissioner's
Names.

Joseph Thompson, Esq; *Richard Chiswell*, Esq;
Treasurer. *Mr. Thomas Gering*.
Sir Thomas Abney. *Sir Peter King*, Lord Chief
Mr. Robert Ashurst. Justice.
Mr. John Gunston, Dep. Trea. *Mr. Thomas Knight*.
Mr. Edward Richier. *Mr. Arthur Martin*.
Mr. Samuel Read, Sen. *Richard Minshall*, Esq;

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Sir John S
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 Sir Daniel Wray.
 Daniel Dolins, Esq;
 William Thompson, Esq;
 John Lane, Esq;
 Sir Justus Beck.
 Mr. John Bridges.
 Mr. John Morton.
 Robert Atwood, Esq;
 Robert Clarke, Esq;
 Mr. James Hulbert.

Philip Papillon, Esq;
 Mr. Henry Palmer.
 Mr. Thomas Stiles.
 Mr. James Townsend.
 Mr. John Jackson.
 Sir Henry Ashurst.
 Mr. Joseph Thompson, Jun.
 Mr. Samuel Read.
 Mr. Jeremiah Murden.
 Mr. Samuel Sheaf.
 Mr. Thomas Carpenter.
 Mr. John Mitchel.

The Commissioners in New-England are, or lately were,

Samuel Shute, Esq; late Governor.
 Increase Mather, D. D.
 John Foster, Esq;
 John Higginson, Esq;
 Edward Bromfield, Esq;
 El. Hutchinson, Esq;
 Simeon Stoddard, Esq;
 Samuel Sewal, Esq;
 Pean Townsend, Esq;
 Jonathan Belcher, Esq;
 Cotton Mather, D. D.
 Rev. Mr. Nehemiah Waller.
 Mr. Daniel Oliver.
 Mr. Thomas Fitch.
 Adam Winthrop, Esq;
 Thomas Hutchinson, Esq;
 Will. Dummer, Esq; D. Gov.

The New-England Commissioners.

This Society do, or lately did, maintain in New-England or 16 Missionaries, part English, part Indian, to preach the Gospel. Their Salaries are from 10 to 30 l. a Year, New-England Money. They have erected Schools in proper places, which may truly be called Charity-Schools. The children are furnished with Catechisms, Primers, Psalters, Books of Devotion in the Indian Tongue, Pens, Ink, Paper, and sometimes Clothes. Some of the Missionaries can preach the Indian Language; but the rest do it by Interpreters. Besides the Contributions gather'd by the Society, there are Collections towards carrying on their Design in New-England. That at Boston came, in one Year, to 483 l. New-England Money.

Old Church	- - -	160 l.
North Church	- - -	90
South Church	- - -	116
New Church	- - -	117
		<hr/>
		483 l.

The other Collections bear no Proportion to this, there being no Proportion in their Trade and Wealth. The Society have also a Fund of about 1000*l.* the Produce of which is employed for this good Purpose.

1647.
Comotions
among the
Savages.

In the Year 1647 there were great Comotions among the *Indians*; but the *English* kept such a watchful Eye over them, that they could not do much Mischief, till the *French* animated them, and put them in that way. *Sequassan*, a Sacher, near *Newhaven*, had formed a Design to assassinate the Magistrates of that Colony; but being discover'd in time, it was easily prevented. The *Narragansets* and *Mahiguins* having several times infested the *English*, they demanded Satisfaction; and the *Segamores* chose rather to give it, than hazard a War. The *Narragansets* engaged the *Alaquois*, or *Mohocks*, to assist them in prosecuting the War against *Uncas*; but when they found the *English* would protect him, they desisted. The *Indians* committed this Year several Murders in *Newhaven* Colony and *Long Island*. The *English* immediately demanded to have the Murderers delivered up, which the Savages at first refused; but when they saw a War would be unavoidable, if they did not give Satisfaction, they yielded to pacifick Measures.

1648.
A Synod at
Cambridge.

In September, 1648, a Synod of the *New-England* Churches was held at *Cambridge*, and the *Confession of Faith* published by the *Assembly of Divines* at *Westminster*, being read over Article by Article, was agreed to *Nemine Contradicente*. They then proceeded to consider the Model of Church Discipline which had been prepared by Mr. *John Cotton*, Mr. *Richard Mather*, Mr. *Ralph Partridge*. The Platform they drew up, and to which the Synod agreed, is in Mr. *Neal's* Appendix. Some things in it are neglected by the present Ministers in *New-England*; the main Points, however, are still the same, and the Discipline Presbyterian, which is as much as a Layman need know of the Matter.

The Baptists
persecuted.

The *New-England* People lived in full Security, as to the Danger from the *Indians*, who of themselves, and without Assistance or Intelligence with the *French* at *Canada*, could do them little or no Hurt; and this Security put their Heads on the wrong Side at home, for want of the Ballast of Poverty and Affliction from abroad. Whether it was that their Prosperity made them proud, or that their Zeal languish'd for want of Exercise, they resolv'd to quicken a new Profession, and the *Baptists* came first in their Way.

The Rupture began at *Rehobeth*, in *Plimouth* Colony, where one Mr. *Obadiab Holmes*, and 6 or 7 more of the *Baptist* Persuasion, separated from the Congregation the

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Mr. Newman, Minister of *Rehobeth*, admonish'd and then excommunicated Mr. Holmes. Some time after, Mr. Holmes, Mr. Clarke of *Rhode-Island*, and Mr. Crandal were seized at *Lynne* in time of Divine Worship on a Sunday in the House of Mr. William Witters. Being carried the next Morning before the Magistrate of the Town, Mr. Robert Bridges, he made their *Mittimus* and sent them to *Boston* Jail, where the Court fined Mr. Clarke 20*l.* or to be well whipp'd, John Crandal 5*l.* or to be whipp'd, and Mr. Holmes 30*l.* for contemning the Admonition and Excommunication, and not conforming to the Church. The Prisoners agreed not to pay their Fines, but to stand the Whipping. Some of Mr. Clarke's Friends paid his Fine without his Consent; Crandal was released, upon his Promise to appear the next Court; but Mr. Holmes was tied to the Whipping Post, and had thirty Lashes. As he returned to Prison, John Spur and John Lasel took him by the Hand in the Market-place, and before all the People praised God for his Courage and Constancy, for which they were summon'd before the General Court, and fined 40*s.* or to be whipp'd. They refused to pay the Money; but some of their Friends paying it for them, they were dismissed.

Fined and whipp'd 1657;

The New-England Ministers and Elders fell next, and with a heavier Hand, upon the Quakers, who first came to this Country in the Year 1656. The Names of their Speakers and Leaders were

The Quakers persecuted. 1656.

<i>Mary Fisher,</i>	<i>Sarah Gibbons,</i>
<i>Ann Austin,</i>	<i>Mary Prince,</i>
<i>Christopher Holder,</i>	<i>Mary Weatherhead,</i>
<i>Thomas Thirstone,</i>	<i>Dorothy Waugh,</i>
<i>William Brend,</i>	<i>John Copeland.</i>

They were seized immediately, and the Governor called a Council on this Occasion, who issued Orders to *Simon Kempborn*, their Officer, to see these Quakers shipp'd off for *Barbados*, from whence they came; then made some new Laws for suppressing them.

Every Master of a Ship that brought thither any Quaker or Quakers, to forfeit 100*l.* *Cruel Laws against them.*

Every Quaker that lands in New-England to be sent to the House of Correction, and severely whipp'd, as they worded it, then to be put and kept to hard Labour, and none to converse or speak with them.

To disperse any of their Books or Pamphlets, to forfeit 5*l.*

It would have been more reasonable and Scholar-like, if they had directed Dr. *Mather* to answer Mr. *Barklay's* Latin Treatise for *Quakerism* in the same Language, on Account of its Universality; but Persecutors are for the shortest Ways of answering; the Prison, the Whipping-post, the Pillory and the Gibbet, as we shall find presently.

Whoever shall defend the Quakers, shall, for the second Offence, be sent to the House of Correction till they can be banish'd.

These excellent Laws were proclaimed by Beat of Drum in the Streets of *Boston*, at hearing of which, one *Nicholas Uphal* came out of his House, and denounced the Judgment of God gainst the Execution of them. The General Court had *Uphal* brought before them, and banish'd him the Province.

Mary Clarke, Wife of *John Clarke* of *London*, Taylor, whose Folly in coming so far, on so foolish an Errand as the Call of *Quakerism*, might have deserved a Madhouse, but did not deserve the Whipping-Post; she received 30 Lashes.

Christopher Holden and *John Copeland*, both returned from Banishment, were tied to the Post, and had each 30 Stripes; but these Whippings not being enough severe to deter Friends from coming into the Country, the General Court refined upon their former Cruelty, and made the following Laws.

More cruel
Laws.

Whosoever should bring any Quaker within their Jurisdiction, to pay 100 l.

Whosoever should conceal a Quaker, knowing him to be such, to pay 40 s. an Hour for so concealing him.

The Ears of
Quakers cut
off.

If a Quaker, for the first Offence, that is, coming to New-England, after having been banished, if a Man, to have one of his Ears cut off, and be kept to hard Work in the House of Correction till he could be shipp'd off at his own Charges. For his second Offence, to lose the other Ear, and be kept in the House of Correction. If a Woman, to be severely whipp'd, and kept as aforesaid. For the third Offence, Man or Woman, to have their Tongues bored through with a hot Iron, and then be kept in the House of Correction till they can be shipp'd off at their own Charges.

1658.

Holder, Copeland, and one Rouse had their Ears cut off, September 16, 1658.

Thomas
Prince, Esq;
Governor of
Plymouth.

In the Year preceding died *William Bradford*, Esq; the ancient Governor of *Plymouth* Colony, in which he had been a useful and beloved Magistrate, from their first Settlement to his Death, 37 Years. He was succeeded by *Thom-*

mas Prince, Esq; during Mr. *Br-* self, he was a g of Pains to pr Schools in all *Theophilus* from its Estab time, and *Fran* Governor.

Among othe *England*, was Years after, r *Charles II.* fo *Crack'd-brain'd* *Hugh Peters's* C ed a Pa-rcel of the Settlement a In my forme but I suppose i *Colony*, on a *settled*.

He apply'd to another Jurisdic without it; and than a bare *Perri* Council taking the or several weight member'd, they d in which, he st anding what bas wove. But his C self, declined goin to have done.

The *Quakers* read their Noti ed imprison'd, a are cruel Laws vice a Week, and ne *Harris*, who slicted on him; ost whipp'd to I ere two *Quaker* ed Ten Pounds eting, and refus are order'd to b ned by *Edward*

was Prince, Esq; who had been sometimes chosen Governor during Mr. Bradford's Life. Tho' he was not learned himself, he was a great Patron of Learning, and took a great deal of Pains to provide Revenues for the setting up Grammar Schools in all Parts of the Country.

Theophilus Eaton, Esq; Governor of Newhaven Colony, from its Establishment to his Death, died about the same time, and Francis Newman, Esq; their Secretary, was chosen Governor. Francis Newman, Esq; Governour.

Among other troublesom Fellows that came to New-England, was Venner, the Fifth Monarchy-Man, who, some Years after, raised a Rebellion in London against King Charles II. for which he, and a good Number of his Crack'd-brain'd Militants were hang'd. Venner was one of Venner, the Fifth-Monarchist in New-England.

Hugh Peters's Clan at Salem. He would fain have persuaded a Parcel of such Wiseheads as himself to have deserted the Settlement at Massachusetts, and have gone to Providence.

In my former Edition, I said one of the Bahama-Islands; but I suppose it might rather be Providence, in Plimouth Colony, on a River so called, where the Antinomians had settled.

He apply'd to the Magistrates for Leave to remove into another Jurisdiction, which I imagine he might have done without it; and that he desired something more of them, than a bare Permission to be gone. The Magistrates and Council taking the Matter into Consideration, declared, that for several weighty Reasons, not of Weight enough to be remember'd, they could not admit of Venner's Proposal. Upon which, he stood up among them, and said, *Notwithstanding what has been offer'd, we are clear in our Call to remove.* But his Companions, not being quite so mad as himself, declined going off tumultuously, which Venner was ready to have done.

The Quakers glorying in their Sufferings, continued to read their Notions, or rather Dreams, and were seized, and imprison'd, and whipp'd. The Magistrates issued still More cruel Laws against Quakers. more cruel Laws against them, *That they should be whipp'd once a Week,* and each time to have the Stripes increased.

One Harris, who came from Barbados, had this Punishment inflicted on him; so had others, and one of them was almost whipp'd to Death. I am ashamed to write it. There were two Quakers, of the Name of Southick, who being

sent Ten Pounds for not coming to Church, there called They are to be sold to the Plantations. meeting, and refusing to work in Jaill, or pay the Money, were order'd to be sold to the Plantations, by an Order

given by Edward Rawson, Esq; Secretary to the General Court;

•
 Banish'd on
 Pain of
 Death.

Court; but the Order was not executed. *William Brend* and *William Leddra*, two Foreigners, were whipp'd at *Boston*; but this Persecution having the Effect that all Ecclesiastical Persecutions ever had, that of encreasing the Number of the *Quakers*, *Sanguis Martyrorum Semen Ecclesie*, the Blood of the Martyrs was, in the primitive Times, the Seed of the Church. The Magistrates of *New-England*, Ministers and Elders, resolv'd to push their Severity as far it could go, and at last a Law was made to banish them, on Pain of Death. The Court of Magistrates pass'd this Law for putting them to Death without Trial by a Jury; but the General Assembly, or Court of Deputies, oppos'd it, and insisted upon a Clause for Trial by a Jury, till the Magistrates prevail'd with two of them to change Sides, and then the Law was carried by a single Vote, the Speaker and 11 being against it, and 13 for it. And thus every Court consisting of 3 Magistrates might give Judgment to Death. However, the Twelve who were against the Bill resolv'd to enter their Protests, and rather than not have it pass currently, the others at last agreed to qualify it, by adding these Words, *Being tried by Special Jury*.

As soon as the Magistrates had got this Law on their Side, they went to work, and taking hold of certain *Quakers* who had been banish'd and were come back again, contrary to Law, they proceeded to Execution. *William Robinson*, of *London*, Merchant, *Marmaduke Sentenzen*, of *Yorkshire*, Yeoman, and *Mary Dyer* were brought before them, and ask'd why they came into the Jurisdiction, after they had been banish'd upon Pain of Death? They reply'd, *They came in Obedience to the Call of the Lord*. Let it not be said, by their Persecutors, that their Term *Call* is *Cant* and *Jargon*, is it not the same Term that the *New-England* Ministers and Elders had us'd a thousand and a thousand times? I will not say of no better Grounds. These People as much believed themselves to be in the right, as *Mr. John Elliot*, *Nr. Thomas Hooker*, or *Mr. Richard Mather* did, and the Government had no more Jurisdiction over their Consciences, than the Spiritual Courts in *England* had over their own. Was not the Squabble about the *Covenant of Grace* and the *Covenant of Works* as much *Jargon* and *Cant* to sober, judicious *Christians*, as the *Quaker's Spirit*, and the *Light within*? Notwithstanding this, *Friends* were brought to the Bar once more, and *Endicot*, the Governor, who had been very active in these *Scourgings*, *Mutilatings*, &c. spoke as follows: *We have made many Laws, and endeavour'd, by several Ways, to keep you from us; but I find neither Wh*

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 Norton, Minist

ping, nor Imprisonment, nor cutting off of Ears, nor Banishment upon Pain of Death, will keep you from us. I desire not your Death. Did he not desire the Act for hanging them should pass, did he design to pardon or reprove them? He knew they wou'd not submit. Miserable Sophistry! Having said he desired not their Death, he pass Sentence upon them, to be hang'd on the Gallows till they be dead, which was accordingly executed. Several Quakers were banish'd on Pain of Death, who never return'd into the Country, as *Laurence Southick*, *Cassandra Southick*, a Heathenish Name for a *She Friend*; *S. Shattock*, *N. Phelps* and Others, but *William Leddra*, who had been several Times severely whipp'd, turn'd out of the Jurisdiction and at last banish'd, coming again to *Boston*, was hang'd *March* the 14th, 1660: Some of his last Words at the Gallows were, *For bearing my Testimony against the Deceivers and Deceiv'd, I am brought here to suffer.* Mr. *Neal* tells us what the *New-England* Magistrates said to justify these Sacrifices to their Authority, little likelihood of their being enough Reason in their Arguments to put Persons to Death for Principles of Conscience. If it be true as they wrote, that the Quakers ran about the Streets, crying out against the Sins of the People, there might have been a Madhouse set apart for them, and Darkness, Solitude, Bread and Water been their Portion, till they recover'd their Senses. If *Deborah Wilson* march'd thro' the Streets of *Salem* stark naked, the Hangman might have flogg'd her with the more Advantage, and she richly deserved it. I meet with some signs of Frenzy and Folly in the Rants and Riots of the Quakers, but nothing for which they shou'd have been hang'd, and these *New-England* Magistrates acted like the ignorant Surgeon, that knew no way of curing a bad Limb but by cutting it off. Indeed *Endicot* and *Bellingham*, successively Governors of the *Massachusetts* Colony, were as real Bigots in their way, as Archbishop *Laud* was in his, and where Bigotry thrives, like a rank Weed it kills every good Plant about it.

While these Things were acting in *America*, *Monk*, the *Rump's* General in *England* betray'd them, and brought in *Charles* the II^d, who is now known to have been a Papist, when *Monk*, at that time an Independent or Presbyterian, made way for his return to *England*. He had at first few about him but *Presbyterians*, and indeed the *Presbyterians* sought to have the Honour of being the chief Instruments of his Restoration, tho' they paid dearly for it in a Year or two. The Government of *New-England* dispatch'd *Simon Bradstreet*, Esq; Secretary of the *Massachusetts*, and Mr. *John Norton*, Minister at *Boston*, with a Congratulatory Address to the

They are
hang'd.

1660.

The Colony
address'd to
Charles II

The Quakers
against Mr.
Norton's
Minister.

1663

Who dies rather
of Grief
than Sick-
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Massasoit's
two Sons
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the King, who gave them good Words in Answer to it. The Quakers in their Representation to him, speaking of this Mr. Norton, who dy'd of an Apoplexy soon after his return to *New-England*, having had a deep Hand in the Execution of their Friends, say, *John Norton*, chief Priest in *Boston*, by the immediate Power of the Lord, was smitten and Mr. as he was sinking down by the Fire side, being under just Judgment, he confess'd the Hand of the Lord was upon him, and so he died. If he was accessory to the Death of any of those misguided People, the Quakers might as well load his Character with this Judgment, as some of the Ministers have loaded the Characters of others with the like. I observe that Bigots in all Persuasions arm themselves with these Judgments against their Opponents: Enthusiasm and Malice are equally conspicuous in all, and to be rejected by Men in a juster and cooler way of thinking. These did not ascribe Mr. Norton's Apoplexy to a stroke of Heaven, but rather thought it came upon him by Grief, at the Treatment he met with even from some of his Friends, at his return to *New-England*, for both he and *Bradstreet* had, they thought, flatter'd King *Charles* too much in their Addresses; they told Mr. Norton to his Face, He had laid the Foundation of the Ruin of their Liberties. Mr. *Neal* says of him, "He was certainly a Man of warm Passions, and of a choleric Temper, rare combustibles to be blown up by rash Zeal, and obstinate Bigottry: He was at the Head of all the Quakers Sufferings, and neither his Learning nor his Puritanism can atone for that unchristian and unjustifiable Severity. Tho' Sir *William Morrice*, Secretary to King *Charles* II, was so zealous a Presbyterian, that he wrote a Book in vindication of Presbytery, and tho' he was as *Mom's* Kinsman and Assistant, very much in Favour, yet he could not hinder that King's sending an Order, dated Sept. 9, 1661, and sign'd by *William Morrice*, to Governor *Endicot*, to stop all Proceedings against the Quakers, which oblig'd the Government there to give over hanging them, but they continu'd the whipping of them without Mercy.

Soon after the Restoration of King *Charles* dy'd the Old Indian King *Massasoit*. His two Sons *Wanissetta* and *Metacomet*, came to the Court at *Plimouth*, and desired to have English Names given them, so they had Political, tho' not Christian Baptism; *Wanissetta* was call'd *Alexander*, and *Metacomet*, *Philip*: But notwithstanding their Professions of Friendship, the Court had Information a few Months after, that *Alexander* was soliciting the *Narragansets* to make War upon them; upon which *Edward Winslow*, Esq; Major-General

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General of the Colony, an Officer put over the *Indians*, and next to the Governor, was sent to bring him to *Plimouth*. He took with him no more than 10 Men, and surprizing *Alexander* at one of his hunting Houses, clapt a Pistol to his Breast, in the midst of his numerous Attendants, and commanded him to surrender on pain of Death, and go with him to *Plimouth*. *Alexander*, as one stun'd at the boldness and suddenness of this Assault, submitted, and only desired he might go like a King; that he might do so, Mr. *Winslow* offer'd him a Horse, but his *Squaw*, his Wife, and other Women being on Foot, King *Alexander* had more Manners than to go on Horseback. Mr. *Prince*, Governor of *Plimouth*, treated him with great Humanity; yet so great was his Indignation at the Affront that had been put upon him, that the Ferment of his Spirits threw him into a slow Fever, of which he died.

His Brother *Philip* succeeded him in his Kingdom, he was ^{King Philip's Treaty of Peace.} young, stout, and revengeful; however not being as yet prepared for War, he thought fit to temporize a while, and went to *Plimouth*, to renew the Alliance made with that Colony by his Father *Massasoit*, pursuant to which, he engag'd to keep inviolably the former League, not needlessly, or unjustly to provoke or raise War with any of the Natives, not to sell any Lands to any Strangers, or any one else without Approbation of the English, who on their Part engag'd to afford him all friendly Assistance, by Advice or otherwise, as they justly might. An Instrument to this Purpose, was sign'd Thus,

Witness, *John Sansaman*.

The Mark of *Francis* []
Sachem or King of *Nauset*.

The Mark of [] *Philip*
alias *Metacomet*.

Sansaman, the Witness, was an *Indian* Christian and Preacher, who was murder'd in King *Philip's* Country, by his Chancellor, and two other of his Subjects, of which we shall hear more in the Sequel.

The Synod that met in the Year 1662, at *Boston*, had before them this knotty and important Question, ^{A Synod.} Whether the Grand Children of Church Members had a Right to Baptism. How they decided, and how the Churches there differ'd about their Decision, is recorded in their Ecclesiastical Histories, to which, especially Dr. *Mather's*, I refer the very curious in these matters.

During the time of the Civil War in *England*, and the Parliament's and Protector's Government, there was little or no Increase of People by new Comers, in *New-England*, but as soon

Clergy and Laity driven to New-England by Persecution. soon as the Persecutors had procur'd the *Bartholomew Act*, which turn'd 2 or 3000 Protestant Divines out of their Ministry and Livelihood; several of them followed the Example of their Predecessors, the *Puritans*, and removed to *America*. The Persecution soon extending to Congregations, as well as Pastors, and the Laity being oppress'd as well as the Clergy, Numbers of both ship'd themselves for *New-England*.

Ministers of *Old-England*, in *New-England*.

Divines who went thither.

Mr. *James Allen*, Fellow of *New-College, Oxon*; at *Boston*.

Mr. *John Baily*, at *Water-Town*.

Mr. *Barnet*, at *New-London*.

Mr. *John Broune*, at *Swamsey*.

Mr. *Thomas Gilbert*, Eling in *Middlesex*; at *Topsfield*.

Mr. *James Keith*, at *Bridgewater*.

Mr. *Samuel Lee*, Fellow of *Wadham College, Oxon*, at *Bristol*.

Mr. *Charles Morton*, *Blisland* in *Cornwall*, at *Charlestown*.

Mr. *Charles Nicolet*, at *Salem*.

Mr. *John Oxenbridge*, *Berwick*, at *Boston*.

Mr. *Thomas Thornton*, at *Yarmouth*.

Mr. *Thomas Walley*, *White-Chapel, London*, at *Barnstable*.

Mr. *William Woodrop*, at *Lancaster*.

Mr. *John Bulkely*, *Fordham* in *Essex*, at *Concord*.

Mr. *Thomas Baily*, at *Water-Town*.

Only two of these return'd to *England*. *Dr. Owen*, late Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*, and Dean of *Christ-Church*, was shipping off his Effects, and preparing to embark for *New-England* to take upon him the Government of the University to which he had been invest'd, but the King sent express Orders to him not to leave the Kingdom.

And in truth the removing to *New-England* in those Days with any other Design than to fish and trade, was not very desirable, for the People's Heads there were turn'd with the Change of their Condition, from being the Persecuted, to be the Persecutors; and when the King's Letter had ty'd their Hands with respect to the Quakers and Baptists, they let them lose against Wizards and Witches, for something they must be doing to exert their Power, and shew they held not the Sword in vain.

The beginning of putting People to Death for Witchcraft.

So early as the Year 1662, they call'd one *Mrs. Greenewich* of *Hertford*, in *Connecticut* Colony, to Account, for bewitching *Joan Cole*, a young Woman, who was troubled with Fits.

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The Ministers were her Accusers, and alledg'd so many Things against her, that she cou'd hardly tell how to clear herself of all of them, and confest what was impossible, that the Devil had lain with her, for which she was hang'd. There's no need for enlarging on this Tragedy; tho' no Man can tell what a Spirit is yet, every one can imagine what it is not, Matter, Substance, Body, capable of Corporal Enjoyments; and if this Woman had with a thousand Oaths, sworn the Devil had done so to her, Wise Men wou'd have thrown the Fable among the *Succubus's* and *Incubus's* of the Poets. The rest of the Allegations against this crazy Creature, are too trifling to be repeated.

This great Business being dispatch'd, the Magistrates of *Connecticut* bethought Themselves they had no Charter, without which, says my Author, *They were sensible they had no legal Title to their Land*, but as they had bought them of the Natives, I am very sensible they had the best Title in the World 'o them, the Sale of the right Owners. They had hang'd Mrs. *Greenworth* and Others, by their own Authority, and that indeed wanted a better Support, than a voluntary Association. The Colony of *Newhaven*, was in the same Circumstances, which both having maturely weigh'd, they agreed to depute *John Winthrop*, Esq; Son of the late Governor of the *Massachusetts*, to be their Agent at the Court of *England*, to sollicite and procure a Charter, to unite the two Colonies into one corporate Body. Such a Charter he obtain'd for them, and when he had brought over Mr. *Webster* Governor, of *Connecticut*, and Mr. *Leet*, Governor of *Newhaven*, to resign their Charges into his Hands, he was chosen Governor of both Colonies, and so continued as long as he liv'd.

Connecticut and Newhaven Colonies united, 1662. John Winthrop, Esq; Governor.

King *Charles* the II, being about to declare War with the *Dutch*, he gave away all the Country they were possess'd of on both Sides of *Hudson's Bay*, to the Duke of *York*, and a Squadron of Ships, with sufficient Land Forces, under Sir *Robert Carre*, and Col. *Nicholls*, to drive away the *Dutch* from their Plantations, as will be seen in our Account of *New-York*. He also commission'd Sir *Robert Carre*, Col. *Richard Nicholls*, *George Cartwright*, Esq; and *Samuel Maverick*, Esq; to call at *New-England*, and hear and determine such Differences as might be amongst the Colonies. They brought with them a Letter to the Governor and Council of *Plimouth*, in which his Majesty declared his Resolution to preserve all their Liberties and Privileges, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, without the least Violation. How that was made good afterwards, by taking away their Charter and with it all their Privileges and Liberties, let the Reader judge, tho' upon that Royal Promise,

mise, his Majesty said, *This we presume will dispose you to manifest by all ways in your Power, Loyalty, and Affection to us, that all the World may know, that you look upon yourselves as being as much our Subjects and living under the same Obedience to us, as if you continu'd in your natural Country.* The Conduct of such sort of Commissioners has generally more regard to Prerogative, than Privilege, and accordingly Mr. Neal says, *They behav'd not very much to the Satisfaction of Plimouth.*

Another
Persecution.

I have omitted a Relation of Thunders, Lightnings, Blazing Stars, and the like natural Accidents, as being the Subject of Naturalists; but I must not forget, that upon Appearance of a Meteor in the Heaven's here, the Magistrates wrote a Circular Letter, to the *Elders and Ministers of every Town*, to promote the *Reformation of Manners*, a good Work certainly, with or without a Comet, which if it prognosticates any thing, I should rather incline to think it ought to be apply'd to a new Persecution of *Baptists*, and *Quakers*, whom they did not indeed hang, but *ruin'd many honest Men*, says the reverend Historian, by *Fines, Imprisonment, and Banishment*, which so far excited the Commiseration of the Dissenting Ministers in *England*, that Dr. Owen, Dr. Godwin, Mr. Nye, Mr. Caryl, and several other Divines, wrote a Letter to *John Leverett, Esq;* Governor of the *Massachusetts*, beseeching him to make use of his Authority and Interest, for the restoring such to their Liberty as were in Prison, on Account of Religion, and that their Sanguinary Laws might not be put in Execution for the future: But this Letter made no Impression upon them, and the chief of the *London Quakers*, as

London
Ministers
wrote against
it.

William Crouch,
William Macket,
Theodore Eccleston,

George Whitehead,
John Whiting,
John Field,

apply'd to the Dissenting Ministers in *London*, to write particularly in favour of *Friends*, as they had done for the *Baptists*: Accordingly a Letter sign'd by 11 of the chief of them, was sent to *Boston*, and had very little effect at that Time. Dr. Mather's Answer to it, may be seen in his own voluminous History, where I am the more willing to let it remain undisturb'd, because it is not at all to the Purpose. *If the Quakers wou'd not roll among the Train'd Bands*, and pay the Ministers their Dues according to Law, there were Fines and Distresses for them, as much of that kind as was necessary, but no Jailings, no Whippings, no Banishments.

The City of *Boston* was now become very populous. The Castle was a strong Fortification and Defence, to that and the

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Harbour. Capt. Davenport the Governor was killed there in his Bed by a Clap of Thunder. Richard Bellingham, Esq; Governor of the Massachusetts, dying towards the latter End of the Year 1673, John Leverett, Esq; was chosen to succeed him. Two Years before his Death a new Church was erected in the City of Boston, and the Reverend Mr. Thacher chosen Pastor of it. He was a Physician, as well as a Minister, and successful in both Faculties.

1673.
John Leverett, Esq; Governor of the Massachusetts.

While the Elders, Ministers and Magistrates were carrying on their Persecutions against Baptists, Quakers and Witches, Philip, King of the Wampanoags, was preparing to exercise them in a War of another kind. We have mentioned his feigned Submission, which he intended to observe no longer than till he was ready for an open Rupture. He began to keep at a Distance from the English of Plimouth Colony, which was next to him; and the Magistrates, not quite so busied in Ecclesiastical Matters as the Massachusetts, having some Jealousy of his Conduct, sent for him to Taunton. This grand Air was very foolish, if they were not sure of their Superiority over him, and if they were, it was not very wise in them to lose it; for it is most certain that the English united were strong enough to have rooted out the Indians, unassisted by the French, had they known how to make the best use of their Strength.

Philip, waiting for a more favourable Opportunity to shew his Enmity openly, comply'd with the Demands of the Colony, agreed to pay 100 l. for what Damage the English had suffer'd by his Subjects, to send five Wolves Heads every Year, as a Token of his Fealty to the Colony of Plimouth, and not to make War, or sell any Lands, without their Approbation. Sufficient Marks of his Vassallage; but they were all counterfeit, and Philip continued his Machinations against the English.

King Philip confirms his Treaty with the English.

Sansaman, before-mention'd, was the Son of an Indian Convert, who had been educated in the Christian Faith; but, when he came to judge for himself, he returned to the Religion of his Ancestors, and became Secretary to Philip. After some time he came back to the English, changed his Religion, and seem'd so sincere in it, that he was admitted to what is there called Church-membership, i. e. to receive the sacrament; after which he was constituted a Preacher, and sent upon the Wampanoag Mission, in which he got Intelligence of that King's Design against the English, and gave notice of it to the Governor of Plimouth, of which Philip had quick Information, and took such Measures upon as cost Sansaman his Life; for as he was travelling the country alone in the Winter-time, two or three of Philip's Men

John Sansaman his Secretary, becomes a Preacher.

He is murdered.

Men lay in Ambush for him, and murder'd him as he was going over a Pond, throwing him into a Hole in the Ice to conceal the Fact, leaving his Hat and Gun on the Outside, that it might be thought he had slipt in and was drown'd; but the Governor of *Plimouth* suspecting he was murder'd, order'd his Body to be dug up, after it had been taken out of the Pond and buried, and impannell'd a Jury to sit upon it, who, upon examining the Body, found his Neck broke, the Head very much swell'd, and Bruises in several other Parts, upon which they brought in their Verdict *Wilful Murder*. It is with some Regret that I mention what follows, because it is extremely weak. "Dr. *Mather* says, "that when *Tobias*, one of King *Philip's* Counsellors, who "was suspected of the Murder, approached the Body, it fell a bleeding; and that, upon repeating the Experiment several times, it always bled afresh." Old *Women* and Children have this foolish Conceit, which was formerly inculcated by those that were wiser, with a good Design to find out the Criminal by his Terror, at the Belief of such a Report, it having been common for such a one to shake at approaching the Carcass, and thereby be drawn into Confession; but Men in their Wits will believe that the Approach of the guilty Person would as soon raise the Dead to Life, as make him bleed once and again. 'Tis ridiculous, and the Justice of Peace, tho' in the Region of *Witchcraft*, would not commit *Tobias* on that Evidence; but *Patuckson*, another *Indian*, coming in, and swearing that he saw him and his Son kill poor *Sanfaman*, together with *Mattashinamy*, a third *Indian*, they were seized, imprison'd, and, after a fair Trial by Jury, half *Indians*, were convicted and executed.

And as Dr. Mather writes, bleed's cc at the coming of the Murderer.

CHAP. III.

From King *Philip's*, or the Second *Indian War* to the Troubles and Executions about *Witchcraft*.

Containing the Space of 18 Years.

PHILIP's Resentment for the hanging two of his Counsellors, quickned his Resolution to break with the *English* intirely, and revenge himself for all the Affronts they

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put upon him; and truly, if we look upon him as a Sovereign, independent of any other Prince or People, absolute in his Kingdom, valiant and enterprising, one shall wonder how he bore with them so long; for 'tis plain they dealt with him as their Vassal. They forbid him to sell his Lands without their Leave, or to make War with any of his Neighbours till he had Permission from them. They sent for him to their Courts, as our Country Justices would send for an Offender by his Constables. The *Indians* are not now the Men they were when Mr. *Winslow* the Father first went amongst them. The *English* had been amongst them between 50 and 60 Years, and had taught them many of their Customs, one very dangerous, the Use and Practice of Arms. They were almost every where intermix'd with the *English* Plantations on the Borders, and those that could be at the Charge dressed and lived like the *English*. Several thousands of them were become Christians, which was the greatest Advantage the *English* had against them; for the new Converts were very faithful to the Christians, and fought in their and their own Defence as cheerfully and as successfully as the *English* themselves.

The Indians not like what they had been.

While the War was brooding between *Philip* and the Colony of *Plimouth*, there was an Execution at *Boston*, very remarkable at that time, but in ours made familiar by the Frequency of it. Some villainous Seamen on board a Ship, bound from the *Streights* to *London*, seized the Master and some of his Officers, and turned them out into the Long-boat, with a small Quantity of Provisions, about 100 Leagues to the West of the *Spanish* Coast, and then made with the Ship for *New-England*. The Master and those with him in the Long-boat were forced to drive before the Wind, which brought them also to the Port where his Men were just come before him. These two Companies were very much surprized at meeting each other; the Master immediately apply'd to the Government to have his Crew arrested, and it was done. They were tried and condemned for Piracy, and their Ringleaders hanged. The Chief of them was one *Forest*, who said at the Gallows, *I have been among drawn Swords, flying Bullets, and roaring Cannons, amongst all which I knew not what Fear meant; but I now have dreadful Apprehensions of the Wrath of God in the other World I am going into, my Soul within me is amazed at it.*

Pirates of hang'd.

King *Philip's* chief Residence was near Mount *Hope*, and thereabouts began the Acts of Hostility. Some of his Men entered and plundered a neighbouring *English* Plantation, where an *Englishman* firing his Piece, wounded an *Indian*. The Governor of *Plimouth* sent to know the Reason of this

Violence; but, instead of submitting, as before, the *Indians* enter'd the Town of *Swansey* by Night, and killed six Men, having murder'd three the Day before, as they were working the Fields.

1675.
The War
with Philip
begins.

The War being thus begun, Mr. *Winslow*, Governor of *Plimouth*, sent Advice of it to the other Colonies, *Massachusetts*, *Connecticut* and *Newhaven*, and demanded Assistance according to the Articles of Confederacy. The *Massachusetts* dispatch'd away Capt. *Prentice* with a Troop of Horse, and Capt. *Henchman* with a Company of Foot, who were follow'd by a Company of Volunteers under Capt. *Moseley*, who join'd the *Plimouth* Forces, commanded by Capt. *Cudworth*, at *Swansey*. A Party of 12 Men were sent towards Mount *Hope*, to look out the Enemy, who from behind the Bushes shot one of the *English*, wounded another, and then took to their Heels. The next Morning all the *English* came up with the *Indians*, and offer'd them Battle, which they avoided, and having stood one Fire only, fled, and abandoned their Country to the Mercy of the *English*, who immediately took Possession of Mount *Hope*, and ravaged the Parts adjacent. Capt. *Prentice*, with the *Massachusetts* Forces, march'd into the *Narraganset* Territories, to require them peremptorily to renounce all Alliances with *Philip*, and enter into a League offensive and defensive with the *English*, which they did, and signed Articles of Peace, July 15, obliging themselves to assist the *English* against *Philip* and all their Enemies. The *English*, for their Encouragement, promised them twenty good Coats for *Philip's* Head, and two Coats for every *Wampanoag* that they should deliver up to the *English* alive, and one Coat if dead.

King Philip's
Head valued
at 20 Coats.

Capt. Cudworth ill
used, and
then employ'd

Capt. *Cudworth*, a brave Man, was sent with the *Plimouth* Forces to secure the *Pocassets*, and prevent their joining with *Philip*; but they had taken Arms before he came near them, and he was not strong enough to reduce them by Force. That this Gentleman was no Quaker appears by his Military Employment, and that the Magistrates thought him none, by their applying to him for his Service in the War, when they wanted it: Yet because like a truly gallant and generous Man he detested the narrow Spirit of Persecution, and treated the Quakers with his wonted Humanity, see how the Elders, Ministers and Magistrates used him, as by his Letter, December 10, 1658. *As for the State and Condition of things here amongst us, it is sad, and like to be continued, the Anti-christian persecuting Spirit is very active and that in the Powers of this World. He that will whip and lash, persecute and punish Men that differ in Matters of Religion, must not sit on the Bench, nor sustain an*

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Office in the Commonwealth. Last Election, Mr. Hatherly and myself left off the Bench, and I was discharged of my Captainship, because I had entertained some Quakers in my House, that I might be the better acquainted with their Principles. I thought it better so to do, than, with the blind World, censure, condemn, rail at and revile them, when they neither saw their Persons, nor knew any of their Principles; but the Quakers and myself cannot close in Divine things, and so I signified to the Court I was no Quaker, &c. The whole Letter was printed by Mr. Neal, and I believe it will be difficult to find, in all Dr. Mather's voluminous Book, any one Piece so sensibly and handsomly written, so free from trifling and tautology, to say no worse.

Capt. Fuller and Capt. Church, with two small Detachments, having been scouring the Woods, were intercepted by a Body of Indians, twenty times their Number; and the Reader will observe, that the greatest Mischief the Indians did the English was by Ambuscades and Surprizes. The latter, or their Confederates the Converts must surely know the Country as well as the other Indians; and the Advantage the latter took of them by such Surprize and Ambuscades must therefore be in a great measure owing to the Rashness and Precipitation, if not the Ignorance of the English. I must own that I could not, without some kind of Indignation, see them so often falling into the Traps of the Indians. Capt. Fuller and his Men fled to a little House near the Coast, which they defended till they were fetch'd off in a Sloop to Rhode Island. Capt. Church, with 15 Men, was surrounded in a Pease Field by 200 Indians; yet he cleared himself of them, got to the Water-side, and was fetched off also in a Sloop to Rhode Island, the Fear of the War being chiefly on the Coast over-against it.

The Commanders of the Forces of the Colonies having Intelligence that King Philip was in a Swamp on Pocasset Neck, between Rhode-Island and Monument-Bay, about 18 Miles from Taunton, where they quarter'd, a Council of War was held, and it was resolv'd to besiege him in it. The Forces broke up from Taunton three Days after the signing of the Peace with the Narragansets, and march'd directly to the Neck, where they bravely enter'd the Thicket; but the Indians fired briskly from behind it, and killed five of them, and then made off, and the English did the same, thinking they could not attack them in the Swamp but with great disadvantage. They therefore made a Blockade of 200 Men, King Philip block'd up, and secured the several Avenues to it, and sent a Detachment to the Relief of Mendham in Suffolk County, where

Escapes.

the *Nipmuck Indians* were making, terrible Spoil. *Philip* himself was in the Thicket, block'd up by the *English*, whose wonted Intrepidity forsook them on that Occasion; for had they push'd their Attack as resolutely as might have been expected from them, he must have surrender'd, and, to avoid being starved by the Blockade, as the *English* had projected, he had Recourse to a Stratagem. A large River ran by the Side of the Thicket, which part of the Blockade were order'd to have an Eye upon; but *Philip* having cut down some Rafts of Timber, crossed the River upon them in the Dead of the Night, when the Tide was low, without being observed by the *Blockaders*, and escaped with most of his Men into the *Nipmuck Territories*. Those that were left behind, above 100, surrender'd at Discretion. By these the *English* understood *Philip* was slipt from them; they pursued him by the Direction of the *Mobegin*, or *New-York Indian*, but could not come up with him. About 30 of his Men, who lagg'd behind, were cut off; and the War was, by his Flight, removed to the *Nipmucks*, whose Territories were between *Connecticut* and *Hudson's River*, now *New-York*. These *Nipmucks* killed four Men at *Mendham*, which began the Hostilities in the *Massachusetts*, the Government of which Colony were willing to bring them to Reason by a Treaty, for which Purpose they sent Capt. *Hutchinson* and Capt. *Wheeler* to confer with them. They seem'd at first to incline to an Accommodation; but *Philip* and his Men being come to support them, they fired upon Capt. *Hutchinson* and those that were with him from an Ambuscade, wounded the Captain, and killed 8 of his Men; the rest fled to *Quaboag*, or *Rochfield*, a Village about 70 Miles from *Boston*, in the Road to *Connecticut*. *Philip*, who had much augmented his Forces, pursued them; and finding the *English*, to the Number of about 70, were retired to a House which they were resolved to defend, he set Fire to all the other Houses in *Quaboag*, and attempted to burn that in which were the Body of the *English*. Having attack'd in vain, he threw Firebands into it, made of Rags tied to the End of Poles dipt in burning Brimstone, which having little or no Effect, he caused a Cart to be filled with Flax, Hemp, and other combustible Matter, which his Men push'd on with long Poles, spliced one to another, which would certainly have answer'd his End, had not a great Rain suddenly fallen and extinguish'd the Fire in the Machine before it took the House. Those within it behaved with wonderful Bravery, and were at last relieved by Major *Ward*, who by Accident heard of their Distress, when the

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farthest Party of the Forces of the Colony were within a Day or two's March of them. He had not quite 50 Men with him; but coming upon the *Indians* in the Night, when they were in full Security, as they imagined, he killed above 80 of them, and drove the rest into the Woods. *Philip* retreated towards the *Nipmuck* Country. Capt. *Lathrop* and Capt. *Beers* having joined the *Connecticut* Forces, under Major *Treat*, march'd after to observe him. The Governor having Notice that the Savages, bordering on that Colony to the South-West, were in Motion, sent an Officer with a Party to demand Hostages; but *Philip* was beforehand with him, and had so far prevailed with the People, that they mutiny'd. When the King shewed an Inclination to keep Peace with the Colony, and finding him determin'd not to break with the *English*, they murder'd him, abandoned their Houses, and joined *Philip* and the *Nipmucks*. Capt. *Lathrop* and Capt. *Beers* endeavouring to prevent their Intention, pursued them, and came up with them at a Place called by the *English* *Sugar Loaf Hill*, 10 Miles above *Hatfield* in *Hampshire*, where they skirmish'd with them, kill'd 26, with the Loss of 10 of their own Men. The rest of those Savages escaped to *Philip*, whose Courage and Conduct in this War are as worthy of Praise as the heroick Actions of the great Captains of Antiquity, making due Allowances for Numbers, Riches and Ages.

An Indian King murder'd for not breaking with the English.

By this time the Savages in all the several Colonies were in Arms. The Town of *Deerfield* is most within Land of any in *Connecticut* Colony, and the Savages laid all the Houses of the Plantations thereabouts in Ashes. The Inhabitants of the Town shut themselves up in a slight Fortification rais'd in Haste, and the *Indians* did not think fit to attack them, but slew 8 Men in the Woods at *Squakbeag*. Capt. *Beers*, with a Party of 36 Men, was sent to fetch off the Garrison at *Deerfield*, and other frontier Places; but he was intercepted by the Savages, and cut to Pieces with 20 of his Company, the rest escaped to *Hadley*. Major *Treat* was dispatched with a larger Detachment to bring off the *English* in those out Plantations, which was done in such Haste, that they came away without their Corn, which lay thresh'd at *Deerfield*. To fetch this, Capt. *Lathrop*, with a Party of Men, convoy'd some Carts; and, *September 15*, was surrounded by the *Indians*. The Captain thinking he should come off best by fighting behind Trees, as the Savages did, expos'd his Men to be slaughter'd. For the *Indians* being better Marksmen, shot them down one after another; whereas, if they had kept in a Body, they might have broke through them to some

Capt. Beers killed.

1676

Cap. Lathrop and 70
English
killed.

of the neighbouring Garrisons; but, by this fatal Mistake, himself and 70 of his Men, the Flower of *Essex*, were kill'd, which was the greatest Loss the Colonies had yet met with. Capt. *Mosely*, hearing the Noise of the Fire, hasten'd to the Relief of Capt. *Lathrop*; and tho' he came too late, he briskly charged the *Indians*, and slew above 100 of them, with the Loss of only two of the *English*.

Notwithstanding the Savages to the Westward, bordering on *Connecticut* River, had given Hostages for their preserving the Peace; yet, encouraged by their late Success against Capt. *Lathrop*, they fell upon *Springfield* in *Hampshire*, their Hostages having found Means to make their Escape. They burnt 32 Houses, and, among others, that of Mr. *Glover* the Minister, with his good Library. All the Inhabitants there had been massacred, had not *Toto*, an honest *Indian*, given them timely Notice of the Savages coming, upon which they retired into the fortify'd Places in the Town, which they made a shift to defend, till Capt. *Appleton* came up with his Forces, and then the *Indians* made off. For the Preservation of *Hampshire*, which was most expos'd to the Ravages of the Enemy, the Government of *New-England* order'd all the Forces in the *Connecticut* Colony to rendezvous about *Hadley*, *Northampton* and *Hatfield*, Frontier Towns, which being done before the *Indians* had Intelligence of it, 800 of them fell upon *Hatfield*, and met with so warm a Reception, that they were not only beaten off, but push'd into *Connecticut* River, where a great many of them were drown'd; and this Repulse was such a Check to them, that they gave over infesting those Western Plantations, and retreating into *Narragansets* Country, were there shelter'd, contrary to the Articles of Peace, which the Commissioners of the United Colonies voted to be a Breach of it; and, upon Information that those *Narragansets* intended to join in the War against them next Spring, they order'd *Josiah Winslow*, Esq; Governor of *Plimouth*, with 100 Men, half of them *Massachusetts*'s, and half *Connecticut*'s and *Plimouth*'s, to invade the Country of the *Narragansets*, and destroy it with Fire and Sword. *Winslow* pass'd the River *Patuxet* the Beginning of *December*, having for his Guide one *Peter*, who, by his Name, should be a *Christian*, and who having received some Disgust from his Coutrymen the *Narragansets*, list'd among the *English*, who burnt 150 *Wigwams*, kill'd 7 *Indians*, and took 8 Prisoners. Capt. *Prentice* being sent with his Troop to *Paicquamset*, brought back News, that the Enemy had burnt Mr. *Bals*'s Garrison-House, kill'd 10 Men and 5 Women and Children, the 16th of *December*. The same Day

General
Winslow
subdues the
Narragansets.

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150 *Mohegin Indians* join'd the Army under General *Winslow*, who marched up into the Country 16 Miles to attack an *Indian* Fort, raised on an Island in the Midst of an horrible Swamp, and it was accessible but one way, to which *Peter* directed the *English*, who resolved to storm it immediately. *Capt. Mosely* and *Capt. Davenport* led the Van of the *Massachusetts* Forces, *Capt. Gardner* and *Capt. Johnson* were in the Center, *Major Appleton* and *Capt. Oliver* brought up the Rear, General *Winslow*, with the *Plimouth* Forces, was in the Center of the whole Army, and *Major Treat*, *Capt. Gallop*, *Capt. Senly*, *Capt. Mason* and *Capt. Willis* brought up the Rear with the *Connecticuts*. They enter'd the Swamp, and pressed forwards, as *Peter* directed them, to a Breach, which they mounted with great Intrepidity, receiving the Fire of the Enemy from the Blockhouse. The Savages defended the Breach so resolutely, that six valiant Captains of the *English*, *Davenport*, *Gardner*, *Johnson*, *Gallop*, *Senly* and *Marshall* fell in the Attack. The Death of these Officers, instead of discouraging, inflamed the Spirits of their Soldiers, who beat the Enemy from one Cover'd Way to another, till they had driven them out of all their Fences into a vast Cedar Swamp at some Distance, after which they set Fire to the Fort, and levell'd the Fortifications, which were the most regular the *Indians* ever raised; and the Reader will observe, that the *English* had not to do with a Parcel of naked, stupid, barbarous Creatures, such as dwelt in the Wilderneses when *Sir Francis Drake* came hither; but with a People that understood how to provide for themselves as well as they did, had they the same Conveniencies and Commodities. Seven hundred fighting Men of the *Indians* perish'd in this Action, among whom were above 20 of their chief Captains, besides 300 that died of their Wounds, and a vast Number of Men, Women and Children, who had crowded into the Fort, as thinking it impregnable, and there perish'd. Of the *English*, 85, with the 6 Captains, were kill'd, and 150 wounded. This was a very gallant Action, and the Memory of it ought to be preserved, for the Honour of those that were engaged in it. 'Tis plain the Savages could make nothing of it in the War with the *English*, when the latter came against them in great Bodies; but being swift of foot, and capable of enduring the Hardships of a Winter Campaign, they did a great deal of Mischiefe while the *Christians* were in Quarters; especially after they had received recruits from the *French* at *Canada*. With these Recruits they burnt the Town of *Mendham*, after the Inhabitants had deserted it. They carried off 200 Sheep 50 Head of neat Cattle,

6 English Captains killed.

A great Slaughter of the Indians.

The French assist the Savages against the English.

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42 English
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Cattle, and 15 Horses from one Farm, Mr. Carpenter's, which shews us that the Farmers here had as good Stocks as those in *England*, where few have more Horses and near Cattle. They plunder'd the Town of *Lancaster*, burnt several Houses, and carried 42 Persons into Captivity, among whom was the Wife and Children of Mr. *Richardson* the Minister, who was at *Boston* soliciting Succours, and, at his Return, found his House and Library in Ashes, and his whole Family carried into Slavery by the *Barbarians*, who had, some Days before, been obliged to quit the Place, which is in *Middlesex* County. From thence they went to *Marlborough*, *Sudbury* and *Chelmsford*, in the Heart of the *Massachusetts*, and near enough to *Boston* to alarm that City. At all these Places they did much Mischief to the Inhabitants, but little Good to themselves, their Marches being very hasty. Two or three hundred of them surprized *Medfield*, in *Suffolk* County, burnt half the Town, scarce 20 Miles from *Boston*, and kill'd 20 of the Inhabitants. The whole Town of *Groton* in *Middlesex* was also laid in Ashes by them, the Inhabitants being retired into the Fortifications; and the *Savages* cry'd to the Garrison, *What will you do for a House to pray in, now we have burnt your Meeting-house?* There seems to be Want of Conduct on the Part of the *English*, who had the Numbers, and the Arms, and the Ammunition, and Confederates, who knew the Country as well as their Enemy. The Towns thus insulted and destroy'd were within the Compass of a few Miles, three or four, of one another, and all of them within a Day or two's March of the Capital City. Most certainly they might have had such a large Garrison in the midst of them, as would immediately have been in with the *Savages*, who had dared to insult them, and might very soon have had Notice of their Coming; but their dividing their Strength in so many little Forts, broke the Main of it, and expos'd them to these Mischiefs. Mr. *Neal* writes, *that Cold was so extreme this Winter, that the English durst hardly look out of their Quarters.* If their Chilliness is an Excuse for their Negligence, then my Reflection is groundless and blameable.

When the Spring was pretty forward, Capt. *Dennison*, with about 70 *English*, and 100 Confederate *Indians*, took and slew 76 of the Enemy, among whom were some *Sachems* and *Segamores*. A Party of *Connecticuts* took and slew 44 without any Loss. Among the Prisoners was *Canenchet*, Son of *Miantonimo*, first *Sachem* of the *Narragansets*. He came to *Boston* six Months before, to conclude a Peace with the Colony; but as soon as he got home, spread the Flames

War over his Country. The *English*, in Revenge of his Perfidy, deliver'd him to their *Indian* Allies the *Mohocks*, who had had a long Quarrel with his Father and him, and they cut off his Head, which answered two Purposes, it rid them of a dangerous Enemy, and made the *Mohocks* and *Narragansets* irreconcilable. These *Mohocks* have been in Alliance with the *English* 60 or 70 Years, and are so still, which renders them worthy of all Encouragement from us.

King *Philip* was all this while very busy among the *Indian* Nations, to engage them in the War against the *English*; but the Way he took to draw in the *Maquas* ended in his Destruction, and that of his Nation and Confederates.

When he retired among the *Maquas*, after his Escape from the Thicket, they received him friendly; but not being very forward to confederate with him in his War, he thought to draw them into it by this Stratagem: He walked into the Woods, and meeting some of the *Maquas* at a Distance from one another, he murder'd them with his own Hands, and running in great Haste to the Prince of the *Maquas*, told them the *Plimouth* Soldiers had invaded his Territories, and killed several of his Subjects in the Woods. This enraged the Sachem and his Savages, and would have effectually answer'd *Philip's* Purpose, if one of the Men whom he thought he had murder'd had not so far recovered of his Wounds as to be able to crawl home to his Friends, and inform them of the Matter before he died. Upon which the *Maquas* conceived such an implacable Hatred against *Philip*, that they resolv'd not only to continue their Alliance with the *English*, but to act separately against him and his Confederates, which they did next, and gave them such a powerful Diversion, that they could no longer make head against the *English*; but some small Parties of Savages broke into their Plantations for plunder, and frighten'd the Inhabitants of *Plimouth*, *Taunton*, *Wilmington*, *Concord*, *Havenhill*, *Bradford* and *Wooburn*; but did them little Damage. Several of them were killed near *Plimouth* and *Medfield*, and two *English* Boys, who had made their Escape from them, giving Information that a Party of Savages lay in great Security near the upper Falls of *Concord* River, Capt. *Turner*, with 180 Men hasten'd thither, and kill'd 100 of them upon the Spot, and push'd as many into the River. He paid dearly for his Victory afterwards; for he had 18 of his Men falling into an Ambuscade, were cut to pieces by the Enemy, who attempting to fire the Town of *Bridgewater*, were beaten off by the Inhabitants. Some little time after, they made an Assault upon *Hatfield*; but were repulsed with the Loss of 25 Men. A Party of the *Massachusetts*

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They are in great Distress. *chuset* Forces killed 40, and another of the *Connecticut* 100 *Indians*. Major *Tolcot* enter'd the *Narraganset* Country, and cut off 360. These Misfortunes, and the Famine to which the Savages were reduced, for want of minding their Harvest, so distress'd them, that 200 of them came to *Plimouth*, and submitted to Mercy. That Government pardon'd all but three, who being convicted by one of their own Company of a cruel Murder and villainous Assault on the House of Mr. *Clark* of that Town, were executed.

The Government of the *Massachusetts* put out a Proclamation, offering Pardon to all *Indians* that submitted in 14 Days, which had a good Effect.

About the same time, *Philip*, at the Head of 200 Savages, assaulted the Town, and met with so resolute a Resistance, the Inhabitants having Intelligence of his coming by a Negro, that he retreated; and, not knowing where to go for Shelter, took to his old Quarters about *Mount Hope*, in the Jurisdiction of *Plimouth*, where he had like to have surprized Major *Bradford* in an Ambush; but the Major disengaged himself without any Loss, and marched into the Territory of the *Saconets*, whose Queen, with 90 of her Subjects, came to him, laid down their Arms, and submitted to Mercy. Capt. *Church*, with no more than 18 *English* and 21 Confederate *Indians* worsted the Enemy in four several Engagements, without the Loss of one of his Men. A Party of Savages venturing in the *Massachusetts* so far as *Dedham*, within a few Miles of *Boston*, was attack'd by 26 *English*, and 10 Confederate *Indians*, who took 50 of them; among whom was *Powham*, a mighty *Narraganset* *Sachem*, who, tho' he was so wounded that he was left for dead, yet when one of the *English* came to rouse him, he got hold of the Hair of his Head, and would have kill'd him, if some of his Friends had not come to his Relief. At the latter End of *July*, a Segamore of the *Nipmuck* *Indians*, with 180 of his Men, laid down his Arms; and to ingratiate himself with the *English*, brought in Prisoner *Matoonas* and his Son. *Matoonas* was the first Savage that appeared in Arms in the *Massachusetts* since this War, for which the *English* order'd *John* the *Nipmuck* Segamore to shoot him, and he immediately shot him. The Son was pardon'd. In the same Month, a small Party of *English* marching out of *Bridgewater*, in *Plimouth* County, fell in with a Company of *Indians*, with *Philip* at their Head. *Philip* commanded his Men to fire; but their Pieces being wet would not go off; upon which they took to their Heels, and the *English* pursuing them killed 10, and took 15 Prisoners, with a good Booty. *August* 1, Capt. *Church*, with about 30 *English* and

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Confederate Indians, took 23 Savages, and the next Morning surprized King Philip in his new Quarters, killed 130 of his Men, and took his Wife and Son Prisoners, himself hardly escaping.

By all this we perceive, that the War of the Indians is a most Game to them; they are reduced to the last Extremity, and their Associates and Neighbours forsake and betray them. An Indian Deserter came to Taunton, and gave Information that the Body of the Enemy was in the neighbouring Woods, and might easily be surprized; upon which the English sally'd out upon them, and brought in 26 Prisoners. In the Skirmish which happen'd here, the brave Queen of Pocasset ani-

ated her Men with her Presence as long as there was any Hope of Success; but being traiterously deserted by them, she fled to her Canoe, hoping to pass the River; but not finding it ready, she attempted to cross it on a Piece of Timber, which giving under her, she was drown'd. Her Body was thrown ashore some time after at Metaposet, where the English finding it, cut off the Head, not knowing whose it was, and set it up on a Pole in Taunton, which the Indians seeing, made hideous Howlings and Lamentations for her. Philip, her Kinsman and Confederate, was soon after betrayed by one of his own Friends and Counsellors, who being disgusted at him for killing an Indian who only ventured in mention to him an Expedient for making a Peace with the English, ran away to Rhode-Island, and informed Capt. Church where he was, and how he might be surprized.

Philip suspected this Savage's Treason as soon as he mis'd him, and communicated his Suspicion and his Dreams concerning it to his Friends. Capt. Church, with a small Party, surprizing him and his few Attendants in a Swamp, Philip attempted to make his Escape out of it; but an Englishman and an Indian firing at him, the Englishman's Piece being

The Queen of Pocasset's Bravery and Death.

King Philip shot by an Indian.

His Skull shown at this Day.

did not go off, but the Indian shot him through the heart, August the 12th, 1676. His Body was quarter'd and put upon Poles, and his Head was carried in Triumph to Plymouth, where his Skull is preserved as a Curiosity to be seen this Day.

In his murdering the Maquas and his Counsellor, who proposed a Treaty to him, the Barbarian was uppermost, and his End suitable to his Guilt; but in the Beginning and Course of the War, his Love of Liberty and his forming his Confederacy, there was nothing barbarous and unbecoming in a good Prince, and true Lover of his Country. The Indians in the Eastern Parts of New-England had more just provocations to quarrel with the English than those in the

Western

The New-
England
War in the
East.

Western and Southern had. Mr. Neal opens the Account of the War in the East thus.

“The Indians bordering on the Provinces of *Maine* and *New-Hampshire*, lying beyond *Piscataqua* River, had driven a very profitable Trade with the *English*, who had settled there from the *Massachusetts*. They were without the Line of that Charter, and consequently a distinct Government by themselves, tho’ the Proprietors had never any Grant from the Crown.” And I must needs own I do not see that they wanted any, unless it was to empower them to exercise Authority over their Fellow-Subjects. I do not think, with that Author, that they omitted to build Towns purely for being so intent upon Trade; but because they were willing to see how they should like the Country before they settled in it for good. He adds, “They cheated the Natives in the most open and barefaced Manner imaginable, and treated them like Slaves, of which they were not enough sensible; and within a Month after the breaking out of the *Philippick* War, they gave the *English* to understand, they would bear their Insults no longer.” Certainly these Men of *New-Hampshire* and *Maine* did not come to *New-England* only to propagate the Gospel, or enjoy the Liberty of their Consciences, Fraud and Oppression being the Reverse of such pious Sentiments, and as irreconcilable as Angels of Light and Darkness. The *English* and *Indians* began the Rupture with giving one another bad Words, which soon came to Blows, and turned from Scuffling to Battling. The Savages being encouraged by the Example of the *Wampanoags*, *Narragansets*, *Nipmucks*, *Saconets*, and *Pocassets*, fell upon the *English* as often as they had a fair Opportunity, and, after three or four Months skirmishing, which they lost 90 and the *English* 50 of their People, they came down out of the Woods and broke in upon the *English* Plantations, near *Wells*, in the County of *Maine*; they burnt Capt. *Bonithon*’s House to the Ground, and besieged Major *Philips*’s; but the Major, with 10 Men only, so bravely defended it, that the Savages retired, with the Loss of 20 or 30 of their Company. From thence they went to *Casco*, and murder’d Mr. *Wakely* and 5 Women and Children of his Family. They kill’d Capt. *Lake*, at *Annisquam* Island in *Kennebeck*-River, and as many *English* as came in their Way. At *Oyster*-River they burnt the two *Chilpan* Houses, and killed two Men. A small Party sent by Lieutenant *Plaisted* to the Assistance of the *English* thereabout fell into an Ambush, three of them were killed, and the rest escaped with great Difficulty. *Plaisted* was himself

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next Day surrounded by 150 *Indians*; he having but 26 *English* with him, most of which got off; but the Lieutenant, and some of the bravest of his Followers, lost their Lives. *The Savages prevail there.* The Savages came down in such Numbers on the *English*, and the latter were so ill provided to receive them, that they quitted the Plantations about *Sheepscot*, *Kennebeck*, and *Sagadahoc* Rivers.

The Government at *Boston*, being informed of the Distress the *English* were in, sent a Body of Men to their Relief, under the Command of Captain *Hauthorn*, Captain *Syll*, and others, who surpris'd 400 *Indians*, as they were busy in plundering Major *Walderen's* House at *Quochecho*, and took them all Prisoners. Those that were taken in Arms, about 200, were sold for Slaves, and the rest, except a few that were excused for having been guilty of Murder, were sent home upon Promise of living peaceably for the future.

This Blow dispos'd the Savages to treat with the Governor and Council of the *Massachusetts*; and Articles were agreed on about three Months after the Death of King *Phillip*, between them and the *Sachems* of *Penobscot*, whose Agent was *Mug*, a known Villain; and accordingly the Articles were so ill performed, that the *Massachusetts* were obliged to send Major *Walderen*, with 200 Men, to see them executed, especially with respect to the Release of the Captives: But the Savages being obstinate in the Refusal, he fired on a Body of them, took several Prisoners, and returned to *Boston*, with no other Laurel, says my Author, than that he lost none of his Men. Soon after this, a Sort of general Peace was concluded, the Terms not very honourable for the *English*, who were to allow a certain Quantity of Corn yearly to the *Indians*, and, what I think was no great Hardship, pay a Quit Rent for their Lands: For if the *Indians* were the Proprietors of those Lands, they had doubtless a Right to a valuable Consideration for parting with them.

Such was the End of the *Indian War*, which lasted one English and Indians killed in this War. Year and six or seven Months; and there perished in it about 3000 *Indians*, and 340 *English*. The Savages could as well spare the Loss of so many Men, as the *English* could spare those they lost. They had frequent Recruits from *England*, and the *Indians* were continually wasting, by Wars among themselves, Famines and Diseases occasioned by them. The *English* finding the Benefit of their Fishing and Trading in *New-Hampshire* and *Maine*, and the Peril and Danger that attended their Want of Towns and Forts, they built several within a few Years, as *Falmouth*, *Scarborough*, *York*, *Dorchester*, *Stedick*, &c.

Before

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Simon Brad-
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Before the War was quite ended, died *John Winthrop*, Esq; Governor of the United Colonies of *Connecticut* and *New-haven*, and *William Leet*, Esq; who had formerly been Governor, was chosen in his Place; and in the Beginning of the Year 1678, *John Leverett*, Esq; Governor of the *Massachusetts* dying, was succeeded by *Simon Bradstreet*, Esq. The next Year there was a Synod held at *Boston*, called upon this Occasion, *the Fruits of the Earth had been blasted two or three Years successively, Diseases carried off great Numbers, the Trade of the Country fell to decay, and Covetousness, Intemperance, Sabbath-Breaking, &c.* prevailed every where. The Reformation of Manners is certainly the principal Duty of Magistrates and Ministers, which, methinks, they might have set about without the Bustle of a Synod. This however had one good Quality to recommend it, and that was the Admission of Lay-Members to sit and vote in it: For I have no Notion that the Laity can be bound by any Determinations wherein they have not a Part, and where their spiritual or temporal Welfare is concerned in them.

In the following Year died *Josiah Winslow*, Esq; Governor of *Plymouth Colony*; the first *New-Englishman* who was ever advanced to that Honour. His Successor was *Robert Treat* Esq; in whose Time the Charter granted to them suffered the same Fate with the Charters of the chief Corporations in *England*. A *Quo Warranto* was brought against it, and Judgment entered up in Chancery, at the latter End of the Reign of *Charles II.* The Colony of the *Massachusetts* had a *Quo Warranto* sent them in the Year 1683; and in the Year 1684, a Writ of *Scire Facias*, by which they were required to make their Appearance at *Westminster* in a Month at 4000 Miles Distance; for so little Time was there between the serving the Writ and the Appearance.

There was not the least Pretence of Mis-government acknowledged in the Case of the *Plymouth Quo Warranto*. That for *Connecticut* and *New-haven* was accompanied with a Letter from the King, signifying, that in case they resign'd their Charter, they might take their Choice of being either under *New-York* or *Boston*. They petitioned to remain as they were, but if they must lose their Charter, they had rather be under *Boston* than *New-York*. They judged rightly to be rather under a Governor, where there was a mutual Friendship between sister Colonies of the same Religion and Interest, than under one that would surely bring with him from *England* the Religion of the Court, and Interest of his own different and often contrary to that of the Colony.

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Rhode-Island had a very valuable Charter, and the more valuable, the more likely to lose it. The Government there saw it was in vain to dispute with a King, who had forced the City of *London* to change its ancient Rights and Privileges for his Will and Pleasure, and submitted to that Mark of Slavery.

Hampshire and *Main* never had a Charter, but a Sort of Association, the Bond of which they readily resigned into the King's Hands; since which Time that Province has a Royal Government, independent of the *Massachusetts*, under a Governor and a Council named by the King: But the Governor is generally the same with that of the *Massachusetts*. King *Charles*, having seized the Charter of *New-England*, sent over

Henry Cranfield to be Governor, by Commission from him-
self, turning out at once Mr. *Bradstreet*, Governor of the

Henry Cranfield, Esq; Governor of New-England. 1685.

Massachusetts, Mr. *Lect*, Governor of *Conneticut* and *New-Haven*, and Mr. *Treat*, Governor of *Plimouth*. This *Cranfield*, as much a Tool as he was for King *James's* Purpose,

after the Death of his Brother *Charles*, was in a short Time removed, and *Joseph Dudley*, Esq; appointed to succeed him. He was Son of *Thomas Dudley*, Esq; before spo-

Joseph Dudley, Esq; Governor.

ken of, was born in *New-England*, and educated in *Harvard* College. He was generally beloved on Account of his Father's Merit and Services; but, says Mr. *Neal*, His accepting Commission, founded upon the Ruin of the Laws and Liberties of his Country, created him a great many Enemies, who ventured at length to depose him, and send him Prisoner to *England*. He had, as he imagined, secured the Favour of the Court, by favouring the *Episcopals* against the *Presbyterians*, and coming chearfully into all their Measures: But the *New-England* People were so provoked by his Management, that having outed him, they resumed their Charter Govern-ments. But a Stop was soon put to their Proceedings by the Arrival of Sir *Edmund Andros*, a poor Knight of *Guernsey*,

Sent Prisoner to England. 1686.

with a Commission to be Governor of all of them. He was a Man of as mean Character as Fortune, and it is amazing, that either he or Mr. *Dudley* should be continued in such a Post after the Revolution.

Sir Edmund Andros Governor.

It was in *Andros's* Time, that Captain *William Phips* of *Sabbek* River, in *New-England*, discovered the great Treack in the *Spanish West-Indies*, and brought a vast Treasure to *England*. The Particulars are worth knowing. He had been told, that many Years before a large *Galleon* had been lost, about the Year 1640, near *Port la Plata*; and Captain *Phips*, about the Time of the *Quo-warranto*, went to *England*, and applied to those then at the

Helm for Support in his Undertaking, to come at the Silver in the Wreck. King *Charles* liked it so well that a small Ship was given him, called the *Algier Rose*, of 18 Guns, and 95 Men, in which he sailed to *Hispaniola*, and got Information from an old *Spaniard* of the Place, as near as well could be, where the Galleon was cast away. He sailed farther, having furnished himself with Divers, and fish'd so long that the Patience of his Men was quite tired out, and he returned without Success, which made his Project to be condemned as visionary and impracticable; and it was a long Time before he could get any considerable Persons in Court or City to be concerned with him in a second Adventure. At last the Duke of *Albemarle*, whose Profusion had run him into very indifferent Circumstances, was tempted, by the Hopes of mending them by fetching the *Spanish Plate*, to engage in the Enterprize. Captain *Phips* divided the Cost of the Outset of his Ship into so many Parts as were convenient for Shares; and according to the Proportion of the Advance-Money for the Ship and Provisions, the Shares of the Profits were to be. He bought the Ship of an Uncle of mine, a Merchant and Alderman of *London*: It was called the *Bridgewater Merchant*, of about 200 Tons; and Captain *Phips* earnestly pressed the Merchant to put the Purchase-Money into the Adventure, which I guess would have been a Tenth or thereabouts of the first Charge of the Ship and Stores, being 1000 *l*. Other Adventurers coming into the Design, the Captain was fitted out, and away he sailed for *Port de la Plata*, with his Ship and a Tender. He went up into it and built a stout Canoe out of a *Cotton-Tree*, as is usually done. It was large enough to carry eight or ten Oars; and he sent this Canoe, his Tender, and some select Men and Divers, in search of the Wreck, while himself lay at Anchor in the Port. The Canoe kept husking up and down upon the Shallows, but could discover nothing, except a Reef of rising Shoals, called the *Boilers*, within two or three Foot of the Surface of the Water. The Sea was calm, and every Eye employed in looking down into it. The Divers did their Work frequently, but came up as they went down with no farther Intelligence; till, in the End, as they were returning back, weary and dejected, one of the Sailors, looking over the Side of the Canoe into the Sea, spied a Feather under Water, growing, as he imagined, out of the Side of a Rock. One of the Divers was immediately ordered down to fetch it up, and look out if there was any Thing of Value about it. He quickly brought up the Feather, and said he had discovered several great Guns. Upon which he was ordered

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dered down again, and then brought up a Pig of Silver of 2 or 300 l. Value; the Sight of which transported them, and convinced them sufficiently, that they had found the Treasure they had been so long looking for. When they had buoyed the Place, they made haste to the Port, and told the Captain the joyful News, which at first he could hardly believe; but when he was shewed the Silver, he cried out, *We are all made, thanks be to God.* All Hands were immediately ordered on board, and sailing to the Place, the Divers happened to fall into the Room where the Bullion had been stor'd; and, in a few Days, they brought up 32 Tons, without the Loss of one Man's Life. When they had cleared the Store Room, they searched the *Hold*, and among the Ballast found a great many Bags of Pieces of Eight. I heard an Officer aboard the Ship say, that the Pieces of Eight that were in the Bags among the Ballast, having lain so long in the Water, were crufted over with a Substance as hard as Stone several Inches thick, and they were forced to break it with Iron Bars. The Cruft being broken, the Pieces of Eight tumbled out in prodigious Quantities. Besides which they found a vast Treasure in Gold, Pearl, Diamonds, and the rich Goods of which the Cargo of a *Spanish Galleon* generally consists. There was one *Adderley of Providence*, who had been with Captain *Phips* when he commanded the *Rose of Algier*, and promised to assist him again if ever he should make a second Adventure. He met him with a small Vessel at *Port de la Plata*; and tho' he had but few Hands, took up six Tons of Silver for themselves, which was a little odd. The King was at the Charge of *Phips's* first Voyage to the Wreck, and the Adventurers of the second. In the first Case the King, and in the second, the Adventurers ought to have had the whole Benefit of the Discovery, unless *Adderley* came in as a Sharer in the Adventure. *Phips* obliged *Adderley* and his Men not to discover the Place of the Wreck; but what Sort of Obligations could bind them, I cannot imagine, when the Temptation of Silver operated against it: I rather compute their not discovering it, either to the Draining of the Store, or Separation and Waste of it by Length of Time. Captain *Phips* returned safely to *England*, and put ashore above 300000 l. Sterling, of which 90000 l. came to the Duke of *Albemarle's* Share, and about 20000 l. to the Share of Sir *William Phips*, King *James* having knighted him for his good service. Some of his Courtiers, perhaps his Priests and Jesuits, would have persuaded him to have seized his Ship and Cargo, under pretence, that *Phips* had not rightly informed him of the Nature of his Project. But what was that to

The Duke of
Albemarle's
Share of it,
And Sir
William
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the second Adventurers, at whose Expence the Project was carried on and accomplished. The King himself rejected this Motion, saying, *he believed Phips an honest Man*, and it was his Council's Fault that he had not employed him himself. The Duke of *Albemarle* made the Lady *Phips* a Present of a Golden Cup worth 1000*l.* and it was the general Opinion, that the Duke got the Government of *Jamaica*, not long after, with a View of pursuing this happy Search after the *Spanish Silver*, which several attempted afterwards, to their great Disappointment and Loïs.

1688.
The third
Indian War.

The *Indians* in *New-England* had now been quiet for ten or eleven Years, and probably would have continued so, had not they been set on by the *French* at *Canada*, to break the Peace; tho' it must be confes'd that both *French* and *Indians* were not without some Provocations. The *Indians* complained that their Allowance of Corn had been kept back; that their Fishery in *Saco* River was intercepted by the Nets and Sands of the *English*; that the *English* suffered their Cattle to trespass upon their Fields, and destroy the Growth there; that the Government at *Boston* had patentee'd out the Lands that belonged to them, &c. And the *French* complained that the *English* had unjustly seized a Parcel of Wines landed at a *French* Plantation, I suppose towards the Bay of *Fundi*, in *New-Scotland*, then in Possession of the *French*; for *Canada* is at too great Distance to be incommoded by *New-England*. Nay the *French* Ambassador procured an Order from the King of *England* for restoring those Wines, as not being found within the Limits of the *English* Jurisdiction. To cut off this Plea hereafter, the *New-England* Government ran a new Line, which inclosed Monsieur *St. Casteen's* Plantation within the *English* Pale. Upon this *St. Casteen* leaves his House, and the *English* seized his Arms and Goods, which they brought away to *Pemmaquid*, a Northern Frontier. Here the *English* seem to be the Aggressors; they seized the *Frenchman's* Wines unjustifiably; they paled in a *French* Plantation, and took away the Planter's Goods; and if they patentee'd away the *Indians* Lands, without their Consent, they were the Aggressors in this War against both *French* and *Indians*. *St. Casteen* was so closely allied to the Savages, that he had married a *Sagamoy's* Daughter, and had no hard Matter to do in persuading them to begin Acts of Hostility, promising them all the Assistance the *French* at *Canada* could give them. But even in those first Acts, the *English* seem to have precipitated the Rupture. They knew the *Indians* were out of Humour with them, and having killed some Cattle near *North-Yarmouth*, Captain *Blackman*, a Justice of Peace, with some of the Neighbour-

The English
Aggressors
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hood of *Saco*, seized 18 or 20 of the *Indians*, and sent them under a strong Guard to *Falmouth*, in *Casco Bay*, to be kept till Orders came from *Boston*. The *Indians*, as might have been expected, made Reprisals, and carried off several *English*, among whom were Capt. *Rowden* and Capt. *Gendal*. *Rowden* never got out of their Hands; but *Gendal* and his Party were released, on the Return of Capt. *Blackman's* Prisoners.

It was a bad Time for the *English* to quarrel with the *French*, when the King of *England* was in a secret felonious League, as was said of the *Partition Treaty* by Mr. *John How* in Parliament, with the *French* King; and *New-England* had such a wretched Governor as Sir *Edmond Andros*, who was then at *New-York*. The principal Magistrates at *Boston*, in the Absence of *Andros*, order'd some Soldiers to march towards *Falmouth*, and dispatch'd *William Stoughton*, Esq, with some others, to the East, to endeavour to bring the *Indians* to a Treaty, to which the Savages seem'd very well inclin'd, and promis'd to send Deputies to *Macquoit* for that purpose, but were dissuaded from it by the *French*, and a few Days after fell upon *North-Yarmouth*, and kill'd several of the Inhabitants, upon which the *English* in those Parts, took shelter in the garrisoned Places. When Sir *Edmond Andros* return'd to *Boston*, he disapproved of Capt. *Blackman's* Conduct, which he might very well do, but his own was every whit as blameable, in ordering all the *Indian* Prisoners to be releas'd, and their Arms to be restor'd to them, without insisting upon the releasing of the *English* Captives detain'd by the *Indians*. Capt. *Gendal*, who was sent to garrison *Yarmouth*, had the Misfortune to lose 12 of his Men, whom the *Indians* took Prisoners, but they were most of them recover'd by the Inhabitants of *Casco*, who sallied out on the *Indians*, who murder'd two Families, Mr. *Burrough's*, and Mr. *Bishop's*, at *Winter-Harbour*, near *Kennebeck*.

These Excursions of the Savages so alarm'd the Government at *Boston*, that Sir *Edmund Andros* march'd himself with a 1000 Men towards the Frontiers, in the depth of Winter, by which his Soldiers were expos'd to many Hardships, without the least Prospect of Success, the Enemy getting far out of his reach, on the Advice of his intended Expedition. Dr. *Mather's* Account of his Behaviour is not the least valuable Part of his History. Tho' the Governor then in the Western Parts had "immediate Notice of the Ravages of *Indians*, he not only delay'd and neglected all that was necessary for the publick Defence, but also when he at last return'd, shew'd a most furious Displeasure against those of

1688.
Sir Edmund
Andros's ill
Conduct.

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

Sir William
 Phips made
 High Sheriff
 of New-
 England.

While Sir *William Phips* was in *England*, he used what
 Interest he had at Court to procure the restoring of the *New-
 England* Charter, but Sir *William's* Address and Genius, were
 ill adapted to such sort of Negotiations; he appeared to be a
 very heavy Man, even to me who was very young when I
 saw him, which was more than once; and tho' the People of
New-England speak very honourably of his Capacity, as well
 as Integrity, yet it is very plain that he very ill became the Seat
 of Government. When he importun'd King *James* about the
 Charter, the King reply'd, *Any Thing* Sir *William* but that;
 and he bestow'd on him a Patent to be High Sheriff of *New-
 England*, a very odd sort of Commission, and very unlikely
 to answer Sir *William Phips's* End in it, if it was to impannel
 honest Juries, there being a Governor over him, who knew
 like his Master how to dispense with Statutes, and much more
 with Patents, which *Andros* and his Creatures found a way
 to evade. But why, as *Dr. Mather* writes, they would have assas-
 sinated him at his own Door I cannot comprehend; Sir *William*
 seeming to me to be no formidable Enemy to such a Man as
Andros, who wanted not Cunning, and no doubt was very
 well inform'd on what Terms this Knight stood with his Mas-
 ter, both as to Character and Favour. Be that as it will, Sir
William was so little easy after this intended Assassination,
 that he made what haste he could to return to *England*, whi-
 ther went Mr. *Increase Mather*, Rector of the University of
Cambridge, and two other Gentlemen deputed by the princi-
 pal Inhabitants of *Boston*, to carry their Remonstrances and Pe-
 titions against *Andros* to the King. Of this Governor *And-
 ros* it is that Mr. *Dummer* the *New-England* Writer writes,
 in a Discourse address'd to the Lord *Carteret*, then Secretary
 of State. “ In that evil Reign, the Governor of *New-Eng-
 land* with 4 or 5 Strangers of his Council, Men of desper-
 “ ate Fortunes, and bad, if any Principles, made what Laws,
 “ and levied what Taxes they pleas'd on the People. They
 “ without an Assembly rais'd a Penny in the Pound on all
 “ Estates in the Country, and Two-pence on all imported
 “ Goods, besides Twenty pence per Head, as *Poll-Money*,
 “ and immoderate Excise on Wine, Rum, and other Liguors.
 “ Several worthy Persons having in an humble Address re-
 “ presented this Proceeding as a Grievance, were commit-
 “ ted to the *County Jail* for a high Misdemeanor, denied the
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“ Benefit of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, try’d out of their own
 “ County, fin’d exorbitantly, and oblig’d to pay 160 l. for
 “ Fees, when the Prosecution would hardly have cost them
 “ so many Shillings in *Great-Britain*, where Prosecutions are
 “ so manag’d by *Lawyers*, as to make them equally terrible
 “ and ruinous; and to compleat the Oppression, when they
 “ upon their Trial claim’d the Privileges of *Englishmen*, they
 “ were scoffingly told, *These Things would not follow them to*
 “ *the Ends of the Earth*. Unnatural Insult! Could the brave
 “ Adventurer, who with the hazard of his Life and Fortune
 “ seeks out new Climates to enrich his Mother Country, be
 “ denied those common Rights which his Countrymen enjoy
 “ at Home, in Ease and Indolence? Is he to be made miserable
 “ and a Slave by his own Acquisitions? Is the Labourer alone
 “ unworthy of his Hire, and shall they only reap, who neither
 “ sow’d nor planted?” Monstrous Absurdity! horrid inverted
 Order! These Reflections refer to others as well as Governors, to
 such as reap in *England* what was sown 4000 Miles off in *America*.

Mr. Neal speaking of this Governor, writes, “ he not
 only copied after his Master King *James*, but outwent
 him; for to all the Miseries that *England* groaned under,
 there was superadded in *New-England*, the loss of their Free-
 holds.” But Deliverance came to *England*, almost as soon
 as the Deputies, by the coming of the Prince of *Orange*; the
 News of whose Expedition soon reach’d *New-England*, where
 it was receiv’d with universal Joy, *Andros* and his Creatures
 excepted: He threw a Man into Prison for bringing over a
 Copy of the Prince’s Declaration, tho’ that Prince was afterwards
 unhappily prevail’d upon to continue him in Office. He was
 so impudent as to publish a Proclamation, requiring all Per-
 sons to use their best Endeavours to hinder the landing of any
 one whom the Prince might send thither; but his Proclama-
 tions were as contemptible as his Person was odious; his
 soldiers deserted him, and even his Counsellors began to think
 of shifting for themselves.

Andros
 hated and
 deserted.

It was now rumour’d at *Boston*, that a Massacre was in-
 tended, and *Andros* was thought wicked enough to be in such
 Butchery. Murdering Engines were said to be in the *Rose*
 Brigat, one of the King’s Ships, then in the Harbour: The
 people on this were every where in Motion, banding in Com-
 panies to provide for their natural Defence, but they broke
 out into Action till they heard from *England*, that King
James was gone, and the Prince and Princess of *Orange* pro-
 claimed King and Queen: They could then be no longer
 restrain’d from doing themselves Justice against their tyrann-
 ical Governor.

1649.

*The People of
Boston rise
against An-
dros.*

Accordingly on the 18th of *April*, about 8 'o Clock in the Morning, a Report was rais'd at the South-End of the City of *Boston*, that all the North-End were in Arms, and at the North-End, that all were in Arms at the South. Immediately Capt. *George*, one of the Governor's Creatures was seiz'd, Drums were beaten every where, and Colours set up upon the Beacon. Mr. *Bradstreet*, Mr. *Danfurth*, Major *Richards*, Dr. *Cook* and Mr. *Addington*, Men of great Eminence and Interest, were conducted to the Council-house by a Guard under the Command of Capt. *Hall*, while the People seized several of the Governor's Confidants and Tools, as *Bullivant* and *Foxcroft*, two Justices of the Peace, *Sherlock*, a Sheriff, Mr. *Randolph*, Capt. *Ravencroft*, Capt. *White*, *Farewell*, *Broadvent*, *Crafford*, *Larkin*, *Smith*, &c. and shut them up in Jail, having first turned out the Jail-keeper, and put a trusty Fellow in his Place; which done, they sent the following Message to Sir *Edmund Andros*, by Mr. *Oliver* and Mr. *Eyres*.

*The chief
Men summon
the Governor
to surrender.*

Sir,
Ourselves and many others the Inhabitants of this Town, and the Places adjacent, being surprized with the People's sudden taking of Arms, of the first Motion whereof we were wholly ignorant; being driven by the present Accident, are necessitated to acquaint your Excellency, that for the quieting and securing the People inhabiting in this Country from the imminent Danger they many ways lie open and exposed to, and tendering your own Safety, we judge it necessary that you forthwith surrender and deliver up the Government and Fortifications to be preserved and disposed, according to Order and Direction from the Crown of England, which suddenly is expected may arrive; promising all Security from Violence to yourself, or any of your Gentlemen or Soldiers, in Person or Estate: Othertwise we are assured they will endeavour the taking the Fortification by Storm, if any Opposition be made.

White Winthrop,
Simon Bradstreet,
William Stoughton,
Samuel Shrimpton,
Bartholomew Gidney,
William Browne,
Thomas Danfurth,
John Richards,

Elisha Cook,
Isaac Addington;
John Nelson,
Adam Winthrop,
Peter Sergeant,
John Foster,
David Waterhouse,

The greatest Names in *New-England*. The Governor, who, like all Tyrants, was afraid of Punishment, as well as Disgrace, was very sturdy at first, and made as if he would maintain

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maintain his Post by Force. He sent to the Frigate for Fire-Arms, Hand-Granadoes and Match; but the Boat that was bringing them was seized by the Town Soldiers, whom *John Nelson, Esq;* led up to the Fort, and demanded the Surrender of it a second time. The Governor finding it was in vain to resist, surrender'd that and himself into their Hands. Mr. *Fairweather*, Mr. *West*, Mr. *Graham*, Mr. *Palmer*, and Capt. *Tryfoye*, were imprisoned in the Castle. *Joseph Dudley, Esq;* was seized at Major *Smith's* at *Narraganset*; but neither *Andros* nor he received the Reward of their Doings in those evil times; on the contrary, they were both put into Governments after the Revolution, which ought to be remember'd, if there is ever another Edition of the Pamphlet, *False Steps of the then Ministry*.

They turn him out.

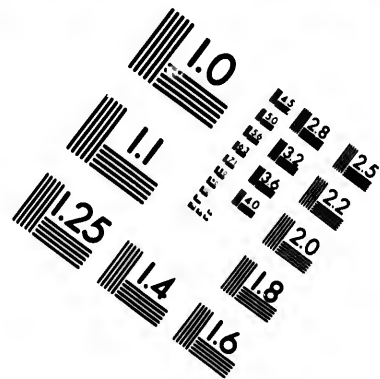
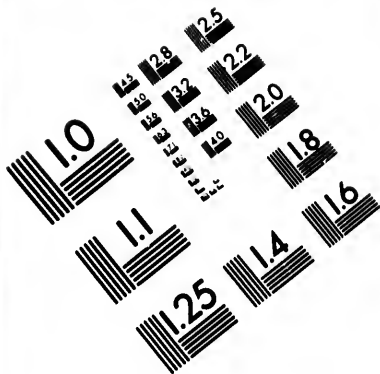
The Gentlemen assembled in the Council Chamber, of which all or most of them had been Members at the time of the Charter, drew up a Declaration of Grievances, which was read out of a Gallery to a Concurrence of People, who heard it with great Satisfaction and Applause. There were then of the Inhabitants, and others that came in from the Country, 2 or 3000 Men in Arms at *Boston*, besides 1000 at *Charles-Town*, that could not get over the Ferry. So strong was the Desire of Liberty there, and the Spirit to defend it. The Gentlemen in the Council-Chamber agreed to summon a Convention of the Representatives of the Colonies, called the *General Assembly*, which met in *May*, about a Month after *Andros* was turned out of the Government, and unanimously resolv'd to rescue their Charter, which they did, and published a Declaration to that Purpose, dated 24th *May*, and signed by their Clerk *Ebenezer Prout*. I do not join with some scrupulous Writers, in censuring this Forwardness of them in the Resumption of their Charter, with a formal Reverse of the *Quo Warrants*. That Writ was groundless and illegal, and the People of *New-England* had as much a Right to assert their Privileges against arbitrary Power, and stretching and abusing the Laws, as had the People of *Old-England*, in their Declaration of Rights by the Convention Parliament. This Censure is the more needless, because King *William* and Queen *Mary* did, by their Royal Letter, testify their Allowance of the late Proceedings at *Boston*, and authorized the restored Magistrates to continue the Administration of Affairs.

The old Council resume the Government.

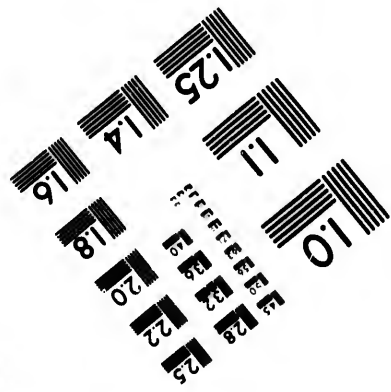
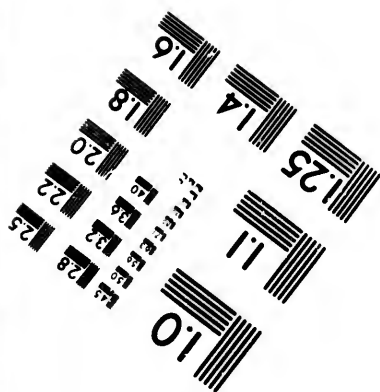
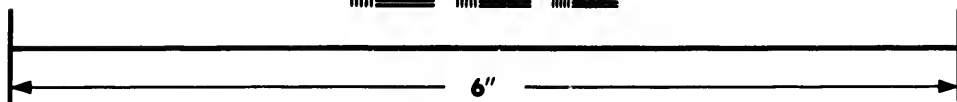
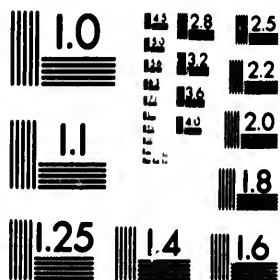
Approved by King William and Queen Mary.

The *New-England* Historians tell us, Sir *William Phips* was advised, by some Lords of the Council, to return to *New-England*, where they thought he might be serviceable in this Crisis





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of Affairs; and that, before he left *London*, King *James* sent a Messenger to offer him the Government of *New-England*; but the Reason they give for it is pleasant enough, "He chose rather to return without any Character, than accept of a Commission from a Prince who had so notoriously invaded the Rights of his Subjects." Whereas, in truth, Sir *William Phips* had accepted of a Commission from him, when he was in the most notorious Part of his Invasions, the dispensing with Statutes. But the *New-England* Historians have a Conceit, that the Country is much honoured by the Character of that Knight, who was a Native of it. We shall find, in the Sequel, that his Success was not so good in *New-England*, as at *La Plata*.

During these Transactions, the *French* and *Indians* enter'd into farther Engagements against the *English*, who did what they could, with Honour and Justice, to bring Matters to a peaceable Issue, which was render'd very difficult by the Intrigues of the *French*, who, upon King *James's* withdrawing to *France*, represented the *English* Nation as in a rebellious, perillous Condition, which was sufficient Encouragement for the *Indians* to continue the War, having the Promise of powerful Assistance from *Quebec*. They surprized the Garrison of *Quachecho*, by the Treachery of *Mesandonit*, a Sachem, whom Major *Waldern*, who commanded there, had generously entertained the Night before, and that Traitor lying in his House open'd the Gates in the Morning to a Party of Savages that lay in Ambush not far off, and rushing in killed the Major and 22 Men, burnt 4 or 5 of the best Houses, and carried away 29 Persons into Captivity, killing Mr. *Broughton* in their Retreat. The Government order'd Capt. *Noyes*, with a strong Party, to march to *Pennacook*, and clear the Country of the Savages; but they clear'd it themselves, by running away as soon as they had News of his coming. Capt. *Noyes* pursued them, cut down all their Corn, burnt their Wigwams, and laid every thing waste. A Party from *Saco* was surrounded by a great Body of *Indians*, and escap'd with Difficulty, having lost six of their Number. They afterwards master'd *Pemmaquid* Fort, by Help of Intelligence given them by one Mr. *Starkey*, who falling into their Hands, thought to get out of them by that Service, and told of the weak Condition the Fort was in by the Absence of Mr. *Giles*, and Part of the Garrison, upon whom they fell at *Giles's* Farm, and kill'd him and 14 Men; they then got upon a Rock, whence they miserably gaul'd the *English* in the Fort, and oblig'd the Governor, Capt. *Weems*, to surrender, on Promise of Life and Liberty; but the Sa-

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Wages broke the Capitulation, and butcher'd the greatest Part of them, as also Captain *Skinner* and Captain *Farnham*, who were coming to the Relief of the Garrison, and Mr. *Puttishall* as he lay in his Sloop in the *Barbran*. These Losses caused the Inhabitants of *Sheepscot* and *Kennebeck* to abandon those Places, and retire to *Falmouth*.

It was Time for the Government of *New-England* to look about them, and think of vigorously opposing these Murders and Depredations of the *Indians*. They sent Major *Swayne* with 500 Men from *Massachusetts*, and Major *Church*, one of their best Officers, from *Plimouth*, with 500 more, against the Enemy in the *East*, where they had intercepted Lieutenant *Huckin*, who had drawn off a Garrison he had in those Parts to set them to work in the Field. The Savages coming unexpectedly upon them, cut them to pieces, being 17 in Number; and then came to the Fort, where were only two Boys and some Women and Children. The Boys defended against them, wounded several of them; and when they found that the *Barbarians* were about to set Fire to the House that was in the Fort, and to burn them out, they would not yield, but on Terms of Life, which these inhuman Wretches granted, and afterwards killed three or four of the Children, with one of the Boys; the other made his Escape. Captain *Garner* pursued the Enemy, but they were too nimble for him. Another Party of them assaulted *Casco*, killed Captain *Brookes*, and had put the whole Town to the Sword, had not Captain *Hall* come opportunely with Relief.

The Bravery of two English Boys.

The Designs of Major *Swayne* and Major *Church* were frustrated by the Treachery of some *Indian* Confederates, who being sent out as Scouts, discovered all that they knew of the Enemy, who understanding the Number of the *English*, fled to their inaccessible Woods and Swamps: So Major *Swayne* having garrisoned *Blew-Point*, retired to Winter Quarters. I enter not into the Particulars of the barbarous Treatment the *English* Captives met with from the Savages, there being nothing in it but what might be expected from their Rage and Cruelty; and there was no likelihood of their learning Humanity towards the *English*, by Lessons from their new Allies the *French*, who were very active in instructing and disciplining them for their better Management of the War. It was plain they had improved in it both in Arms and in Action; and had continual Assistance from *Quebeck*, without which the *English* would have soon chastised them for their insolence, and taught them to be quiet. To make the *French* some Returns for the many Mischiefs the *English* had suffered

suffered by their means, it was resolved in *New-England*, to carry the War home to them. Accordingly Sir *William Phips* sailed with a Fleet and Forces to *Port-Royal*, in *Acadia*, or *New-Scotland*, and dispossess the *French*, as has been already related in the Article of *New-Scotland*.

Salmon
Falls de-
stroy'd by the
French and
Indians.

To revenge these Losses, Monsieur *Artell*, a *French* Officer from *Canada*, and one *Hoophood*, a Leader among the *Huron Indians*, Confederates with the *French*, with Men of both Nations, assaulted *Salmon Falls*, killed 30 Persons, and carried away 50 into Captivity, which terribly alarmed all *New-England*, it being the first Time that the *French* acted openly with the *Barbarians*: And as *Quebec* was thought to be the Source of all their Calamities in this War, it was considered, that by removing the Cause, the Effect would cease. It was therefore resolved to attack that Place, which being reduced, the *French* would have no Place to nest in, and carry on their ill Designs against their Christian Neighbours.

Sir William
Phips's un-
fortunate
Expedition
to Quebec.

Sir *William Phips's* Success at *New-Scotland* very much forwarded this Expedition, and naturally put him at the Head of it. It seems to have been as ill managed as it was well contrived: For it is certain he had a Strength with him sufficient to have driven the *French* out of *Canada*, had it been well employed. He had 32 Sail of Ships, *The Six Friends*, Captain *Gregory Sugars* Admiral, 44 Guns, *the John and Thomas*, Captain *Carter* Vice-Admiral, *the Swan*, Captain *Gilbert* Rear-Admiral.

They had aboard 2000 Men, a prodigious Armament for a Colony of no longer standing; and sailed from *Hull*, near *Boston*, the 9th of *August*, but came not within Sight of *Quebec* till the 5th of *October*. Thus they were eight Weeks in a Voyage, that, with good Winds and Weather, might have been made in two or three. The *English* were so long making up the River of *St. Lawrence*, that the Governor, the Count *de Frontenac*, had Time enough to prepare for his Defence, by drawing all the Strength of the Colony to *Quebec*, which Sir *William Phips* expected would have been divided by an Army marching over Land, and attacking *Mount-Royal* Fort, on the Frontiers of *Canada*, while he fell upon the Capital.

This Army was to consist of 2000 Men from *New-York*, *Connecticut*, and *Plimouth* Colonies, and 1500 *Indians*, to whom the *French* gave the general Name of *Iroquois*, but the *English* distinguish them by the Names of their several Nations. The *English* marched as far as the great Lake of *Canada*; but as there were no Canoes provided for them to pass it, they returned; and it is very strange, that there should

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should be no Provisions for their Passage secured, since the Success of the Enterprize so much depended upon it. Sir William summoned Count Frontenac to surrender, in a very blustering Paper, which had this glorious Title,

Sir William Phips, Knight, General and Commander in Chief in and over their Majesties Forces of New-England, by Sea and Land.

Count Frontenac was so offended at the Stile and Subject, that he caused a Gibbet to be set up, and would have hanged the Major that brought the Summons, had it not been for the Bishop's Intercession. He returned a very insolent Answer, calling Phips and his Company *Hereticks and Traitors*. On the 8th of October, the English landed under Lieutenant-General Whalley, to the Number of 1400; for to these few they were already reduced, by the Small-Pox, and other Diseases: But had their full Compliment been preserved, what were 2000 aboard of Ships to 4000 within the City? for so many men had Count Frontenac with him; which Whalley understanding, he re embarked his Troops, which would very fain have attempted one Assault; but their Bravery was ill-tim'd, considering the Inequality of their Number to that of the Enemy. Some Writers make the Loss of the English, from the Opposition they met with on Shore, to be 600 Men; but I believe that Opposition is heightened for the Credit of our Nation, that the English might not be thought to have given over this Enterprize without looking the Enemy in the Face. The Baron la Hontan, who was then at Quebec, says, there were not 200 French in the Town when Sir William Phips came thither; but that is as incredible as that Phips was six Miles off of the Town when he fired upon it, or that the English landed 3000 against the Isle of Orleans, a League and a half below Quebec, whereas they were but 600 Men in all. The Baron adds, *If Phips had been engaged by the French to stand still with his Hands in his Pockets, he could not have done less against them*: Which has too much truth in it; for the New-England Writers are very fond of this Knight, yet I wonder how he preserv'd so much Reputation and Interest as he had still among them. This Misfortune was a sad Misfortune to New-England, above 600 perished by it one way or other; and they were some years in filling up the Vacancies it made in the Colonies. It cost them 140000*l.* in Debt; and the Ships in their Voyage back, met with no better Fortune at Sea than the Men had come by Land. Some of them were driven as far as the *ward Islands*, one was wreck'd, another never heard of,

Phips's ill Conduct a fatal Blow to N. England.

a third foundered with all her Crew in her, a fourth was driven ashore on the desolate Island of *Anticosta*, where Captain *Rainsford* and his Company, forty at first, were reduced by want and Weather to half the Number in a Month's Time, and then sav'd almost miraculously. The Loss of Men in this unsuccessful Enterprize amounted to 1000, and those as useful Hands as any in the Country. The immense Debt beforementioned was paid off by Bills, which the general Assembly made current, like Exchequer Bills in *England*. During the Progress of this miserable Expedition, a Party under Lieutenant *Clerk*, venturing out of *Casco*, to look for the Enemy, met with a Body of 4 or 500 *Indians* and *French*, who killed the Lieutenant and 13 of his Men; the rest escaping into the Town, were pursued by the *Indians* and *French*, who entering the Place reduced it to Ashes. The Garrison surrendered the Fort upon Condition of safe Conduct to the next *English* Town; but the *French* now broke the Capitulation, and made them Prisoners of War, under a very foolish Pretence, if the *New-England* Historians are in the Right of their being Rebels to their lawful King. What signified the Pretence of Rebellion, when they had that of War to plead, had it been good against a solemn Treaty? The Governor, Major *Davis*, and some of his Men, were sent to *Quebec*, the rest were murdered by the Savages. The Garrisons of *Papcodack*, *Spamwick*, *Black Point*, and *Blew-Point*, drew off to *Saco*, twenty Miles within *Casco*, terrified by the Fate of that Place. Their Terror infected that Garrison also, and half of them fled as far as Lieutenant *Storer's*, *Hoophood* the *Huron* pursued them, and destroyed all the open Country, burnt several Houses at *Berwick*, killed 13 or 14 Men at *Fore-Point*, and carried off 6 Prisoners; but Capt. *Floyd* and Capt. *Greenleaf* coming to his assistance, routed his Party, wounded, and drove him off to a great Distance. He was afterwards fallen upon by the *French* *Indians*, who, taking him for an *Iroquois*, killed him and almost all that were with him. The *Indians* and *French* had after that an Advantage over the *English*, and killed Capt. *Wiswell*, whom they killed with 15 of his Soldiers, near *Wheelwright-Pond*, the rest were brought off by Captain *Floyd*. Flusht with this Success, the *Indians* and *French* made a Descent upon *Amesbury*, near to the *Massachusetts*, surpris'd Capt. *Foot*, and tortured him to Death; but the Townmen retiring into the Fort, maintained it against them. Major *Church* pass'd by Sea with 300 Men to *Casco* Bay, where he landed them, march'd directly to *Pechbyssit*, *Indian* Fort, which he found deserted, thence to *Amonjst*

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in Fort, 40 Miles up *Casco* River, which he burnt, after having killed twenty *Indians*, all that staid in it, and releas'd seven *English* Captives. Having notice that the *Indians* had agreed to rendezvous on *Pechypot* Plain, in order to attack *Wells*, he hastened thither to give them Battle, which the *Savages* avoided, and the *English* went into Winter Quarters. Capt. *Convers* and Capt. *Plajsted*, with 100 Men remaining in those Parts to scour the Woods; and as the *English* had no Reason to be content with the Success of the War; so they were well pleased at the Sight of a Flag of Truce, with which the *Indians* came to *Wells*, and a Cessation of Arms till the *May* following, was agreed on by Commissioners on both Sides.

One would have thought that Sir *William Phips* had little Encouragement to hope to be employed in another Expedition against the *French* at *Canada*; but that was the Business he went about in another Voyage to *England*. I repeat not the Reasons he is said to make use of to induce the Ministry to fall in with it. Nothing is more obvious than its being absolutely for the Interest, and even Safety of *New-England*, to be rid of the Neighbourhood of the *French* at *Canada*. It had been well then, and would be so still, if such a Thing could be accomplished; but besides that Sir *William Phips's* Management at *Quebec* had not much recommended him for such another Employment, King *William's* Hands were too full of Work in *Ireland* and *Flanders*, to have any Men or Money to spare for that which Sir *William Phips* would have put out for him: So his Negotiation had no Effect. However he did something for his Country, by joining with Sir *Henry Ashurst* and Mr. *Increase Mather*, the *New-English* Agents in soliciting the restoring of their old Charter, which had been solicited ever since the Revolution to no Purpose. There were those about King *William* who had been very instrumental in stretching the Prerogative in the Reign of King *Charles* and King *James*. I need mention no more than the Earl of *Danby*, afterwards Duke of *Leeds*, and the Earl of *Nottingham*. These Councillors had very much the King's ear, and they had no hard Matter to convince him, that it would not consist with his Honour to suffer any Diminution of the Royal Authority, where it was supported by the Laws. The Agents perceiving at last that they should not be able to carry their Point for the old Charter, they petitioned for a new one with more ample Privileges. A new Charter was granted, but with Privileges far from being so ample as those of the old one.

I am sensible that the *New-England* People were much in the right to reconcile themselves to the former, since the latter was no more to be for them; but what their Writers intimate, that their new Privileges are as valuable as their old were, will appear to be very absurd, by observing,

The Difference between the old Charter and the new.

That the Nomination and Constitution of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary, and all Officers of the Admiralty, are taken from the People, and wholly reserv'd to the Crown.

The Power of the Militia is turned over to the Governor, as Captain-General.

The Constitution of New-England by the latter.

All Judges and Justices of a superior and inferior Order; All Sheriffs, to whom the Execution of the same is entrusted, are appointed by the Governors, with the Advice and Consent of his Majesty's Council

The Governor has a Negative upon all Laws, Elections, and Acts of Government of the general Assembly and Council.

All Laws enacted by the General Assembly, and approved of by the Governors, are to be transmitted home for the Royal Approbation, and if disallow'd within the Space of three Years, to be utterly void.

To say only that the People have lost the Nomination of their Governor, their Management of their Militia, the Affirmative Vote for their Laws, and the naming their Judges, Justices, and Sheriffs, is enough to make the Difference between the old and new Charters very much to the Disadvantage of the latter. Nor do I think they had any Amendment made them in a Permission to nominate their first Governor who was *Sir William Phips*; and if one may suppose he had a constant Correspondence with *Mr. Increase Mather*, and that he knew what Steps were taken towards procuring a Charter, and consequently how far the Issue might concern himself, it is not unlikely that his Voyage to *England* was rather to be more in the way of such a Nomination, than of Solicitation for a second Attack upon *Quebec*.

Sir William Phips Governor of New-England.

The Time for the Cessation of Arms with the *Indians* was scarce expired, but the Savages, instead of coming as they had engaged to restore the Captives, and turn the Truce into Peace, came to commit Hostilities, and killed several *English* at *Berwick, Exeter, and Cape Nidduck*. To prevent further Mischiefs, *Captain Marel, Captain King, Captain Sherburne, and Captain Waters*, with 400 Men, landed at *Macquodict* and marched to *Pechypot*. These Forces not meeting the *Enemy*, grew secure, and straggled out in Parties, which the

Indians observed, and *Captain Sherburne* board in *Topsy-Turvy*, *Sandy-Bear*, in *Essex* County, and extending had not yet *Cape Nidduck* Remainder of Party of *Popish* *English*, and themselves, and *ages*, who were *Mr. Shubal* to the great *being French* *Madabock*, with *ives*; and those abandoning it, with a strong *Capt. Thaxter*, *ers. Capt. C* in the flight *For* the *River* to be *ainst him* *ando, Moxus,* *Men, Monsieur* *French Soldiers,* *fore attacked* *By Capt. Con* *er of Men with* *ly Brother Mo* *next Year, and* *It will not be* *d Chiefs in the* *ample of their* *fruitless Atter* *em by Land and* *ian Confederat* *ar Labrocree* *nev* *a Retreat, bei* *to take one* *barbarously, tha* *der to relate it.* *s, the Indians*

Indians observing, gathered in a Body, attack'd them in a Body, and drove them to their Ships, with the Loss of Captain *Sherburn*, and several Men, who could not get aboard in Time. They killed 7 Persons at *Berwick*, 21 at *Sandy-Bear*, a Family at *Rowly*, another at *Haverhill*, both in *Essex* County. Thus we find they are drawing Southward, and extending themselves into the *Massachusetts*, which they had not yet done from the Eastward. The Garrison of *Cape Nidduck* was so thinn'd by Draughts from it, that the Remainder thought fit to desert it, tho' a strong Fort. A Party of *Papish* Indians assaulted the Town of *York*, killed 50 *English*, and led away 100 into Slavery; the rest fortified themselves, and tho' they were but a handful, yet the Savages, who were several hundreds, durst not attack them. Here Mr. *Shubal Dunner* the Minister was shot at his own Door, to the great Joy of the *Barbarians*, never the less such, for being *French* *Papists*. A Ship was immediately dispatched to *Sagadahock*, with a Commission and Effects to redeem the Captives; and those Men who remained in that Town talking of abandoning it, Major *Hutchinson* was in *June*, 1692, sent with a strong Party under Capt. *Convers*, Capt. *Floyd*, and Capt. *Thaxter*, to assist them, and other *English* on the Frontier. Capt. *Convers* was posted at *Wells* with only 15 Men in the slight Fort there, and 15 more aboard two Sloops in the River to be assisting to the others upon Occasion. Against him came no less than four *Indian* Kings, *Modenkawando*, *Moxus*, *Edgeremet*, *Warumbo*, and still two greater Men, Monsieur *Labrocree* and Monsieur *Barniff*, with some *French* Soldiers, and 500 *Hurons*. *Moxus* had not long before attacked *Wells* with 200 *Indians*, and been driven off by Capt. *Convers*, who had not a Quarter of that Number of Men with him, which *Modenkawando* hearing, he said, My Brother *Moxus* has missed it now, but I will go myself next Year, and have the Dog *Convers* out of his Hole. It will not be this Time, for the *Englishmen* in the Fort and Chiefs in the Sloops behaved so gallantly, following the Example of their brave Commander *Convers*, that after several fruitless Attempts of the *Indians* and *French* to master them by Land and by Water, Monsieur *Barniff* and the four *Indian* Confederate Princes, were obliged to retire; but Monsieur *Labrocree* never lived to hear the Reproach of so scandalous a Retreat, being killed in the first of it. The Enemy happened to take one *John Diamond* Prisoner, whom they used barbarously, that it would move too much Horror in the Reader to relate it. 'Tis remarkable that in one of their Attacks, the *Indians* cried out in *English*, *Fire, and fall on, brave Boys,*

1692.
Capt. Convers's Bravery.

Boys. By which we see that the long Intercourse between the *English* and *Indians* had soon charm'd the latter with the Language of the former, as it had done with their Habits and Manners, civil and military, inso much that we ought now to leave off calling them *Savages* and *Barbarians*, if it was not to diversify the Distinction.

Sir William
Phips arrives
with the
Charter.

About this Time Sir *William Phips* arrived with the new Charter, and immediately called an Assembly, who paid him the usual Compliments on such Occasions: And they could do no less, considering the Station he was in by the Nomination of their Agents; but, as Mr. *Neal* writes, *Some of the People were sullen and out of Humour with the Abridgment of their Privileges*, which I do not at all wonder at. Nor that, as is added, *the Generality received him with loud Acclamations*. For the Multitude are always the loudest, as they are who know least of the Matter they rejoice in.

The Governor having given his Affirmative to the Law which the Assembly had passed, declared his Resolution to march against the *Indians* in Person. The Seat of the War was in his native Country, about *Kennebeck* River, where the *Indians* were in Amazement when they heard of his Promotion. They well knew his Original, which was as near as their own. They had often fished and hunted with him. He knew all their Haunts and lurking Holes, and could therefore ferret them out, and disperse or destroy them with the more ease; but they were spirited by the *French*, and set upon some Husbandmen at Work in the Meadows to the North of *Merrimack* River. Upon Advice of which Sir *William Phips* hastened away with 450 Men towards the East. Being

Pemmaquid
Fort built.

arrived at *Pemmaquid*, he gave Orders for building a new Fort there, pursuant to his Instructions: And accordingly one of the strongest Fortresses in *America* was raised in five or six Month's Time. Capt. *Bancroft* and Capt. *Wing* laid the Foundation, and Capt. *Marib* finished it. It was built on a Stone in a triangular Figure, about 737 Feet in Compasse without the Outer Wall and 108 square within the Inner one. It had 28 Port-holes, 8 Feet from the Ground, and 14 Guns mounted, 6 of which were 18 Pounders. The South Wall facing the Sea was 22 Foot high, and 6 broad. The round Tower at the West End was 29 Feet high. The East Wall was 12 Feet high; the North 10, and the West 18. The Fort stood about 20 Rod from high-Water Mark, and had a Garrison of 60 Men for its Defence. It was named *William Henry* Fort, and doubtless would have been of great Strength to the *English* in the Frontiers on that Part. Had Sir *William* been so much in the Hearts of the

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People as the *New-England* Writers intimate, it is strange that the Charge of this Building should set them so against him so soon after his coming home with the Charter, that his Government, as they tell us, became uneasy to him, and so continued ever after.

In the mean time, Major *Church* destroyed the *Indian* Country about *Taconet*, the Savages having deserted it in fear of him. Sir *William Phips* sent 350 Men to *Wells*, to reinforce Major *Convers*, to which Post he advanced him, in Reward of his late so great Service there, and made him Commander in Chief of the *Eastern* Garrisons, which having drain'd, he march'd into the *Indian* Territories, and scoured the Woods about *Taconet*. He laid the Foundation of a new Fort at *Saco*, and Major *Hook* finish'd it. He cut several *Indians* in Pieces, to revenge some late Murders committed by them at *Oyster* River. The Savages appearing in Arms above *Connecticut* River, the *English* came up with them near *Quaboag*, pursued them to a Swamp, slew most of them, and recovered the Captives they were carrying off.

These Successes, the building the Forts in the *East*, and the augmenting the Forces there, inclined the Savages to think in earnest of Peace, especially upon hearing the *Massachusets* threaten'd to fall upon them, for killing some of their *Squas*, or Princeesses, on *Whortle-berry* Plain. The *Indian* Sachems had a *French* Ambassador at their Courts, who was a Frier, to stir them up against the *English*, and keep them in Heart. This Priest did his utmost to persuade them to continue the War; but the *French* not assisting them with Men, Arms and Ammunition, as they promised, the Frier could not hinder them from begging a Peace, which was concluded at Fort *Pemmaquid* by the following Sachems and Segamores, and the *English* Commissioners, who set their Names to the Instrument, August 11, 1693.

Indians.

Edgeremet,
Modenkawando,
Wassambonet,
Wenabsen for Mexus.
Ketteramogis,
Ahanquit,
Bamajeen,
Nitamiret,
Wobenet,
Awanfaneck,
Robin Doney,

English.

John Wing,
Nicolas Manning.
Benjamin Jackson.

Interpreters.

John Hornybrook,
John Bagatawawenga, alias
Sheepscot John, a very
busy Fellow among the
Indians in the War time.

Indians.
Madawiniba,
Paquaharet, or Nathaniel.

Interpreter
Phil. Ounfakes, a Squa.

By these Articles they renounced their *French Alliance* owned themselves Subjects to the Crown of *England*, confirmed the *English* in the Possession of all their Lands, and submitted the Trade between the *English* and *Indians* to the Regulation of the *General Assembly*. This Peace was of so short Duration, that the other Articles are not worth repeating.

C H A P. III.

Of the *Witch-Plague*, and an Account of some that died of it.

IT is certainly the Duty of an Historian to prefer his Readers Judgment to his own, to relate the Fact as it comes to him, and leave it to others to decide of it. For my part, I must freely own I do not believe one Word of the Evidence upon which the *New-England Witches* were convicted, condemned and executed. I always look'd upon the Law against them, while it was in being, as absurd, unjust and cruel, contrary to Truth, plain Reason and Credibility. I am fully satisfy'd now it is thrown out of our Statute Books, and none can thereby make a Market of Fools there will never be such a thing heard of as *Witchcraft* among the *English Nation*.

*The Folly
 and Incredi-
 bility of Witch-
 craft.*

Something of this kind happen'd here many Years ago when *Mrs. Greensmith* suffer'd for confessing that the Devil had lain with her. That these poor Wretches confessed themselves to be *Witches*, is no more strange, than that a young innocent Woman out of her Wits in *Bedlam*, should in her Fits, talk of committing Lewdness, which, in her sober Senses, she would have abhorred, or rather would not have understood.

Mr. Paris, Minister of *Salem*, was the first Man that brought this tragick Scene of *Witchcraft* on the Stage, by declaring that his Daughter and Niece, about 9 and 11 Years of Age, were under the Power of *Witchcraft*, and suspecting that *Tumba*, an *Indian Woman*, his Servant, was the *Witch*

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Mary Lewis,

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she was finely disciplined, to draw a Confession from her. The Severities that were used upon her had the intended Effect, and she confessed she was a *Witch*. The wife Magistrates of the Place threw her into Jail, and she lay there till it was a Shame to confine her any longer; so they let her out, but sold her for Money to pay the Jailor his Fees. As soon as she was clear, she said her Master had beat her, and otherwise abused her, to make her confess, such as he called her *Sister Witches*, and whatever she had confessed was extorted from her by his cruel Usage.

An Indian
Woman said
to be a
Witch.

I refer the Reader to Dr. Cotton Mather's surprizing Account of these things, which the Doctor did as much believe as attest; but it must be known, that Mr. Caleb of Boston wrote a Treatise to invalidate that Account, and thus the Disease and the Cure comes from the same Quarter.

'Tis obvious, that in the Beginning of this Business, Sir William Phips was very forward in it, and did not decline till general Offence was taken at it, both in Old-England and New.

Mr. George Burroughs, Minister of Falmouth, in the County of Main, the Seat of the last War, was indicted for bewitching Mary Wolcot of Salem, and others. His Trial came on the 5th of August, 1692, before William Stoughton, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor,

Mr. Bur-
roughs, Mi-
nister of Sa-
lem, 1771
as a Witch.

Major Saltonstall,
Major Richards,
Major Gidney,

Wait Winthrop, Esq;
Capt. Sewal,
Peter Sergeant, Esq;

Who I suppose were of the Council, and the Judges in other Trials of Witches, as well as in this. Their Names ought to be remember'd, that it might not be thought a persecution carried on by inconsiderate and inconsiderable persons. The Witnesses against this Minister were

Mary Wolcot,
Sarah Vibber,
Mary Lewis,

Ann Putnam,
Elizabeth Hubbard,
Mary Warren.

The Circumstances of their Evidence, and the Minister's Witchcraft, are so trifling and silly, as well as incredible, that they are a Disgrace to Common-Sense; but it seems it was sufficient to satisfy the Jury and the Court, who condemned Mr. Burroughs to be hanged. The Trial is at large in Dr. Mather's Historical Tracts. Four of the above Witnesses, Lewis, Putnam, Hubbard and Putnam, swore also against Bridget

Bishop as a Witch, so she was convicted and condemned. *Lewis* and *Putnam* swore also against *Susannah Martin*. I shall repeat here Part of a Dialogue between *Susannah Martin* and the Justice of Peace that committed her to Prison; because, in my Opinion, *Susan* seems to be more in her Wits than his Worship is in his.

Dialogue between a Justice of Peace and a Witch.

Justice. Pray what ails these People?

Susan. I don't know.

Justice. But what do you think ails them?

Susan. I don't desire to spend my Judgment upon it.

Justice. Don't you think they are bewitch'd?

Susan. No, I don't think they are.

Justice. Tell us your Thoughts about them then.

Susan. No, my Thoughts are my own, when they are in; but, when they are out, they are another's. Their Master——

Justice. Their Master! Who do you think is their Master?

Susan. If they deal in the Black Art, you may know as well as I.

Justice. Well, what have you done towards this?

Susan. Nothing at all.

Justice. Why 'tis your Appearance, i. e. the Witch's Ghost, while she was alive, several were condemned on the Ghost's Evidence.

Susan. I can't help that.

Justice. Is it not your Master? How comes your Appearance to hurt them?

Susan. How do I know? He that appeared in the Shape of *Samuel* may appear in any one's Shape.

Is this spoken like a Woman going to be hang'd for a Witch?

There were other Witnesses besides these already mentioned, and the Men's Evidence was as full of Impertinence and Whimsy as the Women's. *Mr. Neal* is very just in his Remarks, as follows: "I cannot forbear making one Remark upon all the Trials that *Dr. Cotton Mather* has published to the World on this Occasion, that when he has given the Deposition of the Witnesses against the Prisoner at large, he passes over their Defence in such general Terms as these, *They said nothing worth considering; their Discourse was full of Tergiversations and Contradictions; they were confounded, and their Countenances fell,* &c. Whereby his Reader is left in the Dark, and render'd incapable of judging of the Merits of the Cause. If the Defence of the Prisoner was so weak and confuted as the

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“ Doctor represents, it had been for the Advantage of the
 “ Court to have expos’d it at large to the World; but if
 “ not, ’tis very hard that it should be smother’d: But upon
 “ such Evidence as this 28 Persons received Sentence of ^{19 Persons}
 “ Death, of which 19 were executed, and one, namely ^{executed for}
 “ *Giles Cory*, was prest to Death. ^{Witchcraft.}

Bridget Bishop had been accused 20 Years before, by *Sa-* ^{Their Cha-}
mul Gray, for bewitching him; but he confessed at his ^{racters.}
 Death that his Accusation was false, and that he repented ^{Bridget}
 of it: However, the Report never wore off, and being ac- ^{Bishop.}
 cused afresh, she was searched, and a Teat found upon her.
 The very Tale that Children tell to one another, when they
 are terrifying themselves about Witches, She standing another
 Search a few Hours after by others, there was no Sign of any
 such extraordinary Teat to be seen. She made no Confession.

Sarah Good was a melancholy distemper’d Woman for a ^{Sarah Good.}
 long time. Mr. *Noyes*, the reverend Minister of *Salem*,
 told her she was a Witch, and bid her confess. She re-
 ply’d, *You are a Liar, I am no more a Witch than you are a*
Wizard, (I verily believe her) *and if you take my Life, God*
will give you Blood to drink. This is not the Language of one
 that has sold her Soul to the Devil.

Rebecca Nurse so vehemently asserted her Innocence when ^{R.becca}
 she was apprehended, and at her Trial, and the Jury was so ^{Nurse,}
 dissatisfy’d with the Evidence produced against her, that they ^{a pious W-}
 brought her in *Not Guilty*: But the Witnesses, *the bewitch’d*, ^{man, hang’d}
 made such an hideous Outcry, that, going out again, they ^{for Witch-}
 return’d and brought her in *Guilty*. The farther Evidence ^{craft.}
 that directed them is not worth relating. Mr. *Neal* adds,
She was a pious Woman, a Member of the Church of Salem,
and had innumerable Testimonials of her Christian Behaviour
through the whole of her Life under the Hands of the most cre-
dible. Her Behaviour in her Family was very exemplary;
her Care in the Education of her Children, and setting them
good Examples, very extraordinary, and, at her Execution,
she behaved herself with all the Gravity and Seriousness of a
Christian. One cannot read the Story of this pious Wo-
 man hanging on a Gibbet for a Crime of which she was as
 innocent as when she was born, without Horror and De-
 testation.

Mr. *Neal*’s Account of Mr. *Burroughs*’s Behaviour and Exe- ^{The Reed.}
 cution will be most acceptable in his own Words: “ The ^{Mr. Bur-}
 Reverend Mr. *Burroughs* had been formerly Minister of ^{roughs}
Salem; but some Differences arising between him and the ^{man}
 People, he left them, and retired to *Falmouth*, which ^{for Witch-}
 perhaps might be one Reason of his being fixed upon by ^{craft}

“ these *Salemities* for a Wizard. Upon the Day of Execution, he was carried in a Cart, with the others, through the Streets of *Salem* to the Gallows. When he was on the Ladder, he made a Speech for the clearing of his Innocence, with such solemn and serious Expressions, as were to the Admiration of all present. His Prayer, which he concluded by repeating the Lord's Prayer, was so well expressed, and utter'd with such Composure and Fervency of Spirit, as drew Tears from the Spectators, inasmuch that some were afraid they would hinder the Execution; and those that fear'd it much more deserved to be in Mr. Burroughs's Place than he did. But the Accusers said the Black Man stood by him, and dictated to him. Mark the Stupidity, as well as Wickedness of these Accusers. The Black Man is the Devil, and are these pious Effusions the Vapours that ascend from Hell? When he was cut down, he was dragg'd by the Halter to a Hole between the Rocks about ten Feet deep. His Shirt and Breeches being pull'd off, and an old Pair of Trousers put on in their Room, he was tumbled in with Willard and Currier, two other pretended Wizards; one of his Hands, and his Chin, and a Foot of another of them, being left uncovered.

His Corpse
left in part
unburied.

John Willard.

George Jacobs, Sen.

Samuel Wardwell.

False Confessions and false Witnesses.

John Willard was hang'd on the Evidence of a Ghost, or Spectral Witness, as it was then term'd.

George Jacobs, Senior, was condemn'd on the Evidence of his Grand-daughter, who, to save her own Life, confessed herself a Witch, and was forced to appear against her own Grandfather. She afterwards recanted her Confession, and had certainly been hang'd, if an Impossthume had not broke in her Head at the time appointed for her Trial for the recanting a Confession, which cleared the Criminal of the Witchcraft, expos'd him to the Magistrates Fury, as well as Power, as in the Case of Samuel Wardwell, who had confessed himself a Wizard to save his Life; but, as the Historian adds, “ His Conscience not suffering him to do the Drudgery of taking away the Lives of his innocent Neighbours, he renounced his Confession before the Magistrates, and was prosecuted and order'd for Trial, condemn'd and hanged; the Evidence against him being that same recanted Confession, and a Ghost.” At his Execution, while he was setting forth his Innocence to the Spectators, the Smoke of the Hangman's Tobacco flew upon his Face, and interrupted his Discourse; upon which his Accusers cry'd, *The Devil hinders him with Smoke*. Let it not be said, that being an Infidel in the Matter of Witchcraft,

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Witchcraft, I deal partially with the Judges and Juries. See what Mr. Neal writes of them.

“*Mary Easty*, Sister of *Rebecca Nurse*, being sensible of Mary Easty.
 “the blind Fury of the People, and of the *innocent Blood* the
 “Magistrates were bringing upon themselves, presented a Pe-
 “tition,” which I shall insert, because it is alone sufficient to
 satisfy any reasonable Man that this unfortunate Woman had
 as much Sense and as much Innocence as the wisest and hon-
 nestest of her Judges.

*YOUR humble and poor Petitioner, knowing her own In-
 nocence, and seeing plainly the Wiles and Subtleties of my
 Accusers by myself, cannot but judge charitably of others, that
 are going the same way with myself. I was confined a whole
 Month on the same Account I am now condemned for, and then
 cleared by the afflicted Persons, the bewitch'd, as some of your
 Honours know; and in two Days time I was cry'd out upon a-
 gain, and have been confined, and am now condemned to die.
 The Lord above knew my Innocence then, and likewise does now,
 as, at the great Day, will be known to Men and Angels. I
 petition your Honours not for my own Life, for I know I must
 die, and my appointed time is set; but the Lord he knows it,
 if it be possible, that no more innocent Blood may be shed,
 which undoubtedly cannot be avoided, in the Way and Course
 you go on. I question not but your Honours do to the utmost of
 your Power, in the Discovery and Detection of Witchcraft, and
 would not be guilty of innocent Blood for the World; but, by my own
 Innocency, I know you are in the wrong way. The Lord in his
 infinite Mercy direct you in this great Work, if it be his blessed
 Will, that innocent Blood be not shed. I would humbly beg of
 you, that your Honours would be pleased to examine some of
 these confessing Witches, I being confident there are several of
 them have belied themselves and others, as will appear, if not
 in this World, I am sure in the World to come, where I am
 going, and I question not but yourselves will see an Alteration
 of these things. They say myself and others have made a League
 with the Devil, we cannot confess. I know, and the Lord
 knows, as will shortly appear, they bely me, and so I question
 not they do others. The Lord alone, who is the Searcher of
 Hearts, knows that as I shall answer it at his Tribunal
 Seat, that I know not the least thing of Witchcraft, therefore
 I cannot, I durst not bely my Soul. I beg your Honours not to
 deny this my humble Petition, from a poor, dying, innocent
 Person.*

This had no more Effect on her Judges, than if they
 had been of the same Stuff with the Gibbet she was hang'd
 upon.

upon. When she took her last Farewel of her Husband, Children and Friends, she was so serious and affecting, as drew Tears from the Eyes of almost all present.

Martha
Cory.

Martha Cory, Wife of *Giles Cory*, was examined in the Meeting-house at *Salem*, where, notwithstanding the Work he was going about, one of the Ministers, *Mr. Noyes*, would begin with a Prayer. *Mrs. Cory* desired she might pray also, but was deny'd. *Mrs. Paris*, the other Minister's Daughter, was a main Evidence against her, and another Evidence was a Spectre. The whole ridiculous and Fool's Play; and so indeed was all of it, excepting the tragical Part, which was abominable and bloody. It was sworn that the Minister *Paris's* Daughter, and two other Children, saw a Spectre, or Ghost, in the Likeness of *Mrs. Cory*, come towards them with a Book to sign. The chief Men that stood the Folly of this Examination, were *Hawthorn* the Justice, and *Noyes* the Parson.

Hawthorn. Why did you afflict these Children?

Cory. I did not.

Hawthorn. Who did then?

Cory. I don't know; but think they are poor distracted Creatures, and no Heed to be given to what they say. As small Conjurers as *Mr. Noyes* and *Mr. Hawthorn* were, I wonder they should not have found out that, as well as this pretended Witch did.

The other most material Circumstances of the Evidence were, That the Black Man whisper'd *Mrs. Cory* in the Ear, that she had a yellow Bird that used to suck between her Fingers; that when she moved her Lip they were bitten, when she grasped her Hand they were pinched. I will have done with it; 'tis too monstrous and shocking: Yet the reverend Minister and worshipful Justice gave as much Attention to it, as if they had been pinched and bitten themselves. *Mr. Neal* tells us she was condemned on the Spectre's Evidence; yet for ought I see, both the Justice and the Minister died a natural Death. He adds, She concluded her Life with an excellent Prayer on the Ladder, protesting her Innocence to the very last. Her Husband, *Giles Cory*, a bold stout Man being brought to his Trial, and knowing there were the same Witnesses ready to swear against him, as had sworn against the others, he resolv'd to undergo any kind of Death rather than submit to the Verdict of such a Jury. So, for refusing to be tried by them, after having pleaded *Not Guilty* *Hawthorn* and the rest of them order'd him to be pressed to Death, which was accordingly executed.

Mr. Cory
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Mr. Neal
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Mr. Neal proceeds, "All that suffer'd Death on this Oc-
 "casion went out of the World without the least Acknow-
 "ledgment of their Guilt, laying their Blood at the Door
 "of false Witnesses." The following Witches, as Dr. Ma-
 "ther calls them, were condemned, but had the good For-
 "tune to be reprieved; and that giving the Government a
 "little time to think again, they were pardoned: *Mary Brad-*
bury, of Salisbury, Abigail Falkner, of Andover, who plead-
 ed her Belly; for these *New-England* Witches were not the
 oldest of their Women; and, by the Evidence against *Mar-*
tha Cory, one sees that the *Black Man,* i. e. the Devil, did
 not think a Girl of 11 Years old too young to make a
 Witch of, tho' some will think she was not old enough.
Darcas Haar, of Beverly, Ann Foster, of Andover, Rebecca
Eames, of Boxford, Abigail Hobs, of Topsfield, Elizabeth
Proster, who also pleaded her Belly. There were now 150
 in Prison, and above 200 more under Accufation, and sever-
 al ran away, or, as Mr. Neal says, they had otherwise been
 trussed up with their Neighbours.

Sir *William Phips* was, as is seen by the *New-England*
 History, very much admired for his peculiar Excellencies by
 Dr. *Cotton Mather*; and I make no Doubt but Sir *William*
 equally admired the Doctor for his, which I am afraid
 contributed very much to these Persecutions and Executions,
 Dr. *Mather's* Zeal in both distinguishing him as much as
 any thing. Had there been a Governor of Penetration and
 Resolution equal to his Character, he would soon have put
 a Stop to this Extravagance; he would, by his Example,
 have restored such Justices and Ministers, as *Hawthorn* and
Paris, to the Use of their Understandings, if they had any,
 and there would then have been no Witches in *New-England*.

One of the Magistrates, *Corwin,* a Sheriff, made a better
 Hand of it than most of his Brethren; for he seized and car-
 ried off to the Value of 1500*l.* the Effects of Mr. *Philip*
English, an accused Gentleman; and that *Corwin* had no
 Right to it, appears by his restoring 300*l.* of it, the rest
 was lost. 'Tis not to be doubted that the Hopes of such
 Seizures occasioned many Prosecutions, and many more Ac-
 cusations, which would have ended as *Mary Easty's* did,
 had not some particular Reasons prevailed with the Ma-
 gistrates to give over these Prosecutions as hastily as they
 began. One perhaps was, that the Accufations were mak-
 ing Approaches to their own dear Persons.

Dudley Bradstreet, Esq; who had granted out Warrants
 against 30 or 40 supposed Witches, thinking he had done
 enough, resolved to give over, and refused to grant any
 more;

Magistrates
 accused.

more; which the Witnesses so highly resented, that they accused him and his Lady of killing no fewer than nine Persons, by bewitching them; and the Justice was so sensible of the Practices of his Brethren in the like Case, that he thought he had no other way of saving himself but flying his Country.

John Bradstreet, Esq; his Brother, and I suppose both very nearly related to the late Governor, *Simon Bradstreet*, Esq; being also sworn against, fled into *Piscataqua*, out of Sir *William Phips's* Jurisdiction. The honest Witnesses swore Mr. *Bradstreet* rode through the Air upon a Dog to Witch Meetings. The worshipful Justices not only took the Oath, but would have taken and hang'd Mr. *Bradstreet*, had he not got out of their way; for they put the Dog to Death, as an Accomplish with him.

A Dog put to
Death as an
Accomplish.

Capt. *John Aldin*, a Person of as good a Character for Sense, Courage and Virtue, as any in the Country, lay 15 Weeks in Prison, and then made his Escape. *Hawthorn*, before mentioned, Major *Gidney*, *Corwin* the Sheriff, and Mr. *Stoughton* too are named as active in the Persecution, of which himself gives a modest and rational Account, printed by Mr. *Neal*, to which I refer. He returned, when the Storm was over, surrender'd himself to the superior Court at *Boston*, and was cleared by Proclamation in *April*, 1693.

1693.

But things went on, as Mr. *Neal* writes, "in their old Channel, till the Afflicted, the pretended bewitch'd, over-acted their Parts so far, as to accuse some of the nearest Relations of Dr. *Increase Mather*, and of the Governor himself." Nay, then 'twas time to believe there was nothing at all in the whole Business, that the Accusers were criminal, and the accused innocent. Accordingly, the very next Sessions, *January*, 1693, three Months before Capt. *Aldin's* Return, when no less than 56 Bills were prefer'd against Persons for *Witchcraft*, the Grand Jury brought in 30 *Ignoramus*, and of the 26 remaining, the Petty Jury convicted but three, who being, without Doubt, as innocent as the rest, were pardon'd by the Governor, who had found out that the Heads of the People were taking another Turn, and began to be as violently against the Accusers, as they had been against the Accused, insomuch that even their Confessions would not be taken, as in the Case of *Mary Watts*; tho' the Magistrates were not forward to part with this Occasion of shewing their Power and Activity; for when the Grand Jury rejected her Confession, looking upon her as a distemper'd Person, and brought in the Bill *Ignoramus*, the Court, made up of such as Mr. *Haw-*

Dr. Mather
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thorn, Mr. Sidney, Mr. Corwin, sent them out again, but the Grand Jury stood by their Verdict.

Mary Osgood, Mary Tyler, Deliverance Dane, Abigail Baker, Sarah Wilson, Hannah Tyler, gave Information, that they were practis'd upon to have Confessions extorted from them; which the Reverend Mr. Thomas Barnard, Minister at Andover was not acquainted with; and to prevent their Recantation, they were told, they should go after Wardwell: That these Confessions were drawn from the pretended Witches by Torments, appears in John Procter's Letter to the Reverend Mr. Mather, printed by Mr. Neal, who observes, upon the hanging of Procter and his Fellow-Prisoners, [such Methods] as these Tortures being made use of, it is no wonder that the Number of confessing Witches amounted to fifty, not one of whom was put to trial whether they would abide by their Confessions when they came to die. Unhappy Creatures! who were forced to do the Drudgery of taking away the Lives of their Neighbours to save their own."

The Confession of Witches craft obtained by Torture.

As to Sir William Phips the Governor's Conduct in this Affair, I shall only add from the same Historian, "After some Time he pardoned all that were under Sentence of Condemnation; but before he did that, he treated the accused with too much Severity, and countenanced the Popular Cry against them." A Man of Genius, equal to his Dignity, would have clear'd the Country of the Accusers, as the only way of lessening the Number of the Accused of a Crime, neither proved nor believed by Persons in a just and sober way of Thinking.

It would be very unjust to make this Folly and Wickedness national and personal. A very great Majority of the reasonable Inhabitants of New-England abhorred these desperate Persecutions at the Time they were carrying on, as appears by Mr. Caleb of Boston's Answer to Dr. Mather, who seems, at the winding up of this Story, to be a little ashamed of his espousing it in the Beginning. The Learning, good Sense and Moderation of the present Ministers and Magistrates of New-England are as much opposite to the Enthusiasm and Rigour of those we are writing of, as Virtue is to Vice: And [they would no more countenance such Doings as these, than the wisest and best of our Magistrates and Ministers would do. Indeed, it must be owned, that too many of the Puritans were Enthusiasts, and that their Principles were much more exceptionable than their Practices. For that they were as ready to trufs up Witches in Old England as in New, is prov'd by our Histories. Mr. Lewis, Parson of Branston in Suffolk,

was tried at St. *Edmund's-Bury*, before Serjeant *Godbold*, condemned and hanged as a Wizard in the Parliament Time. And *Glanville*, a King's Chaplain, a Dignitary in the Church of *England*, writes as zealously for the Belief of Witches as Dr. *Mather*, and was as forward in the Prosecution of them, as Mr. *Paris* or Mr. *Barnard* in *New-England*; nor could 'Squire *Hawthorn*, or Major *Gidney* be more active in trying and condemning Witches, than was Sir *Mather Hales*, as great and as good a Man and Lawyer as any of his Age; but he was a *Puritan*, and overstraining the Strings of Reformation, as the *Puritans* sometimes did, it is no wonder some of them broke.

C H A P. IV.

From the *Witch-Plague* to the Government of Col. *Dudly*.

Containing the Space of 10 Years.

AS the frantic Heat against one another about Witchcraft began to abate in *New-England*, and People seriously reflected on the Cruelty, Wickedness and Scandal of the Prosecutions and Executions before spoken of, they could not but by examining the Governor's Conduct therein, wear off many of the Impressions that the Loss of their ancient Privileges in the Charter he brought over had given them of it, and the Continuance and Increase of the Taxes for the *Indian* War, without any suitable Success in it; and the little or no Diminution of them even after the Peace was concluded gave a handle to many to complain of Grievances and Misadministration. It is visible that Sir *William Phips's* Defect was not in his Heart: He was honest and virtuous; he meant well, and did well as far as his Talents enabled him; but his mean and to do well according to a Man's Light, is not enough for Government, if that Light is any way clouded by Weakness or Wilfulness.

*Articles of
Impeachment
against Sir
William
Phips.*

The Discontented having for some Time contented themselves with complaining, at last drew up Articles of Impeachment against him, and sent them over to the King's Council, with a Petition that he might be discharged from

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his Government. The Ministers were generally in Friendship with the Governor, who had fallen in with them in the *New-England* Business, and was very well disposed to second their Endeavours of any kind, for the Service of the Church or themselves; and the General Assembly were so much under their Influence at that Time, that they sent over a Petition contrary to the former, praying that he might be continued in his Office. These two opposite Addresses could not but puzzle the Cause; but Sir *William's* Friends flattered themselves that it would end in his Favour, and he be restored to the Government. It might have been so; yet I cannot but think he was no better qualified for it than some that came after him in it. He had been recalled, and the Matter referred to a Committee of the Council: But soon after his Arrival at *London* he fell sick of a malignant Fever, and died. *New-England* was now become a great People; there were at least 200000 *English Souls* in the whole Province, and it required a pretty good Head, considering their fermenting Spirits, to keep good Order among them, without breaking in upon Trade or Liberty. One may perceive that something was wanting, whatever it was, since such a Power as might have been raised out of such Numbers, was very much superior to that of all the *Indian Nations* that had any Neighbourhood with them. And yet two or three of them put them to great Trouble and Expence. *William Stoughton*, Esq; was the chief Magistrate. We meet with his Name among the *Witch-judges*, for which we are the more sorry, because we shall find him hereafter in an Undertaking equally generous and useful. In the mean time the *French* would not let the *Indians* be at Peace with the *English*. They were continually exciting and tempting them to renew the War. Had the *Indians* been left to themselves, it is likely they would have kept their Faith with their Neighbours. The Religion of the *French* was the worst Thing they learned of them; for being *Papish*, those of the *Barbarians*, who embraced it, hated the *English* as much for being Protestants as being Intruders. The *French* having received a Supply of all warlike Stores from *Europe*, distributed them among the Savages, and obliged them to break the Peace within less than a Year. The *Barbarians* were certainly much honestier than the *French*, as appears by their keeping all their Treaties with the *English*, from the *Pequot* to the *Philippic War*, near 40 Years, till the *French* corrupted both their Religion and Morals: For if the *Indians* had any Religion at all, it must be better than that the Friers taught them, a Sample of which may be seen in Mr. *Neal's* History.

William Stoughton, Esq, Governor.

The French obliged the Indians to break the Peace. 1694.

P. 265.

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A Body of *Indians* and *French* fell on a *Widen* on *Oyster-River* Town, and made near a 100 *Indians* Captives, 20 of which, to their great Disgrace, were of the *Train'd-Bands*. One *Buckford* courageously defended his House against them, who despairing to reduce him before Succours came, left him, and going to Mrs. *Cuts's* Farm, near *Piscataway*, they murdered her and her Family. They made an Incurſion into *Middleſex* County, and aſſaulted *Groton*, but were bravely repulſed by Lieutenant *Lukin*: Upon which they fell to plundering the Plantations thereabouts, killed 20 Priſoners, and carried 10 or 12 more into Captivity. They killed one of the Children of Mr. *Greſham Hobart* the Miniſter, and carried off another with them. They murdered three Perſons at *Work*, near *Spruce Creak*, and eight more at *Kittery*, where they barbarouſly uſed a Daughter of Mr. *Downing*, a-kin I ſuppoſe to Sir *George Downing*, who was a *New-Englandman*, and would have made an excellent *Witch* Judge, as appears by his hanging Col. *Okey* his Maſter, as we read in our Hiſtories. The Savages ſcalp'd this young Woman, and left her for Dead, but ſhe was living twenty Years after. Mr. *Joſeph Pike* of *Newbury*, Under-Sheriff of *Effex*, was murdered by them between *Amesbury* and *Haverhill*, in that County. To recompence theſe Loſſes, the *English* ſeized *Bommaſen*, a famous *Segamore*, one of thoſe that ſign'd the laſt Treaty. He pretended to be juſt come from *Canada*, and that he came on purpoſe to endeavour to put an End to the Hoſtilities; but it being proved that he was a principal Actor in the late Murders, he was ſent Priſoner to *Boston*, as a Spy. The Taking of *Bommaſen* ſtunned the *Indians* a little, and they were quiet for ſix or ſeven Months. Among the Interpreters at the *Pemmaquid* Peace, we meet with *Sheepſcott John*, ſo called from a Place of that Name where he had been converted to Chriſtianity by Mr. *Elliot*. He then turned Pagan, and was now a *Papiſt*. This *Sheepſcott* pretended ſtill to have a Kindneſs for the *English*, and to ſhew it, was very forward in promoting an Accommodation. A Fleet of Canoes came to an Iſland a League from *Pemmaquid*, and ſent Propoſals of Peace to the *Garrifon*. They owned their Guilt in breaking the laſt Articles, but threw the Blame of it on the *French*. As a Proof of their Sincerity now, they delivered up eight Captives; ſmall Proof, when they had above 100 ſtill in Captivity. However a Truce was granted for 30 Days, and Col. *Philips*, the gallant Major *Convers*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Hawthorn*, I am afraid he was a *Witch* Judge, were appointed Commiſſioners to treat with thoſe on the Part of the *Indians*. But becauſe they brought not *Bommaſen*

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with them, whose Releasement was all they wanted. The Indian Commissioners broke off the Conference, and went away in Disgust. They had left the English Captives in their Captivity, contrary to their Promise to release them as a Preliminary, which was a plain Indication they were not in Earnest.

Advice was immediately sent to all the English Garrisons in the East to be upon their guard; notwithstanding which Major Hammond of Kittery fell into an Ambuscade, and was taken Prisoner; but having the good Fortune to be transported to Canada, he was very civilly treated by Count Frontenac, who bought him of his Indian Master, and sent him to Boston by a Vessel that came to Quebec for Exchange of Prisoners.

Major Hammond taken and sold. Redeemed by Count Frontenac.

In August a Party of Indians came down to Bellerica on Horseback; this was pretty far within the Massachusetts. They killed and took 15 Persons, and plundered Mr. Rogers's House. This was the first Time the Indians ever made use of Horses any other way than to eat them. They slew Serjeant March and 3 Men near Pemmaquid, and six more as they were rowing a Gondola round a Point above the Barbacan. They took nine People out of Newbury in Essex, and being closely pursued by Capt. Greenleaf, a valiant and diligent Officer, they so wounded them, when they found they could not keep them, that they all died except one Lad.

The Indians first ride a Horseback.

Capt. March, Governor of Pemmaquid Fort, desiring to lay down his Commission towards the latter End of this Year, was succeeded in it by Capt. Chub, too little known, and too much trusted. He shewed the Baseness of his Spirit as well as the Weakness of his Understanding in one of his first Exploits, after he had the Command of this Garrison, by murdering Edgeremet and Abenquid, two other principal Senegambres, who had signed the last Treaty, and came to him on Assurance of Security to confer about a new one.

The next Year one John Church of Quobeche, who had been a Prisoner seven Years before, and made his Escape, was retaken and put to Death. Thomas Cole of Wells, and his Wife, were slain, and 13 Persons were massacred near Portsmouth. In August the French landed some Men out of a Man of War, the Newport, which they had taken from the English, to assist the Indians. This News so frightened the Traitor Chub, that he surrendered the new and strong Fort of Pemmaquid, without the firing of one Gun within or without, tho' Chub had near 200 Men in it double armed. He confirmed the constant Maxim, That Rascals are Cow-

1695.

The Traitor Chub surrenders the Fort.

ards, and abandoned his Trust, tho' the *French* had not furnished themselves with any Materials. The surprizing News of this Loss, caused a mighty Consternation at *Boston*, and all over *New-England*. Governor *Stoughton* and the Council immediately ordered three Men of War in pursuit of the *French*; tho' it was little likely that these Ships could be fitted for that Service time enough to come up with the Enemy, who having done their Business at *Pembaquid* better than they could hope for, were gone far enough out of the reach of the *English*. Col. *Gedney*, I doubt another *Witch Judge*, marched with 500 Men to the East, but the *Indians* were gone home, and he could do nothing but strengthen the Garrison there. The *Savages* before their Retreat killed five Soldiers belonging to *Saco* Fort, who must not be with their Garrison: And one may observe, that the greatest Mischief the *Indians* do, is by the Ambushes and Surprizes, which, considering how the *Barbarians* were almost intermixed with them, it is strange they should not be aware of and guard against; for the Country must by this Time, and this means, be, in a manner, as well known to them as to the *Savages*. Col. *Gedney* arrested *Chub*, and brought him to *Boston*; but nothing treasonable being proved against him, the Government only took away his Commission, and sent him hence to his House at *Andover*, in *Essex* County.

The Strength
and Stoutness
of Hannah
Dunstan.

Some Time after this, the *Indians* entered *Haverhill*, not far from *Andover*, where presently they will meet with *Chub*, and carried off 30 Captives, one of whom was *Hannah Dunstan*, a Woman of a masculine Spirit. She had laid in not above a Week, yet she and her Nurse walked 150 Miles on Foot, to the Town where the *Indian* she was to serve lived. This Woman being afterwards to travel with her Master and his Family, to a Rendezvous of the Army of the *Savages*, where, according to the diabolical Custom of them, she, her Nurse, and other *English* Prisoners, were to run the Gantlet, *Hannah* watched her Opportunity in the Night, and having animated her Nurse and an *English* Boy who was with her, they three killed 20 of the *Indians* with their own Weapons, and made their Escape: For which Action they received a Reward of 50*l.* from the General Assembly, and Presents from particular Persons to a good Value. The *Barbarians* continuing their Inroads killed a Man at *York*, another at *Hatfield*, a third at *Groton*, and a fourth at *Easton*: which shews us that the *New-England* People were in constant Danger and harass'd on every side. There is no judging at this Distance of the Situation of this Country in Affairs; but at first it is astonishing that such Numbers

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English, as were then there well armed and stored, could no better defend themselves against a few Savages, as ill armed as clothed, for the generality. They surprized and shot Major *Frost* and his two Sons at *Berwick*, as they were coming from Church one Sunday, and going to his own House about five Miles off. Two Men that rid Post to carry this unwelcome News to the Governor of *Wills*, fell into an Ambuscade as they were returning, and were killed, as were three Men near *Ne-Chawannic*, and dreadful Desolation threatened the whole Province, certainly more for want of Management than of Power.

The Savages roasted a Man to Death a Mile and a half from *Wills*. Three Soldiers at *Saco* Fort, as they were cutting Firewood for the Fort at *Cow-Island*, were shot Dead, while Lieutenant *Fletcher*, with his two Sons, who were appointed for their Guard, were a Fowling in the Woods; but the Lieutenant and his Sons paid dearly for their Negligence; for they fell into an Ambuscade as they returned, and were all three taken Prisoners. The Father and one of his Sons died in Captivity, and the other made his Escape. Does not this confirm the Doubt I have all along had, that the Loss by these Ambuscades, which is the main Loss of the *English* in their *Indian Wars*, was in a great measure owing to their Negligence or Rashness?

In the Beginning of the following Year, the Government of *New-England* was alarmed with Advice that the *French* at *Canada* intended to make a Descent there. That a Squadron of Men of War was come from *France* to support the Army of *Indians* and *French* that were to attack the *English* by Land. The Lieutenant-Governor and Council prepared for a vigorous Defence; the Forts about *Boston* were repaired, the Militia throughout the whole Province raised, and well disciplined; Major *March* was ordered to the *East* with 500 Men to scour the Woods; the *Indians*, who were gathering together about *Casco* Bay, retired as he approached them; but the Major having put his Men on board some Ships, sailed up among the *Eastern* Islands, and landed on the Banks of *Damascottas* River; a very prudent Measure, for he could not have overtaken the *Indians* by Land before they were got to their Fastnesses. The *Indians* seeing this fell upon his Men as they were getting ashore, but hindered not their Landing: Upon which a sharp Engagement ensued, and the *English* drove the Enemy to their Canoes, a Fleet of which was in the River to receive them. The *English* had about 20 Men killed, and as many wounded. The Enemies Loss was doubtless much greater; but the main Advantage to the

English was, the preventing the *Indians* joining with the *French*, who were approaching with Ships of War and Transports for a Descent, but hearing of the Rout of their Confederates, they made the best of their way home to *Europe*, with the *French* Troops on board.

About the same Time the Earl of *Bellamont*, whom King *William* had appointed Governor of *New-England*, set sail in the *Deptford* Man of War for his Government, in which *New-York* was also included. He had a very long Passage, being driven by ill Weather as far out of his way as *Barbados*.

Mr. Whiting,
the Minister
killed.

Before his Arrival on the Continent, a Party of Savages made an Incurfion into *Middlesex*, and plundered *Lancaster*, killing twenty Men, among whom was the Reverend Mr. *John Whiting* the Minister, and carried five into Captivity.

A Month after they killed a poor Man in the Woods near *Oyster River*. In the Beginning of the next Year, they made a Descent upon *Andover*, and killed Capt. *Chub* and his Family. They killed Col. *Dudley Bradstreet*, whom the *Witch* Judges would have taken, had he not got out of their reach; they took his whole Family, and were carrying them off, but being closely pursued, they dismissed them without doing them any Mischief. This *Indian War* looks more like the Starts of *Banditti*, than the military Exploits of a fair Enemy. The Savages were now in motion to the Westward, and killed a Man and a Boy in the Meadows near *Hatfield*. They were pursued by a Party of *English* from *Deerfield*, of which one was killed by the *Indians*, who after that ran to the Woods. They had attempted *Deerfield* on *Connecticut River*, but were beaten off by the Inhabitants, headed by the Minister Mr. *John Williams*.

1697.

Capt. Chub
killed.

These small Actions seem to presage the End of this War, which the Savages were as weary of as the *English*, and had no Prospect of making any thing of it against a People much superior to them in Numbers, Arms and Stores. But they ended it with the better Grace, by means of the Peace of *Ryswick*, between *England* and *France*: Upon which Count *Frontenac* sent to the Sachem of the *Hurons*, and told them he was now no longer to support them in the War against the *English*, and advised them to make the best Terms they could for themselves. The Earl of *Bellamont* was by this Time arrived at *New-York*, and a Treaty for Peace with the *Indians* being set a foot, he dispatched Mr. *Convers* and Col. *Philips*, to confer with the *Indian* Sachems of *Penobscot*. They began the Conferences *October* 6, in which the Sachems excused themselves for breaking the Peace, saying, *The Jesuits would not let them alone till they had done*

The Earl of
Bellamont
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and if the Earl of Bellamont and Count Frontenac would not banish these Devils, they could not promise the next Peace would last long. Major Convers and Col. Philips concluded with them, on the Foot of the last Treaty, to which they added a more formal Submission to the Sovereignty of the Crown of England, in the following Words.

WHEREAS notwithstanding the aforesaid Submission and Agreement, the said Indians belonging to the Princes aforesaid, or some of them, through the ill Counsel and Instigation of the French, have perpetrated sundry Hostilities against his Majesty's Subjects the English, and have not delivered and returned him the several English in their Hands, as in the said Submission they covenanted,

The formal Submission of the Dutchmen to the Crown of England.

Wherefore we, whose Names are hereunto subscribed, Segamores, Captains and principal Men of the Indians, belonging to the Rivers of Kennebeck, Arnmonocoggin, Saco, and Parts adjacent, being sensible of our great Offence and Folly, in not complying with the aforesaid Submission and Agreement, and also of the Sufferings and Mischiefs that we have hereby exposed ourselves unto, do in all humble and submissive Manner cast ourselves upon his Majesty's Mercy, for the Pardon of all our Rebellions and Violations of our Promises, praying to be received in his Majesty's Grace and Protection, and for, and in behalf of ourselves, and of all the other Indians belonging to the several Rivers and Places aforesaid, within the Sovereignty of his Majesty of Great Britain, do again acknowledge and profess our hearty and sincere Obedience to the Crown of England, and do solemnly renew, ratify and confirm, all and every the Articles and Agreements contained in the aforesaid recited Submission: and in Testimony hereof, we, the said Segamores, Captains and principal Men, have hereunto set our Hands and Seals, at Calco Bay, near Mare's Point, the 7th Day of January, in the tenth Year of the Reign of his Majesty King William the third, Annoq; Dom. 1698-99..

Subscribed by Moxus, and the rest of the Segamores present.

In the Presence of
James Convers,
Cyprian Southack,
John Giles, Interpreter,
Scodook, alias Sampson.

In the Beginning of the next Spring, the Earl of Bellamont came to Boston, and held a General Assembly. I do not

think he treated the great Colony of *New-England* handsomely, to turn his Back upon them, and make *New-York* the Place of his Residence; *New-York* being the younger and the smaller Colony, should certainly have given Place to *New-England* in the Favour of the Governor. Neither can I conceive, that Governors of Provinces, who are sent, or should be sent thither for the Good of the People only, are at Liberty to sit down where they please for their Conveniency or Pleasure, without Regard to the Interest and Conveniency of the major Part of their People. I am apt to believe, that the Earl of *Bellamont's* Stay at *Boston*, tho' not very long, would have been shorter, had he not been looking out for Capt. *Kid* the Pirate, whose Villainy in betraying those noble Persons who had employ'd him in an honest laudable Adventure, and turning Robber, had made a great Noise in *England*, and brought several honourable Names in Question; among others, the Earl of *Bellamont's*, who detested *Kid's* vile Treachery as much as any Man could do. He was seized at *Boston*, by Order of the Governor, and sent Prisoner to *England*, where he was 'examined concerning his Piracies by Committees of Parliament, and afterwards tried, condemn'd and executed.

Capt. Kid,
the Pirate,
taken here.

1702.

The Earl of *Bellamont* returning to *New-York* at the latter End of the Summer, Lieutenant-Governor *Stoughton* resum'd the Administration in his Absence. There being no *Indian* War in the succeeding Year, there will be little or no *Action* considerable enough for History. Trade went on in its natural usual Course, with the accustomed Fluctuations, Accidents and Weathers; and Seasons friendly and unfriendly, and rather Matter for Philosophical Transactions, than Political. But we must not omit that, on the 10th of *March*, 1702, a dreadful Fire broke out in the House of Mr. *Jacob George*, at *Boston*, which consumed several Streets, damaged others, burnt 9 Ware-houses, with a vast Quantity of Goods.

When the War between *England* and *France* broke out in 1702, the *Indians* did not think fit to interest themselves in it, by breaking with the *English* in this Part of *America*; but the Government and Merchants of *New-England* fitted out several Privateers which, in a few Weeks time, were successful, that they took fourteen *French* Merchantmen and three Capers. The Earl of *Bellamont* dying this Year *Queen Anne*, it being the first Year of her Reign, appointed *Joseph Dudley*, Esq; to be Governor of *New-England*. Surely it was not his falling in with the Measures of the abdicated *King James* that recommended him to the then Minis-

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in England for this Trust and Dignity; but it is remarkable, that the Address which the *New-England* People sent to the Queen to congratulate her Accession to the Throne, was presented by *William Vaughan*, Esq; and *Constantine Phips*, Esq; The latter, one would think, was employed by them purely because he was Sir *William's* Namesake; for his future Conduct shewed that he had much more of the Papist than the *Presbyterian* in him.

C H A P. V.

From Col. *Dudley's* Government to Mr. *Belcher's*.

THIS Governor, Mr. *Dudley*, was the more acceptable to the Colony, for that he was a Native of the Country; but I don't find he had its Interests, as to Religion and Liberty, so much at Heart as his Ancestors had.

In 1703, the People of *Jamaica* were in great Fear of a *French* Invasion, and desired Help from the Government of *New-England*; tho' the *Jamaicans* had, not very many Years before, been very forward in passing Laws to take away Liberty of Conscience from such as professed the Religion of *New-England*, as by Law established; yet this Colony was so zealous for the natural Good of the Publick, that, notwithstanding the Length of the Voyage, often 7 or 8 Weeks, they sent to *Jamaica* two Companies of Foot, commanded by Col. *Walton* and Capt. *Lawrence*, both gallant Officers, who arrived safe, and served there two Years, but lost many of their Men by Sickness.

Two Years after, when *Nevis* was plunder'd and ruined by *Ibberville*, the Government of *New-England* generously raised 2000 *l.* for the Relief of the distressed People of that Island, and sent it in Cargoes of Flower, Salt, Provisions, and Materials for building, on board two Ships, neither desiring nor receiving any Returns, when that Island came into more prosperous Circumstances.

The *New-England* Privateers, and Letter of Mark Ships were successful in their Captures during this War with *France*, and the Colony remained in a flourishing and quiet Condition, excepting the *Wranglings* among themselves about Matters of little Moment.

They took Part in the Glories acquired by the Arms of Great Britain in the War, to recover Spain and the *West-Indies* out of the Hands of the House of *Bourbon*. They were always ready to come into any Measures that should be projected for carrying on the War against the *French* in these *Indies*; among which, the Expedition to *Canada* was the most agreeable to them, as a means to rid them of the troublesome *Neighbourhood* of the *French* at *Quebec*. This was concerted before the fatal Battle of *Almanza*, and a good Body of Troops were intended to embark for *New-England*, to be joined by the Forces of that Province. The Design was great and good, and the Ministry that form'd it would have prosecuted it with Zeal and Vigour, had not the Troops which were intended for that Embarkation been order'd for *Spain* or *Portugal*, on News of the Extremity to which the Forces of the Allies were reduced in those Kingdoms. The Expedition to *Canada* was then so forward, that the Earl of *Sunderland*, then Secretary of State, sent an Advice-Boat to *Boston*, with Orders to the Commanders of the Queen's Ships there, and to the Person who had engaged to provide Stores for the Fleet and Army, to have all in Readiness, for the Forces were about to embark, and the Ships to sail; but the bad News before-mentioned was the Hindrance at that time. Thus was the Execution of that Project left to a Set of Ministers, who had nothing more in their Heads than how to secure themselves in their new Employments, by turning their Friendship from the Confederates to *France*. What Likelihood then, that a Design would be well executed, when it would, in such Case, have deprived the *French* of the means of increasing their Trade and Power in *America*. Be that as it will, 'tis certain that no Body, who consider'd the good Consequences of such an Enterprize, if successful, and was perfectly well acquainted with the Characters of the Persons that were employ'd in it, expected any thing good from it, towards answering the End propos'd by the Confederates by that War with *France*. The Officers and Forces, by Sea and Land, appointed for this Service, were such as promis'd as much as could be done by military Actions; but those at the Head of the Project were reckon'd both ignorant in such Matters, and very far from being hearty in what was pretended to by it.

The General, Mr. *Hill*, was Brother to Mrs. *Mashe*, which was thought to be the most prevailing Article of his Merit for so high a Preferment, tho' otherwise a gallant Man, and the Admiral, Sir *Hovenden Walker*, was known to have abandoned himself to all the Sentiments of those that were then about brewing the Peace.

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The Regiments embark'd were Col. *Kirk's*, Col. *Hill's*, Col. *Clayton's*, Col. *Windrofs's*, Col. *Kane's*, Col. *Disney's*, and Col. *Churchill's*. The Men of War were the *Edgar*, *Munmouth*, *Devonshire*, *Humber*, *Swiftsure*, *Kingsland*, *Sunderland*, *Montagu* and *Dunkirk*, which were to be reinforced by other Ships in the *West-Indies*.

After seven Weeks and three Days Sail, the Fleet of Men of War and Transports anchor'd in the River of *Nantasket*, near *Boston* in *New-England*. The Castle of *Boston* having given the usual Signal of the Approach of several Ships in the Bay, about Noon the Alarm began, and in an Hour's time the Troop of Guards and a Regiment of Foot were under Arms, and other Precautions taken for the Defence of the Place; but the Inhabitants were soon agreeably surprized with News, that the Ships arrived in the Bay were *English*.

Governor *Dudley* being then absent, the Gentlemen of the Council received General *Hill* and Admiral *Hovenden* at their landing, the Troop and the Regiment still under Arms. The Forces on board were order'd ashore, and to incamp in *Noddes* Island, where they were drawn up in Order of Battle. The Government of *New-England* made all possible Dispatch in getting ready their Quota of Men, as had been propos'd, with Transport-Ships for this Service; but when the Fleet miscarry in the River of *St. Lawrence*, and the Project was entirely ruined, the Projectors, or rather the Ministers in *England* gave out, that the Miscarriage was entirely owing to the Backwardness of the Preparations in *New-England*. The Publisher of the *Political State*, who was at first a Tool of these Ministers, tho' being bauk'd in his great Expectations from them, he afterwards return'd to his *Huguenot* Principles, writes thus, *October 1711*. "Those who had the principal Management of this Expedition were made to expect, that, upon the Arrival of the Fleet in *New-England*, they would find there all the necessary Supplies of Provision; but, contrary to their Expectation, above five Weeks elapsed before all things could be got in Readiness." But Mr. *Dummer's* Remark on this Censure shews, what a poor Excuse the Managers had Recourse to. "When the great unfortunate Expedition was set on Foot against *Canada*, the *New-England* People furnished more than the Quota assigned them, and provided all Necessaries for the *British* Troops in so short a time, that if they had not been animated by an extraordinary Zeal, would not have been possible; and such a Fleet and Army, wanting the Necessaries they did, could not have been dispatch'd on so short Warning from any Port

“ Port in England.” This Gentleman was many Years Agent for *New-England* at *London*; a Man of Sense, Learning and Experience. The Colony, at this time, had a good Body of Troops, two of their Regiments were commanded by Col. *Walton* and Col. *Vetch*, besides 5 or 6000 regular *British* Troops, and about 2000 Men of *New-England*. There were to march, from *New-York* to *Quebec*, 2000 *English* and 2000 *Indians* of the five Nations. Thus the whole Army, when joined, would have been above 10000 Men; and the Fleet consisted of 15 Men of War, besides Bomb-ships, Fireships, Tenders and Transports; a Naval and Land Force sufficient to have driven the *French* out of the Continent, and all the Islands of *America*, if it had been managed aright, and as it ought to have been. This Fleet was so shatter’d and broken by bad Weather, and bad Navigation, almost as soon as enter’d the River of *St. Lawrence*, that they got out of it as fast as they could, with the Loss of many Ships and many Men. A large, but a melancholy Account of it, may be seen in the News-Papers of these times, to which I refer.

Present
State 1711.
October.

The Assembly of *New-England* sitting soon after the Return of the Ships from the River of *St. Lawrence*, and a terrible Fire wholly destroying a good Part of the City of *Boston*, the Governor made a Speech, wherein, among other things, he said,

“ Before we proceed, I must offer you my sincere Sense and sincere Condolence of the Fleet and Forces sent hither by her Majesty’s special Favour.

“ I have had time enough, since the Account thereof, to consider the several Articles of her Majesty’s Command to this Government, for the putting forward this Expedition. I cannot charge this Assembly with neglecting any Particular; but, on the contrary, when I peruse the Journals of the Proceedings, I think there was Provision, and Expedition made in every Article, referring to Soldiers, Artificers, *Pilots*, Transports and Provision for the Service of her Majesty’s *British* Forces, as well as our own. I hope you will see Reason to consider and represent home, for our Justification, that it may be demonstrated that we were in earnest to do our Duty to the utmost for our own Benefit and Establishment, as well as her Majesty’s Honour and just Right set down in the Instructions for the Expedition.

“ Besides this great Article, you have in your View the most sorrowful Providence of God, in suffering so great a Part of this Town to be consumed by Fire, and, among the rest, the publick Buildings, which, if the heavy

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“ Debts that the War has unavoidably brought upon us, will
“ allow us to restore, this General Assembly must consider
“ what is proper for them to grant, and what Directions
“ and Orders are necessary to put upon the particular Per-
“ sons that will rebuild their Houses, to secure the Buildings
“ from the like Desolation.

The Town of *Boston* rose out of its Ashes more beautiful and more secure than before; in a few Years after the Conflagration, the Inhabitants there, and through the whole Government, continued increasing in Number, Trade and Wealth.

Early in the succeeding Reign, the Government of *New-England* was given by King *George* to Col. *Samuel Shute*,
Brother to the late Lord *Barrington*. This Gentleman had served in the Army under the Duke of *Marlborough* in *Germany*, and received several Wounds at the Battle of *Dona-
wert* in the Territories of *Bavaria*, where he commanded a Troop of Horse. The Assembly do not forget this, in their first Address to him, in Answer to his first Speech to them, in *November*, 1716, in which is this Paragraph.

Samuel
Shute, Esq;
Governor.

1716.

God, who has often preserved your valuable Life, amidst a thousand Dangers, in the Field of Battle, was then graciously pleased to reserve you, we trust, in Favour and Happiness to this People; and your Excellency having fought and ventured so far in the Cause of Liberty and Religion, the Marks whereof you will wear with Honour to the Grave, will, with equal Glory now defend the People committed to your Charge in their Rights and Properties.

The Assembly provided a very handsom convenient House for the Residence of this Governor; but I know not how they dealt with him as to Salary. I find, by his *Speech*, there was no settled Salary for the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor at that time. If Assemblies were permitted to chuse such Gentlemen of their Province to govern them as they knew to be well qualified for and worthy of the Station, nothing would be more reasonable than that they should make Provision for his Salary and Dwelling, as it is also when a Governor who is sent from *England* is agreeable to them by Knowledge, or an establish'd Character; but if the Case is otherwise, the *Assemblies* of *New-England* at least will never be easy in parting with their Money to such Gentlemen as come to or contend with them against their Will.

One would have little thought, when we were following the first *English* here in inextricable Woods, and had nothing of any thing but clearing the Way for them at prodigious Expence

Expence and Labour, that in little more than fourscore Years there should be Complaint of waſting of Woods and clearing the Country for Culture; but we ſee ſomething like it, by what Governor *Shute* ſays for a Law to prevent it.

“ Notwithſtanding the Law paſſ'd in *England* for encouraging *Naval Stores*, and for the Preſervation of *White Pine-trees*, his Maſteſty has been informed that great Spoils are daily committed in his Woods, in the Province of *Main*, and in ſome Parts of *Maſſachuſet's-Bay*, by cutting down and putting to private Uſe ſuch Trees as may be proper for the *Navy Royal*; therefore he recommends that all Laws againſt it may be put in Execution, and new ones be made, if thoſe are not ſufficient.” He propoſed to the Aſſembly the reſitting the Fort of *Pemmaquid*, or the building another, that might be a greater Security to the Frontiers.

The good Intelligence between Governor *Shute* and the Aſſembly, kept things in ſo great Order and Quiet, that little material offers in his time for Hiſtory.

1717.

In the Year after his Arrival, he made a Voyage to *Kennebeck River*, where he had an Interview with the *Segamores* or Leaders of the *Indians* in the *Eaſt*, who had received very ill Impreſſions of the *English* from the *French* Priests, who frequently viſited them from *Canada*. Theſe *Segamores*, intigated by thoſe Priests, challenged the Lands the *English* had fairly purchaſed and long poſſeſſ'd. And here 'tis fit to obſerve, that the *English* in this Province have the beſt Title to their Poſſeſſions, that of *Bargain and Sale*; a Title the *Spaniards*, and we fear, the *French*, have not the Pretence to for any of their *American* Settlements, unleſs the Example of the *English* had led them into the like Purchaſes. The *Segamores* gave themſelves grand Airs, and demanded that no future Settlements ſhould be made nor Forts erected; nay, not on Ground within the *English* Purchaſe; but Governor *Shute* told them, in Soldier-like Terms, *I will not part with an Inch of what belongs to us; and, as my Maſter has impower'd me to build Forts where I think neceſſary, if ſo it is, I will build one in every Settlement.* This plain Speech ſo diſturb'd them, that they roſe and went their way to a neighbouring Iſland, the place of their Rendezvous. The Governor would not permit any one to endeavour to hinder their going, but order'd the Man of War that attend'd him to looſe her Topſail in a ſailing Poſture, which the *Segamores* ſeeing, they ſent to deſire another Audience, which was granted, on Condition they laid aſide their unreaſonable pretenſions,

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Pretensions, and would come to a new Agreement, or rather to a new Confirmation of the former Articles of Submission to the Crown of Great Britain; which was done, and they covenanted not to give any Molestation to the English in their new Settlements. Twenty three Segamores sign'd the Agreement, saying, *We hope this Peace will continue as long as the Sun and Moon endure*; which was only a Copy of their Countenance, they seldom making any such Compact but with Intention to break it, as soon as they had an Opportunity to do it advantageously and safely, by Fraud or Surprize.

Notwithstanding the Peace so lately renewed and ratified, the Indians on the Eastern Frontiers stirred up by French Emissaries, were continually contriving to disturb or alarm the English, as appears by a Paragraph of a Speech made by Governor Shute to the House of Representatives at Roxbury, in August 1721. *Since I parted with the last General Court, the Indians, to the Number of 200, have march'd in a hostile manner, under French Colours, into the Town of Arrowseck, where they had a Conference with the Inhabitants of the Place, and afterwards deliver'd an insolent and menacing Letter to me, which was laid before the Assembly.* The Governor immedi-ly sent a sufficient Number of Forces to assist the English in these Parts. With these Forces went five Members of the Council, to demand the Reason of this Insult, and doubtless the Appearance of these Counsellors did not a little contribute to the blowing off of the Storm which was then gathering in the East.

The next Year an Event happen'd at Newhaven, in this Province, which would have alarm'd the Church, had the like been within our Pale. This Town had of late been augmented with an University, where were a good Number of Students, for whose Encouragement there was an Act or Commencement; at which publick Meeting several of them declared very formally that they were dissatisfy'd with the Church of New-England Ordination, and the Thought of it lay so heavy on their Conscience, that to ease themselves of it, they repaired to the Library in that University, where many of its Members were met, and one after another renounced their Pastoral Ordinations. These Students were Mr. Hart, Mr. Whitmore, Mr. Whiteley, Mr. Jackson and Mr. Brown.

In July, a Court of Admiralty was held at Newport in Rhode Island, for the Trial of between thirty and forty Pirates, taken and brought thither by Capt. Peter Solgard, Commander of the Greyhound Man of War.

1721.

1722.
Newhaven
University.

The

The Court consisted of

William Dummer, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.
Nathaniel Paine, Esq;
Addington Davenport, Esq;
Thomas Fitch, Esq;
Spencer Phipps, Esq;
John Lechmere, Esq; Surveyor-General.
John Menzies, Esq; Judge of the Admiralty.
John Valentine, Esq; Advocate-General.

Commissioners of Rhode-Island.

Samuel Cranston, Esq; Governor.
Richard Ward, Esq; Register.
Fahleel Brinton, Esq; Provost-Marshal.
Robert Auchmuty, Esq; Council assign'd for the Prisoners.

Their Crime was too flagrant and notorious to give the Court much trouble, a Crowd of Witnesses being ready to prove it. The Chief of the Pirates condemned and executed, were Captain *Gregory Harris*, Quarter-Master, *Waters Blade* of Rhode-Island, *Francis Leyton* of New-York, *Thomas Pewel* of Connecticut, *Daniel Hide* of Virginia, and 19 more Pirates were hanged.

William Burnet, Esq;
 Governor.

Before Governor *Shute* returned to *England*, he received Orders from Home to get an established Salary on the Governor; but the Assembly were in no Disposition to leave the Governor in a State of Independency upon them as to that Article. The same Orders were sent to his Successor *William Burnet*, Esq; who most strenuously insisted on such an Establishment, pursuant to his Instructions, but with as ill Success. This interested Contest between the Governor and the Representative, occasioned much warmth in the Assembly, and ill Blood in the whole Body of the People, which was now very numerous, their Trade become very extensive, and in a Condition to be rendered of the last Importance to the Strength, Riches and Glory of *England*, by furnishing plenty of Naval Stores of all Kinds for our Fleets. But the Affairs of the Province were perpetually put backward, by Mr. *Burnet's* still dwelling on the Establishment, and the Assembly's avoiding it with equal Zeal and Foresight. The People had before their Eyes the ruinous Effects of the Prodigality of *Barbados* to their Governor Mr. *Worsley*, which they daily groaned under, and could not take one good Step towards the recalling it. The *New-England* People often

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started such rash Establishment by the Assembly of Barbados, as an Example to them and all other British Colonies to take care how they fell into the like Error. After various Sollicitations in England to have Governor Burnet's Demand of an established Salary wav'd, the Province sent one of the Members of their Council, Jonathan Belcher, Esq; a native of New-England, well versed in their Affairs, and very zealous for their Welfare, to join with their Agent in England, Francis Wilks, Esq; to obtain a Voidance of the Royal Order, the Success of which will be seen by his Letter in Conjunction with Mr. Wilks, wherein, among other Things, they say, referring to their Complaint against Governor Burnet about the aforesaid Order, that my Lord Townsend, then Secretary of State, told them, *The Grievances we had complained of should not want his Assistance towards a Redress, and that while he had any Interest in the King, he would endeavour no Governor should be countenanced or protected in any illegal Proceeding.* Then follows what relates to the Disposal of Money and Fees upon Shipping: After which Mr. Belcher and Mr. Wilks add, *The Lords of the Council said, the grand Article of fixing a Salary still remained; and as the sitting of the Parliament grows nearer, we are now assured by the Ministry, that the Matter of fixing a Salary for the future on our Governors will be laid before the Parliament, we shall therefore be vigilant and careful to make the best Defence, and do all in our Power to prevent so great an Evil coming on the Province. We shall hear more of this grand Article when Mr. Belcher himself is Governor of New-England.*

For William Burnet, Esq; dying about this Time, the same Jonathan Belcher, Esq; was appointed his Successor in the Government of New-England only; and indeed the putting the three Provinces, New-England, New-York, and New-Jersey, under the Administration of Mr. Burnet, was very extraordinary, which cannot be said of his Genius or Government.

On the 8th of August, 1730, Governor Belcher, in the *Landford* Man of War, arrived at *Boston*, and was received with particular Marks of Affection and Joy. On the 24th he set out for his Government of *New-Hampshire*, and met the Assembly of that Province, in order to procure an Obedience to the Royal Injunctions concerning Salary, and accordingly a Settlement of 200*l* per Annum was settled upon him; but the Assembly of *Boston* would take no Example by it, as was his Intention. On the 9th of September the General Assembly of *New-England* met at *Cambridge*, and the Governor opened the Session with a Speech, where-

1730.
 John Belcher, Esq;
 Governor.

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in he says, " His Majesty's Commission published at my Ar-
 rival, told you of the King's having appointed me his Go-
 vernor of his Province of the *Massachusetts Bay*, in Confe-
 quence whereof I now see you with Pleasure, conven'd in
 General Assembly, (I doubt not) to pursue those Measures
 which may most of all conduce to his Majesty's Service
 and the Interest and Prosperity of this Country; and, af-
 ter the usual Topicks, he goes on, " Gentlemen, the King's
 placing me at the Head of his Government here, taken in
 all Circumstances of it, (without assuming any personal
 Merit to my self) is such an Instance of his Majesty's
 Grace and Favour to this People, as I want Words to ex-
 press. The Honour of the Crown, and the Interest of
Great Britain are doubtless very compatible with the
 Privileges and Liberties of her Plantations; and it being
 my Duty to support the former, it will also be my Care
 to protect the latter. I have in Command to communi-
 cate to you his Majesty's 27th Instruction to me, respect-
 ing the Support of his Governors in this Province for the
 future; I therefore desire, from the affectionate Regard
 I have for my native Country, that you will give your most
 calm and deliberate Attention to this Affair, of so nice a
 Consequence, and now brought to a Crisis."

This Crisis was an Intimation in *England* from the Board
 of Trade and others, that that Affair would be brought into
 Parliament, if the Instruction relating to Salary was not com-
 plied with. Then the Governor recommended to them the
 due Care of Trade, Manufactures, and the Preservation of
 the Woods, the Nursery for Masts.

The Council's Address to the Governor on his Speech con-
 sisted chiefly of Panegyrick and Compliment, that of the As-
 sembly was much to the same purpose. In *December* he sent
 a Message to the Assembly by the Secretary, acquainting them
 with his Majesty's Order in Council, respecting the Arrears due
 to the Children of the late Governor Mr. *Burnet*; he added
 in the Message as follows: *In this Order his Majesty is pleased*
to take notice, that you had at one Time voted your said Govern-
nor 6000 l. and which his Majesty commands me to acquaint
you in his Name, that he expects you now to make good to his
Children, or at least so much as shall appear due to him for the
whole Time of his Government, after the Rate of 1000 l. per
Annum. The Assembly passed a Bill for fixing the Governor's
 Salary; but as he said himself, *it was so ambiguous and un-*
certain, that it could not be expected he should consent to it. The
 Council it seems had fallen in with the Instruction, but the
 Representatives could not be brought to it, as by the follow-

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ing Paragraph in the Governor's Speech to them. *With you, Gentlemen, of the House of Representatives, this Matter more especially lies, for you must stand alone in your present unhappy Situation, and after my discharging my Duty to the King and to this Province, I do not intend to give you any farther Trouble in what I have so often urged to you.* By what follows we see that Mr. Belcher had extremely altered his Sentiments and Style, from what we read in his foregoing Letter in Conjunction with Mr. Wilks, the other New-England Agent; and indeed it is almost impossible that any Point should have the same view from an Eminence, and on a Level. *I cannot help mentioning to you the Opinion of your present Agent, that any longer Contention will be but a fruitless Spending of Money, and still bring this Province into a less Esteem with his Majesty and his Ministers. You may depend the King will take care that what he has now directed to, shall be finally effected: And as I have often told you, so I still fear, in such a Manner as may make you wish, too late, that you had come into an early dutiful Compliance.* I cannot help here comparing a Passage in the Governor's Speech, with another in his Letter when Agent. In this Speech the Assembly are advised to put an End to this unreasonable chargeable Dispute: In the Letter Mr. Wilks and he say: *We doubt not but at this Juncture the whole General Court will exert themselves, and come into an ample Supply of Money, and not lose so valuable a Privilege, for want of Money to defray the Charge of the Defence.*

But the House of Representatives continuing inflexible in their Resolution of refusing to settle any fixed Salary upon their Governor during the Time of his Government; he therefore dissolved the Assembly upon the 2d Day of January, and remained without any Salary at all. We meet with the following Minutes of the House before they broke up, January 1. "After the most serious Consideration of his Majesty's Instruction for fixing a Salary on his Excellency and his Successors, together with the Rights and Privileges of the People, we apprehend the House ought not to accede thereto; but at the same Time we esteem it the Duty of this House, as well as their Honours, willingly and unanimously to give their Votes in passing Acts for the ample and honourable Support of his Majesty's Governor." The old Assembly being dissolved, the Governor appointed a new Assembly on the 10th of February, and by the Election of the Representatives of the City of Boston, we shall find that the People were of the same Sentiments with their Representatives, by chusing, for the most part, the same Members, as were those of Boston.

Governor's
Salary con-
tested.
1731.

	Votes.
The Hon. <i>Elisha Cooke</i> , Esq; for whom poll'd	465
<i>Thomas Cushing</i> , Esq;	471
<i>Ezekiel Lewis</i> , Esq;	470
<i>Samuel Welles</i> , Esq;	468

The new Assembly chose *John Quincy*, Esq; for their Speaker and *Francis Foxcroft*, Esq; for their Clerk: But this Assembly being as steady as the former against establishing a perpetual Salary for their Governor, sat about 10 Weeks, and was dissolved like the other, and a new chosen, and this, like the other, of almost the same Members. To Instance again in *Boston*,

	Votes.
The Hon. <i>Elisha Cooke</i> , Esq; for whom poll'd	391
<i>Thomas Cushing</i> , Esq;	442
<i>Ezekiel Lewis</i> , Esq;	402
<i>Samuel Welles</i> , Esq;	366

On the 20th of *May* the new Assembly met, and having chosen the same Speaker and Clerk, proceeded to the Choice of the Honourable the Council, a very happy Part of the *New-England* Constitution; and if the Assemblies in our Colonies were alike constituted, and the President of the Council was the Commander in Chief, we should doubtless not hear of so many Complaints against ill Governors. The Members of the new Council for the incorporated Colonies of *New-England* were,

For the Colony of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, the Honourable,

<i>Benjamin Lynde</i> , Esq;	<i>John Chandler</i> , Esq;
<i>Thomas Hutchinson</i> , Esq;	<i>William Dudley</i> , Esq;
<i>Jenath. Dowse</i> , Esq;	<i>William Clarke</i> , Esq;
<i>Paul Dudley</i> , Esq;	<i>John Remington</i> , Esq;
<i>Samuel Thaxter</i> , Esq;	<i>John Alford</i> , Esq;
<i>John Turner</i> , Esq;	<i>Ebenezer Stone</i> , Esq;
<i>Symond Epes</i> , Esq;	<i>Joseph Wadsworth</i> , Esq;
<i>Daniel Oliver</i> , Esq;	<i>Thomas Cushing</i> , Esq;
<i>Thomas Palmer</i> , Esq;	<i>John Osborne</i> , Esq;

For the Colony of *Plymouth*,

<i>Isaac Winslow</i> , Esq;	<i>Peter Thatcher</i> , Esq;
<i>Melataih Bourn</i> , Esq;	<i>Seth Williams</i> , Esq;

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Esq; in their c
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For the Province of *Maine*,

John Wheelwright, Esq;
William Pepperel, Jun. Esq; *Sagadahock*.
Thomas Gerish, Esq; *Spencer Phips*, Esq;

At large.

Ebenezer Burrel, Esq; *Ezekiel Lewis*, Esq;

All that Governor *Belcher* said in his Speech at the opening this Session, touching the Grand Article of Salary, was in these Words: *As I have largely recommended to former Assemblies, so I now recommend to you, a dutiful Compliance with his Majesty's 27th Instruction, for the Support of his Governor for the Time being.* The Assembly still persisted in their Resolution to allow the Governor 1000 *l. per Annum*, and leave the Continuance of it to succeeding Assemblies, which the Governor accepting, put an End to this Controversy; and doubtless Governor *Belcher* acted in this Affair more in Obedience to Injunctions he received at and from Home, than out of a Spirit of Interest and Contention, which he shewed plainly, by declining to accept an Offer of 3000 *l.* a Year, with Assembly Limitations: Nor was his Compliance with the People without his Majesty's Approbation, with respect to the Payment of Mr. *Belcher*; but the Royal Injunction was still insisted upon for establishing a Salary on the Governor for the Time being. Salary settled.

In the mean time the Trade of this Colony was much prejudiced by Abuse in Manufactures, and great Differences arose betwixt the Province of *Massachusetts Bay* and that of *New-Hampshire*, probably on Account of the Woods, where grew those valuable white Pines, so necessary to the *English Shipping*.

Concerning these white Pines, we find a Complaint made by *Ralph Gulston*, Esq; Contractor for the Ship Timber for the *British Navy*, who met with so much Obstruction in his procuring these white Pines and other Ship Timber, that he was obliged to apply to the Governor for Relief; and the Governor recommended the Affair to the Assembly, who thereupon appointed a Committee to examine it; which having done, the House desired the Governor to issue a Proclamation, forbidding all Persons from giving any unjust Obstruction or Molestation to the Agents or Workmen of *Ralph Gulston*, Esq; in their complying with his Contract to furnish his Majesty's Navy with Masts; and a Proclamation was accordingly

issued, and also for preserving the King's Woods according to the several Statutes in that Case provided, and *David Dunbar*, Esq; Surveyor-General, gave this public Notification: "Whereas a Number of People, who call themselves Proprietors of Lands in *Sheepscott* River, and other Parts to the Eastward of *Kennebeck* River, have by their Agent Mr. *Waldo*, petitioned his Majesty upon their said Claims, and are, as I am informed, providing to send thither and take Possession of the said Lands, without waiting for his Majesty's Pleasure and Determination thereupon.

"I do hereby give notice to all Persons concerned, that I am directed by his Majesty's Royal Instructions, to lay aside 300,000 Acres of Land, bearing the best Timber, as contiguous as may be to the Sea Shore and navigable Rivers within the Province of *Nova Scotia*, to be reserved as a Nursery of Trees for the Royal Navy: I have, in Obedience to my said Instructions, made Choice of several Places from the East-side of *Kennebeck* River, and more especially in *Sheepscott* River, &c." We must note here, that the Right to all Trees of the Diameter of 24 Inches and upwards, 12 Inches from the Ground, growing any where in this Province, were reserved to the Crown by their Charter. This Reservation at first sight seems highly reasonable; but the Person by whose *New-England* Advices we received this Information, seems to have better considered the Matter, where he says, "It is to be fear'd that the reserving a Right in them to the Crown may be attended with Inconveniences when they happen to grow within private Men's Estates; for as the Crown must always act by under Officers and Agents, it has in all such Cases been observed, that such Reservations have afforded a Handle for the Officers and Agents of the Crown to extort Money from the Subject, and have always been a great Hindrance to Improvements; and in the present Case, this very Reservation will probably destroy the End for which it was made; for as all the Plantations in our Colonies are first made along the Banks of navigable Rivers, every Man will endeavour to prevent any Plant of the white Pine kind, from making its Appearance within his Plantation; so that no white Pine-Trees will be found growing, but at such a Distance from navigable Rivers, that the Charge of bringing them thither will be more than the Value of them."

1733.

A new Difficulty was raised by the Council and Representative, about the Disposal of the public Money: The Governor insisting upon it, that the Disposal of it was only in him. The Assembly, who gave the Money, argued from thence, that

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that that Right was only in them. We can enter no farther into this Debate, because it was determined by the Parliament in *England*, who voted, *That the Complaint*, contained in the *New-England Memorial and Petition*, was *frivolous and groundless*, an *high Insult upon his Majesty's Government*, and *tending to shake off the Dependency of the said Colony upon this Kingdom*, to which by *Law and Right they are and ought to be subject*.

Then a Member of the House of Commons complained of the Proceedings of the Assembly of *New-England* against *Jeremiah Dunbar*, Esq; for a Censure passed on him by the Assembly, for giving Evidence before that House, relating to the Bill for the better securing and encouraging the Trade of the Sugar Colonies in *America*. Then the Minutes of the Assembly, containing the said Censure, were read, and the House came to this Resolution, *Nem. Con. That the presuming to call any Person to Account, or pass a Censure upon him; for Evidence given by such Person before that House, was an audacious Proceeding, and an high Violation of the Privileges of that House*.

The Assembly sitting (December 1735) did a very commendable Piece of Justice in the Case of *John Appleton* of *Ipswich*, Esq; who presented a Petition, setting forth many Difficulties and Sufferings he underwent in the troublesome Times of *Sir Edmund Andros*, when he was grievously fined, and long imprison'd, for asserting the Rights and Liberties of *Englishmen*. Enough has been said of those troublesome Times in the proper Place. The Assembly taking into Consideration the Matter of the said Petition, voted that 500 Acres of unappropriated Lands be granted to the said *Appleton*, his Heirs and Assigns for ever. Our Informer here observes, *that there is still subsisting in this Province a virtuous and public Spirit, which is the chief, nay the only Support of any Country*. But it will be seen by our History, that this public Spirit of theirs has not been always so well approved, or so highly applauded.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Country, Towns and Forts; Of the Climate, Soil and Product; Of the Animals, and of the Trade.

ALL the Accounts of the *West-Indies*, written from the Time of the Discovery to the latter End of the Reign of *King Charles II.* have little or no Agreement, either in the

Articles of People, Product, or Trade; and therefore I shall have very little to do with them.

Length and
Breadth.

The Province of *New-England* runs near 300 Miles along the Coast, without reckoning the Angles. It is not any where in a direct Line above 50 Miles broad. Mr. *Neal* measuring by the *New-England* Accounts, makes it 330 Miles long, and 190 broad, from *Cape Cod* to the North-East Bounds of *New-York*; but I rather incline to think my former Account right. It lies between 41 and 45 Degrees North Latitude, is bounded on the *Terra Canadensis*, *New-France* on the North, by *New-York* on the West, by the Ocean on the South and East. By its Situation it is in the Middle of the temperate Zone, yet the Climate is not so mild, nor so regular, as those of the Countries that are parallel with it in *Europe*, as some Parts

Climate and
Air.

of *Italy* and *France*. The Climate of *New-England*, in Comparison with that of *Virginia*, is as the Climate of *England* compared with that of *Scotland*: The Summer is shorter and hotter than ours, and the Winter longer and colder. The Air however is healthy, and agrees with *English* Constitutions. The Weather is more settled there than with us. It is common in *New-England* to have a clear Sky for two Months together; and it is common for us to have a cloudy or foggy one for almost as long, with very short Intervals. Their Days of a good Length. The Sun rises at *Boston*, June 11, at 4 and 26 Minutes, and sets at 7 and 34 in the Evening; and December 13, the shortest Day in the Year, the Sun rises at 7 and 35 Minutes, and sets at 4 and 27 Minutes. The Soil is generally fruitful. The Remark in my former Edition is not indeed very singular, but in some Places more than others; there being no Country upon Earth where it is not so. About the *Massachusetts* Bay it is as fat and black as in any Part of *England*, consequently fruitful. The first Planters found the Grass in the Valleys above one Ell in Height, rank for want of cutting; but their Cattle eat it, and thrived very well with it. The chief Rivers in *New-England* are *Piscataqua*, *Connecticut*, *Merrimeck*, *Kennebeck*, and *Saco*. They are navigable several Leagues, and would be so much farther, was it not for the Falls. There are many small Rivulets, Brooks and Springs, and where these are wanting, a Well may be sunk, and fresh Water found within ten or twelve Foot of the Surface in most Parts. It is said there are several Mines of Iron; doubtless there is Iron Stone enough, Copper may be there too; for the North Continent of *America* abounds with it; but as to Lead, I suspect that the Writers are not so well informed as they should have been.

Length of
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There is Plenty of good Timber in the Woods and Swamps of *New-England*; but that Plenty is so much fallen off within ten or twelve Miles of the Sea, that we are told there is a necessity of a Law to prevent the Waste of Woods, which three or fourscore Years ago the Planters would have been glad to have seen wasted. Oak, Elm, Fir, Ash, Cypress, Pine, Chesnut, Walnut, Cedar, Beech, Aspin, Sassafras, and Shumack, are common here. Their Fir is of extraordinary Growth, for Masts, Yards, and Planks. The Shumack, not over plenty I believe, is of use for Dyers and Tanners; and as there is no want of Hides and Skins, nor Bark, there must be much Leather, and consequently sufficient Store of Shoes in *New-England*, if those Advantages are improved. The Oak has supplied the Shipwrights for building. The Fir produces Pitch, Tar, Rosin, and Turpentine, so much for our naval Stores, that we begin to wean ourselves from an Opinion of those Commodities in the *Baltick*, and to supply ourselves from *New-England*, and the Northern *British Colonies*, which have more than enough to supply all the Demands of the Marine in *England* and elsewhere, with good Encouragement and Management. The Trade of Shipping is here very flourishing; and there is no Manner of Comparison between the building here and that in all the other Colonies, which does not come up to one half of it.

All Sorts of Garden and Orchard Trees, which are planted, and grow in *Old-England*, do the same in *New*, insomuch that it is no hard Thing for one Planter to make 100 Hog-sheads of Cyder in a Season; and the Export of Apples to the Sugar Islands is one of the Trades of the Province. As to what is said of their Apples being larger and sweeter than ours in *England*, I am somewhat of an Infidel, because our Climate, as has been observed, is more moderate and longer warm than theirs, and the Fruit came originally from *England*. The same Observation extends to their Plumbs, Cherries, Peaches, Pears, &c. All Sorts of Roots for the Table are in great plenty here, as Turnips, Parsnips, Carrots, Radishes, much larger and richer than in *England*, tho' originally their Seeds came from thence. There are also Pumpions, and Onions good Store. As to Melons, I am afraid Writers speak too much of the Cold here to warrant their enlarging on that Article. Water-Melons and Squashes grow here, perhaps from Seeds that were first brought from *Portugal*, whither the Traders here have sent, and do send their Fish in great Quantities.

There is great Variety of Plants in *New-England*, different from those of *Europe*. The *Sabina Vulgaris*, or common

Savin, is found very often on the Hills, where it grows spontaneously. Mr. Neal having, from Dr. Mather, given us an Account of a Remedy to cure the King's Evil, I am the more willing to repeat it, because, since the Royal Blood of the *Stuarts* have been collateral only, our Kings and Queens have not attempted to cure it with a Touch; and indeed none of our Clergy have insisted upon their inheriting of that Gift, as they did in the Reigns of King *Charles* and *James* II. "The Thistle, called the *Bear Thistle*, very short and prickly, has a large and long Root, which, with a Decoction of a Root called the *Cancer Root*, and a sort of Devil's Bit, cures the *King's Evil*. Here's a Plant efficacious for curing *Inflammations*, and another, *Partridge Berries*, excellent for curing the *Dropsy*, and to cure the *Jaundice* there is the *Bleeding Root*." As to the Fly here, and at *Bermudas*, which the Virtuofos of the Plantations would insinuate to be the *Cochineal Fly*, I am the more loth to mention it, because, if it had really been such, the Experiment would have been made long enough ago; and the People of *Bermudas*, at least, have been richer than they are. The Worms which produce it breed in a Berry, which is here met with, and these Worms turn to Flies bigger than the *Cochineal Fly*, in which has been found a Colour not at all inferior to that of the *Cochineal*, and 'tis added, as to medicinal Virtue, much exceeding it.

Flax and Hemp.

Flax and Hemp grow here, as well as in the *Baltick*, which is worth Consideration and Encouragement: for it is most certain that we might be furnish'd with all Naval Stores from *New-England*, and might have been long ago, if due Attention had been given to the Methods proposed for effecting it, and for importing these Commodities from our Colonies; for these Naval Stores may not only be had here, but in *Carolina* and *Georgia*, in sufficient Plenty for all our Uses.

Grain. Indian Corn.

Oats, Barley, Pease, Beans, and all sorts of advantageous Grain are cultivated and flourish here; but the *Indian Corn* is the most planted. There was no other in this Country, before the *English* came thither. I shall insert the Account of it given to the Royal Society by Mr. *Winthrop*, who was a Member.

The Natives called it *Weachin*, and in some *Southern* Parts of *America*, 'tis known by the Name of *Mais*, or *Maize*. The Ear is a Span long, composed of 8 Rows of Grain or more, according to the Goodness of the Ground, about 30 Grains in a Row. 'Tis of various Colours, as *red*, *white*, *yellow*,

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Yellow, blue, olive, greenish, black, speckled, striped, and some-
 times in the same Field, and in the same Ear; but the
 white and yellow are the most common. The Ear is defend-
 ed from the Cold and Storms by strong thick Husks; the
 Stalk grows six or eight Feet high; that of *New-England*
 is not quite so tall as that of *Virginia*; and at *Canada* 'tis
 shorter than at *New-England*. *Thu. it rises as it goes more*
Southerly, and dwindles to the Northward, which is no Won-
der, or that it should lift its Head higher in a warmer Climate.
 'Tis jointed like a Cane, is full of sweet Juice, like the *Su-*
gar Cane, and a Syrup as sweet as Sugar may be made of it, as
 has been often try'd, *but with little Profit, or it would be of-*
ten try'd now. At every Joint there are long Leaves, or Flags,
 and at the Top a Branch of Flowers, like Rye Blossoms.
 'Tis generally planted from the Middle of *April* to the Middle
 of *May*. In the Northern Parts, the *Mohawk* Corn is not
 planted till *June*, and yet is ripe in Season. The Stalks of
 this sort are short, the Ears near the Bottom, and are of se-
 veral Colours. The manner of planting *Maize* is in Rows
 at equal Distance every way about 5 or 6 Feet; the Earth
 is opened with a How, 4 Inches deep, and 4 or 5 Grains are
 thrown into it, at a little Distance from one another, in the
 Breadth of a How; then they are cover'd with Earth; if
 two grow the Crop will answer. The Corn is weeded at a
 Hand's Length, and the Earth is loosen'd about it with a
 How. This Labour must be repeated as the Weeds come
 up. When the Stalk begins to grow high, a little Earth
 should be drawn about it, and on putting forth the Ear, so
 much as to make a little Hill, like a Hop-hill. 'Tis ripe
 about the Middle of *September*; it must be stripp'd as soon
 as gather'd, unless 'tis laid thin, to prevent its growing
 mouldy, or sprouting; the common way is to move the Ear
 together in long Traces by some Parts of the Husks left
 thereon, which is called *Tracing*. These *Traces* we hang
 upon Bearers within Doors, and will keep so all Winter
 good and sweet. The *Indians* thrash it as they gather it;
 they dry it well on Mats in the Sun, and bury it in Holes
 in the Ground, lined with Moss or Mats, which are their
 Barns. *Why did not Mr. Winthrop tell us, what their Culture of*
it was before the English came among them? for the How is so
much used in it now, that one sees there's no being without
it; yet the Indians had no Hows, and this way of Culture here
is wholly Anglicized. The *English* of late plant it with the
 help of the Plough. They turn up single Furrows, 6 Feet
 distant, then plough across at the same Distance, throw in
 the Corn where these meet, and cover it with a *How*,

or run another Furrow over it with the Plough. The *Indians* boil it till it becomes tender, and eat it with Fish or Venison, instead of Bread; sometimes they bruise it in Mortars, and so boil it. The most usual way is to parch it in Ashes, stirring it so artificially, as to be very tender without burning. This they sift and beat in Mortars into fine Meal, which they eat dry, or mix'd with Water. The *English* mix it into a stiff Paste, make Bread of it, which they bake all Day, or all Night. The best Sort of Food which is made of it, is called *Samp*; to make it, the Corn is water'd half an Hour, beaten in a Mortar to the Bigness of Rice, sifted, boiled, and eaten with Milk, or Butter and Sugar, like *Rice*; and this seems to be so pleasant and wholesom a Diet, that 'tis a strange sort of Folly in some that despise it because 'tis *Indian Corn*, and the *Indians* have no other Corn to eat. The *English* have also made good Beer of it, by malting it or making it of Bread. When they malt it, it must chit both ways, Root and Blade; to do which they heap it up at a convenient time, then take away the Top of the Earth in a Garden Field, 2 or 3 Inches deep, after which they cover the Ground with the Corn, and the Corn with the Earth; when the Plot is green all over with the Corn Sprouts, which will be in about 10 Days, it must be taken up, the Earth shaken from it and dry'd, and then washed and dry'd again on a Kiln. This Makes the Malt and that Beer which will be pleasant, wholesom, and of a brown Colour. The Beer made of Bread is more durable, and altogether as pleasant. To do it, they cut the Bread into great Lumps, as big as a Man's Fist, wash and manage it as they do Malt, adding or omitting Hops, of which they have enough, and a good sort of their own, as is desired.

No *Indian Corn* grows wild now, but both that and Kidney-Beans were found among the Natives. The *Indians* have a Tradition, that the first Grain of Corn was brought thither by a Black-bird, and the first *Bean* by a *Crow*. The *Irish* say the same of the Seed of the Apple they call *Cocquaghee*, that it was first brought so from *Spain*; but the Humour of deriving every thing from the *marvellous* did not prevail among the Barbarians only, the ancient *Gruks* and *Romans* were as fond of it as *Indians* or *Irish*.

There's hardly greater Variety and Plenty of Fowl any where than in *New-England*, as *Turkies*, *Partridges*, *Geese*, *Ducks*, *Herops*, *Sucks*, *Heathcocks*, *Swans*, *Widgeons*, *Dappers*, *Black-birds*; all sorts of *Barn-door Fowl*, *Crows*, *Ravens*, *Cormorants*, &c. Vast Flights of *Pigeons* come and go at certain Seasons of the Year.

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Nor is there in *New-England* more Abundance of Fowl, ^{Cattle.} than of all sorts of *European* Cattle, as Cows, Sheep, Goats, Hogs and Horses. The latter are generally of a smaller Breed than the *English*, not much larger than *Welsh* Horses, but very serviceable. They have a sort of shuffling Pace, ^{Swiftness of their Horses.} which yet is very easy, that rids the way to Astonishment. An Acquaintance of mine, about 10 Years ago, had a Horse from thence, which cost him there 20*l.* This Horse, when in *England*, went from *Bristol* to *Bath*, 10 very long Miles, in little more than half an Hour. It was bought by the Lord B——, at the Price of 100*l.* but unluckily died before it could be deliver'd, not of any Distemper it brought to *England* with it.

Bears, Wolves, Foxes, Ounces, Syrunks, are the Beasts ^{Beasts.} of this Country. The Wolves, a Species of wild Dogs, like our ordinary Curs in *England*. The *Indians* tame them when they are young.

Here are Elks Deer, Hares, Rabbits, and what made the most profitable Trade here at the first Settlement of the *English*, Beavers, Otters, Minks, Raccoons, Musquagh, Sables, &c. The most admirable Creature is the *Moose*, which ^{Of the Moose and the way of hunting it.} *Jes-Elms* thus describes, in his *New-England* Rarities. 'Tis about 12 Feet high, with four Horns, and broad Palms, some of 12 Feet from the Tip of one Horn to that of the other. His Body is about the Bigness of a Bull's, his Neck resembles a Stag's. His Tail longer than a Buck's, and his Flesh very grateful. He shoots his Horns every four Years. The manner of hunting it is thus: In the Season, which is the Winter, the Hunters sometimes run it down in half a Day, sometimes they are a whole Day about it, the Ground being then generally cover'd with Snow, tho' the Climate is 8 or 10 Degrees nearer the Sun than ours. The Beast sinks very heavy in it every Step he runs, breaking down Trees as big as a Man's Thigh. When the Hunters are up with him, they dart their Lances at him, and he walks slowly after he is wounded, till, spent with Loss of Blood, he falls like a ruin'd Building, making the Earth shake under him.

There are some venomous Creatures in *New-England*; but the Country is pretty well cleared of them since the Coming and Planting of the *English*. The *Rattle-Snake* is ^{Rattle-Snake.} the most noted here, as well as at *Virginia*, and other Continent Settlements. 'Tis four or five Feet long, and has a Rattle, consisting of about 20 loose Rings in the Tail, with which it makes a Noise for Assistance, when it apprehends itself in Danger. It is not so much afraid of a Man

as others of the same Species. Their Venom is said to be in a Bag in the Hollow of a forked Tooth, which breaks when they bite, much as what is said of our Snakes and Vipers in *England*, whose Venom comes from the breaking a Bladder when they bite. It infuses so much Poison into the Wound of those it bites, that 'tis mortal, if not remedied in a few Hours. 'Tis slow in its Motion, and curling its Body up, with its Head in the Middle, throws itself out at Length against the Object that has anger'd it. But this, and the other *American* Creatures, have now been so often seen and described by Voyagers and Writers, that the copying them is superfluous, if not impertinent.

Frogs, Toads, Batts, Owls and other Vermin, swarm where the Country is not well cleared, making so hideous a Noise in the Summer Evenings, that 'tis shocking to such as are not used to it. 'Tis heard at several Miles Distance, as plainly as if it was within a Quarter of a Mile, according to my Author; but he does not let us into the Reason why a Noise so far off should be as audible as one so near home. In the Midst of it a Bird is often heard, that seldom or never sings but in the Night, call'd *Whip poor Will*, because it seems to chaunt those Words in a loudly melancholy Tone; but the applying articulate Sounds to such sorts of Chiming, is more whimsical in this and other Birds, than in our *Cuckoo*, whose Name is that very thing pronounced in any Language in the World.

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The Fish in the Sea and Rivers here are excellent and in Abundance, both for Food and Traffick, as Cod, Thornback, Sturgeon, Salmon, Haddocks, Herrings, Mackarel, Smelts, Eels, Lampreys, Sharks, Seals, Porpus, Grampus, Whales, and other Fish, great and small. The best Months for fishing are *March, April, May* and *June*. Six or seven Star-Fish were formerly taken off the Shore near *Nantucket*, of which Governor *Winthrop* gave the Royal Society an Account, having observed that this Fish divides itself into no less than 81920 small Parts by Branchings, and is one of the most wonderful Works of the Creation; and it is not much less Wonder, that any one Man, especially a chief Magistrate, should have Curiosity, Patience and Leisure enough to find out and to tell those 81920 Branchings. Some Years since, there stranded on the Coast of *New-England* a dead Whale, of the Sort which, in the Fishers Language, is called *Trump*, having Teeth like those of a Mill; it's Mouth at a good Distance from and under the Nose, and several Partitions in the Nose, out of which ran a thin oily Substance that candy'd, the Remainder being a thick fat Substance,

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being scraped out, was said to be the *Sperma Ceti*; it was said so, and I believe that was all. Whales were often caught formerly between *New-England* and *New-York*, and if the *Sperma Ceti* had really been in the Nose of that, it must have been more common, and more cheap, than Experience tells us, it has been ever since this Discovery, and at this present time. As to the *Whale Fishery*, 'tis now almost as much a Rarity in *New* as *Old England*; the Fishery of *Cod* is at this time very great here, tho' still far short of that of *Newfoundland*.

We shall now proceed to the Geographical Description of *New-England*, and follow the Order of our former Edition, beginning with the largest and most popular Settlement, that of *Massachusetts Bay*, which now contains not only the original Patent for the Colony so denominated, but the *Plymouth Colony*, and the Province of *New-Hampshire*. Thus the Province of *Massachusetts* now extends from *East* to *West* in Length along the Coast, from *Scituate*, in *Plymouth County*, to *Saco River*, in that of *Maine*, near 110 Miles, and from the same Situation to *Enfield* in *Hampshire*, about 60 Miles; but 'tis narrower up in the Country. The Fort of *Pemmaquid*, often mentioned in the preceding Pages, was built on the Borders of the *Indian Territories*, without the Limits of the *English Patent*, in which the first County we come by is that of *Maine*, within the Government of *New-Hampshire*, whose Governor and Council are appointed by the Crown of *England*: but the Governor is always the same with the *Massachusetts*, yet the County of *Maine* sends Representatives to the General Assembly.

The Geographical Description of New-England, Massachusetts Bay Colony.

County of *Maine*. { *York*,
* *Falmouth*, * These Towns mark'd
* *Scarborcugh*, with an Asterism send
* *Wells*, Members to the Ge-
* *Kittery*, neral Assembly.

The Town of *Falmouth* had the Misfortune to have its Minister hanged for a Witch.

York gives the Name of a Shire to a small Part of this Province; but 'tis generally included in that of *Maine*, as *Cornwall* is in that of *New-Hampshire*, which, as a Province by itself, seems to claim the Preference in Denomination.

In *Cornwall*, or *New-Hampshire*, are *Dover*, *Exeter*, *Hampton*, *Cornwall*, or *New-Hampshire*, *Wadeck*, or *Newcastle*, *Portsmouth*, * *Edgar's Town*, * *Berwick*, * *Biddiford*, *Ile of Shoals*.

Most

Kennebeck,
Sir William
Phips born
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tage.

Most of these Towns have some small Fortifications, to prevent the Incurfions of the Eastern *Indians*, who might otherwise over-run the Country in 24 Hours. Six Miles to the Eastward of *Scarborough*, or *Saco*, is the Town of *Black Point*, Eastward of which are the Towns of *Sagadahock* and *Kennebeck*, where *Sir William Phips* was born; his Father, a Gunsmith, could beat no great Charge upon him, and, in his younger Years, he kept Sheep. His Father dying, his Mother let him go on in that way till he was 18 Years of Age, and then bound him to a Ship-Carpenter, with whom he served his Time, and took to the Sea when he was five or six and twenty Years old. As a Sailor, he was certainly very able, as also as a Pilot; but as for the Helm of Government, I find nothing in his Character that qualify'd him to sit there. At *Kennebeck* and *Sagadahock* are Stages for the Fishery; and on the Banks of the River *Saco* was a little Fort with 12 Guns. There were 100 Families in the Town of *Wells* before the last *Indian* War, in which it suffer'd much, having 100 of its Inhabitants carried away at one time into Captivity. The furthermost Northward towards *New-Scotland*, is *Casco*, into which *Saco* River runs. There are several other Rivers in this Country, as *Kennebeck*, *Piscataqua*, *Sagadahock*, *Spurnwick*, *York*, some of which are navigable several Leagues up the Country. There are also several good Harbours, as *Cape Porpus*, *Unstar Harbour*, *Piscataques*, and several Islands on the Coast, some of which are 10 Miles long. The inland Part of the Country is high and mountainous, consequently barren; but nearer the Coasts and Rivers 'tis more fruitful. The Trade of the Inhabitants is Lumber and Fish, some Beaver and other Furr. The County Courts are held at *Dover* and *Portsmouth* the last *Tuesday* in *June*, and at *York* the first *Tuesday* in *July*. The next County is

Essex.

Essex, which has **Amesbury*, **Andover*, **Beverly*, **Boxford*, **Gloucester*, **Haverhill*, **Ipswich*, **Lyn*, **Manchester*, **Merrimack*, **Newbury East*, **Newbury West*, **Rowley*, **Salem*, **Salisbury*, **Topsfield*, **Wenham*.

Salem.

Salem is the chief Town of this County, situated on the Northern Branch of *Charles River*. Here is one of the best built Churches in the Country; but it was put to a very ill Use in the Time of the *Witch Plague*, being generally the place of Meeting for the *Witch Judges*, when they began the Prosecutions of the poor Women, who were put to Death as *Witches*; more were hang'd here than in all

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New-England besides. It broke out in the House of the Minister here, Mr. Paris, whose Daughter was a main Evidence against them, having been frequently under the Power of *Witchcraft*, which her Father contributed very much to the Belief of. The Town is situated in a Plain, between two Rivers, and has two Harbours, Winter Harbour and Summer Harbour. Here the Planters of the *Masachusetts* Colony made their first Settlement, and a very good Trade is driven to *Barbados* and the Sugar Islands. It has a Market every *Wednesday*, and two Fairs in the Year, the last *Wednesday* in *May*, and the last *Wednesday* in *September*. The inferior Court is kept here the last *Tuesday* in *June*, and *December*, and the superior the second *Tuesday* in *November*. Northward of *Salem* is the high Promontory *Traquanzando*, now called *Cape Ann*, a Place for fishing, and a Harbour for Ships. A little higher is *Ipswich*, a large Town, situated by the Side of a fine River. The inferior Court is kept here the last *Tuesday* in *March*, and the superior the third *Tuesday* in *May*. *Lyn* is a Market-Town, and I was surprized to read in Mr. Neal, that there's hardly any Town in the Country that has a Market; for the Accounts we have met with of it name many Towns with Markets, and the Days on which they are kept. *Lyn* is situated at the Bottom of a Bay, near a River, which, on the breaking up of the Winter, empties itself with a rapid Torrent into the Sea. At the Mouth of the River *Merrimack* stands *Newbury*, pleasantly situated, where Abundance of *Sturgeon* are taken, and pickled after the Manner used in the *Baltick*. ^{*Sturgeon Fishing.*} The Society for propagating the Gospel according to the Church of *England*, have a Missionary here, to whom they allow 60 *l.* a Year: If the Design is to convert the *Indians* to Christianity, 'tis very pious and laudable, 'if only to convert the *Presbyterians*, the Society allowing them to be already Christians, what is wanting to their Salvation? If it is to foment Division for indifferent Matters, to support Bigotry and Animosity, 'tis a pretty long way the Missionary goes for it, and I am afraid his Errand is not so necessary as a Mission among the *Hurons* and *Iroquois* would be. On the other Side of the *Merrimack*, over-against *Newbury*, is *Salisbury*, where there is a Ferry; the River between the two Towns being half a Mile over, as broad as the *Thames* at *Gravesend*. Four Miles Southward of *Salem* is *Marblehead*, where there is another Missionary, who is not of the Religion as by Law establish'd in this Country. The above-mention'd Society allow him 50 *l.* a Year. Both these Allowances are very handsom, and much more inviting than many a

Wells

Welsh Curacy, which, however, the greatest Part of our Academists would prefer to the *New-England* Mission.

Ammuskeag
Rock.

The Soil of *Essex* County is not very fertile, except it be near the Sea Coast, where the Towns are built for the Convenience of Fishing. The River *Merrimack*, which waters it, is barr'd in some Places, or it would be navigable up very high within Land. A little above one of the Falls of this River, is a Place called *Ammuskeag*, where a huge Rock lies in the Midst of the Stream, on the Top of which are a great Number of Pits, made exactly round like Barrels or Hogheads of different Sizes, some of which would hold several Tons. The *Indians* knew nothing of the making of them, and 'tis impossible any one else should. Nor can it be guess'd very judiciously, how the Savages could, without Iron Instruments, work such Cavities in Stone. The Use the *Indians* say they were put to is childish and incredible, to hide their Provisions from their Enemies, in time of War, for which Purpose their God made them; but their God could no more make them than they could. Mr. *Neal* says, they seem plainly to be artificial; and, in such Case, the *Indians* of old, perhaps nearer *Noah* than *Columbus*, were greater Artists than the *Indians* are now, notwithstanding the Improvements they are said to have made in Knowledge by Commerce with the *Europeans*. We come next to the County of *Middlesex*.

Middlesex
County.

Middlesex has **Billerica*, **Charles Town*, **Concord*, **Graton*, **Marlborough*, **Medford*, **Reading*, **Shireburn*, **Stow*, **Woburn*, **Lexington*, **Cambridge*, **Chelmsford*, **Dunstable*, **LANCASTER*, **Malden*, **Newton*, **Oxford*, **Sudbury*, **East Waterton*, **West Waterton*, **Worcester*, **Framlingham*, **Weston*.

Cambridge.

Cambridge is the chief Town of this County; it was at first called *New-Town*, situated in the North Branch of *Charles River*, a few Miles from *Boston*. There are several fine Streets, with good Houses in it. The Inferior Court is held here the second Tuesday in *September*, and the Superior the last Tuesday in *July*. It changed its Name from *New-Town* to *Cambridge* upon the founding the University here, of which I have said something already, and shall say more in the next Chapter, which treats of nothing else.

Charles
Town.

Charles Town, the Mother of *Boston*, is much more populous than *Cambridge*, and exceeds it much in respect of Trade, being situated between two Rivers, *Mistick River* and *Charles River*.

River, and parted from *Boston* only by the latter, over which there is a Ferry so well tended, that a Bridge would not be much more convenient, except in Winter, when the Ice will neither bear, nor suffer a Boat to move through it. Tho' the River is much broader about the Town, it is not wider in the Ferry Passage than the *Thames* between *London* and *Southwark*. The Profits of this Ferry belong to *Harvard-College* in *Cambridge*, and are considerable. The Town is so large, as to take up all the Space between the two Rivers. 'Tis beautify'd with a handfom large Church, a Market-place by the River side, and two long Streets leading down to it. The Inferior Court is kept here the second Tuesday in *March* and *December*, and the Superior the last Tuesday in *January*. Capt. *Vring* writes, that *Charles Town* is divided from *Boston* by a large navigable River, which runs several Miles up the Country. It is near half as big, but not so conveniently situated for Trade, tho' capable of being made as strong, it standing also on a *Peninsula*. 'Tis said 1000 Vessels clear annually from these two Towns only, more than from all the *European Colonies* in *America* not in *English Hands*. *Reading* is a pretty populous Town, not very well built, but commodiously situated on the Banks of a great Lake. There are two Mills in it, one for Grist, and another to saw Boards, for which it surely cannot want Employ, there is so much Fir in the Country, and the Boards it makes being so good a Commodity in the Sugar Islands.

Watertown is noted for its Fairs held there the first Tuesday in *June*, and the first in *September*. The Rivers are small in this County, but there are a great many of them, which watering the Pastures render it one of the pleafantest and fruit-fullest Spots of Ground in *New-England*. The Fields are full of Cattle of all sorts, and the Market at *Boston* is plentifully supply'd by it for Exportation, with Beef, Pork, &c. besides for a home Consumption. The Hills are cover'd with sheep, and both together resemble *Devonshire* in *England*.

Suffolk County is next, and therein are the following *Suffolk* Towns,

* *Braintree*, * *Dedham*, * *Dorchester*, * *Hingham*, *Hull*, *Medfield*, * *Mendon*, * *Milton*, * *Roxbury*, * *Weymouth*, *Woodstock*, * *Wrentham*, *Brocklin*, *Needham*.

The Capital of this County is *Boston*, the Capital of *New-England*, and the biggest City in *America*, except two or three on the *Spanish Continent*. 'Tis pleasantly situated in a *Peninsula*, about 4 Miles in Compass, at the Bottom of a fine Bay, the *Massachusetts*, guarded from the Roughness of the *Ocean* by several Rocks appearing above Water, and by a-

The Castle.

bove a dozen Islands, many of which are inhabited, and one, called *Nettles Island*, within these few Years was esteemed worth 2 or 300 *l.* a Year to the Owner, Col. *Shrimpton*. There is but one common and safe Passage into the *Bay*, and that not very broad, there being hardly room for three Ships to come in a breast; but being once in, there is room for the Anchorage of 500 Sail. There is room for such Anchorage in so many of the Bays and Harbours of the *British Plantations in America*, that this Situation is not so extraordinary as at the first Discovery. The most remarkable of these Islands is called *Castle Island*, from the Castle there built. It stands about a League from the Town, upon the main Channel leading to it, and is so conveniently situated, that no Ship of Burden can approach the Town without the Hazard of being torn in Pieces by its Cannon. In King *Charles* and King *James's* time the Fortifications here were very irregular, and those Princes could not have much at Heart the Safety of a People, who chose rather to live among Savages in *America*, than among Proctors and Pursivants in *England*. King *William* sent Col. *Romer*, a famous Engineer, to *Boston*, to repair the Fortifications, instead of which, he demolish'd all the old Works, and raised new, which render'd it the most regular Fortress in the *British Plantations*; to which was given the Name of *Fort William*. 'Tis mounted with about 100 Pieces of Ordnance, 20 of which were given to the Province by Queen *Anne*, and are placed on a Platform near High Water Mark, so as to take a Ship *Fore* and *Aft*, before she can bring her Broadfides to bear against the Castle. Some of these Cannon are 42 Pounders; five hundred able Men are exempted from all Military Duty in times of War, to be ready to attend the Service of the Castle at an Hour's Warning, upon any Signal of the Approach of an Enemy, which I think there is no great Danger of at *Boston*, where, in 24 Hours time, might 10000 effective Men, well arm'd, be ready for their Defence. To prevent all possible Surprize, there is a Light House built on a Rock, appearing above Water, about 2 long Leagues from the Town, which, in time of War, makes a Signal to the Castle, and the Castle to the Town, by hoisting and lowering the *Union Flag* so many times as there are Ships approaching, which, if they exceed a certain Number, the Castle fires three Guns, to alarm the Town of *Boston*; and the Governor, if need be, orders a *Beach* to be fix'd, which alarms all the adjacent Country; so that unless an Enemy can be supposed to sail by so many Islands and Rocks in a Fog, the Town of *Boston* must have six or

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more Hours to prepare for their Reception; but supposing they might pass the Castle, there are two Batteries at the North and South End of the Town, which command the whole Bay and makes it impossible for an Enemy's Ship of Burthen to ride there in safety; while the Merchant-men and small Craft may retire up into Charles River, out of Reach of the Cannon.

It is equally impossible for any Ship to be run away with out of this Harbour by a Pirate; for the Castle suffers no Ship outward bound to pass without a *Permit* from the Governor, which is not granted without a Clearing at the Custom-house, and the usual Notice of Sailing, by loosing the Fore-Topfail.

The Bay of *Boston* is spacious enough to contain in a manner the Navy Royal of *England*: The Masts of Ships here, at the proper Season of the Year, make a kind of Wood of Trees, like that which we see upon the River *Thames* about *Wapping* and *Limehouse*, which may be easily imagined, when we consider that by the Computation, given into the Collectors of his Majesty's Customs to the Governor, upon the building of the Light-house, it appeared that there was 24,000 Tons of Shipping cleared annually.

There is a large Peer at the Bottom of the Bay 1800 or 2000 ^{The Peer} long, with a Row of Warehouses on the North-side. The Peer runs so far into the Bay, that Ships of the greatest Burthen may unlade without the Help of Boats and Lighters. The chief Street of the Town comes down to the Head of the Peer; at the upper End of it is the Town-House, or Exchange, a fine Building, containing, besides the Walk for the Merchants, the Council Chamber, the House of Commons, and a spacious Room for the Courts of Justice. The Exchange is surrounded with Bookfellers Shops, which have a good Trade. There are five Printing-Houses, at one of which the *Boston Gazette* is printed, and comes out twice a Week. The Presses here are generally full of Work, which is in a great measure owing to the Colleges and Schools for useful Learning in *New-England*; whereas at *New-York* there is but one little Bookfeller's Shop, and none at all in *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Carolina*, *Barbados*, and the Sugar Islands.

The Town of *Boston* lies in the Form of a half Moon, round the Harbour, and consisting of between 3 and 4000 Houses, must make an agreeable Prospect, the surrounding Shore being high, the Streets large, and the Buildings beautiful. The Goodness of the Pavement may compare with most in *London*; to gallop a Horse on it is 3 s. 4 d.

Inhabitants. forfeit. One may guess at the Number of the Inhabitants in *Boston*, by the Bills of Mortality, which all political Arithmeticians make their chief Rule to go by, and they stood thus twenty Years ago.

	<i>Whites</i>	334
	<i>Negroes and Indians</i>	46
<i>Bills of Mortality.</i>		<hr/>
		380
	Decreased that Year	71
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Now taking half the *Decrease*, which one may suppose to be the Medium between the Increase and Decrease, it will make the Weekly Bills in one Year 415. Mr. Neal's Remark is, "if we compute the Inhabitants of *London* and the adjacent Places, within the Bills of Mortality, about a *Million*, those of *Boston* will in a Proportion amount to 19 or 20000. Whence it appears that the Town is considerably increased within these 10 or 12 Years, and much more within these 20 or 30 Years." When I published my first Edition of the *British Empire in America*, 30 Years ago, the Militia of *Boston* consisted of four Companies of Foot only; whereas ten Years after that, it consisted of eight Companies, and one Troop of Horse. The Number of Inhabitants being considerably increased since that, if it is in proportion to the Number of Inhabitants in 1708, that Number must be now doubled, as that of the Militia is, which makes 24000, and the doubling of the Militia being within ten Years of my Time, and the Town has been increasing twenty Years since that, I see no Reason to compute the Number of Inhabitants at less than 24000, which is one Third more than the Computation of the City of *Exeter*, and consequently *Boston* is one Third bigger than that City, which I take to be pretty near the Matter. Again, if the Militia in 1708 was 600, when the Inhabitants were 10000; and in 1718 it was 2000, the Inhabitants must, in proportion to that, be much more than 30000, which they are not; and if we keep to the Abatement 24000, I believe it is as well guess'd as a Thing of this Nature can be, at such a Distance of Place and Time.

Churches. There are ten Churches in *Boston*, which are,

<i>Old Church.</i>	<i>New South Church.</i>
<i>North Church.</i>	<i>The Church of England Church.</i>
<i>South Church.</i>	<i>The French Church.</i>
<i>New Church.</i>	<i>The Baptist Meeting.</i>
<i>New North Church.</i>	<i>The Quakers Meeting.</i>

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Vring says the Anglican Church was of Wood when he was there about the Year 1710, but there was another building with Brick.

The Conversation in this Town is as polite as in most of the Cities and Towns of England; many of their Merchants having traded into Europe, and those that staid at home having the Advantage of Society with Travellers; so that a Gentleman from London would almost think himself at home at Boston, when he observes the Number of People, their Houses, their Furniture, their Tables, their Dress and Conversation, which perhaps is as splendid and showy, as that of the most considerable Tradesman in London. Upon the whole, Boston Trade.

is the most flourishing Town for Trade and Commerce in the English America. Near 600 Sail of Ships have been laden here in a Year for Europe, and the British Plantations. Here the Governor commonly resides; the General Court and Assembly meet; the Courts of Judicature sit; and the Affairs of the whole Province are transacted: The inferior Court of Common-Pleas, and Quarter-Sessions of the Peace is held here for the County of Suffolk, the first Tuesday in May and November. The General Court of Election of Counsellors is, by the Charter, on the last Wednesday in May, annually. The Court of Assistants, consisting of Governor, Deputy Governor, and Magistrates of Boston, meet here the first Tuesday in March and September: They determine Actions of Appeal, Capital Causes, and Causes of Divorce: They may be called by the Governor or Deputy, as Occasion requires. Seven must be present, at which the Governor or his Deputy to be one, except in Case of Necessity.

The Market at Boston is kept every Thursday. The Fairs are on the first Tuesday in May, and on the last Tuesday in October, every Year, to hold three Days each. Boston sends four Representatives to the General Assembly. One has need of great Caution in trusting to Relations of Men in the British America, tho' written by Persons on the Spot; for either out of Ignorance, Negligence, or Partiality, they very often disagree. Capt. Vring, in his Account of Boston, not only says there is no Market here, but gives the Reason of it.

"The Town of Boston is plentifully supplied with good and wholesome Provisions of all Sorts, not inferior to those in England, and have Plenty of several Sorts of good Fish very cheap; but tho' the Town is large and populous, they could never be brought to establish a Market in it, notwithstanding several of their Governors have taken great Pains to convince the Inhabitants how useful and beneficial it would be to them; but the Country People

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“ always opposed it, so that it could not be settled. The Reason they give first is, If Market-Days were appointed, all the Country People coming in at the same Time would glut it, and the Towns People would buy their Provisions for what they pleased; so the Villages rather chuse to send them as they think fit; and sometimes a tall Fellow brings a Turkey or Goose to sell, and will travel thro’ the whole Town to see who will give most for it, and at last sell it for 3 s. 6 d. or 4 s. and if he had staid at home he could have earned a Crown by his Labour, which is the customary Hire for a Days Work.” Which shews us that these Country People have not their Heads much the clearer for the Clearness of the Air. The same Voyager informs us farther.

“ The Neck of Land between the Town and the Country is about forty Yards broad, and so low, that the Spring-Tides sometimes wash the Road, which with little Charge might be fortified, and made so strong, that it might be impossible to force it, there being no way of coming at it by Land but over that Neck. The Town is near two Miles in Length, and in some Places three Quarters of a Mile broad, in which are reckoned 4000 Houses, most of them built with Brick, and have about 18000 Inhabitants.”

This was thirty Years ago, and if there were then near 4000 Houses, after the Computation of political Arithmeticians, at 6 to a House, there must have been then near 24000 Inhabitants, which agrees very well with my former Computation; and adding to this the Increase of 30 Years, there will be great Reason to think I computed a less, rather than a greater Number. The Streets are broad, and regular, some of the richest Merchants have very stately well built convenient Houses. The Ground on which the Town stands is wonderfully high, and very good Water is found all over it. There are several Wharfs built, which jet into the Harbour, one of which is called the *Long Wharf*, it being 800 Foot in Length, where large Ships with great Ease may lade and unlade. On one side are Warehouses almost the whole Length of the Wharf, where the Merchants stow their Goods; and more than 50 Ships may lade and unlade there at the same Time.

Massachusetts-Bay runs in about 8 Miles to the Bottom, where the Town stands: It is fenced with Islands, Rocks and Sands, which makes it a very secure Harbour; the Entrance is narrow, and some Shoals lie on the South-side. Some small rocky Islands called the *Brewsters*, make the North-side of it.

Dorchester.

Dorchester is the next Town to *Boston* for Bigness, it also sends four Members to the Assembly; it is built at

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at the Mouth of two little Rivers, near the Sea-side; it has two Fairs, one on the fourth *Tuesday* in *March*, and another on the last *Wednesday* in *October*, every Year. *Roxbury* is seated in the Bottom of a shallow Bay, but has no Harbour for Shipping: It is well watered with Springs, and of Note for its Free-School: *Smelt-River* runs through it, and a Quarter of a Mile to the North runs *Stony-River*. *Braintree* is noted also for its Free-School. The Town of *Weymouth* is the most ancient in the Province, but is not now of so much Consideration as it was in the Infancy of the Colony. The Ferry at *Weymouth* is a well frequented Passage, the Price Twopence by Day, and Fourpence by Night. Here are no great Rivers in this Shire, but many little ones, which render it so pleasant and fruitful, that *Delaet* says, *Paradisum haud immerito dixeris*; it can scarce be unworthily called Paradise. Round the noble Bay of the *Massachusetts*, are no less than twelve or fourteen fine Towns, and pretty Valleys, between *Pulling Point* on the North Entrance, and *Merton Point* on the South. *Pulling Point* was so called, because the Boats were, by the *Eddies* or Roads, haled against the Tide, which is very strong in this Place. *Merton Point* is about two Leagues from *Boston*, on the other Side of the Bay, and has a small Village upon it, where Ships commonly cast Anchor.

To the *Westward* of this and *Middlesex* Counties, bordering on *Connecticut* River, lies *Hampshire*, which has the following Towns in it.

* *Enfield*, * *Hatfield*, * *Hadley*, * *Northampton*, * *Springfield*, * *Southfield*, * *Westfield*, * *Brookfield*.

This County being within Land and hilly, is not so fruitful as the Lands lying nearer the Coast, notwithstanding it is watered by the great River *Connecticut*, on whose Banks all the before-mentioned Towns are built. The chief of them are *Northampton*, where the County Court is kept the last *Tuesday* in *March*, and *Springfield*, where it is kept the last *Tuesday* in *September*.

The next County on the Coast to the South, is that Part *Plimouth* of *New-England* which was first planted by the *English*; it is called *Plimouth* from the Name of the first Town they built there, under the Auspices of the Council of *Plimouth*, the first Adventurers to this *American* Continent. This County contains the following Towns.

* *Plimouth*, * *Bridgewater*, * *Duxbury*, * *Marshfield*, * *Middleborough*, * *Pembroke*, * *Plympton*.

Plimouth is situated on the great Gulf of *Patuxet*, and contains about 400 Families, or 2400 Souls, which make a

considerable Town in *Old-England*; but *Scituate* has lately outgrown it, and by its having two Churches we may suppose the Number of Inhabitants to be proportionably double. There are two or three small Rivers in this County, which, as to its Soil, is much of the same Nature with that of *Suffolk*. Passing by Sea from this County to the next *Barnstable*, we must weather *Cape-Cod*, the highest Promontory on the Coast. Capt. *Gosnold* named it from the abundance of that Sort of Fish usually found and caught there. It makes a large and commodious Bay, capable of receiving 1000 Sail of Ships. A tenth Part of that Capacity would answer the Fishery and Trade here; but because such spaciousness is super-excellent in *England*, where large Fleets often put into Harbour, they that describe the Harbours in our Plantations may magnify their Extent with Pleasure.

The Entrance into this Bay is about four Miles wide, and Mr. *Neal* says, it is encompassed all round, even to the very Sea, with *Oaks*, *Pines*, *Sassafras*, *Juniper*, and other sweet Woods, which I suppose was rather the State of it when *Gosnold* was there, than at present; for such Timber lay too convenient for Trade and Shipping to remain standing on the very Shore, or near it, insomuch that I have been informed, that Laws are wanting in *New-England* to prevent the cutting in waste Timber within ten Miles of the Sea. The Accounts of the Whales in this Bay, which, if real, would make a most advantageous Fishery, agree not I believe with the present Times: However the Cod-Fishing is so profitable, that notwithstanding the Land of the Promontory is barren enough, yet it is as well peopled as most Parts of *New-England*. The Land on the adjacent Coast about *Eastham* is rich. Some of the first Christians among the *Indians*, were those near this Cape; and they were the more likely to be so for their Commerce with the *Europeans*, who came frequently thither to fish. There were six *Indian* Preachers among them about fifty Years ago; I question whether there are so many now, and if not, the main Reason may be, that they are not so much wanted, the *Indians* since that having bred up their Children in the *English* Tongue.

Barnstable
County.

The next County takes its Name from the before-mentioned Town *Barnstable*. Its Towns are

* *Barnstable*, * *Eastham*, * *Manimoy*, * *Truro*, * *Rochester*, * *Sandwich*, * *Yarmouth*, * *Harwich*, * *Nantuket*.

In and about *Eastham* were about 500 Christian *Indians*. They had four Schools for the Instruction of their Children in Reading and Writing, and six Justices of the Peace of their own Nation, to keep good Order among them, to whom the Minister, Mr. *Samuel Treat*, preached in their own Language.

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guage. We shall find that both the Continent and Islands hereabouts abounded with Converts to Christianity, which being the most refined Morality, as well as purest Religion, was worthy the Labour of those zealous Ministers to inculcate and spread: But I must needs own that the sending Missionaries to preach the same Religion in different Manners, is more apt to confound, than to convert; and where the Morals of those that call themselves Christians are more corrupt and wicked than even those of the *Indians*, as is too often the case, I do not see what good the latter can propose to themselves, by learning to live as well as to worship by such Christians. Let them begin with themselves first, said *Ninnicraft*, an *Indian* King, to Mr. *Mayhew*, whose Life indeed as well as Doctrines was a Lesson to the Heathens. I know the quite contrary of some that have been sent out by those that have taken the Charge of these Matters; and I believe *Maryland* and *Virginia*, if not *New-York* and *Carolina*, can afford too many Instances of the like Missionaries.

Not due Care taken about Missionaries

Opposite to the *South Bay* of *Barnstable* County, called *Monument Bay*, lie two Islands, one of them is named *Martha's Vineyard*, on which Capt. *Gosnold* landed, about the Year 1602. What an idle Story did the *Hollanders* invent, that it was discovered by *Henry Christian* about twenty Years after? However his Name was given to it, and that of *Block*, another *Dutch* Navigator, to *Elizabeth* Island near it, both which Isles, they pretended, were Part of their *Nova-Belgia*, or *New-York-Grant* from the *States-General*, who had themselves no Right in either of them. *Block's* Name remains still in a little Isle, near *Rhode-Island*.

Martha's Vineyard.

The Streights between *Martha's Vineyard* and *Barnstable* County, called *Malabar*, is a very dangerous Passage.

Nantucket Isle being under the same Proprietor and Preacher, Mr. *Mayhew*, Father and Son, the Progress of Christianity was so great there, that of five Congregations or Churches, four had *Indian* Ministers fifty Years ago. The other Minister was Mr. *John Gardner*. This Island sends a Representative to the Assembly, which was lately *George Banks*, Esq;

In *Bristol* County, the next we come to in our Course outward, are the following Towns.

Bristol.

* *Bristol*, * *Swansey*, * *Rehobeth*, * *Taunton*, * *Artleborough*, * *Little Compton*, * *Norton*, * *Dartmouth*, * *Deighton*, * *Freetown*.

Bristol, tho' not the oldest Town in this County, yet it is the biggest and most populous, and as to Trade, may stand next to *Boston*, as *Bristol* in *England* does to *London*, and the Harbour very commodious. Mr. *Neal* says this Town is built the

on the only Land acquired by Conquest, a much honest way of Acquisition, than *Ninnicraft* the Sachem upbraided Mr. *Mayhew* the Minister with. King *Philip* reserved the Country adjacent to himself, when he sold the rest to the *English*, for the Advantage of good Fishing and Hunting; and after he was conquered and killed, the Land was sold for defraying the Charges of the War. Being bought by Men of more than ordinary Figure, the Town was laid out with more Art and Regularity than any other Town in the Province, and is so well frequented, that there is great likelihood of its increasing in Trade and People.

Rehobeth.

The Town of *Rehobeth*, as has been observed, was first settled about 100 Years ago by a Number of *English* Families, who were streightened in their former Settlement at *Weymouth*. Its *Indian* Name was *Saconet*, every whit as founding as *Rehobeth*, in which there is somewhat of Affectation; and therefore is not always used, the Town being frequently still called *Saconet*. It is situated on a Circle, upon a Plain, about a Mile and a half in Diameter. The Church, the Minister's House, and School House, being in the middle. Not far from it, in the Road to *Boston*, lies another Plain above three Miles over, admired by all Travellers for the Evenness of it. The *Indians* broke into this Town, and burned forty Houses in the *Philippick* War. Notwithstanding that and other Losses, the Town of *Artleborough* is grown out of the Increase of the Inhabitants of *Rehobeth*, on the North-side of which it is situated.

Swansey.

Swansey is a large, scattered Town, consisting of three or four Villages, inhabited, says Mr. *Neal*, by so many Sets of Parties of *Christians*, as Churchmen, *Independents*, *Anabaptists* and *Quakers*.

Dr. *Mather*, in a Letter to Dr. *Woodward*, to whom every thing of the marvellous kind was most welcome, writes that, "at *Taunton*, by the Side of a tiding River, is a large Rock appearing above Water, on the perpendicular Side of which, next the Stream, are seven or eight Lines, about seven or eight Feet long, engraven with unaccountable Characters, not like any now known in the World." Whatever Characters the *Indians* had, they could not engrave nor write, and, according to Dr. *Mather's* Account of it, one may as well think they were engraven before the Flood as after. Near *Bristol* is a remarkable Hill, called *Mount Hope*, which King *Philip* delighted much in, and retired to when he was pursued and distressed by the *English*, whose Plantation near this Hill was forcibly enter'd by his Men, and several Houses burnt, which was the first Act of Hostility

*Mount
Hope.*

City in the *Philippick War*; and, to revenge it, Capt. *Pren-*
tice, with a Troop of Horse, Capt. *Henchman*, Capt. *Mosa-*
by, and Capt. *Cudworth*, the same who wrote against perse-
 cuting the *Quakers*, were sent with their Companies of Foot
 to scour the Enemy's Country, and a detach'd Party advanced
 to *Mount Hope*, of which they took Possession, the *Indians*
 flying every where before them, upon which they ravaged
 all the adjacent Country. *Philip* never recover'd it afterwards,
 and retiring towards this Hill in his last Extremity, was kill'd
 at the Foot of it. The Hill and all his Territories being
 seized by the *English*, in Right of Conquest, a Comick Poet,
John Crown, Author of two good Comedies, *Sir Courtly*
Nice, and the *City Politicks*, begg'd it of King *Charles II.* ^{Beigg'd by}
 who took a Liking to his Plays. When *Crown's* Petition ^{Crown the}
 was presented to the King, his Majesty knew nothing of the ^{Poet.}
 Country's being taken from *Philip* and his Heirs; and if he
 had known it, it appears not that he had any Right to take it
 from the lawful Owners, whose it was by Right of Conquest,
 at their own Expence of Blood and Treasure. He wrote a
 Letter to *New-England*, in which he wonder'd he had 'no
 better Information, tho' the Matter does not seem much to
 concern him. This Poet's Father was, I suppose, an Inha-
 bitant in the Northern Part of *New-England*, for he pretended
 to the Property of a considerable Tract of Land in *New-*
England, which being lost to the *French*, his Son made that
 Pretence for the giving him *Mount Hope* in lieu of it.
 And that he had a *New-England* Education, one may guess
 by this Tradition of him, that being sent to *Turin* with Mr.
Moreland, Envoy from *Oliver Crom-*
well to the Duke of *Savoy*, in Behalf of the Protestants of
Piedmont, he affected to be so curious as to make Remarks
 on the Rarities in the Duke's Palace, where observing 12
 Pictures ranged in a Gallary, he put down, instead of the
twelve Casars, the *twelve Apostles*, which I have known the
 People stand the hearing of without Contradiction; and doubt-
 less, in those Days, the People of this Colony were much
 better acquainted with the twelve Apostles than the twelve
Casars; tho' it is quite otherwise now. I have so seldom dis-
 covered, that I hope it is excuseable, when 'tis to divert.
 Some write that there is a Quarry of Marble in this Hill;
 but I believe that is some of the *Magnalia* of *New-England*,
 which want Confirmation. Off of *Mount Hope* lies *Rhode*
Island, by the Natives called *Aquetnet*, near the *Narragant-*
set Bay. 'Tis 14 or 15 Miles long, and 4 or 5 Miles broad.
 It was first inhabited by the *English* in the Year 1639. Those
 that withdrew to this Island were such as espoused the *Cove-*
nant

nant of Grace, and were under Persecution from those that sided with the Covenant of Works. What strange Whimfies breed in Men's Heads, to distract and disturb them. I believe great Allowance for Party must be made in Dr. *Cot Mather's* Representation of the first Settlers in *Rhode Island* and those that came after them; "A Generation of *Liber-tines, Familists, Antinomians*, whose Posterity, for want of Schools of Learning and a publick Ministry, are become so barbarous, as not to be capable of speaking either good *English*, or good Sense." But these Brutes, as he paints them, had so much Sense, that they kept their old Charters of Privileges, when Dr. *Increase Mather*, instead of the old *Massachusetts* Charter, brought home the new one before mention'd. The *Rhode Island* Charter is thus describ'd by the *Board of Trade*, in their Representation to the *House of Lords*, of *January 1733*. *Almost the whole Power of the Crown is delegated to the People, who make an annual Election of their Assembly, their Council and their Governor also, the Majority of which Assemblies, Councils and Governours being collective Bodies, the Power of making Laws is granted and as their Charter is worded, they can and do make Laws, even without the Governor's Assent, and directly contrary to their Opinions, no negative Voice being reserved to them as Governours. Their Laws are not repealable by the Crown but the Validity of them depends upon their not being contrary but as near as may be agreeable to the Laws of England.* The *Colony of Connecticut* kept also its ancient Charter of Privileges, and enjoy them still, as well as *Rhode Island*, neither of which send Members to the General Assembly at *Boston* and the Towns therefore have no *Asterisms* in our List; and as they chuse their own Assemblies, their own Councils and Governours, I am satisfied they will never be fond of changing their Constitution for that of the *Massachusetts*. The Charter of *Rhode Island* was procured in a great Measure by Mr. *Roger Williams*, who had been banished from *Boston* in the Debate about the *Two Covenants*; and was soon after chosen a Governor of the Island; where, notwithstanding the Influence of Mr. *Williams*, who was an *Antinomian* and the Number of that Sort of Men said, by Dr. *Mather* to inhabit here, one Mr. *Samul Gorton*, who had been banish'd the *Massachusetts* Colony, coming hither, and behaving unbecomingly, was sentenced to be whipp'd and expell'd from the Island in the Infancy of the Colony, when *Antinomianism* was predominant. About the same time they suffer'd a great Loss, which almost ruined, or at least dishearten'd them. They had built a Ship of 150 Tons, and freighted it for *England*

The Charter
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with the most valuable Effects of the Country. Five or six of the principal Inhabitants of the Island, and others of a lower Rank, took Passage in her, and setting sail in *January*, were never heard of afterwards. The Liberty of this Place tempted the *Quakers* to come first from *Barbados* hither, and thence they spread themselves on the Continent, as is before related. These *Quakers* and their Disciples nested mostly in and about *Newport*, a small Town in this Island, of which *Mary Dyer*, who was hang'd for *Quakerism* about 80 Years ago. I am very loth to think the People of *Rhode Island* more barbarous than those that hang'd up the *Quakers* and *Baptists* for Religion, and *Presbyterians* for Witchcraft. The reverend Historian gives a little into *Dr. Mather's* Description, in saying, *They begin now to be more civiliz'd*. If I have no other Opportunity to make a Comparison between them and the *Massachusetts*, than by the one being an industrious, thriving People, and the other Persecutors and narrow-spirited, I must think the *Rhodeans* are candidly dealt with. *Mr. Neal* adds, there have been two Churches in the Island, one after the *New-English* Model, *Presbyterian* or *Independent*, I can hardly distinguish them since their Union; the other according to the Church of *England*, of which *Mr. Honeyman* was lately Incumbent, to whom the Society for the propagating the Gospel in foreign Parts allows yearly; and truly, as *Dr. Mather* describes the Place, they would want a Missionary as much as the *Pequots* or *Mobegins*; but I have observed that the Doctor is no infallible Guide. The Soil of this Island is very fruitful, and the Place so pleasant, that it is called the Garden of *New-England*, which has invited over so many Inhabitants, that some were forced to return to the Continent, where they built the Towns of *Providence* and *Warwick*, which *Mr. Neal* represents as included in *Rhode Island* Charter, which appoints a Governor, and one on as good a Foot as any in *America*, which does not very well with what we read afterwards. There's a very considerable Trade driven from *Rhode Island* to the *Sugar Colonies* for *Butter* and *Cheese*, a sure Sign of the Fruitfulness and Beauty of the Place, for *Horses*, *Sheep*, *Beef*, *Tallow*, *Timber*, *Frames for Houses*, some larger, some smaller, according as People wanted, or had Money to purchase, by which the Traders have been enriched; and Trade and Manufactures are much more apt to polish People than Faculties and Degrees, at least without Genius. I find the Town of *Providence* in *Rhode Island* mentioned in my former Edition, and *Mr. Nathaniel Clap* as Minister; but *Newport* is the Capital Town of the Island, and there the Court of Admiralty

Inhabitants.

Fruitfulness and Pleasants.

rality is held, when it has Occasion to fit. Mr. Clap was then Minister of both Congregations here and at *Plymouth*, a very small Town. The last cited Historian writes, " 'Tis deservedly call'd the *Paradise of New-England*, for the " Fruitfulness of the Soil, and the Temperature of the Climate, which, tho' it be not above sixty five Miles from " *Boston*, is a Coat warmer in Winter, and being surrounded " by the Ocean, is not so much affected in Summer with " the hot Land Breezes as the Towns on the Continent are.

Providence
and War-
wick.

We have observed that *Providence* and *Warwick*, lying between *Plymouth* and *Bristol* Counties, were built by the swarming of the People from *Rhode Island*, who bringing their religious *Nostrums* along with them, transmitted a good Part of them to their Posterity. The Town of *Warwick* suffer'd much in the *Philippick War*, every House in the Town being destroyed, except one; but it soon recover'd, and both these Towns are now large and thriving. Mr. Neal says they are under the Government of *Rhode Island*, which seeming to be, by what we have said of it, one of the best Establishments in the whole Country, 'tis surprizing that the same Historian should write there is the least Appearance of Order in these of any Towns in *New-England*. I am not at all inclined to believe it, from their being against that *Covenant* which the Magistrates and Ministers of *Boston* declared for, being fully satisfy'd that I have met with much more desperate Notions there than *Antinomianism*; tho', as far as I understand it, I take it to be a wrong way of Thinking. The Account of them at present is, according to that Historian, " They live " in great Amity with their Neighbours, and tho' every Man " does what he thinks right in his own Eyes, it is rare that " any notorious Crimes are committed by them, which may " be attributed, in some measure, to their great Veneration " for the Holy Scriptures, which they all read, from the least " to the greatest, tho' they have neither Ministers nor Magistrates to recommend it to them. *This deserves a little more Thought than one can have Room for in a History* " They have an Aversion to all sorts of Taxes, as the Inventions of Men to support *Hirelings*, as they call all such " Magistrates and Ministers as will not serve them for nothing; and those of either, that serve purely for the Hire " are certainly not so publick spirited as these *Antinomians* " They are very hospitable to Strangers; a Traveller passing " through these Towns, may call at any House with the " same Liberty as if he was at an Inn, and be kindly entertained " certain'd with the best they have for nothing." The rearing of Cattle, and making Butter and Cheese is their chief Employment.

The Honour
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ploy, by which they have very much enrich'd themselves: The Society for propagating the Gospel, after the manner of the Church of England, have lately placed a Missionary in these Parts, the reverend Mr. Guy, to whom they allow 20 l. per Annum.

The next Counties we must treat of, take in the united Colonies of the *Connecticut* and *Newhaven*, whose Charter is still preserved as it was first granted, which, as often as the *Massachusetts* have under Consideration, cannot but be accompanied with some mental Uneasinesses. These two united Provinces are in Length from *Stoniton* in *New-London* County, to *Rye* in *Fairfield* County, on the Borders of *New-York*, 70 Miles, and in Breadth, from *Saybrook* in *New-London* County, to *Windsor* in *Hartford* County, about 50.

The first County we come to on the Coast is *New-London* County, in which are,

Stoniton, Saybrook, Preston, Dansick, New-London, Lyme, Lebanon, Killingworth.

The Eastern Parts of this Shire are pleasant and fruitful, the Western swampy and mountainous, which occasioned a great Trade for Peltry and Lumber.

Saybrook is the oldest Town in the County, so called from the Lord Viscount *Say and Seal* and the Lord *Brook*, two of the most staunch Puritains in *England*, whose Agent, Mr. *Finwick*, built this Town at the Mouth of the River *Connecticut*. *Lyme* stands over-against it. *Saybrook* Fort was the Security of the infant Colony in the *Pequot* War. The River *Connecticut* divides itself into several Branches, and is navigable above 60 Miles within Land.

New-London is situated on a River call'd the *Thames*. The first Branch of which River goes by the Name of *Glass River*, the next Branch by that of *Russel's Delight*, the third by that of *Indian River*. There's a small River which falls into the Sea at *Manchester*. The Trade of Ship-building flourishes here. I saw, not long ago, a fine Ship of 2 or 300 Tons at *Bristol*, which was built here, as I was then inform'd: The Ship-builders and Ship-owners found this Place very commodious for them. At *Stoniton* there does or did lately come a Packet-boat from *Northfleet*, in *Long Island*, very convenient for a Correspondence between *New-England* and *New-York*. *Hartford* is the next County to this within Land; it has no Seaport Town in it, which can be said of no other County in *New-England*; yet 'tis well peopled, and the People thrive and live well. The Towns are,

Hartford, Farmington, Glasstonbury, Middle Town, Windsor, Hadham, Simsbury, Weatherbury, Watersfield, Farm, Windham.

New-London County.

Hartford.

Hartford is the most considerable Town in this County. It has two Parish Churches, as they are regularly stiled in my History, and not with the Name of *Meeting-houses*, when and where they are by Law establish'd; but as the *New-England* Christians do not call their Churches by Saint's Names, such as *St. Dunstan*, *St. Botolph*, *St. Warburgh*, *St. Ethelford*, *St. Cuthbert*, *St. Chad*, *St. Winifred*, &c. These two Churches are distinguish'd by the Names of *Old Church* and *New Church*. Near *Hadham* is an Island in *Connecticut* River, which waters the Northern Bounds of the County. 'Tis call'd *Thirty Mile Island*, it being at that Distance from the Mouth of the River. In the Western Parts are several Ridges of Hills and thick Forests, which afford Plenty of Game, as it did formerly of Traffick, when Furs and Skins were in better Demand.

The two next Counties made the *Newhaven* Colony, which is joined to *Connecticut*. In *Newhaven* County are the following Towns.

Brainford, *Derby*, *Guildford*, *Milford*, *Newhaven*, *Wallingford*.

Newhaven. The Capital of this Province is *Newhaven*, much more considerable than it was when my first Edition was publish'd, on Account of the College here erected for Academical Learning, which Mr. *Neal* says, is like to prove a flourishing Foundation, and to be a great Blessing to that Part of the Country, and I heartily wish his Prefages may be accomplish'd. The Library here has been well furnished with Books by my worthy Friend, *Jeremiah Dummer*, Esq; late Agent for *New-England* at *London*, who was a good Judge of and Friend to Literature. The Name of the College is *Yale-Hall*; the Number of Students is computed at about 100, and I do not find that there is any Mifs of the before-mentioned scrupulous Consciences in the establish'd Church here.

Iron Mill. *New Brainford* has a small Iron Work on the Banks of a little River that runs into the Sea; the Place is from thence call'd *Iron Mill*. I am surpriz'd to read of a small Iron Work here, or any Part of this Continent, from *Acadia* to *Georgia*; for, according to the best Information I could get, and which was the better on Account of my being interest'd in it at the time of Inquiry, there is Iron (also Stone and Wood) enough in many Places, to supply all *Europe* with. Either my Information was false, or Ignorance and Laziness have had terrible Effects in this Article, which would turn better to Account than over-stocking the Markets with their present Product, Iron being in Proportion as valuable as Gold, and much more useful.

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Another little River runs into the Sea at *Guildford*, and another at *Milford*, proper Streams for such Work, if there's *Wood and Stone* enough.

The next County is *Fairfield*, in which are the following Towns.

Fairfield, Danbury, Norwich, Stamford, Woodbury, Fairfield Village, Greenwich, Rye, Stratford. Fairfield County.

There is no navigable River in this County; that which falls into *Hudson's River*, below *Newark*, not deserving the Name, tho' 'tis broad at the Mouth, but it does not hold so above four or five Miles, nor run twenty into the Country. Most of the Towns, or rather Villages, are built in small Creeks, and are of no great Note for Trade or Bigness. The Inland Part of the Country, 8 or 10 Miles from the Shore, is full of Hills and Swamps, which are uninhabited. It was formerly the *Mohegin* Territory, and in part planted by the *Dutch*, *New-York* Province bounding it all along to the Southward.

Besides the Island on this Coast already mentioned, there are *Falcon* Island, *Fisher's* Island, *Block* Island, where the Pirates never nested, yet they have frequently water'd, and 20 other little nameless Islands, which serve to break the Winds and Seas from the several Shores.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Government and Laws of *New-England*; of the University, and the State of Learning there.

SO much has been said of the Government, in speaking of the first and subsequent Charters, that we have little to add here. The Governor of the *Massachusetts* Colony having now under Jurisdiction that of *Plimouth* and *New-Hampshire*, so he is generally stiled Governor of *New-England*; tho' *Connecticut* and *Rhode Island* are not included in his Commission; and I have observed, that the Governor of the *Massachusetts* has always been Governor of *New-Hampshire*; for *John Wentworth*, Esq; had that Government in the Year 1717, when Mr. *Burgefs* had that of the *Massachusetts*.

The Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, the Militia Officers and Judges are now nominated by the Crown, and Of the Governor, &c.
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the Admiralty Court is within the Governor's Commission for the whole Country of *New-England*: It being observed that such a Court was left out of the Charters of *Connecticut* and *Rhode Island*, perhaps by Negligence; but that Fault will never be amended, if it was one. We have seen the Lieutenant-Governor of *New-England* hold a Court of Admiralty in *Rhode Island*, and proceed to Trials and Executions of Pirates there.

Council.

The *Council*, which seems to me to be more properly call'd the *Country's* than the *Governor's*, are chosen annually by the *General Assembly* out of the principal Inhabitants, most-ly Members of the present or former Representative. Eighteen of them must be Inhabitants or Proprietors of Lands within the Limits of the first *Massachusetts* Charter; four must be chosen out of the ancient Jurisdiction of *Plimouth*; three out of *Maine*, one out of the Country between *Sagadahock* and *New-Scotland*, and two within any other Part of the Province, within the Limits of the present Jurisdiction. They have great Power in the executive Part of the Government, much of it depending entirely on their Approbation; they are also a Part of the Legislature.

General Assembly.

The *General Assembly* is chosen annually, and meets at *Boston* the latter End of *May*. All the Members subscribe the *Declaration* and Oath of *Abjuration*. Indeed the People of *New-England* are so loyal to our Sovereign King *George* that they have made it a solemn Boast, and it may be well boasted of them, that they have not a *Jacobite* in their Country.

The new Council being chosen, at the Opening of the Sessions are presented to the Governor, who underwrites his Approbation in these Words, *I consent to the Election of Counsellors*, Given under my Hand this Day of S. S. I do not find that the Governor has a Negative upon this Election, or that it is any where complained of as a Defect in their present Charter. The *General Assembly* erect Courts of Judicature, levy Taxes, and make Laws from Time to Time, not repugnant to the Laws of *England*: But all such Laws must be transmitted thither for the Royal Assent, and if disallowed within the Space of three Years, to be void. The *Board of Trade*, in their Representations before-mentioned, say, with reference to this Constitution, "The *Assembly* chuse the *Council*, and the Governor depends upon the *Assembly* for his annual Support, which has too frequently laid the Governors of this Province under Temptations of giving up the Prerogative of the Crown, and the Interest of *Great Britain*." The latter is certainly for

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the true Interest of her Colonies also, inasmuch as their Prosperity depends thereupon, and therefore such Governors deserved severe Animadversion. In the Reigns we have lived under, ever since the Protestant Succession took Effect, the Prerogative of the Crown, and the Interest of Great Britain, have been all one; in which sense this Observation is worthy the honourable Persons that made it, but not in any other. Every one who has 40 s. a Year in Land, or 50 l. personal Estate, is a Burgeess. The latter Condition is warranted by all Reason and Equity; and where-ever it is wanting, there is a Defect. Every House-keeper paying Scot and Lot, is a *Freeman* of the Town where he lives; and if he is not so in *Old-England* as well as *New*, it must be because it would swell the Number; the Reason and Equity being the same every where. The General Assembly consisted lately of about 100 Members.

Their Number.

For Boston 4	Ipswich 2
Salem 2	Newbury 2
Charles Town 2	Chilmark } 1
	Tisbury }

All the rest of the Towns with an *Asterism* one a-piece.

I shall insert some of the most remarkable Laws.

Laws

Adultery. Both Men and Women to be put to Death. The Crime is abominable, and the law not much better, considering how likely it is to be abused.

Apparel. All Persons not worth 200 l. regulated.

Arrests. None, if any means of Satisfaction; and no Prison, unless a Concealment of Effects.

Bastardy. The Father to maintain the Child. Fact doubtful, acquitted, tho' sworn.

Blasphemy. Death.

Bread Assize. Corn 3 s. a Bushell. *White. Wheaten. Household.*

Ou. q^r. Ou. q^r. Ou. q^r.

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Burgeesses. To be Members of some Church, i. e. Communicants.

Children. A Son a Rebel, Death: The same to curse of like Parents.

False Witnessing, reaching Life, Death.

Gaming for Money. Treble Value. Use of Cards or Dice 5 s. Shuffle-Board, or Bowls, at a Public House 5 s. Dancing 5 s. Judges to whip or fine at Pleasure. To have Cards in Custody 5 l.

Heresy. To deny the 4th Commandment, the Baptism of Infants, the Authority of Magistrates, &c. *Banishment.*

Quakers. To bring one in 200 l. forfeit, to conceal one 40 s. an Hour, to go to a Quaker's Meeting 10 s. to preach there 5 l. Not an Inhabitant, *Banishment*; if return, *Death.*

Strangers to be whipped, to be branded with the Letter R on the left Shoulder, and to be banished; if return, *Death.*

Jesuits and *Popish Priests,* *Banishment*; if return, *Death.*

Indians. Their Lands in the Jurisdiction not improved by them, the Property of the *English.* To sell them Strong Liquors 40 s. a Pint, a Pound of Lead Shot 40 s. a Pound of Powder 5 l. a Gun 10 l.

Drunkards. Whipped in the Stocks, or pay 10 s. 10 d. after 9 at Night.

Liars, to another's Prejudice, 10 s. or whipped.

Marriages. To strike a Husband or Wife 10 l. None to marry Persons but Magistrates.

Money. *New-English* Shilling 2 d. less in Value than the *Old-English.*

Sabbath-Breaking 5 s. forfeit.

Saturday. Drinking or Sporting after Sun-set 5 s. forfeit, or Whipping.

Ship. No Healths to be drank aboard any Ship in Harbour, or Guns to be fired after Sun-set 20 s. forfeit.

Spinning. All Hands not employed, are obliged to spin.

Strangers. Christian 'Strangers flying for Tyranny, to be maintained by the Public, or otherwise provided for.

Swearing and Cursing 10 d.

Use-Money 8 per Cent.

Witches. *Death.*

Wolves. To kill one within ten Miles of a Plantation, Reward of 40 s.

Worship Images and Idolatry, *Death.*

Of the University and State of Learning there.

Harvard College.

The Laws of *New-England* being carefully collected, printed and dispersed, we refer to them for a more full and particular State of them, and proceed to the University.

Mention has been made of the Foundation of the University of *Cambridge* and *Harvard* College, in it's proper Year. The Town, about six Miles from *Boston*, was at first called *New-Town*, and had it's present Name from it's Academy. It was not incorporated till twelve Years after the Building of *Harvard* College, A. D. 1650, when *Thomas Dudley* Esq; was Governor of the *Massachusetts*, and Mr. *Dunster* President of the College; and in that, or the following Year, Mr. *Thomas Dudley*, Son I suppose to the Governour

was chosen President, of the Province of the Colonies. Towns for likely to do the Visitation there, more likely a Number of affected in ed there.

The President Treasury; b tled upon th and *New-Eng* venues of it, time after an Education of for propagati Indian-Colleg House, by t practicable to ing: And tru Ministers, re where the E measure almo who can prea not see there Labour in the make Scholar Boys from th Clerks, or Co Still due Pro duction of such or there were here, and bu rees there, tust needs ov those Days ers by the ducation in ve taken his It is not at emely scarce unded. I su

was chosen Fellow of the College, which consists of a President, five Fellows, and a Treasurer. The Governor of the Province, the Deputy-Governor, and all the Magistrates of the Colony, with the Ministers of the six neighbouring Towns for the Time being, are the *Visitors*, and much more likely to do the Academy Justice than the six Ministers; had the Veneration been in them only, the Prejudice of their Education there, and that of their Brethren and their Friends, being more likely to give them a wrong Bias, than the Judgment of a Number of Gentlemen, many of whose Posterity were to be affected in their Principles and Manners by what they learned there.

The President's Salary was at first paid out of the public Treasury; but the Profits of *Charles-Town* Ferry being settled upon the College, and several Gentlemen both in *Old* and *New-England* contributing very largely towards the Revenues of it, it was quickly able to subsist of it self. Stoughton-Hall. Some time after another College was built near the former, for the Education of the *Indians*, at the Charge of the *Corporation* Indians will not learn here. for propagating the Gospel in *New-England*, and was called *Indian-College*; but it is now converted into a Printing-House, by the *Corporation's* Direction, it being found impracticable to persuade the *Indian* Youth to a Love of Learning: And truly as there are likely to be no want of of *English* Ministers, regularly bred, who may gather *Indian* Churches, where the *English* Tongue prevails, which is now in some measure almost all over the Country, or *English* Ministers who can preach to them in their own Language, I do not see there is any great need of taking them from their Labour in the Fields, or in the Woods, or in the Rivers, to make Scholars of them, any more than there is of taking Boys from the Plough in *Old-England*, to make Justices Clerks, or Country School-Masters of them. However there is still due Provision made at *Cambridge*, for the Accommodation of such *Indians* as shall be admitted into the College; but there were never above four or five of them educated here, and but one, *Caleb Cheeschaumuck*, who took his Degrees there, and that was about fourscore Years ago. I must needs own that the *New-England* Taste for Literature in those Days was such, as made the *Indians* no great Sufferers by the Loss of it. The last *Indian* Youth who had his Education in *Harvard* College, was *Eleazar*, who should have taken his Degrees in the Year 1679.

It is not at all strange that, as we read, Books were extremely scarce in *New-England* when the University was founded. I suppose they were much more scarce in *England* Library.

at the Foundation of the Universities there. The first Supply of that Kind which the Library had, were the Books of Dr. *William Ames*. Professor at *Franker*, whither, doubtless, he was driven by the persecuting Prelates before the Restoration, as Mr. *William Ames* was from his Living, *Wrentham* in *Suffolk*, after it. Mrs *Ames*, his Mother, and her Children, came to *New-England*, upon the Doctor's Death. Sir *John Maynard*, the renowned Lawyer and Senator, the most Reverend Archbishop *Usher*, nay the famous Sir *Kenelm Digby*, though a *Roman* Catholick, yet a hearty Lover and Encourager of Learning, and several Others, as Mr. *Richard Baxter* and Mr. *Joseph Hill*, contributed to the Increase of *Harvard* College Library, as did the very learned Mr. *Theophilus Gale*, Fellow of *Magdalen* College, *Oxford*, who, after he was turned out there by the Act of Uniformity, travelled as Tutor with the most noble the late Marquis of *Wharton*, then only Mr. *Thomas*, and his Brother Mr. *Goodwin Wharton*, of great Distinction in the Parliament, and King *William's* Service, who gave all his large and valuable Collection of Books to *Harvard* College, excepting the *Philosophical* Part, which contained Things too abstruse for the Heads of People that were ready to go together by the Ears, for and against the Covenants of Works and Grace, Things very inconsistent with Raillery when in other Hands. Several private Persons have from Time to Time sent in their Contributions of Books to this Library, by which means it increased: So that before Queen *Anne's* Accession to the Throne, it contained near 4000 Volumes of the most useful Learning, by the most eminent Authors in the Faculties. It is pity it had not lain in the Way of the Donors and Collectors to have stored it more with the most polite, and that Eloquence had not been in their Thoughts and Practice as well as Science.

Mr. Nathaniel Eaton
President.

Expelled.

The first President of *Harvard* College was Mr. *Nathaniel Eaton*, a Scholar, as it is called in the worst Use of the Word, of whom otherwise I never met with a good Word but from some *Devonshire* Writers, who considered him as their Countryman, for he died in *Biddisford* or *Exeter* Jail. He was so cruel a Wretch, that he had two Fellows to hold one of his Pupils, till he had beaten him almost to Death for which the General Court fined him a hundred Marks, and expelled him the University. He was afterwards excommunicated for Immorality; upon which he left *New-England* and went first to *Virginia*, where Immorality was not so rare as Excommunication. From thence he passed to *England* where he lived privately, till the Restoration of King *Charles*

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the Second; and then conforming to the Church of *England*, he was preferred to the Parsonage of *Biddisford*.

His Successor in the Presidency was Mr. *John Dunstar*, a Man of as much Learning and Merit as ever set Foot on the *American* Continent. The President's Office is, besides governing, to examine into the Qualifications of all who desire to be admitted into the College; to inspect their Manners, to pray Morning and Evening, and to expound a Chapter, which one of the Students reads out of *Hebrew* into *Greek* in the Morning, and out of *English* into *Greek* from the New Testament.

Mr. Dunstar.

Qualifications for the Academy.

Daily Exercises.

The *Fellows* Resident are Tutors to the several Classes of Students. They have weekly *Declamations*, I believe enough; for it seems to have spoiled their Manner in *Stile* and *Disputations*, of excellent Use in Contradiction and Wrangling, of which they infallibly lead those into that have not a Fund of solid Sense and sound Judgment, to pare off the Excrecences of such Studies. The Students are divided into four Classes; the *junior* Class, or *fresh Men*, are a Kind of Servitors to the whole College, out of studying Hours to go of Errands, &c. from which none are exempted, unless they are admitted *Fellow-Commoners*, as was *Sir Harcourt Masters*, a very worthy Gentleman, at this Time one of the Aldermen of the *City of London*. The fourth Year the Students are admitted Bachelors of Arts. Those who reside in the College after they have taken their Degree, are distinguished for the next three Years by the Title of *Sir*, added to their *Sirnames*, till they go out Masters of Arts, as *Sir Dunstar*, *Sir Chauncey*, *Sir Oakes*.

Several Men of Eminence, both in *Old* and *New-England*, owed their Education to *Harvard* College. Though the Name of *Sir George Downing* does no great Honour, considering how after he had been a Tool to *Oliver* and the Rump, he became such, in so abandoned a Manner to *Charles II.* that, to please him, he betrayed his late Master *Col. Okey*, in whose Family he had lived, seized him in *Holland* as a King's Judge, and sent him to *England*, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and tho' his Genius and Spirit were both poor and unequal to his Character as a Knight and Ambassador; yet for that he was an Ambassador and a Knight, his Education at *Harvard* College is not to be forgotten. Here also was bred *William Mildmay*, Esq; Son to *Sir Henry Mildmay*, and elder Brother to *Henry Mildmay*, Esq; of *Shawford*, in *Hampshire*, where his Posterity, very nearly related to the Author, reside at this Day. Mr. *Mildmay's* Tutor here was Mr. *Richard Lyon*. *William Stoughton*, Esq; several Times Lieute-

Gentlemen there educated.

nant-Governor of the Colony, and Founder of *Stoughton-Hall* in this University, *Joseph Dudley*, Esq; late Governor of *New-England*, and many other Gentlemen of the Province were also here educated. In *Stoughton-Hall* are Accommodations for the Reception of such *Indian Youth* as have an Inclination for Academical Education. We have mentioned the Printing-House here; and one of the first Things printed there, was the *New-England Version of the Psalms*, which very ill deserved the Pains the Translators took in translating it, or the Expence and Care of printing it. Indeed I am loth to remember the Names of the Persons concerned in this Version, it being so little to their Credit; but finding them in another History, I copy it. *Mr. Eliot of Roxbury*, *Mr. Mather of Dorchester*, and *Mr. Wells*, were the Ministers selected for this Work, which they finished, and got printed in the Year 1640, but my Author says it did not satisfy; and tho' revised for a second Edition by *Mr. Dunstar*, yet still it is but a poor Business; and the Ministers of *New-England* should, one would think, have known that Learning and Languages will not do in Poetry, without Genius, whereas Genius will do without either. I gave Offence in my first Edition to some who valued the *New-England Version of the Psalms*, for the very Qualities which I condemned.

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“ This Version, tho' it is abominable, in what follows as to the Metre, has the Commendation of keeping closer to the Original than any, owing perhaps to the Corrections of *Mr. Dunstar*, perfectly well versed in the Oriental Languages. The excuse the Translators gave for their bad Verses and bad Rhimes, *That God's Altars need not our polishing*, as in *Cotton Mather's History*, is of the same strain with other of his Arguments, as if they had affected to be flat and rough, and could have done better, or that we ought not to sing our Creator's Praise in the best Language and sweetest Melody, according to the Example of the Divine Original, which they pretended to translate. If they wanted a faithful Version, why did they not do it in Prose? tho' even then, I am afraid the Roughness and Flatness would have been a Disgrace to the Sublimity and Beauty of the *Hebrew Psalms*; for among all their Gifts, they might with a little Modesty have seen that they were not endowed with that of Poetry.” An Historian is far from differing in Opinion with me on this Head. *If we compare*, says he, *the New-England Version of the Psalms with those that have since been published, it must be acknowledged to be but a mean Performance, that has very little Beauty or Eloquence,*

loquence. It is, but the The Lines are significant Partic I meddle. leaving Church upon those t Mr. Dun/ Mr. Charles C lege. He w of which a la by Sir Hen nearly relate much Honour Title. Mr. and after that ceeded Batch for. Being t Book of Spor to be read in and silenced acquainted w your from Ar of it in *Rustbu* ings drove hi *New-Englan* remained till th ing' then an was come to he was there Country shou stance of the vacant by th *Chauncey at Cambridge*, a Years: And *Historians* a in reporting t *Harvard Co* President live and was too displaced to own Choice, certain Dr. O the Uniform Orders from

sequence. It has not one Instance of it, nor any Thing like it, but the quite contrary from the Beginning to the End. The Lines are frequently eked out with a great many insignificant Particles, for the sake of the Rhime.

I meddle not with the Synod held at Cambridge in 1640, leaving Church Matters to Church Men, only touching a little upon those that have a great lay Mixture.

Mr. Dunstar retiring to Situate, the Minister of that Town, Mr. Charles Chauncey, was chosen President of Harvard College. Mr. Chr Chauncey President.

He was born in the County of Hartford. in England, of which a large Folio History and Description was published, by Sir Henry Chauncey, Serjeant at Law, and, I suppose, nearly related to this Mr. Chauncey, whose Merit does as much Honour to the Name, as either Sir Henry's Book or Title. Mr. Chauncey was bred first at Westminster School, and after that at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he proceeded Bachelor in Divinity, and was chosen Greek Professor. Being beneficed at Ware in Hertfordshire, when the Book of Sports, for profaning the Lord's-Day, was ordered to be read in all Churches, Mr. Chauncey was suspended and silenced for refusing to read it. He had been intimately acquainted with Archbishop Usher, but that got him no Favour from Archbishop Laud. There is a particular Account of it in Rushworth's Collections. The Severity of his Sufferings drove him at last into the Wilderness. He arrived at New-England, and settled at Situate in 1638, where he remained till the Hierarchy was laid aside in England; and having then an Invitation to return to his Church at Ware, he was come to Boston to take Ship in order to it; but when he was there the Curators of Harvard College, unwilling the Country should lose so valuable a Person, pressed his Acceptance of the Presidentship of the College, which was then vacant by the learned Mr. Dunstar's Resignation. Mr. Chauncey at length yielding to their Importunities, settled at Cambridge, and there spent the rest of his Days, near thirty Years: And upon this I cannot omit remarking, that some Historians appear to have had too slight Informations, in reporting that Dr. Owen was invited to the Presidentship of Harvard College in the Year 1662; for Dr. Chauncey the President lived 9 or 10 Years after that in the same Station, and was too well born, and too well bred, to have been displaced to make room for any other Person, without his own Choice, which then should have been mentioned. It is certain Dr. Owen was about removing to New-England after the Uniformity Act had silenced him; but he received express Orders from the King to stay where he was. President Chauncey

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Chauncey had six Sons bred in *Harvard* College to the Ministry, the eldest Mr. *Isaac* Chauncey, was beneficed at *Woodborough* in *Wiltshire*, whence he was driven by the *Act of Uniformity*, and was after that a very eminent Nonconforming Minister in the City of *London*. His Grandson, if I guess right, Mr. *Richard* Chauncey, Linen-Draper in *Cornhill*, is a very eminent Citizen and Trader. Dr. *Ichabod* Chauncey, another Son of the President's, was Chaplain to the Regiment at *Dunkirk*, commanded by the Governor Sir *Edward* Harley, Father to the first Earl of *Oxford* and *Mortimer*; and my worthy Friend the late Dr. *Chauncey*, a Physician of good Skill and Practice, at *Bristol*, was the President's Grandson. My Acquaintance with more than one of these Gentlemen draws this Remembrance of them from me. On the Death of Mr. *Chauncey*, he was succeeded as President of *Harvard* College, by Dr. *Leonard* Hoar, the first in that Station, who had his Education in the same College; after which he travelled to *England*, and commenced Dr. of Physick at *Cambridge*. He was also beneficed at *Wanstead* in *Essex*, I suppose by the Presentation or Interest of Sir *Henry* Mildmay, then Lord of that Manor, which he held in Right of his Wife, Daughter of Sir *Leonard* Holyday, Lord Mayor of *London*, and born in *Gloucestershire*, as was this Dr. *Hoar*, and perhaps a Relation as well as Namefake. He was turned out at *Wanstead* by the *Uniformity Act*, and being invited to be Pastor of the *South* Church at *Boston*, he returned to *New-England*, with a Design to accept of the Invitation, at which Time Mr. *Chauncey* dying, the Curators of the College chose him President, and he quitted his Pretensions to the Church at *Boston*. This Dr. *Hoar* married a Daughter of that much injured and murdered Lady, the Lady *Lisle*, who was butchered by Judge *Jefferies* at *Winchester*, for giving Entertainment to a Dissenting Minister Mr. *Hicks*, Brother to *Hicks* the Nonjuring Parson, if not Bishop, who had been with the Duke of *Monmouth*, which Lady *Lisle* knew nothing of. In Dr. *Hoar*'s Time there was a new Subscription for the College, the Number of Students being considerably increased. The old Buildings were not sufficient to receive them: To enlarge them Contributions were collected both in *Old* and *New-England*, the latter not so liberally as the Usefulness of the Work deserved; for out of about 1900 *l.* that was collected, above 800 *l.* was raised in the Town of *Boston*. Of the Contributions in *England*, Sir *Thomas* Temple, who had been both Proprietor and Governor of *New-Scotland*, gave 100 *l.* Dr. *Hoar* was so far from giving Content in his Presidentship that all the Students deserted the College in a Body; Com-

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plaints against him were made to the principal Men of the Province, who giving their Opinions in favour of the Complainants, the Doctor took it so much to Heart, that he fell into a Consumption, which put an End to his Life, about six Months after he was obliged to resign his Office, in which he was succeeded by Mr. *Vrian Oakes*. He was born in England, but brought over hither very young, and educated in *Harvard College*, where he took his Bachelors and Masters Degrees. He returned into his native Country about the Time of the Rump, and was made Parson at *Titchfield*, in *Hampshire*, where he continued till he was turned out by the Uniformity Act, and was made Master of the School at *Southwark*. Some time after Mr. *Oakes* was invited by the Church at *Cambridge*, to be their Minister, which he accepting, was soon after his arrival there, appointed President of the College, in which Station he continued to his Death, six or seven Years after, A. D. 1682. I have met with no Reason since my first Edition to make any Alterations in his Character. "This Man, excepting that he was very religious, does not seem to have had any extraordinary Qualities worthy the Station to which he was advanced." Indeed one cannot help taking notice, that there has been too little Care taken in the Choice of President and Fellows in the Univerſity, and Ministers of it to prefer such as had a necessary Mixture of Genius and Eloquence, with Reading and Rhetorick, of which others have observed, as well as myself, who all were far from wishing Discouragement in Reputation and Interest to this Univerſity.

Upon Mr. *Oakes's* Death, Mr. *Increase Mather*, one of the Ministers of *Boston*, was chosen President; but his Church not consenting to his removing to *Cambridge*, Mr. *John Rogers* was preferred in his Place. He came over to *New-England* at 6 Years of Age, and was educated in *Harvard College*, which in Mr. *Rogers's* Time had like to have been burned to the Ground, but was prevented by his providential shortning his Prayer, it being, as we have found, a part of the President's Duty to pray in his public Hall with his Scholars Morning and Evening, and without a Book. It had been always, and I am apt to believe is still the Custom, for the Presidents to think Length essential in Prayer; but it happened very extraordinarily that just as a Fire was breaking out in one of the Student's Chambers, Mr. *Rogers* was shorter than usual, and that Student returned Time enough to put it out.

Mr. *Rogers's* Character has so much Resemblance with Mr. *Oakes's*, that the same Sketch will serve for both. He died

Mr. Vrian
Oakes Pre-
sident.

Mr. John
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President.

died after he had enjoy'd his Office two Years; and then Mr. *Increase Mather* was chosen again, and accepted of the Presidentship of the College, with the Consent of his Congregation at *Boston*, in the Year 1684. He was the first President that was born in *New-England*, where his Father, Mr. *Richard Mather*, arrived from *England* 50 Years before, and was chosen Minister of the Church at *Dorchester*. There are so many of the *Mathers* in the Ecclesiastical History of *New-England*, and so much said of them, that one would think it might be almost as well called the History of the *Mathers*, as the Church History of *New-England*. Dr. *Cotton Mather* Son of this President, is the Historian, and he has not forgotten himself nor his Family in his Work, to which I refer, if the Reader's Curiosity will reach it.

Enough has been already said of *Yale College* at *Newhaven*, where we met with such edifying Instances of the *Light*, both without and within, to borrow a Phrase from *Quakerism*. The Students in these Colleges, and who are computed at between 3 and 400, are much more numerous in Proportion to the Number of Souls, than the Students in the Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*; for supposing the Number of Souls in *New-England* to be 200000, the lowest Computation, and the Number of Students 400; the Number of Souls in *England* to be 8 Millions, the highest Computation, the Number of Students should be 16000 in *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, and they are not half so many. During Mr. *Increase Mather's* Absence in *England*, the College was govern'd by Mr. *Job Leveret* and Mr. *William Brattle*. The University, at his Return to *New-England*, conferr'd the Degree of Doctor of Divinity upon him. It is not directly said that it was for his eminent Services, in his exchanging the old Charter for the new; but it is said, in the general, for signal Services. He lived many Years after that Honour done him, and had the Title of Rector, which he received from *Joseph Dudley*, Esq; King *James's* Governor.

Upon his Death, his Son, Dr. *Cotton Mather*, was chosen President, and the Reader being already sufficiently apprized of my Sentiments of his Qualifications for such an Office, I shall leave it to others to enlarge upon them. He is the same who, besides the *New-England* History, wrote the *Wonders of the Invisible World*, concerning the poor Creatures who were hang'd as Witches. It was publish'd by Command of his Excellency Sir *William Phips*, between whom and the two Dr. *Mathers* there was excellent Harmony in those Prosecutions and Exactions.

Mr. Increase
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The President
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Dr. Cotton
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Having no perfecter List of the Presidents and Fellows of Harvard College, I must desire the Reader to content himself with this, as I have been forced to do, much against my Will, through the Negligence or Indolence of those, to whom I often apply'd for Information.

Presidents of Harvard College.

- 1630 Mr. Nathaniel Eaton, expell'd.
- 1640 Mr. Henry Dunstar, remov'd.
- 1654 Mr. Charles Chauncey,
- 1671 Dr. Leonard Hoar, resign'd.
- 1675 Mr. Vrian Oakes.
- 1681 Mr. John Rogers,
- 1684 Dr. Increase Mather.
- 1702 Dr. Cotton Mather.

Fellows of Harvard College.

- 1643 Mr. Samuel Mather, } Fellows.
- Mr. Samuel Danforth. }
- 1647 Mr. Jonathan Mitchel, } Fellows.
- Mr. Con. Star. }
- Mr. Samuel Eaton, } Fellows.
- 1649 Mr. Urian Oakes, }
- Mr. John Collins, }
- 1651 Mr. Michael Wiggleworth, } Fellows.
- Mr. Thomas Dudley, }
- Mr. Thomas Shepherd, }
- Mr. Samuel Nowell, }
- 1653 Mr. Samuel Hooker, } Fellows.
- Mr. Samuel Bradstreet, }
- Mr. Joshua Moody, }
- Mr. Nehemiah Ambrose. }
- 1655 Mr. Gersham Buckley, Fellow.
- Mr. Increase Mather, } Fellows.
- 1656 Mr. Thomas Farvis, }
- Mr. Zachariah Symms, }
- 1657 Mr. Zachariah Bregden, } Fellows.
- 1658 Mr. Samuel Shepberd, Fellow.
- 1659 Mr. Samuel Willard, Fellow.
- Mr. Samuel Elliot, } Fellows.
- 1660 Mr. Peter Bulkley, }
- Mr. Nathaniel Chauncey, } Fellows.
- 1661 Mr. Joseph Whiting, }
- 1662 Mr. Samuel Stoddard, Fellow.

- 1664 Mr. *Alexander Nowell*, }
 Mr. *Joseph Pinch*, } Fellows.
 1666 Mr. *Joseph Brown*, }
 Mr. *John Richardson*, } Fellows.
 1667 Mr. *Nehemiah Hobart*, Fellow.
 1669 Mr. *Daniel Gookin*, Fellow.
 1670 Mr. *Ammis Ru-Corbet*, Fellow.
 Mr. *Isaac Foster*, }
 Mr. *Samuel Danforth*, } Fellows.
 1671 Mr. *Samuel Sevall*, }
 Mr. *Peter Thacker*, }
 Mr. *Samuel Andrews*, } Fellows.
 1675 Mr. *Nathaniel Gookin*, }
 1677 Mr. *John Danforth*, Fellow.
 Mr. *John Cotton*, }
 1678 Mr. *Cotton Mather*, } Fellows.
 Mr. *John Leveret*, } Vice-Presidents and
 1680 Mr. *William Brattle*, } Fellows.
 1681 Mr. *Samuel Mitchel*, Fellow.
 1681 Mr. *Nehemiah Walter*, Fellow.
 1685 Mr. *John Whit*, Fellow.
 Mr. *Paul Dudley*, }
 1691 Mr. *Bejamin Wadsworth*, } Fellows.
 Mr. *Ebenezer Pemberton*, Fellow.
 Mr. *John Fitch*, Fellow.
 Mr. *James Allen*, M. A. }
 1694 Mr. *Charles Morton*, M. A. } Fellows.

The two last were bred in *England*. Mr. *James Allen*, M. A. was Fellow of *New-College, Oxford*, as well as of *Harvard College* in *New-England*; being turned out at *Bartholomew Day*, 1662, he removed thither. Mr. *Charles Morton*, M. A. being at the same time turned out of his Living of *Blisland* in *Cornwal*, had, for several Years, a flourishing *Academic School* at *Newington*, from whence he was also driven by *Persecution*, and coming to *New-England*, was chosen Minister of *Charles Town*.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Inhabitants, their Number, Manners, Customs, Trade.

THOUGH I have left the *Indians* out of the Article of Inhabitants, there are so few of them now remaining

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in the Jurisdiction of *New-England*, and those that are being so very much anglicised in Speech and Religion, as well as Drefs, Customs and Manners; yet, to give a little Idea of the Natives, when and for some time after the *English* came amongst them, I shall spare a Page or two on that Subject.

The *Massassoits*, or *Wampanags*, dwelt about *Mount Hope*, in *New-Bristol* County. They were the first Nation that the *English* acquainted themselves with, and Mr. *Winslow* enter'd into Friendship with their King, as has been said; but the Grandson of that King, tho' he had taken a Name from the *English*, who gave him that of *Philip*, became their mortal Enemy, raised most of the neighbouring Nations against them, carried on a desperate War, and at last perish'd in it with most of his People. What Opinion he had of the Christian Religion, even after Christianity had been preach'd amongst them 30 or 40 Years, may be imagined by his taking hold of a Button of Mr. *Elliot*, the *Indian* Apostle's Coat, and saying, I care not that for your Religion. A Sign he had learnt some *English*, it being a Saying of Contempt with them, I care not a Button for it. The *Pocassets* were in *Plimouth* County. The Queen was a Confederat with *Philip*, and perish'd also in that War. The *Piquots*, a fierce untractable People, inhabited the Country towards the Mouth of *Connecticut* River, between *New-London* and *Fairfield* Counties. They did what they could to hinder the settling of the *English* on the Banks of the *Connecticut*, and began the first War with them, which ended in their Destruction, very few of them surviving it. The *Patuxets* dwelt between the Counties of *New-London* and *New-Bristol*. The *Maquas* are call'd by Dr. *Mather*, and after him by Mr. *Neal*, with the *New-England* Indians; but they belong to *New-York*, and are one of the five Nations in perpetual Alliance, or rather Coalition with that Province. Dr. *Mather* makes them *Man-Eaters*; but that Doctor affects the *Out of the way*, which the Criticks call the *marvellous*, in all his Histories, which make so much Room for *Witches*, Apparitions, monstrous Births, and other *Magnalia*. I have not met with any sober History that speaks of these *American* Cannibals, except amongst the *Caribbeans*, and such sort of Relations are too visionary and juvenile to be associated with plain Facts and real Incidents. The *Maquas* are the *Maquois* in the *French Geography*; and indeed all the *Indian* Nations, Southward of *Canada*, go with them under that general Name, as the Nations to the West are term'd *Hurons*; yet have as many different Names as there are *Sachems*, or Kings, such as they are, of particular Districts or Territories.

The *Narragansets* were a formidable People, only because the *English* were a weak. They inhabited the Country about *New-London*. The *Neumteks* lived where now is *Essex* County.

Massachusetts: The *Massachusetts*, who dwelt where now are the Counties of *Suffolk* and *Middlesex*, was the most populous Nation and they have the Honour to give Name to the whole Province of *New-England*, except two small Charter Governments, the Governor's Commission bearing the Stile of *Massachusetts Bay*, 'tis not improper therefore to know the Derivation of the Word. The *Sachem* of the Country, when the *English* came first thither, had his Wigwam on a little Hill, about six Miles from *Boston*, now or late in the Possession of Capt. *John Billings*. This Hill lay in the Shape of an *Indian Arrow's Head*, called in their Language *Mos*, or *Mons*, and a Hill is *Wiluse*. Hence the *Sachem's* Royal Seat doubtless inferior to some of the meanest of our *Kennels*, was called *Mosuituset*, and his Subjects the *Mosuituset* Indians which very easily fell into *Massachuset*, the Hill with the *Arrow's Head*, a very lively and natural Derivation. The *Massachusetts* dwelt near *Hudson's* or *New-York* River, and were properly speaking, the Extension of the *Maquas* to the Coast. The *Manimogs* inhabited *Barnstable* County, the *Namasket* the Country between *Providence* and *Merrimack* Rivers. The *Indians* beyond *Maine* in *Norembequa*, went by the Name of *Elechemens*; but they had also different Names according to their different Districts; for every *Sachem* or *Segamore*, there being little or no Difference in the Sense of the Words, who had under him a Territory 8 or 10 Miles in Length, erected his Lands into a Kingdom, and gave a Name to his Nation. These Kings were Captains elected out of the Seniors of their noble Families. They had no Nobility among them, but superior Wisdom and Valour, and that remained no longer in the Family than these Qualities. What a barbarous way of thinking they had! As if Nobility was confined to Valour and Wisdom, when, amongst polite Nations it is not only not confined to Wisdom and Valour, but even not to Virtue and Honour; and indeed the Savages themselves had some Exception to this Rule, for there were Nobles amongst them who were so by being descended from their *Sachems*, or by enjoying Lands granted them by the Crown. The Voice of the *Segamore* was definitive in their Assemblies. Their Priests were also their Conjurers. How Men differ with Climates! They had no other Physicians, and all the Distinction among them was *valiant Men* and *Poltroons*. They were clothed with *Deer-skins*, *Wolf* and *Bear-skins*, which they

Their *Sachems*.

threw off in Summer, and put on again in Winter. Their Food was *Maize, Fish and Fowl*, very good Feeding. Their Weapons Bows and Arrows, sharpen'd with Fish Bones, instead of Knives, which they thought so peculiar to the *English*, that they call'd an *Englishman a Knife-Man*. Their Canoes, or Boats, were Trunks of Trees made hollow by Fire. Some of them had no settled Dwelling, but lived 8 or 10 Families together in a moveable Tent. The Men had each as many Wives as he could maintain; the Women, before Marriage, prostituted themselves without Scandal; but being Wives were very chaste and faithful. I shall say nothing of their Religion, because I believe, as bad as it was, it is made worse in the Accounts given by some of our own Writers. Mr. *Mayhew*, of *Martha's Vineyard*, wrote, that they had a great Veneration for the Devil. Now they could not know there was a Devil, as Mr. *Mayhew* most certainly meant in a scriptural Sense, without knowing there was a God, a Power infinitely good and wise, opposite to one infinitely wicked and malicious; therefore Mr. *Mayhew*, and other Ecclesiastical Writers, after they had form'd an Idea of a very hideous detestable Spirit, terrifying the Imaginations of the uninform'd Savages, give him the Name of the Christians Devil, which they knew no more of than of the Christians God; and, in Effect, there is no other Devil than that of the Christians. One would think Mr. *Neal's* Description of their *Powaws*, or Priests, had rather been a Translation out of some European Travels, than a Transcript out of History. Their *Powaws*, or Priests, are a subile Generation of Men, ambitious, cruel, greedy of Riches, grasping at absolute Power and Dominion over the People, from whom they require profound Respect and Reverence, as Persons who have a familiar Acquaintance with the Deity, and who, by their Blessings and Cursings, can make Men happy or miserable in a future State. So far is pat enough; but the next Line starts away widely from the Parallel. The People certainly believe that they can raise the Devil. And Dr. *Cotton Mather* believed it too; for giving an Instance of the Exorcising, he writes with singular Gravity: "They often kill'd Persons, caused Lameness and Impotency, wicked Works indeed! They shewed their Art in performing several other things, by human, or by a diabolical Skill, and this either by desiring the Spirit they conversed with, the Doctor is very serious, to do the Mischief they intended, or by forming a Piece of Leather like an Arrow-Head, tying a Hair thereto, or using some Bone of Fish, &c. over which they performed certain Ceremonies, and then dismissed them to accomplish

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“ their Desires: And such enchanted things have most certainly either enter’d the Bodies of those whom they intended to afflict, or the *Devil* has form’d the like within their “ Flesh, without any outward Breach of the Skin.” I can repeat no more of it, and I believe this Specimen of the Doctor’s extensive Genius and solid Judgment will so fortify the Reader, that he will excuse us for not borrowing any thing farther out of his Ecclesiastical History relating to the *Indians*. Mr. *Neal* has pretty well pared what relates to the *New-England* People of these Excrecencies, and, as we have observed already, there’s so much Difference between the present *Indians* and those in the time of Mr. *Winthrop* and Mr. *Winslow*, that the *English* Reader will be led into great Mistakes by reading the Accounts of the Natives in their Days, if he, from thence, forms an Idea of what they are now; for, with respect to the Nations interspersed among the *English* on the Borders, they are no more different from them in Dress, Manners, Language, than the *Briijb* Peasantry are from Gentlemen and Merchants.

As to the *English* Inhabitants in this Province, one may as well pretend to describe the Inhabitants of *Bristol* and *Somersetshire*, as these of *Boston* and the *Massachusetts*. They differ perhaps from the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants in and about *London* no more than the *English* in the West Country, and even in the Article of Religion, tho’ the Form of the primitive Establishment is kept up, and the *National* Church is *Presbyterian*, or rather a Composition of *Presbyterian* and *Independent*; yet People that come amongst them now are very easy on that Account, and have more Liberty in others than was consistent with the Preciseness of the first Planters, who, rather than have suffer’d an *Organ* to have been set up at *Boston*, would have fled beyond the Lake of the *Iroquois* to have been out of the Hearing of it, tho’ it certainly would have done them no more Harm than to have laid aside Mr. *Elliot’s* and Mr. *Mather’s* Psalms, and have made use of Dr. *Patrick’s* or Dr. *Brady’s*.

We have seen enough of the Measures of the Persecutors in *England*, to know what Reason the first Planters had to settle here. Great Numbers of them, at all Hazards, transported themselves to *New-England*, to enjoy there the Liberty of Conscience refused them at home, which multiply this Colony much faster than any other; for the *English* do not so much pretend to Conscience any where else in *America* as in *New-England*, and there too came many for the Sake of the Furs and the Fish, as I have already observ’d.

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As to the Number of the Inhabitants at this time, in all the Calculations I have hitherto met with, the Writers did not understand political Arithmetick, or had not exact Information from such Persons on the Spot as were capable to inform them. My Computation was, 30 Years ago, 160000 Souls, and of them 50000 fighting Men; the 160000 I have no reason to recede from by any later Computation well founded, not on Hear-say or Guess. The natural and additional Increase of this Number, computing by that taken in 1640, when there were 4000 Planters, and consequently, 12 or 14000 Souls, will raise the Sum Total very high, the Proportion of 10000 in 1640, and 160000 in 1708, Sixty eight Years, would swell that 160000 in the last 30 Years too much for Reason and Credibility; but one may very well suppose that 160000 would, in 30 Years time, by natural and additional Increase, rise to a fourth Part, which is 40000, and then the Number of Souls in *New-England* would be 200000, and the fourth Part of them being supposed to be fighting Men, the Number of the latter is 50000, which perhaps is as near the matter as any other Calculation; the 50000 in the former Edition being too much, the Proportion of fighting to the Number of Souls must be much more in Colonies than in Mother Countries, because more grown Male People transport themselves thither than Women and Children, who are carried away by their Parents, Relations, or Friends. That the additional Increase has been equal within these 30 Years, to any the like Increase after the Toleration in *England*, will not be question'd by those that are acquainted with the Transplantations thither, I mean not criminal, especially from *Ireland*, from whence it is said 10000 *Scotch Presbyterian* Families have transported themselves to *America* since the Death of King *William*. Whether occasion'd by the Oppression of Ecclesiastick Governors in the North of that Kingdom, or the Racking of Tenants by their Landlords, as is also said, it matters not here to enquire, and I only hint it to shew that this Addition, if *New-England* has the least Share of these 10000 Families, must make the incidental Increase as proportionable now, as in any other Period of the *New-England* History after the Civil Wars. There have also been considerable Recruits of People, by the coming of *French* and other foreign Protestants, since the *Revolution*. The former are settled in a County about 20 Miles from *Boston*, and have been and are now in a thriving way. By other Methods of calculating, the Number of Inhabitants, according to political Arithmeticians, by the Increase of 14000 in 100 Years, in a healthy Country, and of the additional Augmentations of

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500 Souls only yearly, the Account would swell to above 300000; and so it must be at least, to make out Capt. *Vring's* Assertion, that there are 1500000 Souls in the *British America*, exclusive of *Negroes*, *Indians* and *Malattoes*; which Calculation is too excessive, three hundred thousand Souls being the highest that any way of computing can swell the Number of Inhabitants to at this time, and Mr. *Vring's* Computation was 20 Years ago.

The English Strength in the American Continent sufficient against all Enemies.

I am not for frightening ourselves eternally with the *French* Acquisitions on this Continent. *Canada*, the Bulwark and Glory of them, is a barren desolate Wilderness, which was at first valuable to them for the *Fur Trade*; but now sunk as well in *France* as in *England*, since that Trade is scarce of a quarter Part of its first Value; their other Advantages are trivial to those of *New-England*, and the *French Council of Commerce* will not be able to mend the Climate and the Soil. The Countries bordering on the *Mississippi*, are fruitful and fine, and are in Length 12 or 1400 Miles, possessed by Nations that are more populous and powerful than were the *Indians*, Borderers on the *English* Plantations; and the *French*, if they were let alone, have cut themselves out more than 100 Year Work to have a Communication between the River of *St. Lawrence* and the Bay of *Mexico*, and so between *Quebec* and *Hispaniola*, Dreams of Colonies and Commerce in the Moon. The *English* Borders extend to the Nations bordering on the *Mississippi* for almost the whole Length of that River, and the *French*, in the *Terra Canadensis*, are intercepted by many *Iroquois* Nations, no Friends to them, about the Lake of the *Illinois*, and several others between them and the *Mississippians*, of which the *English* took large Livery and Seignior so long ago, and whenever they are disposed to re-enter upon the Premises, do not want a better Claim than the *French* can pretend. Add to this, that *Carolina* stretching to the Mouth of the *Mississippi*, if the Country was possessed and fortify'd, that River would be of no Use to them. As to their Title to the Country bordering on that River, 'tis as Just as all Titles to *Indian* Countries are, not founded on the first and constant Possessions of the Natives; Grants from Crowns are of no more Consideration in Justice and Reason than the Legacies in *Diego's* Will: But, even according to this Title the *English* have a prior Right to the *French* in the *Mississippi*. King *Charles I.* granted all the Country between *Carolina* and that River to the Southward, which was called *Carolina*. Sir *Robert Heath* and his Assigns alienated it to the late Dr. *Daniel Cox*, who, in King *William's* Reign, sent two Ships

The English Title to the Mississippi prior to that of the French.

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the *Mississippi*, whom Sir *Wm. Phips* Plot, & Discourse with it was in War, and in attacking there by Dr. Years ago, is great a Right good Part of it commands to the being premised the *English* by any Part of this article, this whatever is aimed at is made apparent required; and year, or both, As to the Subject to that of Comparison; a man into the Mouth found upon the living like County of the them that are given to drink, *England* is now Europe, they n *French* and *Ind* men with or w they do not wa always terrifi *French* Power in of the *Eng* *Native*, in the and as much to fession as I h ing the *W* said than I ha Publick, the ussly enter i When the E hundreds of thou ade, there we

the *Mississipi*, with 200 People to make a Settlement, over whom Sir *William Waller*, so active in the Discovery of the *Peppish Plot*, was to have been Governor. I had frequent Discourse with him concerning it at Dr. *Cox's* House; but it was in War time, and the *French* were consequently justified in attacking and destroying the Settlement that was begun there by Dr. *Cox's* Adventurers: However, this being 50 Years ago, is a plain Proof that the *English* have at least as great a Right to the *Mississipi* as the *French*, at least to a good Part of it, that which lies on the Back of *Carolina*, and extends to the River's Mouth, in the Bay of *Mexico*. This being premised, and a Computation made of the Ability of the *English* by their Numbers to assist and support their Right to any Part of the Continent, of which *New-England* is a main Article, this cannot be justly term'd a Digression; and that whatever is aim'd at here is practicable and probable, shall be made apparent by a plain circumstantiated Scheme, when it is required; and all Objections, arising from either Folly or Fear, or both, be fully answer'd and confuted.

As to the Strength of the *New-England Indians*, with Respect to that of the *English* Inhabitants, it will not stand any Comparison; a tenth Part of the *English* Militia would drive them into the Northern and Western Lakes, or extirpate them found upon it. But they are indeed Servants to the *English*, living like the Poor of our Parishes, on the Hire and Bounty of the Rich. They are sorry Labourers, even those of them that are Christians are slothful, and almost all of them are given to drink, when they can get it. The Militia of *New-England* is now so powerful, that in case of a Rupture in *Europe*, they need not be in so much Apprehension of the *French* and *Indians* together, as the latter need to be afraid of them with or without *Indian* Confederates; which, however, they do not want, and I cannot imagine why certain Writers are always terrifying themselves and others, by looking on the *French* Power in *Canada* through magnifying Glasses, and on the Power of the *English* in all the rest of the Continent to *Saint Mattheo*, in the *Spanish West-Indies*, thro' the contrary. I wish I had as much to say for the Safety of the Islands in the *British* Possession as I have of the Continent, and of them, by reducing the Whole to an Average; much more might be said than I have met with, but as this is the Business of the Publick, the Publick shall make the Enquiry before I rashly enter into such a Disquisition.

When the *English* were increasing their Capital several hundreds of thousands of Pounds yearly by their *West-India* Trade of *New-England*, there were some fine Heads amongst us, particularly among

among the rural Gentry, who cried out against the Loss of so many Hands, which should have been employed in Agriculture at home; tho' there have been many more lost by taking Boys from the Plough, and sending them to School than have been by the *West Indies*, put all together.

The Mistake about that Trade is pretty well over, and People are now convinced that Hands ought to be spared for Labour there, if we had more Ground to be labour'd, or can keep what we have. This is generally granted, as to the Sugar Islands; but the same Objection subsists still in a great Measure as to the Continent of *America*. It was raised by Ignorance, and has been fully answer'd by Experience. *Samuel Dalby Thomas* explains this, in his Treatise of the *West India Colonies*: "By Tillage, Fishing, Manufactory and Trade, the *New-England* People, to all Intents and Purposes imitate those in *Old England*, and did, and, in some Measure do now supply the other Colonies with Provisions, in Exchange for their Commodities, as Sugar, Tobacco, &c. which they carry to foreign Markets, which cannot chuse but be advantageous." Granting the Sugar Islands to be so very beneficial to us as they are partly represented, we are indebted to the Continent even for that Benefit; for the Islands could not subsist without the Supplies of Provisions which they have from thence quicker and cheaper than from *England*; and every particular Province has some Advantages or other to offer to *England*, for the Labour of the Hands they take from it. *New-England* has Materials enough to build Ships for half the Trade of the Kingdom, and can furnish the Trade and Navy too with Naval Stores, which would drain us of 2 or 300000*l.* yearly, for Supplies from the *Baltick*; and if we are drain'd now of a quarter Part by the Demand, after so many Years Trial of the Plenty and Goodness of those Materials and Stores from *New-England*, and other Continent Colonies, the Fault is not in the Want of them there, wheresoever else it lies. Masts, Plank, Pitch and Tar are there certainly in sufficient Quantities to answer all Maritime Uses in *England*, and might have done so long ago, as shewn in my former Edition, wherein I said, "The Trade and sure and Glory of the *New-England* Woods, is the Masts, the *March Oak*, the *Spruce* and *Fir-trees*, by which the Navy of *England* was furnish'd from hence with all manner of Stores, which they produced at a cheaper Rate than they are now imported from the *Baltick*. Pitch and Tar are made here, and as good in its Kind as any from the North." This was put in practice 8 or 10 Years after, and so continued, but in a suspected precarious way. The Mischief of all these

Schemes is, Management of the Credit and themselves. Management is in, will be made before mutual Undertakings about, know not be at the The bringing very well know put something of that kind the Caution ones have been guishing between were in small Colonies, and of the *Utrecht New-Hampshire* grow the tall Mast Fleet; Part of the Stores are great the Strength and we should take but be at the Proceed have not the *Ferseys* and a little Encouragement enough for all care. I have the Iron Manufactory purpose to New there was and all European Encouragement Encouragement Bounty on Bounty, tho' d ed fold, by for that Iron Works and tica? But the

Schemes is, that if you offer them to Persons that are in the Management of them, they neglect or baulk them, because the Credit and the whole Benefit will not thereby accrue to themselves. Add to this, that to imagine any one out of the Management can tell what belongs to it better than he that is in, will certainly quash any Project, for which way is not made beforehand by preventing all Doubts of that kind by a mutual Understanding, which Men who know what they are about, know also what the Duty of others is in it, and will not be at the Trouble of officious and vain Applications.

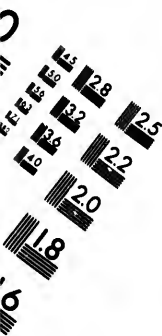
The bringing Naval Stores from *New-England* was, as is very well known, at first treated as a visionary Project, to put something into the Projector's Pocket; and because many of that kind have been rashly undertaken in former times, the Caution has since been so great, that some very good ones have been either rejected or neglected, without distinguishing between the bad and the good. At last Naval Stores were in small Parcels imported from this and the *British* Colonies, and it was said, in a Memorial drawn for the Use of the *Utrecht* Peace-Makers, where Mention is made of *New-Hampshire*.

In the Eastern Parts of *New-England* grow the tall Pines, which are yearly brought home in the Mast Fleet; and, indeed, where there is such a vast Quantity of Naval Stores of all Sorts as is not to be found in any Part of the World, I conceive, therefore, that since Naval Stores are growing scarce and valuable all over Europe, and the Strength and Glory of our Nation depend upon them, surely we should take care to secure what we have in America, and not be at the Pleasure of the Ruls and Swede, from whom we need have nothing but Hemp, and *New-England*, *New-York*, the *Jerseys* and *Pensilvania* might, in a very few Years, with a little Encouragement and due Industry and Care, produce enough for all our Uses in Cordage, and have also enough to spare. I have discoursed with several Persons concerned in the Iron Manufacture, some of whom have sent Persons on purpose to *North America* to put it forward, and they assured me there was Iron Ore in our Plantation enough to supply us and all *Europe* with Bar, Pig and other Iron, and that only Encouragement was wanting to bring it to Perfection. By this Encouragement I understood an Exemption from Duty, and a Bounty on Importation, as on *Pitch* and *Tar*, &c. which Bounty, tho' considerable, would soon be reimbursed a hundred fold, by saving above 100000 *l.* yearly sent to the *Baltick* for that Commodity. How often do we meet with *Iron Works* and *Iron Mills* in the History of the *British America*? But they are mentioned as if Iron Ore was a Rarity, whereas

More Naval Stores here than any where else.

Plenty of Iron in *New America*.





Whereas there is almost every where such Abundance, and of Wood to manufacture it, that it would be imported for half the prime Cost of the *Swedish* Iron, and be purchased with the Manufactures of *England*. Whenever there is a Disposition to receive any rational Scheme for making good this Proposition, it will be forth-coming from Men of Knowledge and Experience in *Iron Works*, both in *England* and *America*. I can hardly be afraid, as they seem to be, that the Influence of the *East Country* Traders in *London* has and may prevent the needful Encouragement to the Importation of Iron from our Plantations, because it appears at first Sight to be setting a particular Interest in Opposition to a general one, which the Wisdom of the Nation can never give into.

From the Islands the *New-England* Merchants receive for their *Lumber*, Boards, Masts, Pipe-Staves, Hoops, &c. Sugar, Molasses, Rum, Ginger, Indigo and Cotton, much more than they have Occasion of for a home Consumption. The rest they ship off for *England*, and would do so for other Places, was it not for the *Right of Navigation*. They have also lately had a considerable Trade with *Martimica* and the *French* Sugar Islands for that *Lumber*; but the *English* Sugar Colonies complained of it, as a great Encouragement to the *French*, who could not support their Sugar Plantations without Supplies from *New-England* and other *British* Northern Colonies. How far the Mother Country *Old England* ought to oblige her Children in Trade, which she can manage herself more for her own Interest, tho' she sent those Colonies abroad to plant Countries to subsist by, and make the most of, I will not here dispute; nor under what Obligation the *New-England* People ought to be put, to prevent their sending their Goods to the best Market, and to make use of that in *England*, good or bad. There's a great deal to be said on both Sides of the Question; and since it cannot be discussed without giving Offence in *Old-England* or *New-England*, and perhaps in both, I shall leave it as I found it, unless I had a better Call to explain it, without Officiousness, Impertinence or Whimsy. For this Reason I chuse to make use of the Words of a Writer, who is or was lately an Inhabitant of one of our *American* Colonies.

“ Since the *French* struggle so hard to gather Strength in *America*, surely it is the Interest of *Great Britain* to do so too, and to encourage and nourish the Northern as well as Southern Colonies. The *Northern* are a great Supply to the *Naval* Power of *Great Britain*, and add largely to our Trade and Navigation, the Nursery of Seamen.

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“ The Indulgence given them by granting a Bounty upon the Importation of *Pitch, Tar* and *Turpentine* has answer'd the Intention, as they have thereby brought the Price of these Commodities from 50 s. to 10 s. a Barrel, and is attended with this farther Convenience, that it aids them to make Returns for the immense Quantity of Goods that are sent them from *Great Britain*, and it also prevents five times the Value thereof from going out of the Kingdom to *Sweden* and other foreign Countries, for *Masts, Yards, Bowsprits, &c.* to supply the Royal Navy, and, with proper Encouragement, might do the same in regard to *Hemp* and *Iron*.

I have, in this Chapter, hinted something of this kind, capable of much more Argument; but I forbear, for Reasons more than once touched upon. I did, in my former Edition, touch on some things, which were little regarded in that Work, but afterwards experienced and approved, and shall heartily rejoice, if any Hints I can light upon and communicate may be of publick Use, either for Trade or Security, tho' it should be my Fortune to be treated as impertinent or officious. The above-cited Writer proceeds.

“ Since therefore it is evident that our *American Colonies*, with proper Encouragement, can be made so very beneficial, in regard to our Trade and Navigation, what Advantage may not also be drawn from them, in case of a War with *France* or *Spain*? A Squadron of *British Men of War* to touch at one or more of the most popular of those *Northern Plantations*, and take under their Convoy some thousands of brave Men, properly encouraged with certain Pay and Hopes of Plunder, would shake the Dominions of the *Spaniards* and *French* in *America*, and turn the Balance of Power, in that Part of the World, in Favour of the *British Nation*.

“ If, before *Jamaica* was ours, and the Sugar Colonies in their Infancy, 3000 such brave Fellows could be spared out of them for the *Hispaniola Expedition* in *Cromwell's* time, what may be expected from them in ours? What from our Northern Colonies, where, as is said elsewhere, are computed to be 250000 *British Men* in Arms, and Ships enough to transport a better Army than the Prince of *Orange* brought to *England* with him, from the *British* to the *Spanish* or *French West-Indies*? But such a Scheme will require other Concert, and more quick and vigorous Measures than I have hitherto heard of, and an Expence, which those whose Hearts are much nearer home than *New-Spain* or *New-England*, would be willing to disburse on such an Adventure, with all the fair Appearance it may have of Success.

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As for the Commodities ship'd from *New-England* to *Barbados*, having before me several Bills of Entry at *Bridgetown*, I shall specify them.

<i>Fish,</i>	<i>Boards,</i>	<i>Cheese,</i>	<i>Bark,</i>
<i>Cattle,</i>	<i>Hoops,</i>	<i>Corn,</i>	<i>Calfskins,</i>
<i>Sheep,</i>	<i>Shingle,</i>	<i>Oil,</i>	<i>Tobacco,</i>
<i>Horses,</i>	<i>Pipestaves,</i>	<i>Tallow,</i>	<i>Apples,</i>
<i>Mackerel,</i>	<i>Butter,</i>	<i>Turpentine,</i>	<i>Onions,</i>

Of these Commodities, 'tis supposed that *Barbados* alone takes off 250000*l.* yearly; and as that Island has more of them from *New-England* than from any other Northern Colonies, according to the Entries I have seen, the Import there from this Province is near 100000*l.* in Value yearly. The 250000*l.* in Mr. *Bennet's* Calculation, who knows this and that Trade perfectly well, and the 100000*l.* in my own Calculation from the Bill of Entry, against which can only be said, that the Trade between *Barbados* and *New-England* may not always be alike, let the Reader judge for himself; but Mr. *Neal's* 50000*l.* for the whole yearly Amount of the *New-England*, with all the Sugar Colonies, must be very wrong.

As to the Trade between *Old* and *New-England*, 'tis, as we have observed, much the same as a *London* inland Trade consisting of *Woollen* and *Linen Drapery*; *Mercery* in *Silks*, *Velvets*, fine *Stuffs*, also ordinary *Stuffs*, *Hats*, the best sort of *Stockings* and *Shoes*; all Sorts of *Iron* and *Birmingham Ware*, *Tools* for *Mechanicks*, *Rules*, *Knives*, *Sizzars*, *Buckets*, *Buckles*, and all Sorts of *Toys*, the cheapest *Ware*. And tho' they have many *Conveniences* of furnishing themselves at home with all sorts of wearing *Apparel*. yet they import such *Quantities* of that and other *Merchandise* from *England*, that the Trade hither has been very beneficial; but like most other Trades, 'tis now overdone. The Import from *England* amount to above 100000*l.* yearly. The *Merchants* here drive a considerable Trade with *Madeira* for *Wines*, and with *Fial* for *Wines* and *Brandy*. There are several flourishing *Distilleries* in *Boston*, and *Breweries* for *Shipping*. 'Tis supposed that they ship 100000 *Quintals* of dried *Cod* yearly, for *Portugal*, *Spain* and *Italy*, the Returns of which are made to *England*, not always, as Mr. *Neal* writes, in the *Product* of those Countries, but very often in *Bills of Exchange*; but whether *Money* or *Goods*, those Returns pass through the *Hands* of the *English* *Factors*, to which something more may accrue than the 2 and half *per Cent.*

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The direct Trade from *Boston* to *London* is *Masts, Plank, Yards* for the Navy, *Pitch, Tar, Turpentine, Skins, Fur, Oil, Whale-Fins* sometimes, and small Quantities of *Log-wood*, and other *Sugar Island Commodities*, shipping 3 or 4000 Tons generally.

I have spoken of the *Iron Mines*, as to those of *Copper*, I am sceptical, whether there is such Plenty of them as to deserve enlarging upon; but if there is, I will venture to answer *Mr. Neal's* Question, that it is very well worth the while to send the *Metal* over in *Ore* or *Bars*, if they would manufacture it. He says very rightly that great *Improvements* are still to be made in *Timber, Planks, Deals, Hemp, Pitch, Tar, Turpentine*, and one would think the *Concern'd* would have Leisure enough and *Interest* enough in it to let nothing remain unimproved, when 'tis so well known how to improve it.

As to *Money*, they have none, *Gold* or *Silver*: About 50 Years ago they had some coined at *Boston*; but there's not enough now for *Retailers*. All *Payments* are in *Province Bills*, even so low as *Half a Crown*; thus every *Man's Money* is in his *Pocket-Book*. This makes the *Course of Exchange* so exorbitant, that 100*l.* in *London* made out lately 225*l.* in *New-England*; and if a *Merchant* sells his *Goods* from *England* at 220*l.* Advance upon 100*l.* in the *Invoice*, he would be a *Loser* by the *Bargain*, considering the *incidental Charges* on his *Invoice*.

I refer to *Mr. Neal* for the *Church History*; tho' I must confess the *Manners* and *Customs* of the *People* are pretty much corrected in their *Religion*.

THE
HISTORY
OF
NEW-YORK.

Containing

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

THIS Country was at first called *Nova Belgia*, and the *Dutch*, who pretended to the Property of it, included *Martha's Vineyard* and *Elizabeth Island*, which are part of *New-England*, and there treated of accordingly. The *Dutch* bought the Country on *Hudson's River* of that Voyager who discovered it, and sold it to them about the Year 1608. Exception was made against this Sale, as being without King *James's* Licence; I see no great Matter in that. King *James* was not at a Penny Charge in fitting out *Hudson*, nor had he ever heard of this Country, which being discovered by *Hudson*, he had the best Title to it of any *European*; but the selling so great and so fine a Tract of Land to Foreigners, was very exceptionable. Whether the *Dutch* made any Purchase of the Natives, we know not; but they made Settlements there, and no body pretended to disturb them, till the first War with them in the Reign of King *Charles II*.

The *Dutch*
releas'd it.

The *English Puritans* in *Holland* who first removed to *America*, intended to settle here, having doubtless had an inviting Description of the River, Climate, and Soil, from the *Hollanders*, who however did not care that the *English* should

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be so near their Plantations as to be tempted to encroach on them, considering the Flaw that was in their Title. Hinder the English from settling there. The English that went from Holland intended to settle on the Coast near Fairfield County, in New-England, lying between Connecticut and Hudson's River; but the Dutch apprehended they would there be too near Neighbours. These English, as has been related, falling in with Cape-Cod, after having refreshed a little, tacked about to the Southward, for Hudson's River; but James, the Master of the Ship they came in, having been bribed by the Hollanders to carry them and land further to the Northward, instead of putting to Sea, entangled them among dangerous Shoals, which made them willing to get ashore where they were, and give over the Design upon Hudson's River.

The Dutch had two or three Years before been insulted here by Sir Samuel Argal, in his way from Virginia to New-Scotland. He destroyed their Plantations, and, to prevent the like Insult for the future, they applied to King James for his Licence to stay there, to build Cottages, and to plant for Traffick as well as Subsistence, pretending only that it was for the Convenience of their Ships touching there for fresh Water, and fresh Provisions in their Voyage to Brazil; but they by little and little extended their Limits every way, built Towns, fortified them, and became a flourishing Colony.

In an Island called *Manhattan*, at the Mouth of Hudson's River, they built a City, which they named *New-Amsterdam*, and the River was called by them the *Great River*. The Bay to the East of it had the Name of *Nassau* given it. About 150 Miles up the great River, they built a Fort, which they called *Orange-Fort*, and from thence drove a profitable Trade with the *Indians*, who came over land as far as from *Quebec* to deal with them. *Henry Christian*, a Master of a Ship, the same who gave the Name to *Martha's Vineyard*, which he discovered, as the Dutch say, was the first Governor here; and his Successor was *Jacob Elkin*, put in by the *West-India Company* in *Holland*, to whom the States-General granted this Country. Dutch Governors.

The first Bounds of *New-York* were *Maryland*, on the South, the main Land as far as could be discovered Westward, which would stretch to the Nations bordering on the *Mississippi*, the great River of *Canada* Northward, and *New-England* Eastward. It now is reduced into a much narrower Compass, for King *Charles II.* having given this Tract of Land to the Duke of *York*, the Duke made a Grant of part of it to under Proprietors, who called it *East* and *West Jersey*.

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Jersey, probably in Compliment to Sir *George Carteret*, who was one of them, and a *Jersey Man*. The *Jerseys* are now the Limits of *New-York* to the *West* and *South*. On the *North* it is bounded by *Long-Island*, and on the *East* by *New-England*. *Hudson's River* divides it from the *Jerseys*, and a Line drawn between *Rye* and *Greenwich* separates it from *New-England*. Thus the whole Province on the Continent is not above twenty Miles over, but it is 120 in length, and what was properly called *Nova Belgia*, which lies between 40 and a half and 42 Degrees 50 Minutes *North Latitude*, consequently the Climate is more temperate than that of *New-England*, and the Soil so fruitful, that one Bushel of *English Wheat* has produced a hundred, which was a fair Temptation for the *English* to desire it. And tho' King *Charles* the Second's was not a very enterprising Reign, yet the Duke of *York*, his Brother's Concern in this Property, and both their inveterate Hatred to the *Dutch*, made the Reduction of this Country, the first military Stroke in those tranquil Times; for before there was any formal Declaration of War with *Holland*, it was resolved by our Court to send Sir *Robert Carre* to *America* with several Land Forces, to put the Duke in Possession of the Country his Brother had given him. This appears by the Date of the Letter Sir *Robert* carried with him from the King, to the Governor and Council of *New-Plimouth*, bearing date the 23d of *April*; St. *George's Day*, for the Glory of the Matter, 1664, and the War with *Holland* was not declared till some Month after. Thus the *Dutch* here were unprovided for Defence against a Royal Squadron and Land Forces, which rendered Sir *Robert's* military Expedition very safe and easy. He had with him Col. *Richard Nicholls*, *George Carteret*, Esq; and *Samuel Meverich*, Esq; joined in Commission to visit the *English Plantations*, and drive the *Dutch* out of theirs.

The English take Possession of it.

Sir *Robert Carre* arrived at *Hudson's River* in the latter End of the Year 1664, at which Time the *Dutch* could have no Advice of a Rupture between King *Charles* and the States-General. Sir *Robert* landed 3000 Men on *Manhattan* Isle. Such a Number of *Englishmen* has not been sent to *America* at once on any good Expedition since the Restoration; but this was against the *Dutch*, and so not to be wondered at. *Carre* and *Nicholls* marched directly to *New-Amsterdam*. The Governor was a stout old Soldier, who had lost a Leg in the Service of the States; but being surprized at the unexpected Attack of an Enemy, as yet not so declared in *America* or *Europe*; nor knowing their Numbers, and the Inhabitants magnifying them, he was prevailed upon by them

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to surrender. Sir Robert Carré's first Instructions were to New-Amsterdam ¹⁶⁶⁴ New-York ^{describ'd.} proclaim Peace and Protection to all that submitted to the Crown of England; upon which the Townsmen fearing to be plundered, and outed of their Habitations, if they stood a Storm, gladly accepted of it, and were so importunate with the Governor to do the same, that Carré and Nicholls soon became Masters of the Place. The Houses were handsomly built of Brick and Stone, covered with red and black Tiles; and the Land being high, it made an agreeable Prospect to those that viewed it from the Sea. Above half of the Dutch Inhabitants remained, and took an Oath of Fidelity to the King of England. The Names of some of the most considerable Families in the Province denote them Dutch Origins, as Schuyler, Beckman, Isbeel, Banker, De Lancey, Rensselaer, Remsban, Van Dam, &c. Those that removed, had Liberty to carry off their Effects, and their Places were soon supplied by English, who gave the Name of New-York to the City and Province.

Thirteen Days after the surrender of New-Amsterdam, Col. Nicholls march'd up the Country to Orange Fort, on Hudson's River, five Miles below where the Eastern Branch parts from the Southern, and runs up almost to the Lake of the Iroquois's, 200 Miles within land. This Fort made little Resistance, and Nicholls gave it the Name of Albany, the Duke of York's Scotch Title. I meet with the Name of Nicholls in honourable Stations in New-York, but I know nothing of his Family. The Dutch Plantations were more scattered here and there, and not so contiguous as the English are. They had none on the Western Shore of Hudson's River. They had a considerable Settlement call'd Hebgate. Southward of Rye is New-England, to which the famous Antinomian, Mrs. Hutchinson, retired, after her Banishment from the Massachusetts, and was there massacred by the Indians, with her whole Family, sixteen Persons in all.

Hudson's
River.

The Agreement in Religion between the Dutch in New-Belgia and the Puritans in New-England, had contributed much to a friendly Correspondence on both Sides. The Dutch began it by writing Letters to the young Colony of Plymouth, inviting them to a Trade. Some Time after they sent their Secretary Mr. Isaac de Rosier, with Goods as well as Letters, and both English and Dutch were pleased with the Exchange of their Merchandise. The Secretary having brought with him Beaver and other Iroquois Commodities, they exchanged their Corn and Fish for them, which the Hollanders were in more immediate want of than of Furs. The mutual Friendship between the two Nations encourag-
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ed Mrs. *Hutchinson* to take Refuge at *Habgate*; but the Dutch could neither save her nor themselves from the Savages.

Sir *Robert Carré's* Conquest here would have made a ridiculous Figure in that Reign, if there had been any other to distinguish it. However the Historians of those Days tell us He reduced all the East-side of *Hudson's River*, took the Town and Fort of *Arasapha*, and a Castle on the West-side without losing a Man, and I suppose without firing a Gun. *Staten-Island*, at the Mouth of *Rentem River*, and *Long Island*, followed the Fate of the other Towns, the Cottages beforementioned; and the Dutch, who had no Soldiers, having 3000 *English*, some of them perhaps part of *Cromwell's* victorious Army to deal with, submitted every where to them. Sir *Robert Carré* having performed this great Work, returned to *England*, leaving Col. *Richard Nicholls* Governor of *New-York*. In this Government *Nicholls* continued near 20 Years. He concluded a League between the Inhabitants and the *Indians* of the *Five Nations*, which has subsisted ever since. Indeed the *Maqua's*, the most powerful of them were very well disposed towards the *English* in *New-England*, and perhaps their Jealousy of the *French*, who began to spread themselves in the *Terra Canadensis*, might be one Inducement to them to enter into an Alliance with the *English*. He was succeeded by Sir *Edmund Andros* in the Year 1683. I confess it gives me a great deal of Pain in writing this History to see what Sort of Governors I meet with in the Plantations. This Man had no other Merit than having abandoned himself to the Will and Pleasure of the two Royal Brothers; and what that Merit amounts to, let the Reader judge. However notwithstanding the poor Reputation of the Governor, that of the Province increasing with its Trade, of which he had not entirely the Government, it became populous and thriving.

Capt. Nicholls
Governor.

Sir Edmund
Andros
Governor.

Col. Dungan
Governor.

The next Governor of *New-York* was Col. *Dungan*, who tho' a *Papist*, was much more deserving of that Honour and Trust than his Predecessor *Andros*. One sees by his Behaviour that a Man of Honour, let his Religion be what it will, will never betray the Interest he has undertaken to protect. Col. *Dungan* was an old Soldier, and had been long in the King of *Spain's* Service, which had given him such an Aversion to the *French*, that he would shew them no Favour which he imagined would be hurtful to the *English*. Before King *James* the Second abdicated this Kingdom, he received Orders to admit *French* Priests to come from *Quebec*, to make Converts to Popery at *New-York*. They came accordingly; but Col. *Dungan* had his Eye upon them, and sending the

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Design was to gain the Trade of the *Indians* of the Five Nations for the *French*, he immediately sent them packing, saying, *They came not so much to serve the French Religion as the French Commerce.* The *French King* complained of it to King *James*, who was highly displeas'd, having the Religion of *France* much more at Heart than the Trade of *England*; and it is thought Col. *Dungan* would have lost his Government if his Master King *James* had not lost his. The Colonel was afterwards Earl of *Limerick* by Descent; and after King *William* had declared War with *France*, it was said he was offer'd a considerable Employment in the *Spanish Army*, by his Majesty's Recommendation; but he did not accept of it, thinking it was not consistent with his Obligations to the abdicated King. After the Revolution the *English* at *New-York*, made very uneasy by the Neighbourhood of the *Hurons*, or *French Indians*, resolv'd to attack the Enemy at *Canada*, who were perpetually doing them ill Offices with those Savages. The Baron *La Honton* mentions, in his Memoirs, an Expedition of the *English* against the *French*; but that Author makes the worst of it on the part of the *English*, who, he says, came within a Day or two's March of *Quebec*, and then returned without doing any Thing; which is not true. In the Year 1690 Col. *Peter Schuyler*, with 300 *English* and 300 confederate *Indians*, or *Iroquois*, march'd from *Fort Albany* to *Quebec*, 400 Miles from *New-York*, and the *French Governor* of *Canada* oppos'd him with less than thirteen Companies of regular Troops, near 300 Men, and as many *Hurons*. It is worth notice that the *French*, let their Settlement be richer or poorer, have, wherever it is, a sufficient military Strength to defend them, not only by *Militia*, but the King's Troops and Officers, which is very exemplary. These Troops are not temporary, drop'd in Squadrons now and then and moveable, but stated and incorporated with the Colony, which both increases as well as strengthens it. Notwithstanding the Inequality of their Numbers, Col. *Schuyler* charg'd the *French* with equal Bravery and Success, routed them, kill'd 300 Soldiers and 30 Officers, with little Loss of the *English*, but being not strong enough to attempt their Forts, and besides having no Artillery, he contented himself with his Victory, and the Damage he had done the Enemy, and returned to *New-York*. Sir *Edmund Andros*, being sent from *New-York* to the Government of *New-England*, play'd such Pranks there, that he was seized by the People, and with him the Government had done a great deal of Mischief in this Province, leading some of the chief Inhabitants into Court Measures, which

led to arbitrary Government and Popery, or, which is much the same, Persecution. I cannot better explain the Corruption here in his Time, than by the Words of the *New-England* Declaration, after he was turned out of his Office by the principal Inhabitants. *But of all our Oppressions were chiefly squeezed by a Crew of abject Persons from New-York, to be the Tools of the Adversary; by these were extraordinary and intolerable Fees extorted from every one upon all Occasions, without any Reason but those of their insatiable Avarice, &c.* *Andros's* Government is there set forth as an execrable Tyranny, and these *New-York* Men as the Tools of it. I am afraid some of them returning hither, were found active in the Troubles of *Col. Slaughter* and the *Lord Cornbury's* Time; but as I am not fully informed of these Particulars, I forbear entering into them.

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Col. Lesley
Governor by
Usurpation.

Before the Arrival of *Col. Fletcher*, whom *King William* had made Governor of *New-York*, on the Removal of *Col. Dungan*, the *French* returned *Col. Schuyler's* Visit, and making an Incurfion into this Province, surprized *Schenectady*, burnt the Town, and murdered the Inhabitants. Whether it was this Depredation of the *French*, or the Effects of *Andros's* corrupting the Magistrates, or whatever else was the Occasion, upon *Col. Dungan's* being recalled, *Col. Lesley* took upon him the Government, without staying for a Commission from *England*. The chief Men at *Boston* had done the same; and thus far *Lesley* seems to be no more at fault than they. It is allowed that he and his Party were very zealous for the Good of the Public; and it was a Time of Peril when Zeal in such Cases was very laudable. They were as many of the Magistrates for *Lesley* as against him, and could he have maintained the Authority he had assumed till he had procured Remonstrances and Addresses, it is doubted not but he should have it confirmed, which indeed was very likely. *Mr. Jacob Milbourn* was his great Friend and Confident, and very instrumental in his Attempt. When *Col. Fletcher* arrived with the *King's* Commission, both *Lesley* and *Milbourn* took the wrongest Step that Men of tolerable Heads could be capable of; for finding themselves in Possession of the Government, they vainly imagined they could keep it by the Help of their Party, and make the Case so good in *England*, that they might at least be permitted, if not approved; but *Fletcher* got into the Fort by Wile, and having seized *Lesley* and *Milbourn*, he thought the surest way to secure his Authority, and prevent Competition, was to rid himself as soon as he could of a Competitor; he caused them to be tried for High Treason, for holding

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the Fort out against him, and killing one of his Men. He being the King's Lieutenant, the Judges and Jury doubtless considered that principally, and made no great Difficulty of condemning *Lesley* and *Milbourn*, who were accordingly executed. Col. *Fletcher* is thought to have proceeded a little too hastily in this Execution, in which his own Interest was chiefly concerned. In my first Edition this Mutiny is placed in Col. *Slaughter's* Time, but from subsequent Informations I put it as it now stands. Whether *Fletcher* or *Slaughter* was the Governor, it is thought he would have been sent for to England, and served as *Lesley* was, had he not died at New-York.

Condemned and executed. Col. Fletcher Governor.

There was a Garrison of regular Troops ordered for the Fort at New-York, to prevent any Surprize from the French, and their Confederates the *Hurons*.

In *Fletcher's* Time the Count de *Frontenac*, Governor of Canada, form'd a Design against *Albany*, the Barrier of New-York, against both French and *Hurons*, and to draw off the Five Nations in confederacy with the *English*, to the French Intention. He began his March with 3000 French and *Canada* Indians, being furnished with Canoes, Stores of all Sorts, and other Necessaries for this Expedition. He advanced by *Hudson's* River, called also the River of the *Iroquois*, towards New-York. After a long March of above 300 Miles, he came to the Country of the *Orandaguefs*, one of the Five Nations, and surprizing them with a great Power, destroy'd some of their Castles, and burnt their Corn and Provisions. Col. *Fletcher* having notice of this Invasion marched with the Garrison of New-York, and a Body of Militia and *Indian* Allies, to put a Stop to the Progress of the French. The Count de *Frontenac*, hearing of this Approach, made a hasty Retreat: Upon which a Party of the Five Nations, Friends to the *English*, who were coming to join *Fletcher*, attacked him, and did pretty good Execution upon his Rear. The Count was not only disappointed in his Project, but suffered great Loss. The *Iroquois* were exasperated by it against the French and *Hurons*, and desired Col. *Fletcher* to meet their Ambassadors at *Albany*, to concert Measures with them for carrying on the War against the common Enemy, and relying themselves on Count *Frontenac*, for invading their Country; but I do not find there was any such Conference in *Fletcher's* Time, or his Successor Col. *Slaughter's*. Indeed he was at a Loss to account for the Management in the *English* American Governments almost every where. If our Accounts and Intelligence are true, they have more than once had it in their Power to have driven the French out of *Canada*, as well as

Count de Frontenac enters and quits the Province.

Col. Slaughter Governor.

out of *Acadia*. They represent the *English* and their All the *Iroquois* as much superior to the *French* in Numbers and other Advantages, and yet are always expressing very great Apprehensions of their encroaching upon them. They have made several Expeditions against them with powerful Armies compared to those of the *Indians*, and hardly ever succeeded in one. Surely the *English* wanted not Courage; it must be their want of Conduct, or both. After Col. *Slaught* Death, *Joseph Dudley*, Esq; of *New-England*, held this Government. His temporizing so much as he did in King *James's* Reign should not, methinks, have recommended him to so great a Trust in King *William's*; but I know not how it happened, so it was, that in King *William's* Reign, *Queen Anne's*, &c. there were Periods when the Friends of the abdicated King were more hearkened to than the Friends and Instruments of the Revolution.

Joseph Dudley, Esq;
Deputy-Governor.

Earl of Bellamont, Governor.

In the Year 1697 the *Earl of Bellamont* was made Governor of this Province and *New-England*. He preferred his Residence at *New-York* to that at *Boston*, and intended to govern *New-England* by a Deputy: But *Kid's* and the *Darien* Business made his Presence more necessary at *Boston* than at *New-York*, where *Mr. Dudley*, and afterwards *Mr. Nansan* his Kinsman, acted as Deputy.

Mr. Nansan, Deputy-Governor.

In the Year 1700 there were no less than 1000 *Scots* aboard several Ships from *Darien*, that put into *New-York*. *Mr. Nansan*, according to Instructions from Home, refused to give them any Assistance. A very unaccountable way of Proceeding, which the *English* have now much Occasion to repent of; as might easily have been foreseen, and ways enough found out to supply the *Scots* Settlement at *Darien* without coming to a Rupture about it between *England* and *Spain*. But others, as well as the *English*, concerned themselves in the Ruin of that hopeful Design. *Mr. Nansan* excused his inhospitable dealing with the *Scots*, under Pretence of the *Earl of Bellamont's* Absence at *Boston*. While in *Mr. Nansan's*, or *Lord Cornbury's* Time, a *French* Man of War was suffered to enter the Harbour, which the Captain ordered to be sounded, and sent an Account of to the Court of *France*. The Stores here were then in so bad a Condition, a Deficiency so common in *English* Colonies that the Inhabitants were very glad they were in no want of any; for had they been put to it, they had small Hopes of being able to defend themselves against a better provided enemy.

The same Year a Public Library was erected in the City of *New-York*, and the *Dutch* Inhabitants built Saw-Mills for

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Timber, one of which would do more in an Hour, than fifty Men in a Day. The Earl of Bellamont sent over a very loyal Address from this Province, which was presented by Col. Byard, the New-York Agent, to his Majesty King William, who about the same time appointed William Atwood, Esq; to be Attorney-General of this Province. This Gentleman distinguished himself in the former Reigns, by his Zeal for the Constitution and Protestant Religion, in Opposition to Popery and Slavery. He had written several Treatises in Defence of the Cause he espoused; but being frowned upon by the Courts of Justice in those Reigns, and not much valued upon in King William's, he thought it his Interest to change the Scene of his Practice, and remove hither with an Office far from being equal to his Merits. However as indifferent as it was, the Lord Cornbury, who was made Governor of New-York, upon the Death of the Earl of Bellamont, thought fit to turn him out of that too. This Lord brought with him his Lady and Family, and arrived there in 1701. The Party that espoused Col. Lesley's Cause, is (they pretended to be the Country Party) continued still, and Mr. Atwood falling in with them, it is likely the Lord Cornbury, who was not of the Country Party in the two former Reigns, might chuse rather his Room than his Company. One may guess a little at the Disposition of Col. Lesley's Side, they being accused of favouring the Dutch, and they as justly charged their Opponents with favouring the French. The Lord Cornbury was one of the first Officers in King James's Army that deserted it, and joined the Prince of Orange with the Cavalry he commanded; yet there he stopped, and seldom ever acted a Whig Part afterwards, but the quite contrary; and his Father, the Earl of Clarendon, refused the Oaths, not only to King William, but to Queen Anne, as long as he lived. The Lord Cornbury treated Col. Lesley's Friends very roughly, and carried it with a high Hand in his Government. He had not been long at New-York before he received Advice of King William's Death, and orders from the Government in England to proclaim Queen Anne, which was done with great Solemnity June 12, 1702. After which the Affairs of the Province being entirely commercial, we will insert here the Names of the principal Officers and Magistrates, as they stood in the Year 1708.

Lord Cornbury Governor.
1701.

1708.

The Right Honourable Edward Lord Viscount Cornbury
Governor.

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Peter

Peter Schuyler, Esq;
William Lawrence, Esq;
Gerardus Beckman, Esq;
Rip Van Dam, Esq;
Caleb Heathcot, Esq;
Thomas Wenham, Esq;
Will. Van Rensselaer, Esq;
Roger Mompesson, Esq;
John Barbarie, Esq;
Adolphus Philips, Esq;

} Counsellors.

Chief Justice and Judge-Advocate *Roger Mompesson, Esq;*
 Second Judge *Robert Milward, Esq;*
 Attorney-General *Sampson Shelton Broughton, Esq;*
 Secretary *George Clerck, Esq;*

A S S E M B L Y.

William Nicholls, Esq; Speaker.

<i>Stephen de Lancey, Esq;</i>	<i>Kilian Van Rensselaer, Esq;</i>
<i>Henry Beckman, Esq;</i>	<i>John Stiltwell, Esq;</i>
<i>Thomas Garton, Esq;</i>	<i>Abraham Lukeman, Esq;</i>
<i>Mynderp Schuyler, Esq;</i>	<i>Josiah Hunt, Esq;</i>
<i>Thomas Codrington, Esq;</i>	<i>Joseph Purdy, Esq;</i>
<i>John Jackson, Esq;</i>	<i>William Willet, Esq;</i>
<i>Matthew Havel, Esq;</i>	<i>Daniel Whitehead, Esq;</i>
<i>John Abeel, Esq;</i>	<i>John Van Cortlandt, Esq;</i>
<i>Evert Barker, Esq;</i>	

Colonels of the Militia Regiments.

New-York County Col. William Paertrie, Mayor of the City.

Suffolk County Col. Smith.

King's County Col. Beckman.

Albany County Col. Schuyler.

Queen's County Col. Willet, a Regiment of Horse.

Regular Troops four Companies, 100 Men each.

1. Commanded by the Lord *Cornbury.*
2. Company by the Lieutenant-Governor *Richard Goldsby, Esq;*
3. Company by Capt. *Weams.*
4. Company Capt. *Peter Matthews.*
 Engineer Mr. *Reldknap.*

From this Time to the Year 1710, nothing material happened concerning this Province; but then it occasioned much Talk, upon the Arrival of five of the Kings of the Five Indian Nations, in Alliance with *New-York*, and others at *London*. These were their barbarous and hardly legible Names,

<i>Teycemenhogaprow</i>	} Kings of the <i>Maquas</i> ,
<i>Soyoyanquaprabton</i>	
<i>Elwobkaom</i>	} Kings of the River,
<i>Obnecathonnoprow</i>	
<i>Ganajobahare.</i>	King,

All *Iroquois* Princes; their Dominions lying between *New-York* and the *French Indians*. These, and particularly the *Maquas*, the stoutest and most formidable Nation of them all, have been fast Friends to the *English*, and especially to those in *New-England*, as we have seen there. On the Arrival of these Kings, the Queen was advised to make the most of shewing them; and the Dressers at the Play-house were consulted about the clothing of these Monarchs, and it was determined that part of their Dress should be a Royal Mantle. The Court was then in Mourning, and they were clothed with black Breeches, Waistcoat, Stockings, and Shoes, after the *English* Fashion, and a Scarlet in grain Cloth Mantle, edg'd with Gold, over all. They had Audience of the Queen with more than ordinary Solemnity. They were conducted to *St. James's* by *Sir Charles Cotterel*, in two of her Majesty's Coaches, and introduced into the Royal Presence by the Lord Chamberlain. Major *Pigeon*, one of the Officers that came over with them, read their Speech in *English*, to this Effect.

Great QUEEN,

WE have undertaken a long Voyage, which none of our Predecessors could be prevailed with to undertake, to see our Great Queen, and relate to her those Things which we thought absolutely necessary for the Good of Her and us her Allies, on the other side the Water.

We doubt not but our Great Queen has been acquainted with our long and tedious War, in Conjunction with her Children, against her Enemies the French; and that we have been as a strong Wall for their Security, even to the Loss of our best Men. We were mightily rejoiced when we heard our Great Queen had resolved to send an Army to reduce Canada, and immediately, in Token of Friendship, we hung up the Kettle, and

took up the Hatchet, and, with one Consent, assisted *Colonel Nicholson* in making Preparations on this Side the Lake; but at length we were told, our Great Queen, by some important Affairs, was prevented in her Design at present, which made us sorrowful, lest the French, who had hitherto dreaded us, should now think us unable to make War against them. The Reduction of Canada is of great Weight to our Free Hunting, so that if our Great Queen should not be mindful of us, we must with our Families, forsake our Country, and seek other Habitations, or stand Neuter, either of which will be much against our Inclinations.

In Token of the Sincerity of these Nations, we do, in their Names, present our Great Queen with the Belts of Wampum, and in Hopes of our Great Queen's Favour, leave it to her most gracious Consideration.

Pursuant to this Address the Expedition to Canada was undertaken the next Year, "which, says the *New-England* Historian, miscarried through the Treachery of them that were at the Head of it; for the Force that was in the Fleet, in the Opinion of the best Judges, was sufficient not only to drive the French out of *Quebec*, but out of all their Settlements in the Country." All their other Settlements would have fallen of Course. I know not any considerable one they have but *Montreal* on this Continent, and two or three meaner Fortifications for their Security against the Indians towards the Lakes, within the *Terra Canadensis*. The Five Nations were very forward in their Preparations, and furnish'd 1000 Indians, well arm'd. The Forces of *Connecticut*, in *New-England*, joined those of *New-York* and *New-Jersey* at *Albany* in this Province. General *Nicholson*, who was to command them, was at *Boston*, to confer with General *Hill* from *England*, and when the latter sailed from thence he hasten'd to *Albany*, where were rendezvous'd, besides the Indians, three Regiments, commanded by Col. *Ingoldsby*, Col. *Schuyler*, Col. *Whiting*. With all these *Nicholson* march'd towards *Quebec*; but hearing the ill News of the English Fleet return'd to *New-York*. This wretched Expedition to Canada if Mr. *Harley* says true, in his Letter to Queen *Anne*, was managed by the Earl of *Rochester*, the Lord *Cornbury's* Uncle, the Lord *Harcourt*, Lord Chancellor, Mr. *St. John*, Secretary of State, and, according to him, it was carried on partly to put Money in the Manager's Pocket. To this Principle, says he, was owing the setting on foot the unhappy Voyage to Canada. Since the Return the Secret is discover'd, and my Suspicion justify'd; for the Publick was cheated of about

twenty thousand Pounds. That, doubtless, was a small Part of the Cheat, besides which the Nation was cheated of its Glory, its Trade, and even its Security in this Part of the World.

Soon after this Event the Province received a great Addition of Inhabitants, by the Arrival of some Thousands of *Palatines*, and other German Protestants, which has very much increased the Strength and Trade of the Colony. There was not a sensible Man in *Great Britain*, who understood the true Interest of his Country, which consists in nothing more than a Number of People, Increase of Manufactures and Extent of Commerce, who did not approve and rejoice in this Acquisition of People in this and other Colonies. This has been the Sense of all Nations ever since Trade has had a Name in them; and how necessary hands are for Agriculture, and all useful Labour, the very Term explains, without expatiating upon it; but the Persons who took upon themselves the *Canada Expedition*, the breaking of the Confederacy and ruinous Peace with *France*, treated that wise Measure of transplanting German Protestants to our Plantations, or employing them at home in Tillage, as Folly, Madness, and a Design against the Church. These reviled, wrote and preach'd against it, in so much that the late learned Dr. *Hare*, Bishop of *Chichester*, thought it necessary to remove these Prejudices by setting that Matter in a true Light. The Bishop was put upon this Work by a Vote of the same House of Commons that supported the then Ministry in their Negotiations of Peace with *France*, by abandoning *Spain* and the *Indies* to the House of *Bourbon*. The Vote was, *the inviting over the Palatines was an extravagant and unreasonable Charge to the Kingdom, tending to the Increase and Oppression of our Poor, and of dangerous Consequence to the Church, &c.* All which Bp. *Hare* considered and fully answer'd; I shall only copy what relates to these *Palatines* sent to *New-York*, as follows:

"Those *Palatines* that were sent to *New-York* are well planted, and like to thrive there; and if the same Care had been taken of the rest, instead of being a Burthen, they would, in a short time, have proved beneficial to this Nation, nothing being more certain than that our *American* Plantations, the largest Fountain of our acquired Riches, yield in Proportion to the Number of People." To this is added an Account of the Charge for the settling of these *Palatines*.

The History of New-York.

For the Transportation of 3000 Souls, at 7 1/2 18150 l.
 5 l. 10 s. each. —————
 For the Clothing of 3000 Souls, at 20 s. each. 3000
 For Tools to the same, at 7 s. 6 s. per Head. 1125

The Charge of their Subsistence for 3 Years. 22275 l.
 56258

The Labour of 2000 of these only to be
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 Years, would amount to }

These *Palatines* were disposed on both Sides of *Hudson's* River, 80 or 100 Miles above the City of *New-York*, in three Townships on the *East* Side of that River, and three on the *West*, the latter about four Miles below the former. Mr. *John Frederick Hagar* was appointed Minister of the *East* Side, and Mr. *John Cockerdale* for the *West* Side. These Townships are about a Mile distant from each other in the County of *Ulster*, or *Hulster*; for it is no Wonder to meet with *Dutch* Names in this Province, since the first *European* Inhabitants were *Dutch*, and many of them still here and incorporated with the *English*, after Sir *Robert Carre* reduced it.

After the Accession of King *George I.* to the Throne of *Great Britain*, the Lord *Cornbury* was recalled, and Brigadier *Hunter* made Governor of this Province and *New-Jersey*. He met the Kings of the *Five Nations* at *Albany*, and renewed the Treaty with them, which the *Indians* call the *Covenant Chain*, of which we shall hear more in the Sequel. The Particulars of this Gentleman's Administration having not been communicated to us, we can only say of it, from the best Authority that it was good, which will best appear by the Speech of Col. *Livingston*, Speaker of the Assembly in the Year 1719 to him on his intended Removal to *England*.

Sir,

“ W H E N we reflect upon your past Conduct, your just
 “ mild and tender Administration, it heightens the
 “ Concern we have for your Departure, and makes our Grievances
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“ onate Parent, and wherever you go, and whatever Station the Divine Providence shall please to assign you, our sincere Desires and Prayers for the Happiness of you and yours shall always attend you.

“ We have seen many Governors, and may see more; and, as none of those, who had the Honour to serve in your Station, were ever so justly fix'd in the Affection of the Governed, so those to come will acquire no mean Reputation, when it can be said of them, their Conduct has been like yours.

“ We thankfully accept the Honour you do us, in calling yourself our *Countryman*; give us Leave then to desire that you will not forget this is your Country, and, if you can, make Haste to return to it.

“ But if the Service of our Sovereign will not admit of what we so earnestly desire, and his Commands deny us that Happiness, permit us to address you as our Friend, and give us your Assistance when we are oppress'd with an Administration the Reverse of yours.

Whether the Gentlemen of *New-York* had received Information who was to be Brigadier *Hunter's* Successor in that Government, or whether it was the Effect of their Jealousy of all Governors sent them from *England* to mend their Fortune, as was the Lord *Cornbury's* Case, and not less Mr. *Burnet's*, the next Governor, they seem'd to have considered what they had said. Mr. *Burnet* was Comptroller-General of the Customs at *London*, and had by no means better'd his Circumstances by his Concern in the South-Sea Stock; Brigadier *Hunter* succeeded him as Comptroller-General at *London*, and *William Burnet, Esq;* Son to the late Bishop of *Salisbury*, was his Successor in this Government, and that of *New-Jersey*, where he purchased a Settlement, which is or was lately in his Family, but under some Incumbrances, for the Discharge of which, the second Volume of the Bishop's *History of his own Time*, was sold according to a publick Advertisement.

In the Year 1719, *Peter Schuyler, Esq;* as President of the Council, was Commander in Chief of this Province, in the Absence of Governor *Hunter*, and appointed the following Gentlemen to meet and confer with the *Indian* Segamores at *Albany*, *John Riggs, Esq;* *Hend. Hauson, Esq;* *John Schuyler, Esq;* *Robert Levingston, Junior, Esq;* *Peter Van Brugh, Esq;* The Matter they were to confer about was, some hostile Expedition intended by the *Indians* of the *Five Nations*, which the *English* apprehended to be unseasonable, and the

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entertaining a *Frenchman* amongst them; but it will be better explained by what the *New-York Commissioners* say.

Brethren,

"We have received Intelligence not only from your Country, but from *Canada*, that one *Jean Cœur*, the *French Interpreter*, is gone from *Montreal* to go to your Country, and by this time we may suppose he may be there; a Place we think no *Frenchman* ought to be suffer'd in; neither can it be for the *French* Interest to send him there, only to set you against the *far Indians*, who are inclined to come here, which hinder'd, would tend to your Disadvantage; but, on the contrary, their coming here is an Advantage to you, as would be the not suffering him, or any other *Frenchman* from *Canada*, to come and stay among you.

The *Indians* having consulted among themselves, made Answer,

Brethren,

"We are come here according to your Desire; you made a Proposition to us, two Days ago, and renewed the *Covenant Chain*, not only for this Government, but for all the Governments on the Continent, and *Indians* in Friendship with them; you have promised to keep the same inviolable on your Side, which we believe will be so, for we never had any Misunderstanding hitherto with you. But, *Brethren*, you say you renew the *Covenant* for those Governments to the Southward, which makes us wonder; for, two Years ago, a Messenger came here from *Virginia*, who complained against us to his Excellency that we had done some Mischief in his Government on *Indians* living there in Alliance and Friendship with him. The same time he desired, in the Name of that Governor, to take some of our principal *Sachems* with him, which we refused, and desired the Governor might come here himself, or depute a Person with some of the *Sachems* of those *Indians* in Friendship with him, that then we might speak to one another Face to Face; and therefore we think it does not lie at our Door, that no Peace is concluded between us and his *Indians*. If they are inclined to meet us, we are ready for them; but will appoint no other Place than this.

Brethren,

"You desired us not to suffer *Jean Cœur* to stay among us; we cannot send him away, if we do, we shall be taken as Enemies; but do you go there yourselves, and send him from thence, and you may write to the Governor of *Canada*, that you will not suffer any of his People to stay

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" Col. *Pete*
" *Peter Van*
" *Jo. Schuy*
" *Head Ha*
" *Evert Ba*
" *Philip Le*
" *Jo. Blee*
" *John Coll*

among us; for, some Years ago, when the French were busy to build a Block-house on Onondage and settle a Garrison there, Col. Schuyler went up and destroyed it, and that was not taken ill by them; you may do the like.

Brethren,

It is true what you have heard, relating to the Design of our Men going a fighting; but we cannot give you a positive Answer on that Subject, until we are got home, and have consulted with our young Men and Sachems that design to go out, and shall then send you a speedy Answer.

Brethren,

You say that Jean Cœur is to stay among us this Winter, and that he will make it his Interest to hinder the far Indians from coming to trade here. You can better prevent his hindering those Indians from coming here than we; for if we do not supply the French with Goods from hence, they cannot furnish the far Indians with what they want; and hardly those that live near them, for they get but little Goods themselves from France.

In the Year 1722 there was a Congress at Albany of the Congress of the English Governors of New-York, Pennsylvania and Virginia, with the English Governors and Indian Kings of the Five Nations, or River Indians, wherein all former Treaties of Friendship between those Governors and their Provinces, and those Kings and their Kingdoms were renewed; the usual Pledges for the Observation of Covenants were exchanged.

By what follows it appears, that the Governor of Pennsylvania, tho' the younger Colony, presided at this Congress, and received the Answers of the Indian Kings; the Minutes running thus:

P R E S E N T

The Honourable Sir William Keith, Bart. Governor of Pennsylvania.

- Richard Hill, Esq;
- Col. John French,
- Isaac Norris, Esq;
- Andrew Hamilton, Esq;
- Col. Peter Schuyler,
- Peter Van Brugh, Esq;
- Jo. Schuyler,
- Head Hans,
- Evert Barker, Esq;
- Philip Lewington, Esq;
- Jo. Bleecher, Esq;
- John Collins, Esq;

} Members of the Council of Pennsylvania.

} Committee for Indian Affairs.

The

The Answer of the Kings of the *Five Nations*, viz.

The *Maquase*,

The *Cayages*,

The *Oneydes*,

The *Sinnebaes*,

The *Onondages*,

delivered to the Governor of *Pensylvania* at *Albany* the 10th of *September*, 1722. Interpreted by *Laurence Claes* into *Dutch*, and render'd into *English* by *Robert Levingston*, Esq;

N. B. There can be no Exactness in the *Indian* Names which vary almost as often as they are mentioned by *English*, *French* or *Dutch*.

Tanachasa speaks,

Brother *Onos*, *N. B.* *Onos* signifies a *Pen* in that *Indian* Language; and they call *Onos*, or *Pen*, all the Governors of *Pensylvania*, since it was first settled by *William Pen*.

“ You told me, in your Propositions, some Days ago, that you was come a great way to see us of the *Five Nations*; we thank you for your Good-will to us, and are very glad to see you here in good Health; and we hope a good Understanding and Agreement will be made and concluded between us. You told us also, that you are come to renew the *Covenant Chain* that has been made between us, so long ago even as the first settling the Province of *Pensylvania*, and to lengthen the *Chain*, and do away any Spot of Rust that may be grown upon it since our last Meeting and Conference at *Conislogue*.

Brother *Onos*,

II. “ You told us, that at that time you brightened the *Covenant Chain* between us, that it may be clear and lasting as the Sun and Stars in Heaven, for which we thank you; and we being now all present do, in the most solemn Manner, renew the *Covenant* and brighten the *Chain* made between us, that the Lustre thereof be never obscured by any Cloud of Darknes, but may shine as clear, and last as long, as the Sun in the Firmament.

Brother *Onos*,

III. “ You have likewise told us how *William Pen*, who was a good Man, did, at his first Settlement of the Province of *Pensylvania*, make Leagues of Friendship with the *Indians*, and treated them like Brethren; and that, like the same good Man, he left it in charge to all his Governors, who should succeed him, and to all his People of *Pensylvania*, that they should keep the *Covenant* and Treaties he had made with the *Five Nations*, and treat them with Love and Kindness. We acknowledge that his Governor

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and People have always kept the same honestly and truly to this Day. Some on our Part always have kept, and for ever shall keep firm Peace and Friendship with a good Heart to all the People of *Pensylvania*. We thankfully receive and approve of all the Articles in your Proposition to us, and acknowledge them to be good and full of Love. We receive and approve of them with our whole Hearts, because we are not only made one People by the *Covenant Chain*, but we also are a People united in one Head, one Body and one Heart, by the strongest Ties of Love and Friendship.

Brother *Onos*,

IV. " You desire there may be a perpetual Peace and Friendship between you and the *Five Nations*, and between your Children and our Children, and that the same may be kept as long as the *Mountains* and *Rivers* endure; all which we like well, and, on our Part, desire that the Covenant made with a clean and true Heart between you and us, may last as long as the Sun and Moon shall continue to give Light: And we will deliver this in charge to our Children, that it may be kept in Remembrance with their Children, and Children's Children; to the latest Ages; and we desire that the Peace and Tranquillity that is now established between us, may be as clear as the Sun shining in its Lustre, without any Cloud or Darkness, and that the same may continue for ever.

Brother *Onos*,

V. " We have well consider'd all that you have spoken, and like it well, because it is only the renewing of former Leagues, made between the Government of *Pensylvania* and us of the *Five Nations*, and which we always believed we were obliged to keep. And as to the Accident of one of our Friends being killed by some of your People, which has happened by Misfortune and against your Will, we say, that as we are all in Peace, we think it hard that Persons who killed their Friend and Brother should suffer; and we do, in the Name of all the *Five Nations*, forgive the Offence, and desire you will likewise forgive it, and that the Men who did it may be released from Prison, be set at Liberty to go whither they please, and we shall esteem this as a Mark of Regard and Friendship for the *Five Nations*, and as a farther Confirmation of this Treaty.

Brother *Onos*,

VI. " We say further, we are glad to hear the former Treaties made with *William Pen* repeated to us again, and renewed

“ renewed by you, and we esteem and love you, as if you
 “ were *William Pen*. We are glad you have wiped away
 “ and cover'd the Blood of our dead Friend and Brother, and
 “ we desire the same may be forgot, so as it may never be
 “ more mention'd or remember'd. It is needless for us to
 “ answer every Particular of your Proposition, because we
 “ acknowledge the Whole to be good and acceptable to us,
 “ especially your good Advice, which we will always remem-
 “ ber, and, in Testimony thereof, and as a full Confirmation
 “ of our Agreement, Consent and Approbation of all that
 “ you have propos'd and we have here said and premis'd, we
 “ lay down a few *Beaver, Bear and dress'd Deer-skins*.
 Which concluded the Ceremony.

I know not how it came that the *Indian Kings* take notice only of the Governor and Province of *Pensylvania*, when the Congress was held in the Province of *New-York*, and the Deputies of that Province were present.

John Mont-
 gomery, Esq;
 Governor.

I have met with no Governor of this Province between Mr. *Burnet* and *John Montgomery*, Esq; and little remarkable in the Time of his Government. I find him charged with Breach of Instructions in a Matter of great Importance, the making of Judges by Virtue of his Commission, without Advice of Council, which, by a particular Article of his Instructions, he ought to have taken. These Judges were *Lewis Morris*, Esq; Chief Justice, *James De Lanoy*, Esq; Second Justice, and *Frekerick Phillipse*, Esq; Third Justice, which are particulariz'd on Account of the Part they will have in very extraordinary Transactions, which soon after made here, and even in *England*, a great Noise, and occasioned much Debate.

Mr. *Montgomery* died July 1731, at *Fort St. George* in this City, and was interred in the King's Chapel. Notwithstanding the fore-mentioned Charge, this Gentleman left the Character of a most excellent Governor.

Rip Van
 Dam, Esq;
 President.
 1731.

On the Death of Mr. *Montgomery*, *Rip Van Dam*, Esq; at that time President of the Council, was consequently Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of *New-York*. In his time the *French and Indians* made several Incroachments on the Frontiers of this Province and *New-England*, of which the President gave timely Notice to Governor *Belcher* at *Boston*, and he communicated it to the Assembly, as a Matter worthy their Attention. President *Van Dam* was entitled to as much of the Salary and Perquisites of a Governor, as was customary for Presidents in like Cases to receive; and afterwards, when Col. *William Cosby* was made

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Governor, Mr. *Van Dam's* Appointment was half of the said Governor's Salary and Perquisites by Warrant of the Crown during his Administration, till the Arrival of Col. *Cosby*, who wrote to the President to advance certain Sums of Money for him, to answer the Incidents of his Office, which he would faithfully and thankfully repay; but it occasioned a Suit of Law, which had very ill Consequences; for, on Col. *Cosby's* Arrival here, and entering on the Government, he not only deser'd paying the Sums advanced by President *Van Dam*, but caused a Process to be commenced against him by the *Attorney General*, in the Name of the King, for Fees and Perquisites received by the President. This seems to us absurd and ridiculous, unjust and oppressive, and a design only to screen the Governor from a Prosecution at Law for the Money the President demanded of him, for the Balance of the Account between them, by which was due to the said *Van Dam* 3537 l. 9 d. which Account *Van Dam* deliver'd in to Col. *Cosby*, and required the Discharge of the said Balance, to which he received no satisfactory Answer; on the contrary, the *Attorney General* proceeded at Law against him in the King's Name for the aforesaid Fees, which *Van Dam* was to have half of, and the other half amounted to no great Sum, Salary and stated Appointments not being included. But this was not the greatest Hardship; for whereas the President had commenced a Suit at Common Law for his Balance aforesaid, he could procure no Appearance to his Action from the Governor, and the *Attorney General* proceeded against *Van Dam* in the *Supreme Court*, a Common Law Court at *New-York*, as if it had been a Court of Chancery, and, as such, the Judgment by a Jury was set aside, and the Jurisdiction would be in the Governor and Council. 'Tis impertinent to remark the Injustice of referring a Cause to a Person interested in it; however, this was the Case, and Mr. *Van Dam's* Council very justly excepted against the making a Court of Law a Court of Equity, to carry a Point against him, in favour of the Person who made it so, as far as his delegated Power would admit. I have before me the President's Account, and the Letter he wrote to the Governor to obtain his just Demand by amicable ways, and to remonstrate the injustice of prosecuting him for a small Debt, at the same time that he refused to discharge or to appear to an Action for a very great one due to the same Person. An Historian should not enter into such Litigations, but the Facts they produced are Historical; I shall only observe, that the *Chief Justice*, *Lewis Morris*, Esq, deliver'd his Opinion of the

William
Cosby, Esq;
Governor.
1735.

Illegality of the Proceedings in the Supreme Court, as in a *Court of Equity*, and refused to sit on the Bench, when the two other Judges, *De Lancey* and *Phillipse*, determined in favour of the Governor, that their Court was a Court of Chancery as well as Common Law. The Governor, upon this, turned out the Chief Justice; and the two Judges, notwithstanding *Mr. Van Dam's* Exception to the Legality of their Commission, as being constituted without Advice of Council, contrary to the Royal Institution, declared themselves a Court of Equity, and of Course authorized to decide Causes without the Verdict of a *Jury*. This is the Fact, the Proof and Records are in my Custody; and it was very proper to set forth as briefly as I could the Attempt in this Case, the most notable that could happen in a Colony, being between an old Governor and a new, to compliment the present Power with its Constitution, and give up the Rights of the Subject to *Trials by Juries*.

To this I shall only add a Paragraph or two of the late President's Letter to the present Governor, dated *October 22*

1733.

1733.

" Thus all the respectful ways at coming at what I conceive Justice from your Excellency I have tried, and they have proved ineffectual, while, in the mean time, your Excellency is using the King's Name to recover of me this small Matter which I received during my Administration, and have proceeded so far therein, I am informed, as to get Process of *Rebellion* against me, for not answering as to a Court of Equity in that which was not really such a Court." Then speaking of the Articles in his Account, he says,

" I beseech your Excellency to consider, that not only the first Article, but also sundry Articles in the Account was by early Advices I gave you, even before your Appointment, and the Arguments I supply'd you with, the Means not only of getting those Articles to you, during my Administration, but preserving them to you during yours, when the first had been strongly attacked." This Article was,

An Emolument by the Exchange of the Militia, and on paying of the Companies here, during my Administration. } 2065 l.

The Emolument by the Clothing of the said Company. } 2025.

Voted by the Assembly for Services. } 1000.

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If regular Troops are necessary, 'tis certainly absolutely necessary they should be maintain'd as cheap as possible, and that no Body should get by the clothing them but the Maker or the Seller.

The President goes on, " I raised 4500 l. at my own Expence for the Use of the Government, before your Arrival. The great Benefit to you of these Services you gratefully acknowledged to me by Letters, and little did I expect such Returns as I have met with for them.

" I beseech your Excellency farther to consider how his Majesty, the Father of his People, the Fountain of Justice, will look upon this Denial of Justice by his own Representative! How he will look upon the using of his Name for your Use, in hopes of your being free from the Risque of paying Costs of Suit, if the Cause is against you!

" I beseech your Excellency to consider, how your Prosecution against one in the King's Name, as this Case is circumstantiated, will sound in the Ears of all Lovers of the Constitution, when it is known to all, that I have not only been a Well-wisher, but also active in the late GLORIOUS REVOLUTION; and well known to be one who always has been most firmly attach'd to the happy Establishment founded thereon, and to the Succession in the House of Hanover." I own myself well enough pleas'd to find this Suggestion in the late President's Letter to the Governor, because, before I found it, I suspected that such violent Proceedings could not be charged on a Man of Revolution Principles, and how any other came to be employed, either in England, or the English America in Posts of Trust, since that Revolution, is very difficult to be reconciled to the Interest and Safety of the Constitution, and the Duty of those that procured them such Employments.

The Chief Justice, Lewis Morris, Esq; published his Opinion and Argument, concerning the Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of New-York, to determine Causes in a Court of Equity, which he had read in the said Court, and the Governor sent Frederick Morris, Esq; Deputy Secretary to the Chief Justice, for a Copy of it under his Hand, which was the Occasion of his printing and publishing it, with the Letter that accompanied it, wherein, among other things, he sets the Governor's unlawful transforming the Supreme Court into a Court of Chancery, in its true Light.

" This, Sir, is the Copy of the Paper I read in Court; I have no reason to expect it will be at all grateful, or have any Weight with your Excellency, after the Answer I received to a Message I did myself the Honour to send

The Chief Judge's Letter to the Governor against the Innovation in Law.

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“ to you, concerning an Ordinance you were about making,
 “ for establishing a *Court of Equity in the Supreme Court*, as
 “ being, in my Opinion, contrary to Law. I thought my-
 “ self within the Duty of my Office in sending you this Mes-
 “ sage, *desiring to be heard before its Establishment*, and I
 “ hope I shall be justified by your Superiors and mine.
 “ The Answer you were pleased to send me by Mr. *Joseph*
 “ *Warrel was, That I need not give myself any Trouble about*
 “ *the Affair, that you would neither receive a Visit, nor any*
 “ *Message from me. That you could neither rely upon my In-*
 “ *tegrity, nor depend upon my Judgment or Opinion; that you*
 “ *thought me a Person not fit to be entrusted with any Com-*
 “ *cerns relating to the King.* I am heartily sorry, Sir, for
 “ your own Sake, as well as that of the Publick, that the
 “ King’s Representative should be moved to so great a De-
 “ gree of Warmth, as appears by this Answer, which I trust
 “ could proceed from no other Reason but my giving my
 “ Opinion in a Court of which I was a Judge, in a Point
 “ of Law that came before me. If Judges are to be inti-
 “ midated, so as not to dare to give any Opinion but what
 “ is pleasing to a Governor, and agreeable to his private
 “ Views, the People of this Province, who are very much
 “ concerned both with respect to their Lives and Fortunes,
 “ and Independency of those who are to judge of them, may
 “ possibly not think themselves so secure in either of them,
 “ as the Laws and his Majesty intend they should be.
 The Close of this Judge’s Letter presents us with a lively
 Image of this Governor’s haughty, passionate and unjustifiable
 Conduct.

As to my Integrity, I gave you no Occasion to call it in Que-
stion; I have been in this Office almost twenty Years, my Hands
were never souled with a Bribe, nor am I conscious to myself
that Power or Poverty hath been able to induce me to be partial
in favour of either of them; and as I have no Reason to expect
any Favour from you, so neither am I ashamed or afraid to
stand the Test of the strictest Enquiry you can make concerning
my Conduct. I have served the Publick faithfully and ho-
nestly, and dare and do appeal to them for my Justification.

Judge *Morris* makes Mention of Lord *Augustus Fitzroy*
 being at *New-York*, where was then a Man of War, aboard
 of which that Lord had a Command, and while he was in
 this City, he took to Wife a Daughter of the Governor, an
 agreeable young Lady.

The Behaviour of this Governor to the President *Van Dam*
 and the Chief Justice *Morris*, prepares us without Surprise,
 to meet with the extraordinary Proceedings against *Zenger*,
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who printed *Van Dam's* and *Morris's* Cases at large by their Desire, and at their Expence, which, no doubt, very much sharpen'd the Governor's Resentment against him, and the Chief Justice being turned out, there were only the two Judges left in Court to try the Printer for a Libel against him, wherein no worse was said of him than what the Chief Judge had declared to be against Law.

Mr. *Cosby* had been but few Months at *New-York*, before he quarrel'd with President *Van Dam* and Judge *Morris* in the Manner we have related; and made the People uneasy under his Government. Their Affairs had otherwise been in a good Situation.

Before we proceed to the famous Trial of *Zenger*, we must return to other Particulars relating to this Colony.

They had been for some time in no Fear of the *French Indians*, probably trusting to their Security by the *Barrier* of the *Five Nations* between them and the Enemy, and according to Mr. *Dummer's* Representation, they were very artful to take no Step that might provoke the *French* to disturb them. His Words are, "*New-York* has always kept itself in a State of *Neutrality*, contributing nothing to the common Safety of the *British Colonies*, while the *Canada Indians*, joined by Parties of the *French*, used to make their *Route* by the Borders of *New-York*, without any Molestation from the *English* of that Province, and fall upon the *Out-Towns* of *New-England*. This Behaviour was the more unpardonable in that Government, because they have 400 regular Troops maintained among them at the King's Charge, and have five Nations of the *Iroquois* on their Confines, who are entirely dependent on them, and might easily, had they been engaged in the common Cause, have intercepted the *French* in their Marches, and thereby have prevented the Depredations on his Majesty's Subjects of *New-England*. Solemn and repeated Applications were made to the Government of *New-York* by the Governors of the *Massachusetts*, *Connecticut* and *Rhode Island*, in joint Letters on this Subject, but in vain; the Answer was, *They could not think it proper to engage their Indians in actual War, lest they should endanger their own Frontiers, and bring upon themselves an Expence which they were in no Condition to provide for.* And thus the poor Colonies, whose Constitution was Charter Government, were left to bear the whole Burden, without any Help from those Provinces, whose Governors held their Commissions from the Crown." This is the more strange, because the Cause of Complaint

was as well in Col. *Hunter's* time, as in Lord *Cornbury's*, or Col. *Cosby's*, which was not the Golden Age of this Province.

But however this Security of theirs lasted not long; for in the Year 1734, they were alarmed with the Movements of the *French* and *Indians* on the Frontiers of *New-York*, and the Assembly came to the following Resolutions.

“ That there be allowed, towards fortifying the City of *New-York*, the Sum of 6000 *l.*

“ That there be allowed the City of *Albany*, to erect and complete a Stone Fort, Soldiers Barracks within the same, repairing the Officer's House, or building a new one, and making the Carriages for the great Guns, the Sum of 4000 *l.*

“ That there be allowed, for erecting a Fort on Beams upon a Stone Foundation at *Scanestady*, a good Block House in each Corner thereof, Carriages for the great Guns, &c. the Sum of 800 *l.*

“ That there be allowed, for Messengers and Presents to the *Senekaa's* Country, maintaining a Smith and some Men among that Nation, and for building Fortifications there, if found feasible and practicable, the Sum of 500 *l.*

“ That, for purchasing great Guns, and making Carriages for the same, for the Security of *Suffolk* County, to be employed there as Occasion may require, and for discharging a Demand of the said County, in opposing a Pirate Vessel which infested them some Years ago, be allowed to the County in all 200 *l.*

This Assembly took into Consideration a Declaration of two Lawyers, Mr. *Smith* and Mr. *Murray*, that “ the Courts of Chancery, King's-Bench, Common-Pleas and Exchequer were of original Jurisdiction by the Laws and Constitution of *England*, as ancient as the Kingdom itself. “ That as in that Colony they were entitled to the same Laws, Liberties and Privileges, and under the same Constitution, so they were entituled to the same Courts; and that if those Courts should, in that Province, be put upon any other Footing than they are in *England*, their own Act would draw into Question, whether they were entitled to the Liberties and Privileges aforesaid; and therefore they conceived it would not be improper to regulate the Courts; and that the Judges should be made during their good Behaviour, by an Act as it was in *England*. This, doubtless, was occasioned by the Attempt in President *Van Dam's* Case, to turn the Supreme Court into a Court of Chancery.

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About the Year 1733 appeared the *New-York Weekly Journal*, printed by *John Peter Zenger*. One may easily perceive the Remains of the *Dutch* Inhabitants formerly possessing this City and Province, by the Names that occur in this History. The Administration here was become distasteful before the *Journal* began to give Marks of it, and *Zenger* set it up only to get a Penny. There had been a News-Paper published in *New-York* some time; but this Printer's was intended for *Politicks*, as well as News, and it was not likely the Printer would long escape Animadversions, if he dared to speak any thing of the Governor in his Journal, whether true or false, if displeasing to his Excellency. This Paper containing something of that kind, had not been published above two Months before the new Chief Justice, *James De Lancey*, Esq; harangued the *Grand Jury* with a solemn Charge preparatory to a Prosecution against *Zenger*, for Words derogatory to the Governor's Dignity; but the *Grand Jury* giving no Ear to the Judge's Speech, the Council took it in hand, and sent a Message by *Philip Cortlandy*, Esq; one of their Members, to the Assembly, to desire a Conference between a Committee of Council and a Committee of Assembly, about the Proceedings to be carried on against the said *Zenger*.

1733.

Zenger the Printer prosecuted.

The Members of the Council who were forward in this Affair were

George Clarke, Esq;
Mr. Levingston,
Mr. Cortlandy,
Mr. Harrison,
Mr. Kennedy,

Mr. Lane,
James De Lancey, Esq; Ch. Just.
Dr. Codden,
Mr. Horsmanden.

A Committee of the Assembly, *Mr. Garretson* Chairman, met a Committee of Council the 17th of *October*, 1734, and the latter deliver'd to the former the Request of their Board, *That the Assembly would concur with the Council in an Order for burning by the Hands of the common Hangman the New-York Journals*, No. 7, 47, 48, as derogatory to the Dignity of the Government of his Majesty King *George II.* and reflecting on the most considerable Persons in the most distinguish'd Stations, &c. The Counsellors left the said Journals with the Assembly Men, and the Chairman, *Mr. Garretson*, reported the Case to the House, who declined having any Concern in the Matter; so the Council sent *Mr. Levingston* to the Assembly, to desire they might have their Papers again. No doubt the House was ready enough to return them.

1734.

Opposed by the Assembly.

The Slur put upon this Proceeding by the Parliament of the Province, abated nothing of the Spirit of the Governor and his Council; they therefore met in their Chamber the 5th of *November*, and signed an Order for the burning the aforesaid Journals by the Hands of the Common Hangman. They are thus ranged in the Minutes.

P R E S E N T

His Excellency *William Cosby*, Esq; Captain-General and Governor in Chief, &c.

Mr. *Clark*;
Mr. *Levingston*,
Mr. *Cortlandy*,
Mr. *Harrison*,
Mr. *Kennedy*,

Mr. *Lane*,
Dr. *Codden*,
Mr. *De Lancey*, Ch. Justice.
Mr. *Horfemanden*.

And by the
City of New
York.

The Ingenuity of those Gentlemen is remarkable in inserting the Name of Dr. *Codden* in their Order, tho' the Doctor was that Day at *Esopus*, 90 Miles from the Place when the Council met at *Fort St. George* in *New-York*; but I observe, in the Conduct of all this Sort of Governors a Rashness, and sometimes a Rage, when their Interest or Dignity are in Question, which runs them perpetually into Error and Nonsense. They were not contented with signing this Order for the *Hangman* to burn Mr. *Zenger's* Papers, but order'd *Robert Lucking*, Esq; Major of *New-York*, together with all the Magistrates to attend when the *Hangman* executed their Commands; but the Mayor and Aldermen excused themselves, and I suppose the *Hangman* did the same, for the Papers aforesaid were put into the Fire by the Sheriff's Negro; *Francis Harrison*, Esq; Member of the Council, and *Jeremiah Dunbar*, Esq; with some Officers of the Garrison, assisting at the Ceremony, which the Citizens of *New-York* treated as ridiculous and contemptible.

On a Sabbath-day, *November* the 16th, the Governor and his Council issued an Order for seizing *Zenger* and sending him to the common *Yail*, where he was for some time deny'd the Use of Pen, Ink and Paper. The meeting on a Sabbath-day to do this notable Deed, so far from Charity, if not from Justice, was very much censured by religious Persons. *Zenger's* Counsel were *James Alexander*, Esq; and Mr. *William Smith*, who prepared Exceptions against the Commissions of the Judges, *James De Lancey*, Esq; Chief Justice, *Frederick Phillipse*, Esq; Second Justice. I shall only mention one of them, that the Governor had granted the Commission without Advice of the Council, which was es-

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essential to the Validity of it in that Province, as is before hinted. 'Twas not likely that such Exception would be hearken'd to; they were over-ruled, and Zenger's Lawyers forbidden to practise in the Courts of New-York. The Attorney-General, R. Bradley, Esq; having laid an Information against John Peter Zenger for those Papers, which, in his Title, are Libels, the Court allowed John Chambers, Esq; to be Council for Mr. Zenger; and Andrew Hamilton, Esq; of Philadelphia, being inform'd of the Importance, as well as the great Expectation of the Issue of the Case, came from that City, old and infirm as he was, without any retaining Fee to induce him to it, to defend the Printer's Cause against the palpable Inveteracy and Partiality of the Governor, and the Lawyers or Judges of his own making.

The Trial was order'd for the 4th of August, 1735. The poor Man had then lain in the common Jail above thirty five Weeks; let any sensible honest Man judge whether any Man deserved the Authority of a Constable who could be guilty of dealing so cruelly by a Fellow-Subject, who had not done him a Pennyworth of Injury in his Lands, Goods or Chattels, nor in his Name but by Inuendo's, which are abhorrent to all Laws divine and human, when made use of as the Tools of Revenge and Power. The Preparations for this Trial on the Side of the Prosecutors was by impannelling a Jury, many of whom were no Freeholders, but Persons holding Commissions and Offices at the Governor's Pleasure, others of them bearing Personal Hatred to Zenger, probably for his Journals too. Among the rest was impannel'd the Governor's Taylor, Baker, Candle-maker, Joiner; against such a Pack, when Zenger's Counsel objected, and offered to give Reasons for their Objections, the Prosecutors, not being willing to have that Dirt stirred, permitted the bringing in the Freeholders Book, out of which 48 Jurymen were struck, and the first 12 on the List were agreed to be called and sworn.

Hermanus Rutgers,
Stanly Holmes,
Edward Man,
John Bell,
Samuel Weaver,
Andries Marschalk,

Egbert Van Borson,
Thomas Hunt, Foreman.
Benjamin Hildreth,
Abraham Keteltas,
John Coelet,
Hercules Wendover.

Being ignorant of the Practice, and even the very Language of the Law, I shall repeat nothing said by the Lawyers on either Side, but where Reason and common Sense are sufficient to be one's Guide.

The *Information* charges *Zenger* with printing and publishing a *false, malicious, scandalous and seditious Libel*, called the *New-York Weekly Journal*. Thus the *Attorney General* inserted some *Parcels* of the *Paper* before-mentioned; but lumber'd with so many technical *Barbarisms*, that I must, as well as I can, reduce them to plain meaning. It implies that the *Administration* was so *oppressive*, that the *People* were leaving the *Province* to avoid it; that their *Liberties and Properties* are *precarious*, and *Slavery* is like to be intailed on them and their *Posterity*, which they collect from the *Proceedings* of the *Managers* here; the *Law* is at an *End*, *Trials* by *Jury* are taken away when a *Governor* pleases, *Mens Dues* are destroyed, *Judges* arbitrarily displaced, new *Courts* erected, without the *Consent* of the *Legislature*, *Men* of known *Estates* denied their *Votes*, contrary to the received *Practice*, the best *Expofitor* of any *Law*; who is in the *Province* that can call any thing his own, or enjoy any *Liberty* longer than those in the *Administration* will condescend to let them? For which *Reasons* *People* leave the *Province*. Now if all these things were true, could there be a greater *Libel* on *Majesty* itself than to shew that a *Man*, guilty of such *Oppression*, had been kept in the *Government* so long as this *Governor* had been in *New-York*? If all or any of these things were true, what *Madness* was it for him to expose, I will not say his own *Dignity*, but that of his *Office*; by taking it against a *Course* of *Witnesses*, offering to prove he was unworthy of it by various *Acts* of *Power*?

Mr. Hamilton, Counsel for *Zenger*, required again and again that, by proving what was said in the *New-York Journal* to be true, his *Client* must be cleared of the *Libel*. Ever since the *Abuse* of *Innuendo's*, by the *Judges* and *Lawyers* in the *Reigns* of *King Charles II* and *King James II*, they had not been often ventured upon by *Court Lawyers*, and freedom or never countenanced by *Judges*; but *Bradley*, the *Attorney-General* of *New-York's* *Information* against *Zenger* had no other *Foot* to stand upon than *Innuendo*; but as he would not let *Zenger* have his *Argument*, and *Mr. Chamberlain*, his own Counsel, declined his letting him have his, there only *Mr. Hamilton's* in the printed *Trial*, out of which I shall take a few *Lines*, which mark a little the *Misfortune* of those *Britons* in our *Colonies*, who live under *Governments* that do ill and will not be told of it. I am sensible that the *Attorney-General* said no more than what the *Judgments* of the *Courts*, in the worst of times, established for *Law*, would to speak evil of *Dignities* is never the less; nay, that it is the more criminal for being true; but since *Common Sense* directly con-

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directly contrary in this to *Common Law*, I will repeat what Mr. Hamilton urges from the Case of *John de Northampton*, in Lord *Coke's* Institutes: "By this Indictment it appears, the libellous Words were utterly *false*, and there the Falshood was the Crime, and is the Ground of that Judgment; and is not that what we contend for? Do not we insist, that the Falshood makes the *Scandal*, and both make the Libel? And how shall it be known whether the Words be libellous, that is, *true* or *false*, but by admitting us to prove them *true*, since Mr. Attorney will not undertake to prove them *false*. I know it has been said, that Truth makes a Libel the more provoking, and therefore the Offence is the greater, and consequently the Judgment should be the heavier. Well, suppose it was so, and let us agree, for once, that Truth is a greater Sin than Falshood; yet, as the Offences are not equal, and as the Punishment is arbitrary, that is, according as the Judges, in their Discretion, shall direct to be inflicted, is it not absolutely necessary that they should know whether the Libel is true or false." How could a Governor, or his Creatures, stand the Hearing a *Free Briton* demand a Right to prove the abominable things said of him to be true, and the Judge himself perhaps made deny their Fellow-subject that Right? If the Law screen'd him from hearing, would not a small Portion of Prudence and Temper have kept him from running himself upon such a Dilemma? 'Tis obvious, by what has been said of this Governor's Carriage towards President *Van Dam* and the Chief Justice *Morris*, that the bitterest Part of the Words, called libellous, could be proved to be true in Fact. Mr. Hamilton then speaks very rationally of the Grievances the People in the Colonies are exposed to, by the Abuse of Power in the Governors. "I have heard it observed, says he, that the Man who was neither good nor wise before his being made a Governor, never improved upon his Preferment, but has been generally observed to be worse; for Men who are not endued with Wisdom and Virtue, can only be kept in Bounds by the Law, and by how much the further they think themselves out of the Reach of Law, by how much the more wicked and cruel they are. His whole Speech on this Subject is well worth reading, and I therefore refer to it. The Attorney-General and the Judges, having nothing to say, but to assert that *New-York Journal* was a Libel, tho' the scandalous Parts charged in the Information were true, and that the Judge's Opinion was the Law and the Judgment, I am sure the Reader could take no great Delight in their Speeches; but that the Jury had to do with both the Law and the Fact, and to determine of both,

Mr.

Consulor
Hamilton of
the Governm^{ts}.

Mr. Hamilton proved by the Verdict of the Jury in the famous Case of the *Seven Bishops*, who, when three of the Judges had given their Opinion that their Petition was a *Libel*, one only disagreeing, "The Jury, says he, took upon them, to their *immortal Honour*, to determine both Fact and Law, and to understand the *Petition* of the Bishops to be no *Libel*, that is, to contain no *Falshood*, and therefore found them *Not Guilty*." And the *New-York Jury* took very little time to consider the Matter, and by the Foreman, Mr. *Thomas Hunt*, gave the same Verdict for *John Peter Zenger*. Upon which there was three Huzzas in the Hall, which was full of People.

Tho' doubtless there had been as ill Governors in the British Colonies as this of *New-York*; yet Counsellor *Hamilton* assures us this was the *Second Information* for a *Libel* he ever knew in *America*; and the first was brought by *Col. Nicholson*, who had been Governor of *Maryland*, *Virginia*, *New-Scotland* and *Carolina* at several times; and his Proceeding there being against a Clergyman of the Church of *England* was the more extraordinary, because he affected an uncommon Zeal for the *Church* upon all Occasions. See how Mr. *Hamilton* relates it: "Governor *Nicholson*, who happened to be offended with one of his Clergy, met him one Day upon the Road, and, as was usual with him, under the Protection of his *Commission*, used the poor Parson with the worst of Language, threatened to cut off his Ears, slit his Nose, and at last, to shoot him through the Head. The Parson being a reverend Man, continued all this time uncover'd in the Heat of the Sun, until he found an Opportunity to fly from it, and coming to a Neighbour's House, found himself very ill of a Fever, and immediately wrote for a Doctor; and that his Physician might the better judge of his Distemper, he acquainted him with the Usage he had received; concluding that the Governor was certainly mad, for that no Man in his Senses would have behaved in that manner. The Doctor unhappily shews the Parson's Letter, the Governor came to hear of it, and so an *Information* was preferred against the poor Man, for saying, *He believed the Governor was mad*, and it was laid in the *Information* to be *false, scandalous and wicked, and wrote with Intent to move Sedition among the People, and bring his Excellency into Contempt*; but, by an Order from the late *Queen Anne*, there was a Stop put to the Prosecution, with sundry others set on Foot by the same Governor against Gentlemen of the greatest Worth and Honour in that Government.

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Mr. Hamilton's Story does not very well agree with Mr. *Nicholson's* Zeal for the Church at *Maryland*; and either *Hamilton* abused him in this Report of him, or *Nicholson* abused the World in that laudable Zeal.

Such rash and ruinous Proceedings as these, shew how absolutely necessary it is that the Capacity, Temper and Morals of all Persons to be preferred to Governments in our Colonies should be well approved before such Preferments, with due Consideration of their Circumstances and Inducements to leave their native Country, to struggle with the Heats, Hurricanes and Wilds of *America*.

The Citizens of *New-York* were so well pleased with Mr. *Hamilton's* Proceedings for them in the Case of their Printer, that, at a Common Council of the City, held the 16th of September, 1735.

P R E S E N T

Paul Richards, Esq; Mayor.
 _____ Esq; Deputy-Mayor,
Daniel Horsfemanden, Esq; Recorder.

A L D E R M E N.

<i>William Roome</i> , Esq;	<i>Christopher Fell</i> , Esq;
<i>Samuel Johnson</i> , Esq;	<i>Stephen Bayard</i> , Esq;
<i>John Waller</i> , Esq;	<i>John Burgers</i> , Esq;

A S S I S T A N T S.

Mr. <i>John Waldron</i> ,	Mr. <i>Charles Le Roca</i> ,
Mr. _____ <i>Myer</i> ,	Mr. <i>Evert Bayard</i> ,
Mr. <i>John Mears</i> ,	Mr. <i>Henry Bogert</i> ,
Mr. <i>John Fred.</i>	Mr. <i>Abraham de Peyster</i> .

It was order'd to present *Andrew Hamilton*, Esq; with the Freedom of the Corporation, and that Aldermen *Bayard*, *Johnson* and *Fell* do prepare a Draught of the same, which is done and approved in the following Words.

Paul Richards, Esq; Mayor, the Recorder, Aldermen and Assistants of the City of *New-York*, convened in Common Council, &c. Whereas Honour is the first Reward of Virtue, and publick Benefits demand a publick Acknowledgment: we therefore, under a grateful Sense of the remarkable Service done to this City and Colony by *Andrew Hamilton*, Esq; of *Pensylvania*,
 Barrister

Barrister at Law, by his learned and generous Defence of the Rights of Mankind, and the Liberty of the Press, in the Case of John Peter Zenger, lately tried on an Information exhibited to the Supreme Court of this Colony, do, by these Presents, bear the said Andrew Hamilton, Esq; the publick Thanks of the Freemen of this Corporation, for that signal Service which cheerfully undertook under great Indisposition of Body, and generously refusing any Fee or Reward; and, in Testimony of great Esteem of his Person, and Sense of his Merit, do hereby present him with the Freedom of this City, &c.

William Sharpes, Cl.

Several Members of the Corporation, and others, contributed to the purchasing a Gold Box, weighing Five Ounces and a Half, in which the Seal of the Freedom was inclosed, and the Box, with the inclosed Freedom, was carried to Mr. Hamilton at Philadelphia, by Alderman Bayard.

Round the Lid of the Box was engraved not only the Arms of the City of New-York, but this Motto:

DEMERSÆ LEGES TIMEFACTA LIBERTAS
HÆC TANDEM EMERGUNT.

On the inner Side of the Lid was this Motto,

NON NUMMIS VIRTUTE PARATUR.

And on the Front of the Rim,

ITA CUIQUE EVENIAT UT DE REPUBLICA
MERUIT.

CICERO.

The Corporation order'd their Thanks and Freedom, presented to Mr. Hamilton, to be printed, and several Thousands of Zenger's Trial were vendid in the British Colonies and in England.

1635.

We find this Governor still continuing his grand Design of Government, in his Behaviour towards the People of New-York, who, in November 1735, petitioned him to dissolve the Assembly, as appears by their Minutes in the following Terms: "The Speaker acquainted the House, that him-
" and Capt. Vanborn having waited on the Governor with
" Petition for dissolving the Assembly, and that he
" likewise

likewise read unto him the Order and Request of the House thereon, he gave them this Answer in Writing.

Gentlemen,

Since your Message takes notice that the House applied to me November last, for the same thing they now desire, they must know it still more out of the ordinary Course now, than it was at that time; therefore I must again answer, that as the Ad-
 vancement, Proroguing and Dissolving of the Assembly is the un-
 doubted Prerogative of the Crown; and that as his Majesty
 has been pleas'd to entrust me with that Power, I shall make
 use of it as I find it for the Service of his Majesty and the Be-
 nefit of the Province, which I do not yet apprehend it to be.

We have seen how this Governor dealt by President Van
 Horn; how he turn'd out that worthy Magistrate Chief
 Justice Morris; how he endeavoured to ruin Zenger the
 Printer; and now how he kept up the Assembly, contrary to
 the Sense and Petition of their Constituents; yet we must
 give him in this Government.

We shall now give a short Geographical Account of this
 Province, its present Inhabitants and Trade.

All the English Colonies in America affect to divide their
 Districts into Counties, whether they have People for them
 or not; and this, in some of them, is so pompous, that it
 becomes ridiculous. Thus the Jerseys and Long Island, and
 indeed the remoter Parts of New-York, which is divided into
 no less than ten Counties, Albany, Ulster, Dutchess, Orange
 and King's County, which are inhabited by the Dutch; and
 persons of Dutch Extraction, who make very good English
 when become settled amongst them, Queen's County; Suffolk
 County, Chester County, ——— and New-York County, are
 the other Counties.

Something has already been said of the City of New-York, New-York.
 which being much larger now than when it was called New-
 Amsterdam, makes a more agreeable Prospect than it did
 when. There are now about 1100 Houses, and near 7000
 Inhabitants in it. The Houses are well built, the meanest
 of them said to be worth 100 l. which cannot be said of
 any City in England. The great Church here was built in
 the Year 1695, and is a very handfom Edifice. Here are
 also a Dutch Church a French Church and a Lutheran Church.
 The Inhabitants of Dutch Extraction make a very considerable
 Part of the Town; but most of them speaking English, one
 may suppose they go pretty much to the great Church, espe-
 cially all those that are or hope to be in Offices. The Mi-
 nister

nister of it was lately Mr. *William Vesey*. Here is a Free School and a Printing-house; but no more than one Book-eller's Shop, and that not extremely well custom'd. There is little or nothing of the old Walls left; the chief Defence of the Town now is *George Fort*, and two new Batteries, one on each Side of the *Narrows*, to secure the Place by Sea. The Fort is now in good Order, and there are two Companies of Soldiers in Garrison in it. The Council-house is a fair Building. The Government of the Town is by a Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Sheriffs, Common-Council-Men, Constables and other inferior Officers, in Imitation of the Corporations in *England*, where the *Body*, as 'tis call'd, do, in many Places, more Harm than Good; and I am afraid, in *New-York*, the Factions among the Magistrates, Rivals for the Direction, have not a little contributed to some Uneasinesses in the Province. *Manhattan Island*, in which the City of *New-York* stands, is 14 Miles long, very fruitful and pleasant, and being water'd by *Hudson's River*, makes a most delicious and profitable Plantation. Indeed this City and its Environs, for Prospect, for Profit, for Pleasure, is not exceeded by any in the *British* or any other Empire.

Kingston.

Kingston lies between *New-York* and *Albany*, on the West side of the River, 50 Miles from the former. The Houses are straggling, except about 100, which compose the Main-Rim, which is well built, and the Whole may amount to above 200 Families. The River *Esopus*, a Name only known to the concerned, falls into *Hudson's* from *New-York* near this Town, and makes a good Communication between this Province and that.

West-Chester.

In *West-Chester* County there is but one Parish, or at least but one Parish Church, which is at the Town so call'd; but there's a settled Maintenance for two Ministers, at 50 *l.* year each. 'Twas an Error in my first Edition to place *Rye* here, that Town belonging to *New-England*, in *Fairfield* County.

As to the Places, *Taskers*, *De Chams*, and *Muners* mentioned in this County, all that I can say of them is that I take them to have been *Dutch* Plantations.

Albany.

The Town of *Albany*, call'd anciently *Orange Fort*, is above 140 Miles from *New-York*, nearer *Canada* and *Quebec*. The Inhabitants are still mostly *Dutch*. Here is a strong Stone Fort. *Queen Anne* sent a Church of *England* Minister hither, who has 100 *l.* a Year settled upon him; and the Representatives for this County in the Assembly moved for a Church at the Expence of the Province. I know not whether it was yet built. The Town consists now of between 2 and 300 Families, who live very comfortably, and thrive

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also by the Indian Trade for which it lies very convenient.
Here the Governors of *New-York* have often Conferences
with the *Sachems*, and a notable one was held here in the
first Year of *Queen Anne*, when were here present the Lord
Cornbury, Col. *Peter Schuyler*, Major *Dirk Weissels*, Com-
missioners for treating with the *Indians*; *John Belcher*, Esq;
Mayor of *New-York*; *John Abeel*, Esq; Recorder; *John*
Rooseboom, Esq; Alderman; *David Schuyler*, Esq; Alderman;
John Schuyler, Esq; Alderman; Mr. *Richard Lewingston*,
Secretary for *Indian Affairs*; and *Hillette Van Olinda*, an
old *Dutch* Woman, Interprets. The first that had Audi-
ence were 2 *Sachems* of the *Hurons*, or *Canada Indians*;
then 5 *Sachems* of the *Twightwights*, and *Tronondade In-*
dians; then the *Sachems* of the *Five Nations*, in Confede-
racy with the *English*. The *Kings*, in their Speech, make
them Six; but I suppose that was a Novelty, on so extraor-
dinary an Occasion, when some additional People were in-
cluded. Those that appeared here now by their *Sachems*,
were *Oneydes*, the *Onandages*, the *Cayanges*, the *Sinnecaas*,
and the *Maquaas*. There's hardly any one of these Names
at the last, that are pronounced and spelt always exactly in
the same manner. The Territories of these *Five Nations*
and the other *Indians* reach'd to the *French* Settlements in
Canada, the utmost Limits of which, Southward, are not a-
bove 200 Miles from the utmost Limits of *New-York*, North-
ward. The chief Business of this Conference, besides settling
a few Matters in Trade, was the Exchange of Presents,
which, on the *English* Part, are generally Clothes, and on
the *Indian*, Skins. There are generally two Companies of
Soldiers detached to garrison *Albany*, from whence a Party
usually sent to

Schenectada, 20 Miles above it. Here is, or was lately only *Schenectada*,
the old Fort out of Repair, and the Palisado's rotten, which,
I suppose, tempted the *French*, and their *Indians*, to insult
as we have related. 'Tis rebuilt in a better Manner
than before they burnt it, is larger and more populous, and
lying pretty far in among the *Indian* Plantations, the Inha-
bitants make good Advantage of the Trade with them. The
Village about it is not unlike that pleasant Valley which the *Trent*
waters in *Nottinghamshire*, to which it has been often com-
pared. Here are now about 150 Families, *English* and
Dutch.

Between this and *New-York*, 170 Miles, dwelt several *In-*
di Nations, as the *Makentowonit*, the *Pochanit*, the *Woo-*
on, the *Mamkikam*; one may call them what one will, the
Savages would perhaps understand us as well as they do by

the Names they go by in our Histories. The *Maquaas* were the West of *Fort Albany*; and Southward from them lies the Head of the *Mississipi*. On these Frontiers are two or three other small Fortifications, as *Half Moon*, *Nestigaun*, and *Saracloge*. The Country all along to the Mouth of the River, equally fruitful and delightful. The *Indians* had it all Years ago, except *Soperskill*, on the Western Shore of *Hudson's River*, which Shore was never planted by the *Dutch* but is now by the *English*: The inland Country is still the of Settlements.

Long Island. South-East from *New-York* lies *Long-Island*, sometimes called *Nassau Island*, stretching along *Fairfield County New-England*, almost to the Mouth of *Hudson's River*. 'Tis a fine Spot of Ground, 150 Miles in Length, and 12 Breadth. It was partly inhabited by the *English* before *Robert Carr* came into these Parts; *King James I.* included it in the Patent he granted to *Sir William Alexander*, Earl *Sterling*; and the Inhabitants of *Lyn* in *Essex County New-England*, finding themselves streightened in Room, contracted with that Lord for a Tract of Land in this Island, which about 100 Families removed, together with *Mr. Pierson* their Minister, and began to plant at the West End of the Island; but the *Dutch* of *New-Amsterdam* gave them such Disturbance, that they deserted their first Plantation and settled at the East End, where they built a Town, and established themselves into a Sort of Government, by the Advice of the *Massachusetts Colony*, of which they had been a Part. They called their Town *Southampton*, the Name it still goes by, and out of it was lately taken the Parish of *Bridgehampton*. Three of the Counties in the Province of *New-York* lie on this Island, as *Queen's County*, *Suffolk County* and *Richmond County*; for the *English* lookt upon this Island as dependent on *New-York*, and took Possession of both by Virtue of the *Duke of York's Patent*; tho' I don't see how the *Lyn* People could suffer in the Property they purchased of the Lord *Sterling*, who had a prior Grant. In *Queen's County* are two Churches, supplied with Incumbents, one at *Jamaica* a Town of about 40 Houses, of which the Reverend *William Urquhart* was lately Minister. He has 50 l. a Year by Subscription from the *Yorkshire Clergy*, and 15 l. Books. The other Church is at *Hempstead*, of which late was Rector, the Reverend *Mr. John Thomas*, who has the same Income from *England* raised by the *Society for propagating the Gospel*, whose Stipends are good, and I hope the Stipendiaries are the same, especially those that are sent to *Maryland* and *Virginia*, where Ministers are much wanted.

but not such as I have known to ship themselves for these Places. Each of these Ministers have 60 l. a Year also from *New-York*. Near *Hempstead* is a noted Plain, taking its Name from it; and in this Plain there are often Horse-Races, the Breed here being famous, on which Account the Militia Regiment of *Queen's County* is Horse. In it are also *Constatle Town*, *Utrecht*, and other small Places, not worth the Names of Towns, which together make a plentiful Provision for their Minister, as all pious and learned Divines ought to have.

There is an Allowance of 40 l. a Year for a Minister in *Suffolk County*; but there is no Minister in it; there being no Church; and my Author does not think *Presbyterian* and *Independent* Pastors to be Ministers. There are of them and of *Quakers* several Congregations, which he cannot allow to be called *Churches*. Tho' there's no Parson, there are two Towns in this County, *Huntington*, where there are two Houses; and *Oyster Bay*, where there are as many. When the *Dutch* were in Possession of *Long Island*, they made Earthen Ware there, as good or better than that at *Delft*; but that Trade was lost as soon as the *English* were Masters here. The latter minded, and still mind planting and sowing, and formerly Skins and Furrs. There is a Plain towards the Middle of the Island, 16 Miles long, and 4 broad, call'd *Salisbury Plain*, which yields very fine Grass, perhaps as fine as that of *Hempstead*; for here are Races twice a Year, and to encourage a good Breed of Horses, here is yearly a Silver Cup given to the swiftest. There's no manner of Rubbish, Stick or Stone to be seen upon it. Here are two or three other small Plains, of about a Mile Square, which are very beneficial to the Neighbourhood.

About 40 Years ago was set up at *Northfleet*, in this Island, a Post, which runs twice a Week to *Nettlebed*, *Egersford*, *Huntington*, *Oyster Bay*, *Flushing*, *Newton* and *Bedford*, where the Mail is carried over in the Packet-Boat to *New-York*. A very great Convenience in Trade, of which the Inhabitants of this Island have a pretty good Share in Horses, and the Commodities raised by Pasture Ground. Off the *East Coast* lie several desert Islands, and *Staten Island* at the *West End*, 10 Miles long, and 5 or 6 broad. The chief Plantations in it are *Billop's* at the South End, and *Palmer's* at the North; and at the Eastern Point is a small Settlement, call'd *Dover*. There are very convenient Harbours along the Coast of *Long Island*, and on the South-side, *Whales* and *Grampusses* were formerly, if they are not still caught by the Fishers in small Boats, and a considerable Trade driven

Whales and
Seals.

with the Oil, as to the Sugar Islands and other Colonies to *England* and *Ireland*. In Winter an infinite Number of *Seals* lie on some broken Marshes, Beaches and Banks of Sand. They make an excellent Oil, and would be very advantageous to the People of the Country, if they could find into an easier way of coming at them.

Soil, Climate.

Having mentioned the Fertility of the Soil of this Province, I shall only add as to its Products, that they are the same with those of *New-England*. It has nothing peculiar to itself, and therefore we shall refer to what we said there on this Head. The Soil is richer, and the Climate milder, lying two or three Degrees more to the *South*. The Corn and other Grain of this Province are reckoned to excel the like of *New-England* Growth; but so little, that I suppose it makes no great Difference in the Market.

The Animals, *Beasts*, *Birds* and *Fish* are the same as those in *New-England*, there being no more Difference between the two Provinces than between two Counties in *England* or not so much in several Instances. The *Indians* of *New-England* and those of *New-York* differ as little, considering how *Indians* naturally differ from one another almost in every 10 or 12 Miles; their Customs varying with their Kingdoms, which were rarely of greater Extent. But it will be expected we should say something of the *Savages* of this Province, as well as others. I think they should lose the Name of *Savages*, having so long lived near, and even among the *English*, and accustomed themselves pretty much to the *Usages*.

Indians.

That their Language is as barbarous as that of the *New-England* *Indians*, will appear by the following Examples, as *Nequoyhangen*, the Neck; 'tis very odd that the first Syllable of the *Indian* Word *Nequoyhangen* is *Neq*, the very *English* Neck and there is in all Languages such Oddnesses, which may be term'd *Lusus Linguarum*, as the Semblances of Branches and Sprigs of Trees, are often distinguished on Stones and Shells. A Liar is *Synquowmackriggh*, I cannot pronounce the *krigg* of this dreadful Speech. There are several Dialects, according to the Difference of the Nations. As for the Persons of the *Indians*, they are generally well featured and well limbed. I take their being well limbed to be owing to their way of nursing Children, to put them early to the Use of their Limbs, after strengthening and hardening them by Water and Weather. They spoil their Complexions by dying and painting their Skins, which makes them so tawny, that, by way of Distinction from *Europeans*, they are as often called *Tawneys* as *Indians*. Their Hair is black and lank; they are

bold and dextrous in handling their Bows and Arrows; but they have long had the Use of Fire-Arms; and all the Nations bordering on *European* Settlements do not now pretend to oppose Musket, Powder and Ball with Bows and Arrows. The *Indians* in and near this Province had always a friendly Correspondence with the *English*; one Reason may be, they had been much longer acquainted with them than other *Indians* had been with the first Comers. The Colonies in *New-England* having had Commerce and Correspondence with them 40 or 50 Years before the *English* settled in *New-York*; and besides that, the *Dutch* had broken them of their Wildness, as 'tis said of *Colts*, by living and trading with them before the *English* came thither. *Pere Hennepin* owns they love the *English* better than the *French*, of which we saw enough in the Speech of their Kings to *Queen Anne*. They are apt to learn all things, and my Author adds, willing to be instructed in the *Christian Religion*, which I do not entirely believe, tho' out of a laudable Zeal for the Propagation of it, they are so represented to the Society, that have taken upon them the Charge of sending Ministers to them, some of which have not behaved as became their Divine Mission; infomuch that the shrewder Heads among the *Indians* have taken Notice of it, as will be seen by this Story, which *Sir Gilbert Heathcot* told me, as he had it from *Brigadier Hunter*, Governor of this Province. The *Brigadier* Governor giving some of their *Sachems* a Meeting at *Albany*, where he renewed what is called the *Covenant Chain*, or Alliance with the *Five Nations*, he carried with him Presents, as usual, which were several Suits of Clothes, set out for Show in the best Manner, and the *Sachems* being mightily taken with them, the Governor thought it a proper time to pursue another Part of his Instructions, which was to dispose them to receive favourably and give Ear to some Ministers, which were intended to be sent amongst them to preach the *Christian Liberty*. The *Brigadier* told them, *Their good Mother the Queen had not only made this noble Provision for clothing their Bodies; but she would clothe their Souls also, by the preaching of the Gospel; to which End some Preachers would be sent to instruct them.* To which one of the oldest of the *Sachems* made Answer, *That they most heartily thank'd their gracious good Queen and Mother for the noble Clothes she had order'd for them; but as to the Preachers, there had been such and such,*

Indian King's Rail-ery on Artisanaries.

namely two or three, whom he had seen there or in *New-York*, who, instead of preaching their pious Religion, taught them to drink; and he was humbly of Opinion, that if their good Queen and Mother would send them two or three *Black-*

smiths to instruct them in working Iron-work, in which they were very ignorant, their People would be much more the better for it than for any Instructions from such Preachers. He said this so archly in his own Language, which was well interpreted to the Governor, that his Excellency could not help laughing, and the Design of the Missionaries was suspended at that time.

I suppose that very eminent Merchant and Magistrate, Sir Gilbert Heathcot above-mentioned, was well acquainted with the Affairs of this Province, finding, among the Counsellors, Caleb Heathcot, Esq; of his Family as well as Name.

The Indians still pay a great Respect to their Kings; but I suspect very much what some Writers say, that they believe the Transmigration of Souls, and talk as learnedly of the Creation of the World as their Neighbours. They are everlasting Dancers, given to all manner of American Sports and Gaming, and will play all they have at Cards, which they have unhappily learnt, as well as Drinking, of the Europeans; and I am afraid, have suffer'd more in their Morals by these two Vices, than they have been better'd by their Preaching. They have certain Festivals, or times set a-part for their Gamings and Dancings. They don't take much Care of their Dress, in which they differ little from the New-England Indians; but their Women differ very much from those both of Old-England, and New-England, and all Europe. When a Woman is with Child, she never admits the conjugal Embraces till she is delivered, and never while she gives Suck. If a Man dislikes his Wife, he turns her off for the least Offence; to cuckold her Husband is so little a one, that no Notice is taken of it, provided she tells him or her Parents of it. If she's turn'd out of Doors for other Crimes, she carries away her Children in Revenge. Their Maids do not long keep that Name, as we understand it, they lie with whom they please before Marriage; but afterwards are constant to the Husband.

They give no Quarter in their Wars, but to Women and Children, whom they keep for Slaves; and, notwithstanding what we have read of their Wars in New-England, those among themselves were rather Riots and Inroads. It was a bloody Battle with them, if 8 or 10 Men were killed, and a mighty Prince who had 100 Subjects: Then it was that we met with so many Names of Nations; but then there was generally a supreme King over several of them, who united them against a King of the like Character, when he was about making War upon them. One of the Kings, that came

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to Queen Anne's Court, was of that Dignity; I saw them
 all as much as I had mind to, in the House where they lodg'd,
 in *Covent-Garden*, and observed that one of them assumed
 grand Airs, in Comparison to the rest. There are not
 1000 *Indian* Men within the Province of *New-York*, and 8

Number of
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or 10000 *Englishmen*, by which the Number of *Souls English*,
 within this Province, may be computed at above 50000.
 There is not much Talk of Profelytes to Christianity in any
 of the *English Colonies*, except *New-England*, where there
 are more Christian than Infidel *Indians*. Their Ministers
 were in earnest, and made the most of their Mission. Not
 one of them undertook it for the Hire, or took any or very
 little Hire for it, which naturally gave the *Indians* a favoura-
 ble Opinion of their good Intentions, and the Strictness of
 their Lives were unquestionable Proofs of the Truth of their
 Doctrine, and the Sincerity of their Intentions. I will not
 pretend to make any Comparison between these and other
 Missionaries, and shall rejoice to hear there is no Room for it.

The Trade here in its Infancy was very large with the *In-Trade*.
Indians for *Skins, Elk's, Deer, Bear's, Beaver, Otter's, Rac-*
coon's and other rich *Furrs*. When I knew *London* first, there
 were 20 or 30 topping *Furriers-Shops* in *Walbrook, Watling-*
Street; and I question whether there's now a tenth Part of them
 at least so well accusom'd, that Traffick is so very much de-
 cay'd by the Disuse of *Furrs* and *Beaver Hats*. 'Tis almost
 the whole Dependance of the *French* in *Canada*, a barren
 Country and wretched Climate; and what else the *French*
 find there to render them so wealthy and puissant, as they are
 sometimes represented, I want as yet to be informed. As for
 Lumber and Naval Stores, 'tis no more to be compared to
New-England than *Hudson's Bay* is.

The *Indians* supply the *English* in the Summer with Venison,
 Fish and Fowl very cheap. The Trade from *New-York* to
 the *Sugar Islands*, particularly *Barbados*, which is very con-
 siderable, is in *Corn, Flower, Bread, Beef, Pork, Pease,*
Bacon, Gammons, Smoked Beef, Apples, Onions, Board, Head-
ing; for which they receive in Return *Sugar, Molasses, Rum,*
Ginger, &c. The *New-York* Merchants drive also a very
 advantageous Trade with *Madeira* and the *Azores* in *Pipe-*
staves and *Fish*, for which they load their Ships back with
 Wine and Brandy; and, generally speaking, there's scarce a
 more profitable Trade in the *British* Commerce. I said, in
 my first Edition, that I knew a Ship employed in the Voyage
 between *New-York* and *Madeira* clear the Owners 3000 *l.*
 in less than two Years. It was the *Anne* of *London*, consign'd
 to Mr. *William Bolton*, Merchant of *Madeira*, who, in 15

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Years time, got an Estate of 30000*l.* there ; in all which the Author was too much concern'd not to speak of it with Certainty. The first Adventure, which, in this trading Voyage, had a neat Product of 3000*l.* was not 500*l.* and if there is no Revolution happened in this Trade since he was acquainted with it, and the Merchant has faithful Correspondents at *Madeira* and *New-York*, he will perhaps be thankful for this Advertisement upon making the Experiment.



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THIS Province was Part of *New-Belgia*, and so Part of Nova Belgia. treated of by *Delaet*, in his History of the *West-Indies*, which was a very useful curious Book when it was first published, and long after. His Son lived all his Time in *London*, and was many Years Book-keeper to the Author's Uncle, Sir *John Bawden*, one of the greatest *West-India* Traders in that City or any other. *Delaet's* History is writ in very good *Latin*, but is now obsolete; Of Delaet's History of the West-Indies. *America* is now thoroughly known. The *European* Colonies are now powerful Nations, and the *Indians* every where new and contemptible, changed in Manners and Customs from what they were in his time; so are their Countries, and every thing but the Climate. Capt. *Hudson* discover'd this Province, with the other Parts of *New-Belgia*, as is said in *New-York*; but the Authors I copy'd did not, I doubt, enough enquire into the Beginnings of this Discovery; for 'tis most certain that the Adventurers to *Virginia*, which included, at first, all the Continent from *Canada* to *Carolina*, knew this Coast very well; and Capt. *Smith* and Capt. *Gosnold*, who had been at *Virginia*, to the South of *New-Jersey*, and at *New-England* to the North of it, could not avoid coming in sight of this Coast, forwards or backwards.

The *Indians*, who first inhabited this Territory, were the *Naraticongs*, on the *North-side* of *Raritan* River; the *Capitanasses*, the *Gacheos*, the *Senecaas*, and the *Maquaas* on the South. Authors certainly mistake in the Names of these Nations, they do not always write them alike, and the *Maquaas*

quaas being the most populous and powerful of them, the almost always bring them into their Descriptions. The *Semcaas* inhabited the first Country, almost as high as the Falls of that River.

Swedes here. The first *Europeans* that settled here were the *Swedes*, who had three Towns here, *Christina*, called by the *Indians* *Astataka*, *Elmsbourg* and *Gottenbourg*. Their Settlements were chiefly on the South-side of the River, towards *Pennsylvania*, opposite to which, there is a Place to this Day call'd *Fort Elmsbourg*. But the *Swedes* made very little of the Plantations; and the *Dutch*, always industrious in the Trade, work'd them so far out of it, that *Berghen*, the Northern Part of *New-Jersey*, was almost entirely planted by *Hollanders*.

Divided into two Proprieties. King *Charles II.* inserted this Tract in his Grant of *Nova Belgia* to the Duke of *York*; but the *English* never made any Settlement in it till several Years after they were in Possession of that Province, and had extended their Plantations. The Duke of *York* having invested this Province by the Name of *Nova-Canarea*, in *Jahn Lord Berkley* and *Sir George Carteret*; they or their Assignees agreed to divide it into two Parts, denominated *East* and *West New-Jersey*, which remained two distinct Proprieties and Governments several Years.

East New-Jersey. *East New-Jersey*, or that Part of it which borders on *New York*, fell to *Sir George Carteret*, whose noble Family being of the Isle of *Jersey*, I suppose this Province, on that Account, took its Name from thence. *West New-Jersey*, or that Part of it which borders on *Pennsylvania*, fell to the *Lord Berkley*. This whole Province, containing the two *Jerseys* is thus bounded: It has the *Main Ocean* on the *South-East*, the *River Delaware* on the *West*, *Hudson's River* to the *East*, and the *Main Land* to the *North*. It lies between 39 and 40 Degrees N. Lat. and extends itself in Length of the *Sea Coasts*, and along *Hudson's River* 120 Miles, and is almost as broad as long; where 'tis broadest. We must now take some Notice of the Provinces, as it was under the Division of *East* and *West*, and was divided into two Proprieties.

East Jersey. The biggest and most inhabited of these was *East Jersey* which extended *Eastward* and *Northward* all along the *Sea Coast* and *Hudson's River*, from *Little Egg Harbour* to that Part of *Hudson's River* which is in 41 Degrees N. Lat. and *Southward* and *Westward*, was divided from *West Jersey* by a Line of Partition passing from *Egg Harbour* to *Cresskill River*, *Stony River*, and the *South Branch of Raritan River*.

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extends in Length along *Hudson's River*, and on the
Coasts 100 Miles, in Breadth it is very unequal. It was di-^{Division}
vided into Counties, for which we shall see there was little
occasion, as *Berghen County*, *Essex County*, *Middlesex*, on
the North-side of *Raritan River*, and *Monmouth County* on
the South.

Berghen County lies on *Hudson's River*, over-against *New-Berghen*
County. and was first planted of any Part of this Tract. This,
as well as the other Parts of the *Jerseys*, is extremely well
water'd with Rivers. Besides that of *Hudson*, there are *Hac-*
ack River, *Pasauk River*, and several less Streams. The
chief Town is *Berghen*, the Name of the capital City of *Nor-*
way, which gives me Reason to doubt whether it was not
either *Danes* than *Swedes* that first planted here. There is
no other Town in the County, and this is but a sorry one,
the rest are *out Plantations*. Within the Precincts of this
Town are 10000 Acres of Land cast out, that is, assigned
over by the Proprietor to Tenants in Fee; and in the County
there are 10000 Acres cast out. Most of the Inhabitants of
the Town are *Dutch*, who, as we have hinted, work'd out
the *Swedes* or *Danes*, and have been settled here about 70
Years. There are above 60 Houses in this Town, which
stands on the *Western Point* of a Neck of Land, which, with
Water Island, forms a *Sound*.

The Reader will find little in the Description to satisfy his
Curiosity. He will expect something from the Title of Coun-
ty; but they are in a manner *Vacuums*. I should not easily
account for this, considering the *Jerseys* have the Advantage
of a more Southerly, and consequently a warmer Climate,
than *New-England* or *New-York*. I take the chief Reasons ^{Why the Jer-}
for this Province being more neglected than those, to be their ^{seys not en-}
falling into the Hands of the *Scots*, who then were not so
enterprising and commercial as they have been since, and
Quakers, who had not such a Head as *Pen's* for Trade and
Politicks, and *Jobbers*, or Proprietors, who procured Grants
of large Tracts from the Patentees, with Intention only to par-
cel them out, that they might make the most of them by Sale;
whereas those that were interest'd first in *New-England*, *New-*
York, *Maryland* and *Virginia* went thither in Person, and
either saw their Settlements well established, or employ'd those
that did. The Lord *Sterling* jobb'd *New-Scotland* and *Long*
Island, and they came to nothing, till the latter being annex'd
to *New-York*, thrived under the Influence of that thriving
Colony. The *Jerseys* remaining still in a Sort of neglected
Condition, 'tis no Wonder such as have a Mind to settle on
the Northern Continent prefer *Pennsylvania* and *Carolina* to
this

this Province, these Countries being still more Southerly were fruitful and pleasant.

Essex County. *Essex* County is of Note chiefly for *Elizabeth* Town, which is three Miles within a Creek, opposite to the *West-End* of *Staten Island*. Here the first *English* Settlement was made, and if any Place in the *Jerseys* may be said to have thrived it is this; for notwithstanding the Endeavours of the Proprietors to make a Capital of *Perth*, by calling it a City, *Elizabeth* Town has near six times the Number of Inhabitants containing above 250 Families, and 40000 Acres of Land cast out. Here the Proprietors have a Plantation, which goes by the Name of their *Farm*. The Government of the Province is here managed, Courts are kept, Assemblies held, and the greatest Part of the Trade of the Colony carried on.

Elizabeth Town.

Newark is the most compact Town in the *Jerseys*. It lies 6 or 7 Miles Northward from *Elizabeth* Town, contains about 100 Families, and has about 50000 Acres laid out to be cultivated. The *Western* Part of this County is watered by *Rockway* River, upon which is a Saw-Mill. The Tracts of Land on this River are still to be laid out to Purchasers as in these Parcels, 1250 Acres, 2500 Acres, 1250 Acres, 2100 Acres on this River, and *Passauk* River, and 3750 Acres on *Rockway* and *Whippary* Rivers, 7500 Acres on the Branches of *Passauk*; also more 500 Acres and 1250 on the River itself. And Northward is a Ridge of Mountains, called the *Blue Hills*. The next County is

Middlesex.

Middlesex, the most flourishing and populous for its *Plantations*, tho' the Capital of the Country, *Perth* City which stands in it, does hardly deserve the Name of a Village. The Proprietors order'd their Agents to use their utmost Endeavours to procure Inhabitants to remove hither on Account of its happy Situation; but *Elizabeth* Town kept them. In this Division of the Province are two Towns, *Piscataway*, which lies about 6 Miles up *Raritan* River. It has 80 Families and 40000 Acres of Land cast out. Seven or eight Miles from hence is *Woodbridge*, a good Town on a Creek within the Sound, formed by *Staten Island* and this County. It has 120 Families, and 30000 Acres for *Out Plantations*. The *Western* Part of *Middlesex* County is water'd by *Milston* River, which runs through a pleasant Valley belonging to Mr. *William Doekwra* of *London*, to whom *London* owes the useful Invention of the Penny-Post. Most of the Proprietors being *Scotsmen*, and among them the Earl of *Perth*, who receiv'd the very great Honour from King *James* at *St. Germans* in *France* to be created *Duke*, at the

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Expence of the Ruin of himself and his Family. To complement this noble Person, the City of *Perth* was so called, and is exactly of a Piece with the Proprietor's Dukedom, having but 30 or 40 Houses, which standing on *Amboy Point*, the City has that Adjunct in its Name, and is called *Perth Amboy*. 'Tis at the Mouth of the River *Raritan*, which runs into *Sandyhook Bay*, able to contain 500 Ships. We hear of that very often in the *American Bays* and Harbours, where there's hardly ever like to be a hundredth Part of that Number. The Plan of this City was laid out very regularly and spaciouly. The Plot of Ground was divided into 150 Shares for Purchasers to build upon. Four Acres were reserved for a Market-place, and three for publick Wharfage, very useful things, if there had been Inhabitants, Trade and Shipping. The Town being thus artfully and commodiously laid out, some *Scots* began building, especially a House for a Governor, which was then as little wanted as the Wharf or Market. The whole Plan of the City consists of 1070 Acres, and there are two good Roads from it to *Piscattaway* and *Woodbridge*. Ships in one Tide can come up to the Port, and be at the Merchant's Doors, tho' of 300 Tons Burthen; but the *Perth* City has not above 2 or 300 Men, Women and Children in it; yet all along the River *Raritan* the Country is thick of Plantations, the Chief of which were set out by two of the Proprietors, *Robert Barclay of Vry*, Esq; and *Mr. William Dockwra*, before-mentioned. *Mr. Barclay* is the famous *Scotch Quaker*, an Author who wrote a Defence of *Quakerism* in better *Latin* than any of his Answerers could boast. Near the Branches of this River are laid out now for Sale 1250 Acres.

In *Monmouth County* we first meet with *Middleton*, a pretty good Town, as Towns go in *Jersey*; it consists of 100 Houses, 30000 Acres of *Out Plantations*. 'Tis about 12 Miles over Land to the Northward of *Shrewsbury*, and 26 Miles to the Southward of *Piscattaway*, not far off the shore, winds itself about like a *Hook*, and being *sandy*, gives Name to all the Bay. On *Milston River* and *Stony Brook* are now laid out for Sale 6500 Acres.

Shrewsbury is the most Southern Town of the Province, and reckoned the Capital of the Shire. It contains about 60 Families, and has 30000 Acres of *Out Plantations* belonging to it. 'Tis situated on the Side of a *Fresh Water River*, hence called *Shrewsbury River*, not far from its Mouth, between this Town and *Middleton* is an *Iron-Work*; I add in my first Edition, but we do not understand it has been any great Benefit to the Proprietors. Since I wrote that, I have myself

Of Iron-
Works.

myself had some Concern in a Project for Iron Works in Virginia, which did not fail for want of Iron Stone, or Fluxing, or in any Article of founding or forming the Metal which answered to the full of our most flattering Expectations; and if the Iron-Works in *New-England*, *New-York* and *New-Jersey*, which we have spoken of as Trifles, were as well supplied with Materials as ours would have been in Virginia, they must have miscarried only through the Ignorance or Laziness of the Managers; for there may certainly be Iron enough made in the *British Colonies* to supply *Europe*. The only Obstacles I have ever yet heard of, are the Duty and the Freight, which are easily got over, and the Prohibition of manufacturing the Metal at the Forge here, which is not so easily got over; but there may be ways found out for accommodating that too, as well as Freight and Duty. *Col. Lewis Morris*, one of the Counsellors of this Province in *Queen Anne's* Reign, began the building of a Church at the Falls of *Raritan* River. I do not hear how it issued; I suppose in supplying the Place with a Minister. My good Wishes are with all the Missionaries; but I have known so many of them that may perhaps wrong the rest, in my Opinion, of both their Morals and Abilities, especially in the Continent Colonies, where the Income is not generally so large as to tempt worthy Men to undertake the Mission. *Freehold* is a little Town, not long laid out and inhabited, it has about 40 Families, and an equal Share of *Out Plantations* with the other Townships.

No Churches

There are few or no Parish Churches in this Province but there are Congregations of *Church of England* Men at *Shrewsbury*, *Amboy* and *Elizabeth Town*. The leading Men of this Colony being *Quakers*, or *Scotch* or *English* Dissenters they did not make it their first Work to build Churches for *Episcopal* Preachers. Doubtless as they became, or may become more enlightened, they will set about that Work, and find proper Encouragement from the *Society for propagating the Gospel*. At *Freehold* there is already settled an orthodox Minister, who has 60*l.* a Year; and there is also another at *Salisbury*, who has a Church and the like Income.

West New-
Jersey.
Dr. Cox
Proprietor.

West New-Jersey is not divided into Counties, tho' *Daniel Cox*, who was the Proprietor of it, directed the laying of it into seven Counties, *Cape May* County, *Gloucester* County, &c. not worth naming, having never had a Beneficiary, his Successors not going on with the Project. This *Dr. Cox* was of the College of Physicians, and, in his flourishing time, had as good Practice as those Doctors who have not the best, tho' Fees were not then so high. His Wife was

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Daughter of Alderman Coldham of Tooting, with whom he had, first and last, upwards of 40000*l.* and a good Part of the first was laid out in this Propriety and *Carolina* near the *Mississippi*; which Project failing, as has been said, the Doctor was so streightened by it, that he resolv'd to remove to *West-Jersey*, and manage his Propriety himself. Accordingly he set out for the West of *England*, intending to embark at *Plymouth*, contrary to the Opinion and Consent of his Family and Friends, whose Hopes were not so much flattered by Expectations from this Country as his own were. A Gentleman, who was a Friend of mine, went after him, at their Request, having great Influence over him, and overtaking him at *Salisbury*, prevailed with him to return, and give over that Design; which however he would not have done, had he not met with some good Purchasers in a little time after, who bought of him as much Land in *West New-Jersey* as they paid him near 10000*l.* for in *London*, which, at 20*l.* for 100 Acres, will amount to 500000 Acres. Sir *Thomas Lane*, afterwards Lord Mayor, was one of these Purchasers, and all of them making the Purchase with a View of getting by Sales to under Purchasers, and not to go thither to plant or to trade, the high Price they demanded to make their Market by it balkt these Sales, and consequently the Settlements and Plantations in this Country. There is, at this time, a Parcel no less than of 5000 Acres bordering on *Cox's Lands* in Advertisement for Sale.

The most Easterly Point in this District is *Cape May*, a the Mouth of *Delaware River*, and over-against *Sussex County* in *Pennsylvania*. A fine Situation for the Pleasants and Fertility of the Country, and for foreign Trade. The Tract of Land between this and *Little Egg Harbour*, which divides *East and West New-Jersey*, still several Proprieties, tho' one Government, goes by the Name of *Cape May County*; but it has no Jurisdiction nor Officers. Here are several straggling Houses on the Neck of Land, the Chief of which is called *Cox's Hall*, and does or did lately belong to Col. *Thomas Cox*, the Doctor's Son. Most of the Inhabitants are Fishermen, there being a Whalery at the Mouth of the Bay, on this, as well as the opposite Shore. Next to *Cape May* is *Maurice River*, the biggest in the District. Next to that is *Cohenzy*, a small River; but deep and navigable for small Craft. Ten or twelve Miles up the River is *Cohenzy Town*; where are about 80 Families. The Bay and River of *Delaware* washes all the *South-East*, *South* and *South-West* Part of *West New-Jersey*. The Plantations, some of which are so close, that they have assumed the Name of the Town, lie all along on that

that Bay and River, and most of them on Creeks. This District abounds with Rivers and Creeks, and every thing convenient and pleasant for People and Life, but not without People. *New-York* on one Side, and *Pensylvania* on the other, suck away the Nourishment, which might else feed this Plant, the Soil being equally fruitful, and all other Conveniencies answerable.

Antioch, a little Village, call'd also a Town, lies on a Creek. *Gibbon's Creek* is nearer the Mouth of *Delaware River*; then *Alloway Creek*; then Fort *Elsembourg* at the River's Mouth and over-against *Newcastle County* in *Pensylvania*. Near the River *Salbam* falls into the *Delaware*. There's a Town about half way up this River, from whence it takes its Name, which seems most likely to be *Salem*, not only from that noted in *New-England*, but being Scriptural, which was pretty much affected by Adventurers in the first *English Settlements*. 'Tis 20 Miles from *Cobhenzy*, and had Countie been settled, as was intended, this Place was to have given Name to one of them.

Fins's Point and Town, hardly sizeable with an indifferent Village, lies over-against *Newcastle Town*. Next to it is *Naman Creek*, then *Racocos Creek*, then *Almon Creek*, *Long Island*, and *Wash Creek*; the latter opposite to *Chester* in *Pensylvania*; then *Great Mante Creek*, then *Woodberry River*, *Green-Bank*, and then *Gloucester Creek*, over-against *Philadelphia*; a delightful Country, healthy and commodious for the Business and Pleasure of Life. *Gloucester* is a pretty good Town, and was to have given Name to a County had the *Shiring* of this District gone forwards. It contains above 100 Houses. Above that is *Pantbakin Creek*; then *Northampton*, or *Racocos River*, and then *Burlington Town* the Capital of the Province, over-against *Bristol*, in *Pensylvania*; 20 Miles above which there are few or no Plantations. Here the Courts and Assemblies of *West Jersey* used to be kept, when it was a Proprietary Government; and might have been so still, had not Disappointment put some Persons out of Humour with others, and carried Matters to such a Height, that their readiest way to Peace was to surrender their Rights and Privileges to the Crown. It contains about 250 Families, and has an answerable Number of Acres laid out for Plantations. The Houses are well built, and almost all of Brick. The Market affords Plenty of all sorts of Provisions, which are as good here as any where in *America*. *Keeth*, the Quaker Convert to the Church of *England*, returned from thence hither, and a Church being built, a Minister was settled here, *Mr. John Talbot*, who had 600 a Year

Year; and the Church, I know not whether consecrated by *Kaith* or *Talbot*, had a Dedication to the Virgin *Mary*; how the People there were edify'd by it I know not. Above this Town is one much less, called *Maidenhead*, containing about 50 Houses. 'Tis built on *Dr. Cox's* Lands. Above the *Falls* there's a Town still less than that, with *Out Plantations*, bordering on the *Minisinks*, an *Indian* Nation. The River *Esopus*, between this Province and *New-York*, flows into *Hudson's* River near *Kingston*.

This Province has also an easy Communication with *Mary-land*, there being a River within its Limits, which runs not above 8 Miles from the Bottom of *Chesapeake* Bay; and there was once a Project to cut thro' it 8 Miles; but my Author says, *Virginia* and *Maryland* opposed it so vehemently, that it did not succeed; and what they should have it cut for, till there were People to make Use of their Canal, I can no more comprehend, than how they would have raised the Money to defray the Expence, when they had so many more necessary Calls for it otherwise.

The Trade of *West New-Jersey* and *East New-Jersey*, as also the Soil and Conveniencies of Rivers and Creeks, are much the same, except that *West New-Jersey*, by its Situation on *Delaware* River, abounds more in the latter. The Soil, Air, Trade and Product of both have a near Relation with those of *Pensylvania*. The Country yields Plenty of all sorts of Grain, and the Inhabitants are said to have been so scrupulous, that they would not enter upon it before they had purchased it of the *Indians*, at no very dear Rate. 'Tis computed that they are about 16000 Souls, and about 3000 Men fit to bear Arms. There are not 200 Souls among the *Indians* of this Province. Indeed neither here nor elsewhere, in the *British* Empire, are the *Indians* of any Account, unless in Cnojunction with the *French* at *Canada*, or the *Spaniards* in *Florida*. The *Indians* are now rather Help than Hurt to the *English*, and here especially they wish there were more of them.

Besides Provisions for the Sugar Islands, the Inhabitants give a Trade in Furs and Skins, and little in Tobacco; but would be well if the Colonies cultivated that less, and Provisions more, or any other Commodities that are fit for Markets, which are much clog'd by the Product of our Tobacco Plantations. They ship off Train Oil, Fish, Corn and some other Provisions for *Portugal*, *Spain* and the *Canaries*. Ships may be built at *Perth*; but *New-England* engrosses that Trade, and has the best and the most Materials for it: And it must be owned, that *New-York* is the best Market

U. Jersey

Jersey has for buying and selling any considerable Quantity of Goods of any kind.

Having finished the Geographical and Mercantile Part of our History of this Province, we must enlarge a little upon the Events.

About the Year 1676, the Lord *Berkely* assigned his Right in this Province to

Second Proprietars.

William Pen, Esq;
Mr. Gawen Laurie, of *London*, Merchant.
Mr. Nicholas Lucas, of *London*, Merchant.
Mr. Edward Bylling.

These, not long after, agreed upon the Partition of the Province with Sir *George Carteret*; and this Proprietary design, the Earl of *Bath*, a near Relation, and others of his Executors, with the Consent of his Lady, assigned over his Share, which was the Northern Division, to

* <i>William Pen</i> , Esq;	<i>Mr. Thomas Wilcox</i> ,
<i>Robert West</i> , Esq;	<i>Mr. Ambrose Rigg</i> ,
* <i>Mr. Thomas Rudyard</i> ,	<i>Mr. Hugh Hartshorn</i> ,
<i>Mr. Samuel Grove</i> ,	* <i>Mr. Clement Plumsted</i> ,
* <i>Mr. Thomas Hart</i> ,	* <i>Mr. Thomas Cooper</i> ,
* <i>Mr. Richard Mew</i> ,	<i>Mr. John Hayard</i> .

The Proprietors, soon after, sold Shares of *East New Jersey* to the following Persons:

<i>James Drummond</i> , E. of <i>Perth</i> .	<i>Mr. James Brains</i> ,
<i>John Drummond</i> , Esq;	<i>Mr. William Dockwra</i> ,
<i>Sir George Mackenzie</i> ,	<i>Mr. Peter Sonmans</i> ,
<i>Robert Barclay</i> , } of <i>Ury</i> Esqrs.	<i>Mr. William Gibson</i> ,
<i>David Barclay</i> , }	<i>Thomas Cox</i> , Esq;
<i>Robert Gordon</i> , Esq;	<i>Mr. Walter Benthal</i> ,
<i>Mr. Robert Burnet</i> ,	<i>Mr. Robert Turner</i> ,
<i>Mr. Gawen Laurie</i> ,	<i>Mr. Thomas Barker</i> ,
<i>Mr. Thomas Nairn</i> ,	<i>Mr. Edward Bylling</i> .

Who, with the six Proprietors distinguished in the second List by the *Asterisks*, procured a Confirmation of the Patent, by another from the Duke of *York*, in the Year 1682, by which they were invested with all the Powers and Privileges, which the Duke had granted to Sir *George Carteret*, or which the King had granted to his Brother. By the Lists we perceive, that all the Patentees of the Lord *Berkely*

ly's Division, or *West New-Jersey* were Proprietaries of *East New-Jersey*, except Mr. *Nicholas Lucas*; yet they did not procure any Conjunction of the two Provinces. On the contrary, separate Governours were appointed over each of them. The first Governour of *East New-Jersey* was *Robert Barclay, Esq;* and his Deputy *Gawen Laurie, Esq;*

Robert Barclay, Esq;
Governour.
Gawen Laurie, Esq;
Deputy-Governour of East New-Jersey.

Among these Proprietaries are several extraordinary Persons besides the Lord *Pertb*, as *Robert West, Esq;* the Lawyer, who distinguished himself by the execrable Evidence he gave against the most noble and most beloved Lord *Russel*, the Adertor of and Martyr for *English Liberty*: Here's *William Pen*, the Head of the *Quakers* in *England*, and *Robert Barclay*, the Head of the *Quakers* in *Scotland* and *Ireland*; and at the same time, *John Archdale* the *Quaker*, who was chosen Member of Parliament for *Wycombe*, was a Proprietary of *Carolina*. Mr. *Barclay* came hither in Person with his Family. Most of the first Inhabitants here were *Dissenters*, and most of them *Quakers* and *Baptists*, an industrious sober People, and therefore the fitter for Enterprises that depend chiefly upon Industry and Oeconomy. The People here are still *Nonconformists* for the most Part; but 'tis to be hoped, if they had had Missionaries from the *Society*, that the Purity of their Doctrine and Lives would have gone a good way to reconcile them to the *Act of Conformity*. My Author intimates, that the Inhabitants were afraid of building Parish Churches, lest it might be a Temptation to *orthodox* Ministers to come and take Possession of them; but that is an out of the way Consideration.

The Proprietaries made Mr. *William Dockwra* Register and Secretary of the *Colony*, Offices which he had above 30 Years, and Mr. *George Lockbart* Marshal. They also executed a Deed among themselves to prevent Survivorship, and agreed upon *Constitutions* or general Concessions for the Management of the Province, as to laying out Land for *Counties, Tribes, Towns* and *Parishes*, about which they have not yet had much Employment. They reserved one Part in seven for themselves, and they might have reserved one Part in two if they would, for any Likelihood of their being cut out by a Croud of new Comers. It will always be so, when Proprietors of *American Countries* do mind more the laying out Land for planting, than encouraging Planters by their Example. People, unless driven by Persecution and Oppression, will not cross the *Atlantick* for other Mens Advantage. The Terms of Purchase here were promising enough, if the main things had not been wanting, Inhabitants and Traffick.

Every Master of a Family was to have 50 Acres set out, and

Conditions of Sale.

25 for his Wife; and each of his Children and Servants paying 12 d. a Head to the Register; Servants, when their Times expired, were to have 30 Acres. All Persons to pay 2 d an Acre Quit-Rent, or purchase their Freeholds at 50 for every 25 Acres taken up. I am afraid much has not gone at these Rates, tho' I was told that Land has been sold for 70 and 80 l. an Acre. I wish the Proprietors would sell every Acre, tho' at less than a tenth Part of it.

A Council was nominated to assist the Governor, or Deputy Governor. The latter, Mr. Laurie did not give Content in Mr. Barclay's Absence, being a Proprietary of *New-Jersey*, it was thought he had the thriving of that District more at Heart than that of *East New-Jersey*, where he had the Government before Mr. Barclay's Arrival. It is mentioned as an Instance of it, that the Proprietaries having written to him to remove the Courts from *Elizabeth Town* to *Perth*, and to make that Place the Governor's Residence, that People might be encouraged to build by his Presence, Mr. Laurie disobeyed these Orders, and kept the Courts at his Residence at *Elizabeth*. The Proprietaries flattered themselves that if, in Obedience to their Orders, he had removed thither, *Perth* would, in a few Years, have rival'd *New-York* and *Philadelphia*; but they considered not that *New-York* had been possessed by the *Dutch* 40 Years, and even one knows the *Dutch* do not leave any Place they settle in long without full Improvement. As for *Philadelphia*, the Character and Interest of Mr. Pen, his immense Application and Expence exceeding many times the Value of the Propriety of *New-Jersey*, were Advantages the latter could in no wise pretend to; and despairing to see their City of *Perth* bear any Proportion to the Town of *Philadelphia* and *New-York*, the Inhabitants of this Province have discontinued building there.

Lord Neal
Campbel,
Governor.

After Mr. Barclay came hither, he stay'd not long, and on his Arrival, the Lord Neal Campbel, Uncle to his Grace the present Duke of *Argyle*, was nominated Governor, whose time the Assertor and Denyer of *Quakerism*, George Keith, came to *New-Jersey*, and taught School here. The Government appointed him Surveyor-General, which would have been a very good Place, had there been good Land laid out. He staid here two or three Years, and then removed to some other *British* Colony, and from thence to *England*, where he declared himself orthodox, abused his old Friends and Benefactors, and became beneficed in *Suffex*. Mr. John Reed succeeded him in *New-Jersey*, as Surveyor-General; and some time after Keith returned in the Service of the *Swiss*

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for propagating the Gospel, who sent him to convert as well the
 Dissenters as the Indians, and he made an equal Progress in
 both. If 'tis rightly said in the Society Paper, that he brought
 Comfort to the Church, which was more than he did in Old
 England.

In the Year 1696, Col. Andrew Hamilton was appointed
 Governor of this Province, in which Post he did not long
 continue; for in the next Year Mr. Jeremy Basse was sent
 from England with this Character, which he also kept but a
 little while; for Col. Hamilton procured Mr. Basse to be re-
 called, and himself reinstated in his Government, which was
 again of as short Duration as Basse's, who also, in a Year's
 time, or less, was restor'd. Such Confusion in the Conduct
 of both Proprietaries and Governors did not put their Affairs
 forward in their Colony; yet People did purchase here and
 settle; and Lands near the Coast and Towns bore a pretty
 good Price at this time. Tho' the Majority of them were
 Quakers, who affect a peculiar Tameness of Spirit; yet a Mi-
 nistry has been form'd, and, at a Muster above 30 Years ago,
 400 stout Men appeared in Arms, Col. Thomas Cox; Son
 of Dr. Cox, being then Commander.

Col. Andrew
 Hamilton,
 Governor.

We have been speaking of East New-Jersey, while a se-
 parate Government from West New-Jersey, and we must
 now speak of the latter.

The first Governor of this District was Edward Bylling,
 one of the Proprietaries, who was put into that Of-
 fice in 1683, and continued in it several Years. After which
 the greatest Part of the Province was sold to Dr. Daniel
 before-mentioned, who took the Government into his
 own Hands, and was about to remove thither, as has been
 related, as has also the Sale of very large Tracts of his Land
 to Sir Thomas Lane and others, who made very little of their
 purchase, and were heartily weary of it, as I very well knew
 from their own Mouths: However their Discouragements did
 not arise from any Defects in the Country, which is as fruit-
 ful and delightful as any we have hitherto treated of, and as
 commodious for Commerce. That was not what those Pur-
 chasers aim'd at; they were in hopes that others would have
 made those Experiments, and have paid well for what they
 had bought. In which being disappointed, it created ill
 humour amongst them, and, after that, 'twas not likely that
 their Province, under fluctuating Government, would ever
 answer the Charge and trouble it might put them to; so the
 Proprietors resolv'd to try how they might better themselves
 by parting with their Liberties and Privileges, which were
 less valuable, for the Want of People to enjoy them.

Edmund
 Byllings,
 Esq; Govern-
 nor of West
 New-Jer-
 sey.

The Charter
Surrender'd.

The Proprietors of *East New-Jersey* understanding in what Disposition those of the other Partition were, as to the Surrender of their Charter to the Crown, thought it might well be of some Advantage to them as to their Neighbours and both *East* and *West New-Jersey* being agreed upon the Matter, on the 22d of April, 1702, Sir *Thomas Law*, in the Name of the Proprietaries of *West New-Jersey*, and *William Dockwra*, in the Name of the Proprietaries of *East New-Jersey*, surrender'd their Patents for the two separate Governments, reserving their Rights to the Soil and Settlements. Queen *Anne* immediately appointed the Lord *Cornbury* to be Governor, and his Lordship made the late Governor, Mr. *Jeremy Basse*, his Secretary. The two Provinces which had, till then, been separate Jurisdictions, became united, and goes by the Name of *New-Jersey*, which is govern'd like the *Sugar Islands*, by a Governor, Council and Assembly. The Governor chooses his Council out of each District and appoints a Lieutenant-Governor. I have no manner of Notion that the Value of Propriety rose upon the partition with the Charter; and this Colony, which is now annex'd to the Government of *New-York*, is in much the same Condition as it was 30 Years ago. A Year or two after the Surrender, Serjeant *Hook* purchased 3750 Acres of Land in *West Jersey*, and gave the tenth Part of it as a Glebe to the Church. He was a Presbyterian; but I suppose *Glebe* is consistent with that Denomination as any other. So many thousand Acres is very founding; but 100*l.* Stock in *South Sea*, Anno 1720, would have purchased it. At that time this Province was under these Officers,

Edward Lord Viscount *Cornbury*, Governor.
Richard Ingoldsby, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor.
Lewis Morris, Esq;
Col. Andrew Browne,
Thomas Revel, Esq;
Francis Davenport, Esq;
William Pinborn, Esq;
William Sandford, Esq;
George Deacon, Esq;
Daniel Leeds, Esq;
Col. Robert Quarry,
Peter Sonmans, Merchant,
 Secretary and Register Mr. *William Dockwra*.
 Governor's Secretary, Mr. *Jeremy Basse*.

Counsellors.

Having mentioned several Parcels of Land to be sold in this Province, I shall add, in the *West New-Jersey*, *Pahatunk Creek* 2500 Acres. *Paquais Creek* a Branch of the *Delaware*, 1313 Acres more, 1250 Acres on both Sides of the *Creek*. Upon the Side of *Delaware Bay* is a Parcel of 1250 Acres, at *Tockhockangkunch Creek* 2500 Acres, more 5000 Acres, and on the Branches of that *Creek* 2500 Acres, on *Tassonian Creek* 1250 Acres, and on *Muskamkoa Creek* 1250 Acres. The Proprietors Agents are *John Budd*, Esq; at *Hanover*, a little Town so called, on the *Creek Whippany*, which gave Name to it formerly; *John Acading* of *Amwell*, Esq; and Mr. *James Steel*, of *Philadelphia*, unless any Change has happen'd in the Regency:

The Province of *New-Jersey* having been for several Years Part of the Government of *New-York*, the Climate, Soil, Produce and Trade much the same, it does not appear needful to enlarge upon it in a particular Chapter, unless more extraordinary Events had happened there. Considerable Recruits of People have arriv'd here from *Europe* since the former Inhabitation, and every Article of its State and Condition is much increased and improved, which is as much as we can say of it in general. Of the Trade of this Province and *New-York*, Governor *Hunter* reported in the Year 1720, that they had no Manufactures there that deserved mentioning, and that their Trade consisted chiefly in Furs, Whalebone, Oil, Pitch, Tar and Provisions.

The Increase of the Trade and Produce of this Province may be judg'd by that of its Number of Hands, especially Negroes, which are ten times as many as when this History was first published, insomuch that lately there was a Conspiracy of the Slaves in *Somerset County* on *Raritan River*, which was discover'd. They intended to get together at a time appointed, to murder all the white People there, and then to make their Escape, with what Arms, Provisions and other things they could carry with them, in order to go and settle in some Place of Security up the Country. About 30 of the Plotters were apprehended; one only hang'd, probably because they could not well spare any more; they punish'd the rest by cutting off the Ears of some, and whipping others.

This Province is now a separate Government from *New-York*, and the present Governor is *Lewis Morris*, Esq; who had been so unworthily treated by Mr. *Cosby*, as has been before related.

THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
P E N S Y L V A N I A.

THIS is one of the most considerable of our *American Colonies*; and for the few Years that the Tract of Land, which goes by this Name, has been inhabited, none has thrived more, nor is more rich and populous. The late Proprietary Mr. *William Pen*, was the Son of Sir *William Pen*, who commanded the *English Fleet* in Conjunction with other Admirals in the time of the *Rump*, whom *Oliver* sent with Col. *Venables* to *Hispaniola* and tho' that Expedition failed through the Conduct of *Venables*, yet Admiral *Pen* is generally said to have behaved well. He was a strong Independent, and so continued till the *Restoration*; when finding Religion and Liberty at the Mercy of their Enemies, he very quickly made his Peace with King *Charles*, and his Brother the Duke of *York*; but his Son, the younger *William Pen*, bore his Testimony against the Church at its very first Appearance in Pomp and Power. He was a Student at *Christchurch, Oxon*, when an Order came down thither, after the King was restored, that the Surplice should be worn, according to the laudable Custom of ancient times. It was a Sight then at *Oxford*, and young Mr. *Pen* having engaged the Lord *Spencer*, his Fellow-Collegiate, afterwards that great Politician, *Robert Earl of Sunderland*; and some other young Gentlemen, to join with them, they fell upon the Students that appeared in Surplices, and pulled them every where over their Heads; upon which both Lord *Spencer* and Mr. *Pen* were sent for by their Parents to *London*, and from thence went to *France* together, with Intention to travel for two or three Years; but at *Turin* Mr. *Pen* received a

Letter

Letter from his Father Sir *William* to return home; the Duke of *York*, Lord High Admiral, having pitch'd upon him to command the Fleet under him, and his Son's Absence would at that time have been very inconvenient for his Family. But Sir *William Pen* did not long enjoy his high Station, and dying in the West Country, where he was born, was buried in *Ridcliff Church* in *Bristol*, having, in Reward of his Services, had a Promise of the Grant of this Country from King *Charles II.* Sir *William* had a Kinsman, who was one of the first Planters at *New-England*, and it was, doubtless, from him that we had exact and particular Information of the Advantages that might be made of Lands and Settlements in this Continent of *America*; but young Mr. *Pen* having filled his Head with *Quakerisms*, did not for some Years apply himself strenuously to solicit the promised Grant, till at last finding his Friends the *Quakers* were harassed all over *England* by *Spiritual Courts*, he resolved to put himself at the Head of as many as would go with him, and remove to the Country of which he obtained the Grant in the Year 1679. He gave it the Name of *Pennsylvania* some time before he was actually invested with it, and 'tis so call'd in the original Patent, bearing Date *March* the 4th, 1680: It contained all that Tract of Land in *America*, with all the *Ilands* belonging to it, from the Beginning of the fortieth Degree of North Latitude, to the forty third Degree of North Latitude; whose Eastern Bound, from 12 English Miles above *Newcastle*, alias *Delaware Town*, run all along upon the Side of *Delaware River*. So that 'tis bounded on the East by that Bay and River, and the Eastern Sea; on the North by *West New-Jersey*, or rather *New-York*, for it runs a great way above the *Jerseys*; on the West by the *Indian Nations*, about the Heads of *Susquahanna* and *Delaware Rivers*, by which we see it stretches far within Land, that River running through it about 2 or 300 Miles; on the South 'tis bounded by *Maryland*, and reaching from *Pensberry*, near the Falls of that River, to *Henlope*, near the Mouth of the Bay, above 150 Miles directly; but 'tis narrow all along, being very much crouded in the Breadth by *Maryland*.

The Bounds and Extent we have mentioned are in the original Grant; but Mr. *Pen* having afterwards obtained Part of *Nova Belgia* of the Duke of *York*, it was added to the Country in the first Grant, and both together called *Pennsylvania*, which is divided into three upper Counties and three lower. The three upper Counties, *Buckingham*, *Philadelphia* and *Chester*, are the *Pennsylvania* so called in King *Charles's* Grant; the three lower Counties, *Newcastle*, *Kent* and *Sussex*,

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fox, are taken out of *Nova Belgia*, or the Province of *New York*. The upper Counties end at *Martus Hook*, four Miles below *Chester Town*; the lower run along the Coast 10 Miles, and are 40 Miles deep towards *Maryland*: Thus the whole Province of *Pennsylvania*, from the *Falls Township* 20 Miles below *Hinlopen*, or *Cape William*, is in Length 330 Miles, and in Breadth 200. The River *Delaware*, above and below the *Falls* for a good Length, is called the *Freshwater* and near the Mouth are the *Marshes* very fertile and commodious.

The Tracts of Land, from about 25 to 60 Miles above *Philadelphia* are but thinly inhabited and planted, as may be seen by the large Parcels lately advertised to be sold. As

Lands not
laid out.

5000 Acres at *Sawitares*, 60 Miles from *Philadelphia*.
14000 Acres on *Manataway Creek*, 35 Miles from the
City.
8000 Acres near *Springton*, 30 Miles from *Philadelphia*:
10000 Acres at *Perkassie*, 27 Miles from that City.

These Lands lying above the Plantations we are coming to, I thought proper to give them Place. The Proprietary Agent for disposing of these Lands is Mr. *James Steel*, of *Philadelphia City*. Other large Tracts, at any Distance from it, may be purchased, and doubtless will be in sale for Agents new Comers generally choosing to settle in the trading Towns near, or in the Country nearest to them. The Province much swarm with People before the Land 60 or 70 Miles above *Philadelphia* will have Purchasers and Planters. 'Tis supposed that not a twentieth Part of the Province is planted; but it is cleared every where more than any other Parts of the Continent of *America* possessed by the *English*. Mr. *Pen* reserves 5 Manors in each County, as his particular Propriety; but doubtless with an Intention to part with them, as well as the rest, as soon as he could. The three lower Counties are more likely to intercept Planting and Trading, than the distant Part of the upper attract it, the first of which is *Buckingham County* and the first Town the *Falls Town*, consisting of about 50 Houses. The Villages here are generally denominated from Creeks on which they are built, as *Nesmonah Creek*, then *Perkassie Creek*, then *Pommoneka Creek*; but this upper Part of the Province being, as is observed, thinly peopled, the Villages are not yet worth Names.

Buckingham
County.

Bristol is reckoned the chief Town in this County. It is 20 Miles from *Philadelphia*, and consists of 70 or 80 Houses; and lies over-against *Burlington*, in *West New-Jersey*.

It is noted for its Mills of several Sorts, built by Mr. *Samuel Carpenter*, an eminent Planter in this Country, formerly a *Barbados* Merchant. The next Place is *Penberry*, on a *Penberry* small Creek. It was a Manor Mr. *Pen* reserved for himself. Here he built a very handsome House, finely situated, and the Situation much improved by the Plantation and Building. The *Lord Cornbury*, when he was Governor of *New-York*, visited this Manor, and was extremely well pleased with the House, Gardens and Orchards; the latter produced excellent *Pear-mains* and *Golden-Pippins*. 'Tis seated in a treble Island, the *Delaware* running three times about it. The House is built with Brick, and stands high and dry. There are 10 or 12 small Townships in this County; which send 6 Members to the Assembly; one of whom was, in my first Edition, *Joseph Growden*, Esq; who was then Speaker, and very instrumental in planting and settling this County; for which, and many other things, it is very much indebted to his Care and Services. Since that Edition I have had a Neighbour and Friend in his Son, late a Merchant at *Bristol*, and now in *Pennsylvania*, and with Pleasure I repeat the Justice I did his Father when I wrote my History.

The next County is *Philadelphia*, so called from that City, *Philadelphia* the Capital of the whole Province. The first Town in this County is *Frankfort*, as big as *Bristol*, and as well built. The Inhabitants were at first *Swedes* and *Dutch*, who inhabited several Places in *Pennsylvania*. The *Swedes* settled themselves mostly on the Creeks near the *Freshes*; and 'tis amazing to me, that *Swedes* and *Dutch*, knowing what a fine Country *Swedes and Dutch here* here is from *Hudson's River Southward*, where Territories of Land might be purchased reasonably, and the Government, if not the Religion of the Provinces better than their own, should not have been tempted, in all this time, to remove to those warmer, more fruitful and more delightful Climes. The *Dutch* planted near *Oxford*; upon the *Bay* there is a Church of *England* Congregation, and about 80 Families in the Town. From hence we come to the City of *Philadelphia*.

Philadelphia, one of the best laid out Cities in the World, *Philadelphia* the Capital of *Pennsylvania*; and was it full of Houses and Inhabitants, according to the Proprietary's Plan, it would be a Capital fit for a great Empire. As it is 'tis a large City, considering its late Foundation, most commodiously situated between two navigable Rivers, the *Delaware* and *Schuylkill*. He design'd the Town in Form of an oblong Square, extending two Miles in Length from one River to the other. The long Streets eight in Number, and two Miles in Length, he

Number of
Houses.

he cut at right Angles by others of one Mile in Length, and sixteen in Number, all straight and spacious. He left proper Spaces for Markets, Parades, Keys, Meeting-houses (I can't imagine why they are not call'd Churches) Schools, Hospitals, and other publick Buildings. There were, *some Years ago*, a great Number of Houses, and it encreases every Day in building, which are all carried on regularly, according to the first Plan. The City has two Fronts on the Water, one on the East-side, facing the *Schuylkill*, and the other on the West, facing the *Delaware*, which is near two Miles broad, and navigable 300 Miles, at least for small Vessels. The Eastern Part is the most populous, on account of the *Schuylkill*, which is navigable 100 Miles above the *Falls*. We have observed that each Front of the Street was to be two Miles from River to River, as it was at first laid out; but one cannot suppose it is finished in that Manner. The Street that runs along the *Schuylkill* is three-quarters of a Mile in Length; the Houses are stately, the Wharfs and Warehouses numerous and convenient. This City flourished so much at first, that there were near 100 Houses, great and small, in it with in less than a Year's time, and it has made answerable Progress, the Number of Houses, at this time, being above 2000, and, generally speaking, better Edifices than in the Cities of *England*, a few excepted, and in those only a few Streets. These here have large Orchards and Gardens; the Land on which it stands is high and firm, and the Convenience of Cover, Docks and Springs, have very much contributed to the Commerce of this Place, where many rich Merchants now reside, some of which are so wealthy, that they keep their Coaches. The Plan we have been speaking of was, by Mr. Pen's Procurement, drawn up by Mr. *Thomas Holme*, who was appointed Surveyor-General of the Province, which is a very beneficial Place in those Provinces, where People come to purchase and settle, as they did and do in *Pennsylvania*. Ships may ride here in 6 or 7 Fathom Water, with very good Anchorage; the Land about it is a dry wholefom Level. All Owners of 1000 Acres and upwards had their Houses in the two Fronts, facing the Rivers, and in the *High Street*, running from the Middle of one Front to the Middle of the other. Every Owner of 1000 Acres had about an Acre in Front, and the smaller Purchasers about half an Acre in the back Streets, by which means the least had Room enough for a House, Garden and small Orchard. *Highstreet* is 100 Foot broad, so is *Broadstreet*, which is in the Middle of the City, running from *North* to *South*. In the Center is a Square of 10 Acres, for the

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State-house, Market-house, School-house, as before hinted. The Names of the Streets here denote the several Sorts of Timber that are common in *Pennsylvania*, as *Mulberry-street*, *Sassafras-street*, *Chestnut-street*, *Walnut-street*, *Beach-street*, *Alb-street*, *Vine-street*, *Cedar-street*. There are also *King-street*, *Broad-street*, *High-street*. The Court-house is built of *Brick*, and under it is a Prison; several Houses on the Key are worth 4 and 5000 *l.* and 15 Ships have been on the Stocks at a time; some Hundreds have been built there. The Cellars or Ware-houses on the Key are made into the River three Stories high. Here are two Fairs a Year, and two Markets a Week. It sends two Members to the Assembly.

The Inhabitants being at first mostly *Quakers*, and so they continue, it was some time before there was a Church built after the Manner of *England*; but as soon as one was built, it was called *Christ-church*, much better named than *Christchurch* from *St. Boniface*, or *St. Becket*, &c. It had, in a few Years, a very numerous Congregation, and King *William* order'd an Allowance of 50 *l.* a Year to the Minister, which, with voluntary Contributions, made a very handsom Provision for him. There are above 1200 of the Inhabitants that are of this Congregation, who have for some Years had the Benefit of an Organ; and tho' it look'd and founded strange to the *Quakers* at first, yet they are now so far reconciled to it, as to bear with their Neighbours having it without Grumbling. Here are, besides this, several *Meeting-houses*, as for the *Quakers*, who are properly the Church, as by *Law* establish'd, being the Originals, the *Presbyterians*, the *Baptists*, and a *Swedish* Church. The Rev. Mr. *Evans* was lately Minister of the *Church of England* Church, his Assistant Mr. *Thomas*, the Schoolmaster Mr. *Club*, whose Allowance was 50 *l.* a Year from the Publick, besides the private Perquisites of his School.

According to the Plan, there is, in each Quarter of the City, a Square of 8 Acres, intended for the same Uses as was *Moorfields* in *London*, Walks and Exercises for the Citizens. The great Dock is form'd by an Inlet of the River *Delaware*, at the South-Corner of the Front of the Wharfs, and has a Bridge over it at the Entrance; several Creeks run into the City out of the two Rivers, and there's no City in *Holland* that is so naturally accommodated with fine and commodious Canals than this might be very easily. The Key is beautiful, above 200 Foot Square, to which a Ship of 500 Tons may lay her Broadside; and as these surprizing Advantages have already render'd it one of the best trading Towns

Towns

Towns in the *British* Empire out of *Europe*, so, in all Probability, it will continue to increase in Commerce, Riches and Buildings, till for Number and Magnificence it will have no Equal in *America*, where the *French* have not, nor are likely to have any thing like it. Here are almost all sorts of Trades and Mekanicks, as well as Merchants and Planters. Here the Assemblies and Courts of Judicature are held, and the Business of the Province is chiefly managed, as in all Capitals. Here is a Printing-house, and a *Gazette* weekly published. In a Word, here are all things necessary for an *Englishman's* Profit and Pleasure.

Swedish
Churches.

At a little Distance from *Philadelphia* is a pleasant Hill very well wooded, on the Banks of the *Schuylkill*, called *Fair Mount*. *Wioco*, half a Mile from the Town, is a Swedish Settlement, where the People of that Nation have a Meeting-house for Religion. The *Pensylvanians* are so complaisant to Episcopacy, that, tho' *Quakerism* is, in some sort, the Religion of the Government, they will not presume to call these Congregations Churches; but give up that Form to those that confine it to Walls, and Roofs, and Floors that have been consecrated. The *Swedens* have another Meeting-house at *Tenecum*; but whether these Places are in *Buckingham* or *Philadelphia* County, we have not learnt.

Abington and *Dublin* are two pretty Towns in *Philadelphia* County; but the most considerable next to that City is *German Town*, a Corporation of High and Low *Dutch*; there are between 2 and 300 Houses in it; Peach-trees are planted all along before the Doors. The Town is very pleasant, and very well cleared from Trees.

Within Land lies *Radnor*, finely situated and well built, containing above 50 Families. In this Place is a Congregation of *Church of England* Men. 'Twas at first called *Amstel* by the *Dutch*, who began building here, from the Name of the River at *Amsterdam*. There are several Creeks in these two Counties, as *Derby Creek*, &c. *Amorstand* lies between that and another nameless Creek; from whence passing by *Redloyer*, we come to *Chester* County, so called because the People who first settled here came for the most Part from *Cheeshire*. The first Town in it is *Newton*, consisting of between 30 and 40 Houses. There are above 100 Houses in *Chester* Town, the Capital of the County, where is a very good Road for Shipping, the *Delaware*, on which it stands, being here three Miles over. Here are a Court-house and a Prison. This Place is also called *Upland*, and has a Church dedicated to *St. Paul*, with a numerous Congregation of those, whom, exclusive of all other Christians, we call

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all *Orthodox*, whose Minister was lately Mr. *Henry Nicholls*. The Income paid by the Society 50 l. a Year. The School also depends upon the Minister, and is of some Advantage to them. There's another Town called *Chichester*, as is also the Creek on which it stands, which is navigable. It has above 400 Houses; the little Town of *Concord* has not so many. The other Townships in this County are small, but the Land is well planted. *Marcus Hock*, four Miles from *Chester*, is the Boundary of the three upper Counties, properly called *Pennsylvania*. *Chester* County sends 6 Members to the Assembly.

Below *Chichester* is a great Creek, which we may be sure belongs to the *Dutch*, by the Name that is given it, *Brandywine*. Here's Room enough to lay up the whole Navy Royal of *England*, there being from four to eight Fathom Water. Between *Brandywine* and *Christina* is an Iron Mill; at *Christina* Creek the *Swedes* had a Town and Plantations; they inhabited this and the other Side of the *Delaware*, call'd *La Nouvelle Swede*, or *New Sweden*, by *Robbe* the French Geographer: It included Part of this Province and Part of *New Jersey*; the Creek is large, but the Village inconsiderable; the *Swedes* had a Church here not long ago. Between this and the next Creek is *Newcastle* Town, from whence the adjoining County takes its Name. The Lands hereabouts are

called the *Welsh Tract*, and there are near 40000 Acres, planted and laid out by and for *Welshmen*. 'Tis thick of little Townships, as *Haverford West*, *Merioneth*, and others. 'Tis populous, and the People are very industrious, by which means this Part of the County is the best cleared. The Inhabitants have many large Plantations of Corn and Bread, abundance of Cattle, insomuch that they are lookt upon to be in as thriving a Condition as any in the Province.

Mountjoy is a Manor that belonged to a Daughter of Mr. *Pen*, and here the first *Lime-Stone* was dug that ever was found in *America*. This whole Country is remarkable for its excellent Gravel, very rare to be met with on all the Continent of *America*. It sends 6 Members to the Assembly. 'Tis inhabited by *English* and *Dutch*, and is the next Place for *Bigness* and Trade to *Philadelphia*, containing now between 5 and 600 Houses well built. Here live and thrive many Merchants and Tradesmen; the Church has a large Congregation, mostly *Welsh*. Its Minister was lately Mr. *Ross*. The *Dutch* have also a Church here. The Court-house is for the Magistracy, who do not want Business. Ten Miles from it is *St. George's*, a pretty Village. I know not how it came to be faint'd; for the *Quakers* do not believe in *Canonization*. Then *Blackbird* Creek, and over-against it

lies

lies a little Island, called *Rhode Island*, in the *Delaware*, where there is 10 Fathom Water. *Apaquantany* Creek is honoured with the Name of a River; it has a little Town so called the Country within 10 Miles of *Newcastle*, *North* and *West* is its proper Signiory. The County sends 6 Members to the Assembly. There's another Creek so called, and they are distinguished from one another by *North* and *South*. The Inhabitants have built a Church; but I know not whether it is yet endowed, or supplied with a Minister, tho' I suppose it is. Passing by *Bombay Point* and *Duck Creek*, we come to *Kent County*, in which are *Cranebrook*, *Dover*, *Murder* and *Misfolliven* Creeks. *Dover* was formerly called *St. John's Town*, and consists now of about 50 Families; 'tis looked upon as the Capital of the County, which is settled like *Virginia*, not in Townships, but in scatter'd Plantations. The Land is good, and this Shire is represented by 6 Members in the Assembly. Here is a Church of *England* Congregation. The Minister was lately *Mr. Thomas Crawford*, who had 50 *l.* a Year paid by the Society. It is in the Bay of *Delaware*, which is there about 7 Leagues over. *Cedar Creek* is, by some, dignify'd with the Name of a River. 'Tis the first in *Suffex* County. *Mr. Pen* gave it this Name, from his Seat in that County in *England*. The chief Town is *Lewes*, on a Creek so called, next to *Plum Creek*; it is handsome and large, standing on the beautiful Banks of a River between the Town and the Sea, which makes the Harbour.

Below this Place and the Mouth of the *Delaware*, is *Cape Hinlopen*, or *Cape William*, and 20 Miles below that, *Cape James*, the farthermost Bounds of the Province of *Pennsylvania*. The Whalery we mentioned was at *Cape William*. *Suffex* County, like *Kent*, is inhabited by Planters, whose Plantations lie also scattering, as suited best to their Convenience.

Every one of the six Counties has a Quarterly and Monthly Sessions, and Assizes twice a Year; there's a Sheriff for each. They run along 20 or 30 Miles on the Rivers and Bays, and backwards as far as they are planted, which is 20 Miles in some Places.

The Villages hereabouts are very thin, the *English* chuse to inhabit that Part of the Province which lies on the upper River; and since their Settlement in *Pennsylvania*, the *Dutch* and *Swedes* have made very little Progress in their Plantations, whereas the *English* are increased so much, that there are between 80 and 90000 Souls of that Nation in this Colony, and of *Palatines*, *Dutch*, *Swedes* and *French* and *Negroes*, 10 or 15000 more. About three Miles below *Lewes's* Creek is the *Line of Partition*, which divides *Pennsylvania* from *Maryland*.

Kent County.

Suffex County.

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land. The Society of Adventurers we shall have Occasion to speak of hereafter, had a Whalery near Lewes; but the Whaleries in the British America are now hardly worth mentioning.

As to the Climate, Pennsylvania is, by its Latitude, at a like Distance from the Sun with Naples in Italy, and Montpellier in France, which Mr. Pen, in his Account of the Country, very artfully observed, to shew its Agreement with two of the most healthy and pleasam Places in the Universe; but it must be acknowledged, that the Climates in the Continent of America differ much from those of the same Latitude in Europe. Hudson's Bay and the Thames are much in the same Latitude, with respect to the Sun; yet the Thames is in a mild agreeable Climate, and Hudson's Bay almost in perpetual Frost and Snow. Naturalists can very easily give the Reason of it: The Air here is sweet and clear; the Fall begins about the 20th of October, and lasts till the Beginning of December; Frosty Weather and extreme cold Seasons are frequently known here; but, as in most Countries where are such Seasons, the Air is dry and hungry. The River Delaware is sometimes frozen over, notwithstanding its Breadth. From March to June the Spring lasts; but the Weather then is more inconstant than in the other Season, which it generally is in other Countries. The Heats are extraordinary in the Summer Months, July, August and September; but mitigated by cool Breezes, which make them very tolerable. The Wind is South-West during the Summer; but generally North-Westerly Spring, Fall and Winter, which blowing from the Frosty and Snowy Mountains, and Lakes of the Terra Canadensis, is doubtless a main Reason of the excessive Cold here in Winter.

The Soil in this Tract of Land is, in some Places, a yellow and black Sand, in others a loomy Gravel, in others a fat Earth, like the Vales in England, especially by inland Brooks and Rivers, where the Lands are mostly three to one richer than those that lie by navigable Rivers. There's also found a black Hazel Mould, on a stony Bottom. The Earth is fruitful, fat and easy to be cleared, because the Roots of the Trees lie almost on the Surface of the Ground. Some Allowance must be made for Mr. Pen's Propriety, in the tempting Description he gives us of the Country. We have said enough of the Rivers and Creeks in it, and shewn how commodious they are for Navigation and Communication. Among other Waters, Mr. Pen names the Mineral like those of Barnet and Northall, which were in very great Vogue when he wrote; but will be now no Recommendation of the Place. These Springs are about 2 Miles from Philadelphia,

delphia, at a happy Distance for *Water-Drinkers*; but the Number of them is, since that, less'n'd extremely.

Product.
Trees.

The natural Product here are *Trees* of almost all sorts, *Oak*, red, white and black *Ash*, *Beech*, *Spanish Chestnut*, *Cedar*, *Walnut*, *Cypress* and *Swamp*, the most durable of all. Here are *Poplar*, *Gumwood*, *Hickory*, *Sassafras*; and as for Shrubs, *Snakewort*, *Saffaperilla*, *Jallop*, *Spruce* and *Cranberries*. Mr. Pen is very particular, and what follows is exactly in the Idea and Style of a Proprietary, *Grapes*, *Plumbs*, *Strawberries*, *Mulberries*, *Walnuts*, *Chestnuts* grow naturally in the Woods; and there are prodigious Quantity of excellent *Peaches*.

Grain.

Wheat, *Barley*, *Oats*, *Rye*, *Pease*, *Beans*, *Water-Melons*, *Musmelons*, *Apples*, *Pears*, *Cherries*, *Apricots*, *Carrots*, *Turnips*, *Parsnips*, *Cabbages*, *Culworts*, *Potatoes*, *Radishes* as big as *Parsnips*, *Onions*, *Cucumbers*, *Quinces*, &c. (for there's enough) are in great Plenty here; as also *Indian Corn*, *Hemp*, *Flax*, &c. 'Tis common, from one Bushel of Grain sown here, to reap 40, often 50, and sometimes 60 Bushels. One Mr. Edward Jones had, for one Grain of *English Barley*, 70 Stalks and Ears of that Corn in his Plantation on the *Schuykill*; but there's no Dependance to be made on such sort of Increase.

Animals.

Of living Creatures, there are, for Food and Trade, *Deer*, the *Elk*, as big as a small *Ox*, *Rabbits*, *Raccoons*, *Beaver*; Plenty of *Oxen*, *Cows* and *Sheep*; of the latter, 'tis common for Farmers to have 4 or 500 in a Flock; *Horses*, some very good, and stately enough.

Fowl.

Of *Fowl*, here are the *Land Turtle*, 40 or 50 Pounds Weight, *Pheasants*, *Heath-Birds*, *Pigeons*, *Partridges*, Clouds of *Black-birds*, *Swans*, *Geese*, *Brains*, *Ducks*, *Teal*, *Snipe*. One would think Mr. Pen had made a Collection of all the most tempting Products and Animals that one or many Countries could furnish him with, to enrich his Account of *Pennsylvania*; but, in the main, his Information is true, as I have learnt from other Hands.

Fish.

The *Fish* here are *Sturgeon*, *Herrings*, *Eels*, *Smelts* and *Perch*; the latter caught in Abundance in *Delaware Bay*, and in the River, above the *Freshes*, *Oysters*, *Crabs*, *Cockles*, *Muscles*. There are also *Rock-Shat*, *Cathead*, *Sheepshead*, and other *Fish*, not worth naming.

I shall be a little the longer concerning the *Indians*, because, besides his printed Relation, I had frequent Discourse with him on that Head.

Indians.

The *Indians*, and this Description will serve for all other *Continent Colonies*, are generally tall, straight, well built and

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and proportioned. Their Complexion is black by Design, as the Gypsies in England. They anoint themselves with Bear's Fat clarify'd, and using no Defence against the Sun or Weather, their Skin is swarthy or tawney. Their Eye is little and black. As to their Faces, Mr. Pen says, *The thick Lip and flat Nose, so frequent with the East Indians and the Blacks, are not common to them; for I have seen as comely European-like Faces among them of both Sexes, as on our Side the Sea; and truly an Italian has not much more of the White, and the Noses of several of them have as much of the Roman.* But the Nose and the Lip too, by what I have since seen of some of the Indian Monarchs, did not deserve this Compliment. Of their Language he says, it is lofty, but narrow; the Accent and Emphasis of some of their Words are great and sweet, as *Otorockon, Rancocas, Oriiston, Shakameron, Paquassin*, all Names of Places, and as sonorous as any in *Africa*; then for Sweetness, they have their *Anna Mother, Mimus Brother, Ne'ap Sin*, and *Usque Oret* very good, *Pone Bread*, how near *Pain* in French, which I mention only to shew the *Lusus Linguarum* before spoken of.

They wash their Children in Water as soon as they are born, and plunge them often in the Rivers when they are young; thence come their straight and strong Limbs. An English Mother would much rather venture the Crooked and the Cripple, than give her Children the Cold Bath to straighten and strengthen their Limbs, which the Indian Mothers harden also by wrapping the Infant up in a Clout, and then laying it on a straight Board, a little more than the Breadth and Length of the Child, which they swaddle fast on the Board to make it straight. This is the Reason why all the Indians have flat Heads. Thus the Mother carries the Child at her Back till nine Months End, and then it generally goes, and would generally do so in England, with the like Nursing; for I knew, and was very nearly related to one that without went with something of Weight in both Hands at 9 Months End. The Boys fish till they are fifteen, then they hunt, and having given some Proof of their Manhood, by a good Return of Skins, they may marry, else 'tis a Shame to think of a Wife. If Mr. Pen intended this as a Fable for a Moral, 'tis very good, and shews that no Man should think of marrying till he knows how to maintain a Wife and Family; but as to the Indian Youth, he had the whole unmarried Sex of Women before him, and might take any one of them that would be taken without Shame, which must make the young Man not over hasty to marry. The Girls here with their Mothers help, hough the Ground,

Why the In-
dians have
flat Heads.

plant Corn, and carry Burdens. Wives are the true Servants of the Husbands, otherwise the Men are very affectionate to them. Females marry at 13 or 14, Males at 17 or 18. Their Houses are Mats, or Barks of Trees, set on Poles hardly higher than a Man. They lie on Reeds of Grass. When they travel they lodge in the Woods, make a great Fire with the Mantle of Doffils they wear by Day wrapt about them. They sit mostly on the Ground, close to their Heels, their Legs upright; and after having saluted their *European* Visitors, if they have any, with an *Hab*, or *Good-bye to you*, perhaps say not a Word more; but observe all Passages. No such great Oddity to the *Pennsylvanians*, so accustomed to silent Meetings. They are pleased if you give them any thing, and so are others indeed; but never beg. It cannot be so said of others, and if they are not asked to eat, go away sullenly. I shall abridge my former Relation with respect to the *Indians*, because, as far as *Pennsylvania* is concerned in it, there's little or no Agreement between the Customs and Manners of the *Indians* in *Mr. Pen's* time, and those in the present times; and to read what they were sixty Years ago, has very little in it to satisfy the Curiosity of any *Englishman* in or out of *Pennsylvania*.

I must not omit one Passage told me by *Mr. Pen*, that when he travelled in the *Back Countries*, towards the *Iraquits*, he was entertained by one of their great *Sachems* with more than ordinary Civilities, according to his Knowledge and Abilities, the Emperor, or Captain-General of the other *Sachems*, being well apprized of his Dignity and Power in his Province; and at Night, when the Royal Family were about to take to their Beds, which were Heaps of Scrubbe, or rather Turf, with Beasts-skins spread over them, *Mr. Pen* was conducted to his in the same Wigwam; and after all were laid down, and himself ready to go to Sleep, a young *Indian* Lady no less than the great King's Daughter, came and laid herself down by him, without any Ceremony. He profest to me it very much shock'd him; he was sensible this was intended as a Mark of particular Favours to him, and that it would be taken ill if he did not accept of it; but tho' the Lady was very young, and she was as it were at Mercy, yet his Virtue prevailed; and, after having lain some time by her without shewing any manner of Disposition to return her Gallantry, she rose from him, and retired into another Partition of the *Wigwam*. *Mr. Pen* was then about 40 Years old, a very sanguine Person, and much interested in the Great King's Good-will, and whether he open'd himself intirely to me on that Subject, perhaps the Reader may suspect, as well as I did.

Few are the Events relating to this Colony to be any where met with. The *Pennsylvanians* have had no Wars with the *Indians* or *French*, and consequently little Action has happen'd here. The Bustle of Trade is much the same at all times, in all Places, and concerns no Body but the Traders; but the great Events of War concern every one that lives in the Country, that was the Seat of it, or has any Relation to it, and besides, is always surprizing and pleasing by the *Revolutions* that it generally produces.

As soon as Mr. Pen had got his *Patent*, he invited several Persons to purchase Lands under it. Tho' he did not satisfy himself with the Title granted him by *Charles II.* and his Brother, he also bought the Land of the *Indians*, which, doubtless, was the best Right he had to them.

The *Swedes*, who had encroach'd upon the *Dutch*, the first Planters here, as well as at *New-York*, settled upon or near the Freshes of the *Delaware*. The *Finns*, or Inhabitants of *Finland*, Part of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, apply'd themselves chiefly to Husbandry. The King of *Sweden* appointed a Governor here, who had often Disputes with the Governor that presid'd over the *Dutch*. The latter apply'd themselves mostly to Traffick, living upon or near the Bay, and by the Neighbourhood of *New-York*. The *Dutch* also were too powerful for the *Swedes*, who finding they could not maintain their Ground, submitted to their stronger Neighbours. Accordingly, *John Rizeing*, the Swedish Governor, made a formal Surrender of the Country to *Peter Stuyvesant*, Governor for the *States General*. After which, this Province continued subject to their Republick, till the *English* drove the *Dutch* out of *New-Amsterdam*, or *New-York*, which made the Possession of those Territories the more easy to Mr. Pen.

New Euro-
pean Inhabi-
tants.

Swedes sur-
render to the
Dutch.

There were a few *English* here before Mr. Pen sent over the first Adventurers under his *Patent*, over whom he placed, for Governor, Col. *William Markham*, his Nephew, to whom both *Dutch* and *Swedes* submitted.

Col. William
Markham,
Governor.

Those that went over were generally Dissenters from *London*, *Liverpool*, and especially *Bristol*; for the *West* of *England* abounded with Dissenters, as well as a Herd of Persecutors, as *Phillips*, *Hellier*, *Hobs*, and other Justices of the County of *Somerset* more than other Counties, they flock'd themselves at *Bristol* in great Numbers for *Pennsylvania*. Mr. *Thomas Gouldney*, and Mr. afterwards Sir *John Duddle-* two Tobacco Merchants in that City, about this time sent out the *Unicorn*, a Ship of 300 Tons for this Voyage, which putting into *Start*, took in a great many from *Bridge-*

Rates of
Land at first
and now

Mr. Pen had sold 20000 Acres of his Propriety to Mr. James Claypool, Mr. Nicholas Moor, Mr. Philip Ford and others, who form'd a Company, and had a Street and a Side of a Street set out for them in Philadelphia, with 400 Acres of Land in the City Liberties. They set up a Tannery, Saw-Mill, a Glass-house, and a Whalery; of the two latter I suppose, they never made any great Hand. The Proprietaries Conditions of Sale were these, Buyers purchased at the Rate of 20 l. for 1000 Acres, so that he put 400 l. in his Pocket immediately; but that was a Trifle to what went out of it for the Grant and Experiments to people and settle the Country. The Quit-Rent was 12 or its Value for every 100 Acres. This was cheap enough; but I think the Renters were not so well used; for they were to pay 12 an Acre yearly. Thus these 20000 Acres which he sold the Company would, if rented, have brought him 1000 l. Year. Since that time, the Value of Land is so much risen that I have been credibly inform'd it has sold for 20 Year Purchase, at several Miles Distance from Philadelphia, and that near it, it has gone at a Pound an Acre, and in some Places more than a Pound yearly. We have mentioned near 4000 Acres to be at this time parcell'd out for Sale, some at 6 Miles Distance from Philadelphia; but none of those Parcels will fetch a tenth Part of such Rates as these. Servants Men and Women, were to have 50 Acres when their time were out, and Owners of Land 50 Acres a Head for such Servants, Men or Women.

William
Pen, Esq;
Governor.

Buys the
Country of
the Indians.

In the Year 1681 Mr. Pen went himself to Pennsylvania and carried with him, and there went over after him 200 Souls; a prodigious Augmentation in less than a Year! and he might with Reason say as he did to me, *It was made once a Country.* As soon as he arrived he took the Government into his own Hands, and enter'd upon Treaties with the Indian Kings, for purchasing his Patent-Lands and others as is before hinted. One may assure oneself he gave but little for them; and if the French and Spaniards scorned to pay such a Compliment to Natural Right, and chose rather to seize the Lands of the Indian Natives by Violence, it was what might have been expected from the Religion and Tyranny of the Country from whence they came. Twenty Miles of Territory was thus bought of the Indians for less than an Acre of the best Ground about Philadelphia would be valued at; but the Indians, in a little time, observing what Profit the English made of the Land they sold them, and that, by the coming over of such Numbers every Year, it would be more and more wanted, they raised the Price

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times as much as it was at first; and yet it was unconscionably cheap, and for a long time purchased by the Mile, and not by the Acre. Indeed they knew not what to do with it; they had not Hands enough to cultivate the hundredth Part, and if they could have raised such a Product, there was no Body to buy it. The Purchase was all clear Gains to them; and, by the Coming of the *English*, this Peltry Trade became so profitable, that they were soon in a Condition to better their manner of Housing, and Clothing and Living, as they did very much; and are now, in these Articles, as well accommodated as the *European* Peasantry in many Places.

The Indians
get by the
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English.

When the Province began to be a little planted, almost to the Mouth of *Delaware* Bay, 'twas laid out into the before-mentioned Counties, in order to choose Representatives and establish Courts for the Distribution of Justice. The original Draught of the Constitution for this Province was, made by that great Lawyer and Patriot Sir *William Jones*, and, by it, the Governor and People have a Legislative Power. Sir *William Jones* had too much Understanding, Virtue and Honour to throw the People out of the Question, when their Religion, their Liberty, their Property, their well-being in this World and the next, were so nearly concerned in it. No Law can be here made, nor Money raised, but by Consent of the Inhabitants. The Rights and Freedom of England were to be in Force there. They were to make no Law against Allegiance, and then they might enact what Laws they pleased for the Good, Prosperity and Security of the Province. Mr. *Pen* held two General Assemblies while he was in the Country, and with such Unanimity and Dispatch, that tho' they made Laws by the Scores, no less than 70, yet they had done their Business in three Weeks time. How often has it happened in our own Country that 70 long Acts of Parliament could not have been once read in that time, much less debated and past after three Readings.

Constitution.

They presented the Proprietary with an Impost on certain Goods; but he remitted it, which was artful enough, to have a thing given, on purpose to give it away again to those that gave it. He establish'd Courts of Justice in every County, with proper Officers. Truly one would think the laying out Shares and Districts in this and other Colonies, was for the Sake of making Offices; for, as yet, a Number of them could not be wanted, if they are now. To prevent Law-suits and Contention among this passive People, there were three Peacemakers chosen by every County Court, in the Nature of common Arbitrators, to hear and end Differences between Man and Man. I cannot think that any

Constitution upon Earth is the more perfect for rejecting such Arbitrators; but that it would be of very great Advantage in the Practice of the Law, whatever it might be to Practitioners, which, in such Case, seems not to be worth Consideration. Every Spring and Fall there's an Orphan's Court in each County, to inspect and regulate the Affairs of Widows and Orphans.

Mr. Pen was visited by the Kings and Queens, and great Men among the Indians, of whom the greatest did not think himself too good to go on the Proprietary's Errand, if he had thought fit to send him. Both the Dutch and the Swedes, within his Jurisdiction, were very well pleased with his Coming and his Conduct; and there were, at that time, almost as many Swedes and Dutch in Pennsylvania as English.

Mr. Pen staid here about two Years, till he had settled things to his own and the People's Liking; he then returned to England, to forward the Affairs of the Propriety there, as he had done here. He was generous and free of his Thoughts and Expressions, which were not always sufficiently guarded; and after the Revolution, he became suspected, on Account of his great Access to the abdicated King, who, when Duke of York, had given him a good Part of Nova Belgia, which included the Jerseys as well as New-York. Whatever Favours he had received from that King afterwards, more than good Looks and good Words, I know not; but I know the People thought they were great, and he himself took no Pleasure in undeceiving them. I shall digress a little in a Passage on this Head, as near as I can in his own Words.

Mr Pen in
Favour at
Court.

" People generally believe, said he, that King Charles was governed by his Brother the Duke of York, in his most exceptionable Measures; but it was the quite contrary. I have had it from the Duke's own Mouth, that his Brother has often proposed such and such things to him to propose in Council, which he has done to please him, and afterwards, when the thing has been disrelish'd and caused Complaint, the King by his Emisseries made it believed that his Brother put him upon it; for, continued Mr. Pen, tho' he affected Negligence, and to play with his Dogs both at Church and in Council, no Prince ever govern'd more according to his own Opinion and Will, nor was more positive than he was." I imagine this Representation of the Matter, with respect to the King and the Duke, will be thought partial on the Side of the latter, and that Mr. Pen had affected the Duke more than his Brother. He certainly did not affect King William as I could very easily prove.

The

The Government of this Province being taken out of Mr. *Col Fletcher*
Pen's Hands, on Account of Disaffection, his Majesty King *Governor.*
William gave it to *Col. Fletcher*, who was afterwards Go-
 vernor of *New-York*; but as Mr. *Pen* had stood by the *Qua-*
 rters in the late Reigns, they stood by him in that King's,
 and, by their and their Friends Interest, he recovered the
 Right of Nomination to the Government of his Propriety,
 which he gave to *Capt. Blackwell*, an old Republican, who
 had been Pay-master to the Parliament's Army. The Secre- *Capt. Black-*
 tary was *William Markham*, Esq; the President of the Coun- *well Govern-*
 cil *Thomas Loyd*, Esq; the Surveyor-General Mr. *Thomas*
Whimes. Mr. *Blackwell* govern'd the Province with equal
 Prudence and Success. It thrived apace; its Inhabitants and
 Commerce encreas'd; they fell into the *Tobacco* Trade, and
 it became so considerable, that 14 Ships have been laden
 with that Commodity from *Pensylvania* to *London*, and other
 Parts of *England* in a Year; but it has not lately been so
 much cultivated, and it is no Matter whether it ever be a-
 gain. *Virginia* and *Maryland* have more than *Tobacco* e-
 nough for all the Markets in the World, which have been
 taken too much glutted with it; consequently those, who
 for the future, fall into that Trade, will do them Hurt,
 without doing themselves Good; and the *Pensylvanians*, by *Tobacco not*
 breeding Cattle, raising Corn and Provisions, Lumber and *to be prefer'd*
 Ship-building, and by any other Schemes of Traffick, which *here.*
 may be likely to turn to Account, will have a better Chance
 to make Profit of it, than by running into a Trade that is
 already overstockt. This has been a very great Oversight
 in the *Sugar* Colonies, where the Planters, thinking they could
 never have Canes enough, and that they should never want
 any thing else, neglected *Cotton*, *Cocoa*, and other beneficial
 Products, which would have been raised with fewer Hands,
 and by taking them off from *Sugar* have given a Check to
 the immoderate Produce of it, which would have kept up the
 Price, and consequently made the Commodity more valuable
 at home and abroad. *Capt. Blackwell* was Father of *Sir*
Lambert Blackwell, Envoy Extraordinary from *Queen Anne*
 to several Courts of *Italy*. His Successor in the Govern-
 ment of *Philadelphia* was *Thomas Loyd*, Esq; whose Admi- *Thomas*
 nistration was as successful as his Predecessor's; but he did *Loyd, Esq;*
 not long enjoy it. Upon his Death Mr. *Pen* appointed his *Governor.*
 Nephew, *William Markham*, Esq; to be Governor, or his *William*
 other Deputy-Governor, for the Proprietary himself was Chief *Markham,*
 Governor, and he went thither in Person in the Year 1698. *Deputy-Gov-*
 There being no Persecution in *England*, the *Quakers* here *ernor.*
 found the Country begin to be settled with People who
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came thither to mend their Fortunes, and not to enjoy Liberty of their Consciences; for the *Toleration* gave them that at home. These Men being of the Church of England, *Presbyterians*, and *Baptists*, would have had a *Militia*; the *Quakers* being the Majority, were against it, their Principles not allowing them the Use of Arms. Besides this such a wrong way of Thinking is unworthy the Name Principles. The *Quakers* themselves, not long before *Mr. Pen's* second Voyage thither, did very readily fall in with an armed Force; for a Ship of theirs being taken by Pirates, they hired Men, and supply'd them with Ammunition and Fire-Arms, to recover their Ship from the Pirates. At present, in the Case of the Militia, such as were of another Opinion, were allowed to train themselves, and take the Military Care for their Defence, as consisted with the Peace of the Country.

The political Affairs of the Colony did not prosper so much more for *Mr. Pen's* losing his Credit at Court; several leading Men began to form a Party against the *original Contract*, as the *Constitution* may be called, and supposed they might carry any Point, whether the Proprietors liked it or not. What they most objected against, was the best thing in that Constitution, the Election of Officers by Ballot. They said they were *Englishmen*, and not bound to give their Votes in *Huggemother*; their Faces and their Voices should always go together, and accordingly the first Order of Government was broken in upon in the most essential Part of it; upon which, Factions of Course increased, and Tumults followed, to the great Disturbance and Detriment of the Colony. This Mischief was not at all lessen'd by the Preaching of *George Keith*, whom we have mentioned in *Jersey*, who to make an Augmentation to his extraordinary Merit, threw off the Garment of *Quakerism*, and put on a Surplice; but before he received the only regular and infallible Ordination at home, he broach'd here Tenets that were very far from being orthodox in the *Quakers* Establishment, such as *Rites*, *Common-Prayer* and *Ceremonies*, *Holidays* and *Venues*, &c. for which the Government here took hold of him, and threw him into Prison; for *Mr. Neal* says, "The *Quakers* themselves confess, that a turbulent provoking Contention to the Government we lie under, requires the Notice of the civil Magistrate; and for this Reason they fined and imprison'd *George Keith*, and oblig'd him to leave the Province; and I am of Opinion, it was not merely for Crimes against the State, but for his new Doctrine, which had like to have made a *Schism* among them."

The Balot
abolish'd.

George
Keith, the
orthodox Mi-
nister, impris-
soned.

How can this be made out, that the *Quakers*, who in England are *Schismatics*, should be the *Orthodox* in Pennsylvania; and *George Keith*, who was *Orthodox* in England, be a *Schismatick* in Pennsylvania? If *Orthodox* and *Schismatics* are made alternately by Establishments of Countries. and not alterably by the Rule of Faith in all Countries, the Scripture, I think the Terms have little more in them than the sound.

Mr. Pen returned to England in the Year 1701, having had the better of the Lord Baltimore in a Law-suit for the three lower Counties, *Newcastle, Kent* and *Suffex*. He left the Colony in an extraordinary flourishing Condition; tho' there was little Likelihood of its continuing in it, by his Nomination of a Deputy-Governor, Col. *Andrew Hamilton*. Col. Hamilton's Behaviour in the *Ferseys* did not seem to recommend him to the Proprietary's Choice in Pennsylvania, where his Government gave Discontent to some principal Inhabitants. All Parties fell into a Ferment, and Matters ran so high, that we have been inform'd they came to hanging on one Side or another; but the Particulars not having come to our Knowledge, we shall be silent. Whether this Man, by favouring the *Orthodox*, which is very likely from his Character, and those that sided with them, provoked the others, who were the Majority, we cannot decide; but it is certain he discharged his Trust very unhappily, and was not very much lamented when he died in the Year 1704.

Upon his Death Mr. Pen sent over Col. *John Evans* to be Deputy-Governor, and he was approved by the Queen; for all the Lords Proprietaries at America, were, by Act of Parliament, obliged to have the regal Approbation for all the Governors they sent thither.

All Mr. Pen's first and fine Constitution was, by this time, destroy'd, and this Province, like others, became governed by a Governor, Council and Assembly, each with much the same Power and Privileges with the Governor, Council and Assemblies of the other Colonies; but as to the Confirmation of Laws, this Colony differs from theirs; for the Laws their Assembly prepare, are not so liable to be abrogated in England; they are not obliged to send these Laws to England to be confirmed by the King in Council in three Years, as the *Massachusetts*; but only to send a Transcript of their Laws to the Privy-Council, within five Years after they are past, and if his Majesty does not think fit to repeal them in six Months from the time such Transcript is so deliver'd, it is not in the Power of the Crown to repeal them afterwards.

Mines.

The People's Hearts here, and every where else in the American Continent, were much set on Mines, and Mr. Pen, in the Account he gave of the Country, said, *The Earth abounds with Mines, Samplers of most Sorts of Ore having been taken up in every County.*

Trade and Labour.

What he adds is certainly true; no Country in the World is better stored with Rivers and Creeks, most of them navigable for Ships of Burden, and all of them for small Craft; and tho' the Mines here, and those at *Carolina*, are by no means like the Description the Proprietors gave of them; yet if there's such Plenty of Iron-Stone or Ore here, as is talk'd of, they need not want the Profit of Metal to enrich them. I take what follows out of a Letter Mr. Pen wrote me: "We consume about 180000*lb.* yearly of *English* Iron; the Growth, and return of our Productions directly, and by the way of the Islands, what augments the Revenue of the Crown 30000*l.* The Highlands of *Virginia* and *Maryland* are very profitable, having moderate Hills and large Vales, full of Springs and little Rivers, emptying themselves into the two great Rivers *Susquehanagh* and *Delaware*, where Ships of the largest Burden may ride. Its Length is about 300 Miles, its Breadth 200. All Productions are reasonable, but Labour dear, which makes it a good poor Man's Country, Husbandmen and Mechanicks getting 15 and 20*l.* Wages per Annum for their Work, besides Diet." Such as Carpenters, Smiths, Joiners, Taylors, Shoemakers, Cartwrights, Shipwrights cannot want Work, there being always many Ships on the Stocks here, tho' not so many as at *New-England*. The Trade of all the *British* Continent Colonies is much the same, especially to the *Sugar* Islands, which from *Pensylvania* is very considerable, in *Corn, Flower, Bread, Beef, Pork, Bacon, Tallow, Fish, Leather, Starch, Staves, Heading, Board, Bricks, Soap, Shingles, Apples, &c.* Finding these Particulars in the *Barbados* Bills of Entry, I mention them as being thereby very sure of the Traffick. *Wine* from *Madeira* and the *Azores* are imported here; but not in such Quantities as in the Islands, where they have not the Drinks to supply the Place of *Wine*, as in *New-England, New-York* and here; *Cyder, Beer, and Ale* being plenty, and for Goodness equal to our best middling sort. *Negroes* sell here and in the other Continent Colonies very well; but not by Ship Loadings, as they have sometimes done at *Maryland* and *Virginia*. The Trade with *England* from hence is the same as the inland Trade of *London* and the Country, and differing in nothing, it need not be repeated. The *English* here want and buy all

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the Commodities that the *English* do at home, which for the most part may be said of the *Island Colonies* also.

The Troubles that befel Mr. *Pen*, the Proprietary of this Province, on Account of his Propriety, in the latter Part of his Life, are of too private a Nature to have place in a publick History. He trusted an ungrateful unjust Agent too much with the Management of it; and when he expected to have been thousands of Pounds the better for it, found himself thousands of Pounds in Debt, insomuch that he was restrained of his Liberty within the Privilege of the Fleet, by a tedious and unsuccessful Law-suit, which, together with Age, broke his Spirits, not easy to be broken, and render'd him incapable of Business and Society, as he was wont to have been in the Days of his Health and Vigour both of Body and Mind.

Nothing remarkable happening in *Pennsylvania* in the following 6 or 7 Years, we shall insert the List of the chief Officers in the Colony in 1710,

- | | |
|---|---------------------------|
| <i>William Pen</i> , Esq; Proprietary. | |
| Col. <i>John Evans</i> Lieutenant-Governor. | |
| <i>Edward Shippen</i> , Esq; | } Members of the Council. |
| <i>Samuel Carpenter</i> , Esq; | |
| <i>William Trent</i> , Esq; | |
| <i>Thomas Story</i> , Esq; | |
| <i>Richard Hill</i> , Esq; | |
| <i>William Rodney</i> , Esq; | |
| <i>Kaleb Jersy</i> , Esq; | |
| <i>James Logan</i> , Esq; | } Judges. |
| <i>Joseph Grouden</i> , Esq; Speaker of the Assembly. | |
| <i>Thomas Story</i> , Esq; Master of the Rolls. | |
| <i>William Clark</i> , Esq; | |
| <i>Edward Shippen</i> , Esq; | |
| <i>Joseph Grouden</i> , Esq; | |
| <i>William Guest</i> , Esq; | |
| Col. <i>Robert Quarry</i> , Judge of the Admiralty. | |
| <i>Samuel Carpenter</i> , Esq; Treasurer. | |
| <i>James Logan</i> , Esq; Secretary to the Government. | |
| <i>R. Louther</i> , Esq; Attorney-General. | |
| <i>Peter Ewan</i> , Esq; Register. | |
| Mr. <i>Edward Pennington</i> , Surveyor-General. | |
| <i>Robert Ashton</i> , Esq; Clerk of the Peace for the Town and County of <i>Philadelphia</i> . | |

The Office of Surveyor-General is now managed by the Under Surveyors, accountable to the Secretary.

I find

William
Keith, Esq;
Governor.
1716.

I find no Governor between Col. *Evans* and *William Keith*, Esq; afterwards Sir *William Keith*, formerly Surveyor General of the Customs in *America*, who was very acceptable to the Inhabitants, as appears by the Addresses to him.

1718.

In 1718 died *William Pen*, Esq; who had for some time lived a retired Life, not far from *Reading in Berkshire*; he left this proprietary Country to his Son; but so greatly incumber'd by the vast Sums he had laid out upon it, and the unjust Dealings of his Agent, that Mr. *Pen* his Son had little Benefit by it for several Years.

1722.

Sir *William Keith* his Treaty with the *Indians* is spoken of in the Article of *New-York*.

This Colony now increased prodigiouſly in Numbers of People patenting and cultivating of Lands, in Shipping and Trade. Nay, they had ſome Manufactures among them, but their Cloth was a coarſe Sort, and ſerved only for the Uſe of the common People. They now built many Ships at *Philadelphia*, *Newcaſtle* and other Ports, and fold them to the Sugar Colonies; but the Country being not ſo well planted, and the Soil very good for Plantation, we cannot but agree with the Reflection of a *Penſylvanian* on the Account ſemby here laying a Tax of 5 s. per Head on all new Comers upon which he thus reflects: “ We have had ſo many

New Comers
tax d.

1729.

“ Veffels from *Ireland* and *Scotland*, loaden with Paſſengers for this Colony, that we began to be overthronged with Strangers; this occaſioned our grave Magiſtrates to propoſe a Tax to be laid upon all new Comers; a Practice ſo contrary to the true Intereſt of an unfinished habited planted Colony, ſuch as this is, that on the Reverse we ought rather to have exerted our utmoſt to have received them chearfully, and laid them out Lands for their Settlement in the Country.

“ This Repulſe as it proved, has, ſince that time, cauſed ſeveral Ships, which were full of theſe People, to put in at *New-Jerſey*, *New-York* and *Long Iſland*, and other Places, where they are gone to *Nova Scotia*, where they give them all poſſible Encouragement, to the ineſtimable Loſs of this Colony, where we ſtill want People, eſpecially ſuch as brought Subſtance with them to plant, as moſt of theſe did; alſo ſeveral of theſe People are gone to *South Carolina* to ſettle, where they will not fail of Encouragement.

1730.
Fire at Philadelphia.

In the following Year 1730, there happen'd a terrible Fire in the new and fair City of *Philadelphia*, which was not

“ becom

Some large and populous, and drove a very considerable Trade to the *British Colonies* and home, of which the following Particulars were sent from *Pennsylvania*. "Some say it began in a Store-house, among Rigging; others, in a Copper-shop. Seven large Store-houses under one long Roof on a Wharf, all belonging to Mr. *Fishburn*, were so suddenly in Flames, that it was impossible to save much of the Goods in either of them. From these a vast Pile of Staves took fire, which so encreas'd the Heat, that there was no coming near the Place. Many lesser Piles of Staves and wooden Buildings were so nigh, that all that End of the Town was in imminent Danger; but the Wind was low. Two Copper-shops in *Kingstreet*, at the West-end of the Street, communicated the Fire to two new Houses of Mr. *Fishburn's*, and at the same time spread the Flames a-cross that narrow Street to Mr. *Fishburn's* House, Mr. *Plumsted's* new House, and Mr. *Dickenson's* large fine Buildings, all which were reduced to Ashes, except Mr. *Plumsted's*, which is not wholly destroy'd. Many Gentlemen have lost considerable Quantities of Goods and Furniture by this Fire and Thieves. Several Gentlemen have taken this Occasion (for People would not be moved at another time) to make a Collection of Money for better Engines than we now have, and for good Buckets.

This Year the following Declaration was published, relating ^{Association} the Currency of the Credit-Bills in *Pennsylvania*: "Where- ^{for the Support of Credit.} as divers Acts have been passed in the lower Counties upon *Delaware* for the Emission of Paper-Money, a considerable Part of which, in the ordinary Course of Trade, is daily brought into this Province; and altho' the Credit thereof subsists on an equal Foundation with that now current in *Pennsylvania*; yet its Circulation here has been in a great measure unhappily stop'd, to the Discouragement of Trade, and Breach of that good Agreement which ought naturally to subsist between the Inhabitants of these Counties and those of this Province, upon Pretence that the Bills of Credit will not discharge the Engagements to the Loan-Office of *Pennsylvania*; yet, inasmuch as the receiving the part of the present Currency of the said Counties in all Payments, will be no Inconveniency to the Borrowers here, and to the End that the Value of the said Paper-Credit may be kept, and the true Design and Intention thereof, viz. that of a Medium of Commerce, fully answered, we whose Names are un-

“ der-written have agreed, and do hereby promise
 “ oblige ourselves, every Man for himself, that from
 “ after the 15th Day of *January* instant, we will acc
 “ and receive in all Payments of Money, now due to us,
 “ hereafter becoming due to us, on any Account whatsoever
 “ one fourth Part thereof in Currency of the said Count
 “ as the same is now established, and stands limited to
 “ Sum of 12000*l.* promising farther to do what in us li
 “ towards abolishing all Distinction between the said C
 “ rency and that of this Province.

Major Gor-
 don Govern-
 ment.

The Assembly now sitting, passed the following Act
 which the Governor signed; which Governor we imagine
 must be Major Gordon, for we find him so to be in 1732

Acts pass'd.

Act for regulating Pedlars and Vendues, &c.

*Act for better enabling divers Inhabitants of the Province
 Pennsylvania, to hold Lands, and to invest themselves with
 Privileges of natural-born Subjects of the said Province.*

*Act for lending the Sum of 300*l.* in Bills of Credit,
 building a Prison and Court-house in Lancaster County, &c.*

*A Supplementary Act to an Act of Assembly of the Province
 entitled, an Act against buying Land of the Natives.*

*Act laying an Excise on all Wine, Rum, Brandy and other
 Spirits, retailed in this Province.*

*Act imposing a Duty on Persons convicted of heinous Crimes
 and to prevent poor and impotent Persons from being imported
 into this Province.*

*Act for continuing the Encouragement for raising good Hemp
 and imposing Penalties on Persons manufacturing unmerchantable
 Hemp into Cordage.*

This Act shews us that some Progress had been made
 the Manufacture of Hemp, and great Pity it is, that pro
 Encouragement has not been given for the raising of Hemp
 in the *British* Colonies for Manufacture, and shipping home
 which would complete our Supplies of Naval Stores from
American Provinces, and free us from any Dependence
 a *Baltick* Trade for them.

Having mentioned a great Number of People transported
 themselves from *Ireland* and *Scotland*, we think it proper
 explain that Matter by the following List.

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Account of Passengers and Servants landed in Pennsylvania, from Christmas 1728 to Christmas 1729.

English and Welsh Passengers	—	—	199
Servants	—	—	68
Irish Passengers	—	—	925
Servants	—	—	230
Scots Passengers	—	—	000
Servants	—	—	43
Palatine Passengers	—	—	243
Servants	—	—	000
In Newcastle Government have been landed			
about 4500 Passengers and Servants, chiefly			} 4500
from Ireland.			

In all 6208

The Law which taxed new Comers was in a short time either repeal'd or suspended, and the *Pennsylvanians* were sensible of their Mistake in that Law, that they encouraged their coming as much as any other of the Colonies, and accordingly have received thereby a farther Increase of the Inhabitants through the whole Province; which Increase will appear more plain by the Bills of Mortality for the City of Philadelphia, by which it appears that 24 Persons were buried in that Town in the Month of *May*, besides 10 Negroes; that Month being generally one of the wholesomest Months of the Year, we may compute that at least twelve times that Number, viz. 488 white Persons, and 120 Negroes die in a Year; and if we take the common Calculation, that one in thirty die every Year, or the thirtieth Part of the People, we must reckon the Number of People in that Town to be 12240, which Computation makes the City of Philadelphia to be near as big and populous as the City of *London*.

1731.

Number of Inhabitants in Philadelphia.

On the 11th of *August*, 1732, *William Pen*, Esq; Son and Heir to the late Proprietary *Pen*, arrived at *Chester* in this Province, and was received with great Marks of Honour, Respect, and Esteem by the whole Province; many of us went to meet him on Horseback, as soon as they heard of his Arrival, so that before he got to *Philadelphia*, his Cavalry amounted to 7 or 800 Horses; the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen of *Philadelphia* went out to meet him in great Formalities, and the Recorder made him a congratulatory Speech upon his Arrival: He was received every where with the joyful Acclamations of Multitudes of People, all expressing

1732. Mr. Pen arrives.

expressing their Satisfaction at seeing the Son of so worthy Father, who had established so just and well-regulated a Government, which will be a perpetual Testimony of his Wisdom and Prudence, as well as of his Benevolence to Mankind.

League with
the Indians.

Soon after his Arrival he met with the Heads of the five now six, Nations, who had met the late Governor *Keith* at *Albany* some Years before, and the ancient Chain of Friendship with them was renewed. Upon which large Presents were made them on the Part of the Government, consisting of Blankets, Kettles, Guns, Powder, Shot, &c. and the Proprietor *Mr. Pen* presented them with 6 Guns, curiously wrought, the Stocks inlaid with Gold, as a Mark of his Affection, one to the King of each Nation.

These Nations were then in Peace with the *French* and *French Indians*; but they had a little before sent to forbid their going on with a new Fort and Settlement which they were erecting at *Crown Point*, and advised them to remove from thence, lest their Proceedings should occasion a Rupture. This we take to refer to the Incroachments mentioned by President *Van Dam* of *New-York*, in his Letter to Governor *Belcher* of *New-England* before-mentioned.

1733.

In *February* 1733, we have an Account that there was a very great Frost, the Ice was 15 Inches thick, and the *River Delaware* was quite fast, except a little Opening before the Town; the Frost in the *River Skuykill* was broken up by prodigious Floods, occasioned by heavy Rains, and the melting of the Snow on the Mountains, whereby the River rose several Inches in a Minute. By these Floods Trees growing in the low Grounds, of a Foot over, were torn by the Roots, and the Ferry Boats, and a great deal of *Causeys* were carried away; some Persons and several Cattle were drowned, and a great deal of other Damage done, particularly by the Flakes of Ice, which were piled up so, that in some Places it lay above three Yards high.

Floods.

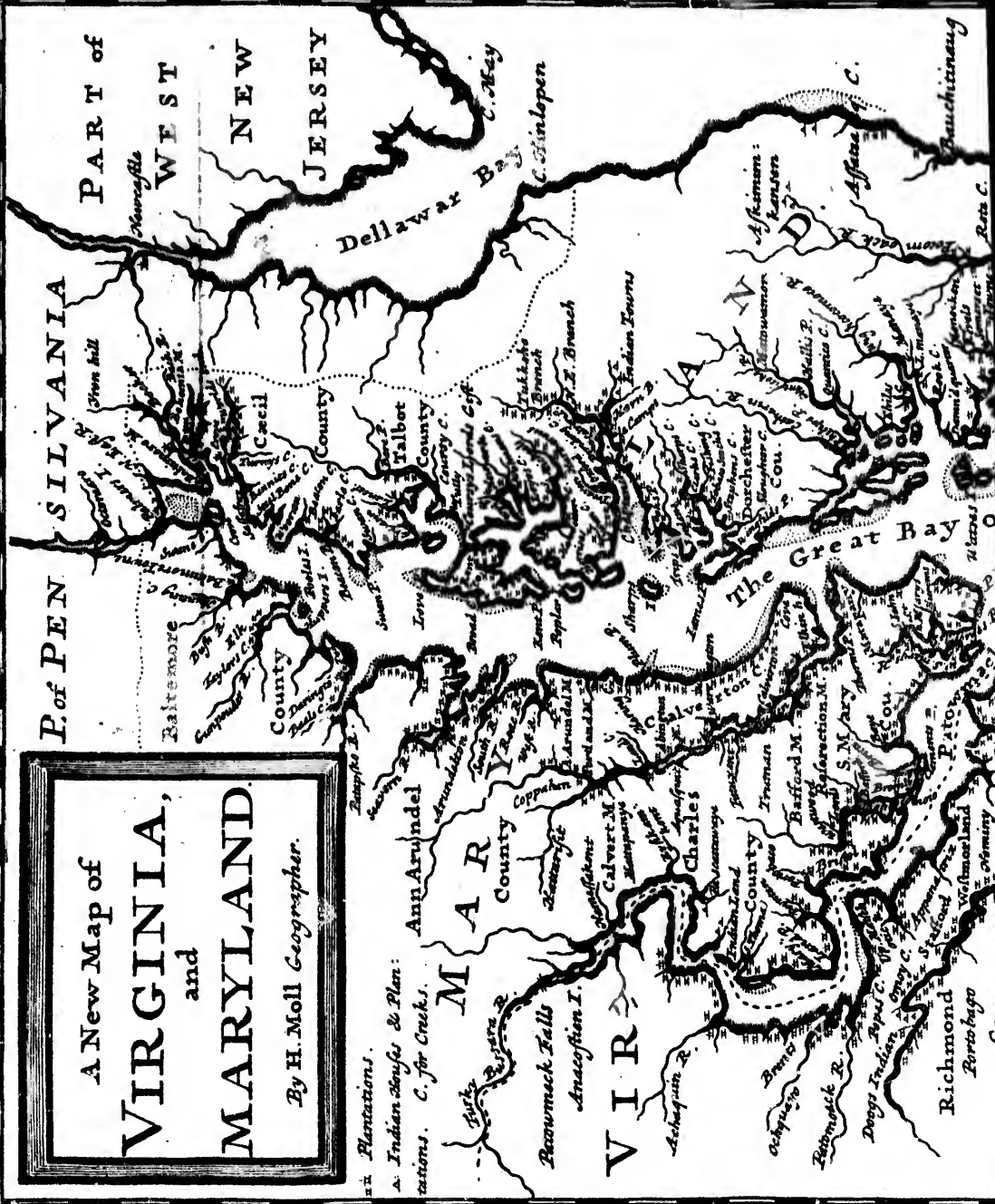
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A New Map of
VIRGINIA,
 and
MARYLAND,
 By H. Moll Geographer.



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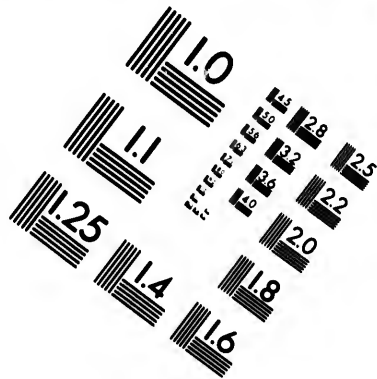
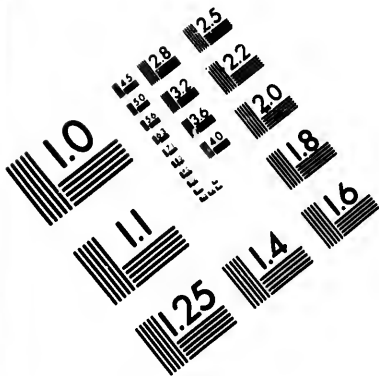
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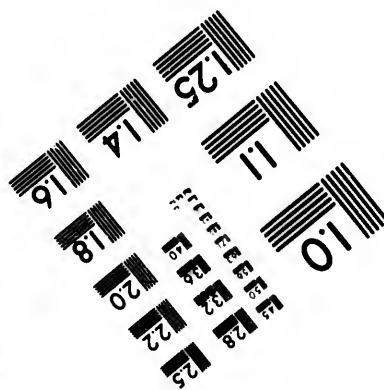
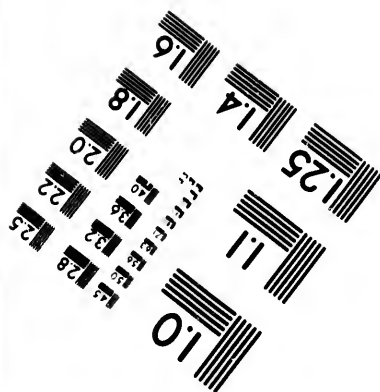
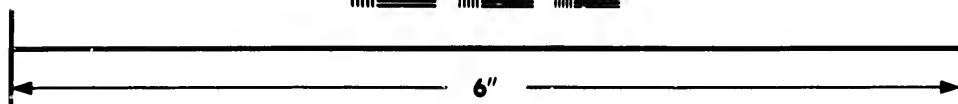
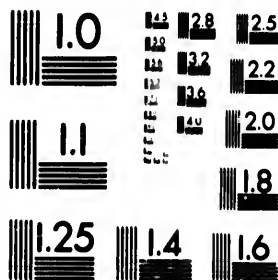
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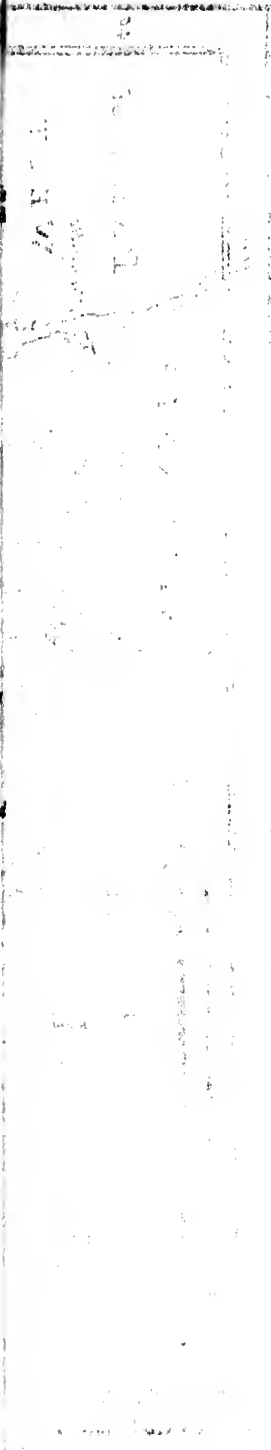
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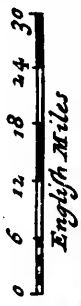
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THE
 HISTORY
 OF
 MARYLAND,

C H A P. I.

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

THIS Province was always reckon'd a Part of *Virginia*, till the Year 1631, when King *Charles* made a Grant of it to *George Calvert*, Lord *Baltimore*, of which we have made some mention in the History of *Virginia*; when and by whom 'twas discover'd, will there be seen. *George Lord Baltimore* not living to see his Grant made out, his Son *Cæcilius Calvert*, Baron of *Baltimore* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, took it out in his own Name, and it bears Date the 20th of *June*, 1632. We cannot better ascertain the Bounds of this Country, than by taking use of the Words of the Patent. 'Tis all that Part of a Peninsula, lying between the Ocean on the East, and the Bay of *Chesapeake* on the West, and divided from the other Part by a right Line drawn from the Cape call'd *Watkins Point*, (situate in the aforesaid Bay, near the River of *Wighco*) on the West, unto the main Ocean on the East, and between the said Bound on the South, unto that Part of *Delaware Bay* on the North, which lies under the 40th Degree of Northern Latitude, &c. And all that Tract of Land from the aforesaid

Bay of Delaware, in a right Line by the Degree aforesaid, to the true Meridian of the first Fountain of the River Patowmeck, and from thence tending towards the South, to the farthest Bank of the aforesaid River, and following the West and South Side of it to a certain Place called Cinquack, situate near the Mouth of the said River, where it falls into the Bay of Chesapeake, and from thence by a straight Line to the aforesaid Cape, call'd Watkins Point, &c.

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

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

The Lord *Baltimore*, having obtained this Grant, resolv'd to go thither in Person; but afterwards changing his Mind, he appointed his Brother, *Leonard Calvert*, Esq; to go Governor in his stead, with whom he joined in Commission *Jeremy Hawley*, Esq; and *Thomas Cornwallis*, Esq; The first Colony that was sent to *Maryland*, was in the Year 1633 and consisted of about 200 People. The Chief of the Adventurers were Gentlemen of good Families, and Roman Catholics; for Persons of that Religion being made uneasy in *England*, as well as Protestant Dissenters, they transported themselves to this Province, hoping to enjoy there the Liberty of their Consciences, under a Proprietary of their own Profession, as the Lord *Baltimore* was. These Adventurers sail'd from *Cowes*, in the *Isle of Wight*, the 22d of *November*, and having stop'd at *Barbados* and *St. Christopher's* some time, arrived at *Point Comfort* in *Virginia*, the 24th of *February* following. The Names of the principal Persons among them were as follows:

Leonard Calvert, Esq; Governor.

Jeremy Hawley,

Thomas Cornwallis, } Esqrs. Assistants.

George Calvert, Esq; Brother to the Governor.

Richard Gerard, Esq;

Edward Winter, Esq;
 Frederick Winter, Esq;
 Henry Wiseman, Esq;
 Mr. John Saunders,
 Mr. Edward Cranfield,
 Mr. Henry Green,

Mr. Nicholas Fairfax,
 Mr. John Baxter,
 Mr. Thomas Dorrel,
 Capt. John Hill,
 Mr. John Medcalf and
 Mr. William Saire.

They carried Letters in their Favour from his Majesty to the Governor of Virginia, who treated them in his Province with great Humanity. On the 3d of March they left Point Comfort, and came to Patowmeck River, which is about 24 Leagues distant. The Governor called the South Point of the River St. Gregory's, and the North Point St. Michael's. Sailing up Patowmeck 14 Leagues, they came to Heron Island, and anchor'd under a neighbouring Isle, to which they gave the Name of St. Clement's. Here Mr. Calvert, in his superstitious way, set up a Cross, and took Possession of the Country for our Saviour, and for our Sovereign Lord the King of England. He went 4 Leagues higher up the River, with two Pinnaces, to make Discoveries; and landing on the South-side, found the Indians were fled for Fear. Thence he sailed 9 Leagues higher, and came to Patowmeck Town, where the Werowance being a Child, Archibau his Uncle governed his Territories in his Minority, and received the English in a friendly Manner. From Patowmeck the Governor went to Piscataway, about 20 Leagues higher, where he found many Indians assembled, and among them an Englishman, Capt. Henry Fleet, who had lived there several Years in great Esteem with the Natives. Capt. Fleet brought the Werowance or Prince aboard the Governor's Pinnace, to treat with him. Mr. Calvert ask'd him, whether he was willing he and his People should settle in his Country, in case they found a Place convenient for them. The Werowance reply'd, *I will not bid you go, neither will I bid you stay; but you may use your own Discretion.* The Indians finding the Werowance staid aboard longer than they expected, crowded down to the Water-side, to look after him, fearing the English had kill'd him, and they were not satisfy'd till he shewed himself to them to appease them. The Natives who fled from St. Clement's Isle, when they saw the English came as Friends, returned to their Habitations; and the Governor not thinking it advisable to settle so high up the River, in the Infancy of the Colony, sent his Pinnaces down the River, and went with Capt. Fleet to a River on the North Side of Patowmeck, within 4 or 5 Leagues of its Mouth, which he called St. George's River. He went up 4 Leagues in his Long-Boat, and came to the Town of Yoamaco, from

whence the *Indians* of that Neighbourhood are called *Yomacoes*. The Governor landed, and treated with the *Werowance* there, acquainting him with the Occasion of his Coming; to which the *Indian* said little, but inviting him to his House, entertain'd him very kindly, and gave him his own Bed to lie on. The next Day he shew'd him the Country, and the Governor determining to make the first Settlement there, order'd his Ship and Pinnaces to come thither to him. To make his Entry the more safe and peaceable, he presented the *Werowance* and *Wifos*, or principal Men of the Town, with some *English* Cloth, Axes, Houghs and Knives, which they accepted very kindly, and freely consented that he and his Company should dwell in one Part of their Town, reserving the other for themselves. Those *Indians* who inhabited that Part which was assigned the *English* readily abandoned their Houses to them, and Mr. *Calvert* immediately set Hands to work to plant Corn. The *Natives* agreed farther to leave the whole Town to the *English* as soon as their Harvest was in, which they did accordingly, and both *Indians* and *English* promised to live friendly together. If any Injury was done on either Part, the Nation offending was to make Satisfaction. Thus on the 27th of *March*, 1634, the Governor took Possession of the Town and named it *St. Mary's*.

There happen'd an Event which very much facilitated this Treaty with the *Indians*. The *Sasquehanocks*, a warlike People, dwelling between *Cheseapeak* Bay and *Delaware* Bay, were wont to make Incurfions on their Neighbours, partly for Dominion, and partly for Booty, of which the *Womans* were most desired by them. The *Yomacoes* fearing the *Sasquehanocks*, had, a Year before the *English* arrived, resolved to desert their Habitations, and remove higher into the Country; many of them were actually gone, and the rest preparing to follow them. The Ship and Pinnaces arriving at the Town, the *Indians* were amazed and terrified at the Sight of them, especially when they heard their Cannon thunder, when they came to an Anchor.

The first thing Mr. *Calvert* did, was to fix a Court Guard, and erect a Store-house; and he had not been there many Days, before Sir *John Harvey*, Governor of *Virginia* came thither to visit him, as did several *Indian* *Werowances* and many other *Indians*, from several Parts of the Continent. Among others came the King of *Patuxent*, and being carried aboard the Ship, then at Anchor in the River, was placed between the Governor of *Virginia* and the Governor of *Maryland*, at the Entertainment made for him and others. A *Patuxent* *Indian* coming aboard, and seeing his King thus seated, started

back

back, thinking he was surprized; he would have leap'd over-board, and could not be perswaded to enter the Cabin, till the Werowance himself came and satisfy'd him he was in no Danger. This King had formerly been taken Prisoner by the *English* of *Virginia*. After the Store-house was finish'd, and the Ship unladen, Mr. *Calvert* order'd the Colours to be brought ashore, which was done with great Solemnity, the Gentlemen and their Servants attending in Arms; several Volleys of Shot were fired a Ship-board and ashore, as also the Cannon, at which the Natives were struck with Admiration, such at least as had not heard the firing of Pieces of Ordnance before, to whom it could not but be dreadful.

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

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

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

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

The Government of this Colony, when it began to grow more numerous, was framed much after the Model of that in *England*. The Governor had his Council in the Nature of the House of Lords, and Privy-Council in *England*; and when the Country was divided into Counties, each had Representatives in the Assembly of the Province, and these Representatives form'd the Lower-House; the Upper House consisting of the Governor and Council, and such Lords of

Manors and others, as the Lord Proprietary, or his Lieutenant, from time to time shall call thither by Writ. This Assembly the Proprietary, or his Deputy, conven'd, prorogued, or dissolved at Pleasure; and their Acts being ratified by the Proprietary, or his Deputy, were of the same Force there, as an Act of Parliament is in *England*, and cannot pass, or be repealed, without the concurring Assent of the Lord Proprietary, or his Deputy, with the other two Estates.

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

Having mentioned the Counties in this Province, we must observe, that as the Number of the Inhabitants encreased, *Mr. Calvert*, the Governor, thought fit to divide the Country into Shires; of which there were at first but 10, as 5 on the West-side of the Bay of *Chesapeake*, and 5 on the East-side. Those on the West-side were *St. Mary's*, *Charles*, *Calvert*, *Ann Arundel*, and *Baltimore*; to which has lately been added *Prince George County*, which makes the whole 11 in all. Those on the East-side were, and still are, *Somerset*, *Dorchester*, *Talbot*, *Cecil* and *Kent* Counties. There were Towns laid out in each of them, but they never came to Perfection; and for the same Reason that there are no Towns in *Virginia*, which the Reader will find in the following Pages.

The Governor built a House in *St. Mary's* for himself and Successors, and governed the Country till the Distractions happened in *England*, when the Name of a Papist became so obnoxious, that 'twas not likely the Puritans, who were then uppermost, would leave any Power in the Hands of a *Roman Catholic*. The Parliament assumed the Government of this Province into their own Hands, and appointed _____ Esq; to be their Governor here; but upon the King's Restoration the Lord *Baltimore* recovered the Right of his absolute Propriety; and about the Year 1662, sent over his Son, *Charles Calvert*, Esq; the present Lord *Baltimore*, to be his Governor; and *Mr. Calvert* lived there almost twenty Years,

Years, a long time after his Father died, and his Title and Estate fell to him. By his Wisdom and Presence this Colony flourished apace, and there were computed to be 16000 Souls in *Maryland*, so long ago as the Year 1665.

All the *Indian* Nations about this Province submitted to the Lord Proprietary of *Maryland*, and put themselves under his Protection; so that in the Year 1663, one *Naacoffo*, who was chosen Emperor of *Piscattaway* (that is, he was advanced to an Office of more Authority than the rest of the *Indian* Kings or Werowances) was not thought to be absolutely confirmed, till Mr. *Charles Calvert*, now Lord *Baltimore*, approved of their Choice.

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

But notwithstanding all his Lordship's Care to prevent any Rupture with the *Indians*, when they were at War with the *Virginians*, they committed some Hostilities in the Year 1677, on the East-side, and killed four Men and a Woman near *Nomani*, which put the Colony in Fears of farther Mischief; however that Cloud blew over, those that did the Mischief were punish'd, and no more Blood was shed in the Quarrel. While the Lord *Baltimore* lived here, he married one of his Daughters to Col. *Diggs*, a Gentleman of the Country, of great Interest in it, and a considerable Merchant or Factor also. But when the Lord Proprietary removed to *England*, he did not appoint him to be Deputy, but put in another Gentleman, whose Name we have not been able to learn, nor that of his Successor, in whose time the Government of *England* took from the Lord *Baltimore* that of *Maryland*. And we must observe, King *James II.* intended to take it from him before the Revolution, infatig-

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ed to it by Father *Peters*. What Reason that Jesuit had to do the Lord *Baltimore* such a Disservice we know not, and would have thought the Agreement between Father *Peters* and this Lord in Religion, might have influenced the Priest more in his Favour. But 'tis very certain that he was the first Instrument of the Lord Proprietary's losing the Government; and perhaps the Court might think, that as much as the Papiests were favoured in *Maryland*, they might hope for more Favour from a Proprietary of their own persecuting Principles. The Lord *Baltimore* might have expected more than Justice from a King of his own Religion; yet his Patent was then questioned, and 'tis supposed the Prerogative of naming a Governor would have been taken from him, if King *James* had not abdicated his own Government. After the Revolution, this Lord had no Reason to look for any thing but strict Justice; for 'twas known he was not a little zealous in opposing it.

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

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

publick Revenues, or debar the Assembly, or any other Person of their Right or Claims to the same.

The Government of this Province is now the same with that of the other Colonies, which are immediately under the Crown; by a Governor made by the King or Queen, a Council named by the same, and an Assembly chosen by the eleven Counties. The Lord Proprietary still enjoys the Profits of the Province, arising by certain Revenues granted to him by several Assemblies, as a Duty on each Hogshead of Tobacco exported, and other Incomes; which, with the Sale of Lands uncultivated and unpurchased, amount to a considerable Sum yearly; and the Duty of Tobacco increasing, as that Product increases, 'tis probable that Revenue will one Day rise to a very great Sum. Besides this, the Lord *Baltimore* has a large Plantation at *Mettapany*; and in the Whole, his Estate and Interest in this Province are very well worth his Care to maintain them.

About the Year 1692, the Lord Bishop of *London* appointed Dr. *Thomas Bray* to be his Commissary in *Maryland*. That Doctor went over thither to settle the Churches, according to the Rites and Worship of the Church of *England*. For by an Act of Assembly in the same Year, the eleven Counties were divided into thirty Parishes, sixteen of which are supply'd with Ministers, who have a competent Maintenance settled upon them, with Glebes and other Advantages. Libraries are fix'd, and many thousand practical and devotional Books have been dispersed among the People, by the assiduous Care of Dr. *Bray*, who staid there two or three Years.

Besides these Churches are several Chapels, and the Number of Papists and Dissenters are not inconsiderable. Mr. *George Macqueen* and Mr. *Robert Keith* have been employ'd by the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign Parts to advance that good Work here; but 'tis said the *Quakers* and *Papists* equally obstruct it.

A very ingenious Man, who was in this Province in Col. *Nicholson's* time, sends this Account of the State of it to the Royal Society: "The Inhabitants of *Maryland* are govern'd by the same Laws as in *England*, except that they have some Acts of Assembly relating to particular Cases, not provided for by the Laws of *England*. The Church of *England* is pretty well established among them: Churches are built, and there's an annual Stipend allowed to every Minister, by a perpetual Law; which is more or less, according to the Number of Taxables in each Parish. Every Christian Male 16 Years old, and Negroes Male and Female above that Age, pay 40 lb. of Tobacco to the Mi-

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one with another, about 20000 lb. of Tobacco, or 100 l.
Sterling a Year. It has been the Unhappines of this
Country, that they had no Protestant Ministers hardly a-
mong them till Governor *Nicholson's* time (who has been
a great Promoter and Encourager of the Clergy) but
now and then an itinerant Preacher came over, of very
loose Morals, and scandalous Behaviour; so that what
with such Mens ill Examples, the *Roman* Priests Cunning,
and the *Quakers* Bigotry, Religion was in a manner turn'd
out of Doors: But, by Col. *Nicholson's* Protection, the
Face of it mended, and the orthodox Churches were
crowded as full as they could hold. The People grew sen-
sible of the *Romish* Superstition and the Enthusiasm of the
Quakers, infomuch that their Parties, joining now both
together, are very inconsiderable to that of the Church of
England. Indeed the *Quakers* struggle hard to maintain
their Footing; and their *Teachers* (especially of the Fe-
male Sex, who are the most zealous) are very free of their
Reflections and Scandal against the orthodox Divines and Pro-
fessors. The People here have not yet found the way of affo-
ciating themselves in Towns and Corporations, by reason of
the Fewness of Handicrafts-men. There are indeed several
Places allotted for Towns; but hitherto they are only titu-
lar ones, except *Annapolis*, where the Governor resides
Col. *Nicholson* has done his Endeavour to make a Town
of that Place. There are about 40 Dwelling Houses in
it, 7 or 8 of which can afford a good Lodging and Ac-
commodations for Strangers. There are also a State-
house and a Free-School, built with Brick, which make
a great Shew among a Parcel of Wooden Houses; and the
Foundation of a Church is laid, the only Brick Church in
Maryland. They have two Market Days in a Week,
and had Governor *Nicholson* continued there a few
Months longer, he had brought it to Perfection.

Col. *Nicholson* mightily promoted the Advancement of Re-
ligion in this Province, as did his Successor Col. *Nathaniel*
Blackiston, with whom the Country, tho' healthy in itself,
did not agree, and he was forced to return to *England* for
the Recovery of his Health; in whose stead her Majesty was
pleas'd to make Col. *William Seymour* Governor of this Pro-
vince, who, in *September*. 1703, embark'd aboard the *Dread-*
nought Man of War, which, with others, was appointed to
convoy the *Virginia* and *Maryland* outward bound Fleet;
but being separated from the rest by Strefs of Weather, the
Governor

Governor put into *Barbados*, where he arrived the 2d of *February*. The Ship was forced off the Coasts of *Maryland* by contrary Winds, and did not arrive in the Bay till *April* or *May*, 1704; so that Col. *Seymour* was near 3 Months in his Voyage, which is commonly made in 6 Weeks. This Governor has given general Satisfaction to the Inhabitants, and is indeed a Man of Honour, worthy the Post her Majesty has been pleas'd to continue him in to this time.

It cannot be expected that we should be able to give as perfect an Account of every Colony, as we have done of *New-England*, *Virginia*, *Carolina*, *Barbados*, and some others. Our Helps have not been at all equal, tho' our Application has. Those Gentlemen to whom we applied, who could have given us full Information, and neglected it, are to answer for what is imperfect in this History of *Maryland*, which is however the largest that has been published; and had we been better supplied with Memoirs, we should have given a better Account of this Colony, which we confess deserv'd it. The Gentlemen concern'd in it will excuse us, when we tell them we have done our best, and in another Impression shall enlarge in our History of *Maryland*, if they will transmit us Materials, to enable us to do it. We kept this Account backward, in hopes of such Assistance; and perhaps these Gentlemen will be as angry with themselves as with us, when they see how industrious we have been in the Histories of those Countries that we were fully inform'd about, and what a Figure they make in the *British* Empire in *America*, where *Maryland* is far from being the least considerable Portion of it. 'Tis true it does not increase much in Towns, and those that are honoured with the Name, would not pass for any thing but little Villages in other Countries. This, as has been hinted in *Virginia*, is the Humour of the Inhabitants, and all Endeavours to bring them to build and settle at *Annapolis*, or *Williamstadt*, have been ineffectual. Those two Towns are not bigger than they were, if they hold to be so big; and there are Villages in *Pensylvania*, which may vie with them for Number of Houses and Inhabitants.

The Lord *Baltimore* disputed at Law with Mr. *Pen* for the Propriety of that Part of *Pensylvania*, known by the Name of the *Three Lower Counties*, as if it had been included within his Patent for *Maryland*; but Mr. *Pen* has maintain'd his Title, and 'tis probable will always maintain it against the Lord *Baltimore's* to those Countries. *Pensylvania* has lately endeavour'd at a Tobacco Trade; but *Maryland* and *Virginia* will hinder the Progress of any other Colony in this Commodity: They have been long settled in it, and can make

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ough to supply all the Markets in the World; and their
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 Trade and Manufacture, and leave to *Virginia and Maryland*
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C H A P. II.

Containing a Geographical Description of the Province
 of *Maryland*; an Account of the Climate, Soil,
 Product, Animals, Trade and Inhabitants, *Eng-*
lish and Indian.

TH^{O'} we have given a large Description of *Virginia*,
 and the Bay of *Chesapeake*, and have also set out the
 Bounds of *Maryland*, as we found it bounded in the Lord
 Proprietary's Patent; yet having had, some Years since, a
 complete and distinct Account of both Provinces from an
 ingenious Gentleman, an Inhabitant of the Place, with whom
 we have been long acquainted, the Reader will be better
 satisfy'd to see what he says, than to take it from us: Such
 is the Description communicated to us by Mr. *Phile-*
mon Lloyd of Maryland; "The Colony of *Virginia* and Pro-
 vince of *Maryland* are situate upon the Bay of *Chesea-*
peak, whose Mouth or Inlet is between the Capes call'd
 Cape *Henry* and Cape *Charles*, and yet so as neither of
 the Provinces is placed on one particular Side, but are
 both of them on each Side water'd by that commodious
 Bay, which divides as it were in half both Governments;
 so that Part of the Colony of *Virginia* is on the West-
 Side of the said Bay, and the other Part on the East-Side,
 the Bay running through the Center of them. The Co-
 lony of *Virginia* on the West-side of the Bay, is divided
 from *Maryland* by the great River *Patowmeck*, and on the
 East by the River *Pokomoak*, whose Head lies near the
 Sea to the Eastward. The Boundary of the Province of
Maryland begins at the River of *Patowmeck*, and runs
 along the Bay-side Northwards, till it intersects a Line
 drawn West from the Mouth of *Delaware Bay*, situate
 " in

Mr. *Pen* for the
 own by the Name
 d been included
 en has maintain'd
 tain it against the
 vania has lately
 Maryland and *Vir-*
 er Colony in this
 it, and can make
 enough

" in 40 Degrees North Latitude; having for its Bounds
 " the West high Mountains; and on the East the said B
 " The Eastern Side of the Province of *Maryland* is bound
 " on the West by the Bay of *Cheseapeak*, on the East by t
 " main Ocean, on the North by *Delaware* Bay, and on t
 " South by the River *Pokomoak*, which is the Line of Di
 " sion between it and the Colony of *Virginia*. The Pr
 " vince of *Maryland* is divided into eleven Counties, six
 " the Western, and five on the Eastern Side of the B
 " Those on the Western Side are *St. Mary's*, *Charles*, *Prin*
 " *George*, *Calvert*, *Ann-Arundel*, and *Baltimore* Countie
 " Those on the Eastern Side of the Bay are *Somerfet*, *De*
 " *chester*, *Talbot*, *Kent*, and *Cecil* Counties. This Provin
 " has but one City in it; call'd the City of *St. Mary*
 " from whence one of the Counties took its Name, b
 " ing commodiously situate between the Rivers of *Patow*
 " *meck* and *Patuxent*. This was formerly the Seat of G
 " vernment, and the Place where the Representatives of t
 " several Counties assembled, to concert and determine thin
 " for the Good of the Colony. There are also two prin
 " cipal Towns, call'd by the Names of Ports, as the Po
 " of *Anapolis*, and the Port of *Williamstadt*. There are
 " veral other Towns, but of no Consideration. The prin
 " cipal Rivers of this Province are *Patowmeck*, which divides
 " from the Colony of *Virginia*; *Patuxent* and *Seve*
 " on the Western Shore; and on the other Side are *Chiptow*
 " *Chester* and *Sassafras* of greatest Note. The Extent
 " the Province of *Maryland* runs further Northward th
 " the Head of the Bay of *Cheseapeak*, being situate on bo
 " Sides of it.

In speaking of the Counties, we shall begin with th
 on the West-side of the Bay.

St. Mary's is the first of these, and is bounded thus: It
 gins at Point *Look-out*, and extends along *Patowmeck* Riv
 to the lower Side of *Bud's* Creek, and so over to the Head
Indian Creek in *Patuxent* River. About the Year 16
 some Medicinal Waters were discovered in this County, call
 the *Cool Springs*, which the Government order'd should
 purchased, with the Land about it, and Houses built for
 Entertainment of the Poor. In the City of *St. Mary's*
 General Court is holden, for which there's a State-hou
 and the Council is kept the first *Tuesday* in *September*, *Nov*
ber, *January*, *March* and *June* for Orphans. This C
 chooses two Citizens to represent the rest in the Assemb
 and the Government is by a Mayor, Recorder, Alderm
 and Common-Council; tho' true it is, so much Magist
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 ry's, Charles, Prin
 Baltimore Count
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 City of *St. Mary*
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Patuxent and *Seve*
 her Side are *Chipton*
 etc. The Extent
 her Northward th
 being situate on bo

might have been spared, and considering there are not above
 Houses in it, and since *Anapolis* has been made the Seat
 of Justice, and the publick Offices, there's no great Likeli-
 hood that the City of *St. Mary's* will increase much in the
 number of its Houses and Inhabitants.

Mattapany in this Country is noted only for having been
 the Lord *Baltimore's* Seat, when he dwelt in this Country.
 Here he built a handsome House, tho' more for Convenience
 than Magnificence; it stands near the Mouth of the River
Patuxent. In *St. Mary's* County are the Parishes of *St.*
John's, *St. Clement's* and *Hervington*, the latter usurping the
 Name of a Town.

Charles County Bounds begin on the upper Side of *Indian*
Creek and *Bud's Creek*, where *St. Mary's* County ends,
 and extends to *Mattawoman Creek*, including all the Land
 lying on the upper Part of *Bud's Creek* and *Indian Creek*
 Branches. In this County the chief Places or Parishes are
Bristol and *Piscattaway*.

Prince George's County is the newest in the Province,
 being laid out, *A. D.* 1695. It includes the Land from the
 upper Side of *Mattawoman* and *Swanjon's* Creek, extending
 upwards by *Pantowmeck* in the West, and *Patuxent* River in the
 East. In this County is the Parish of *Masterkont*, and others.

Calvert County borders upon *Charles* County, from
 which 'tis divided by the River *Patuxent*, as also from
Prince George's County. In this County are three Towns or
 Parishes; *Harrington*, *Warrington*, and *Calverton*.

Ann-Arundel and *Baltimore* Counties are divided by three
 mark'd Trees, standing about a Mile and a Quarter from
Belkin Creek, on the West-side of *Chesapeake Bay*, and
 this Division runs thence West, till it crosses the Road from
 the Mountains of the Mouth of *Maggaty* River to *Rich-*
ard's Mill, and so continues Westward to two mark'd
 Trees, one for *Ann-Arundel*, the other for *Baltimore* Coun-
 ty, and still continues West from *Maggaty* and *Potopsco* Ri-
 vers, till it comes to a Mountain of white Stone, from thence
 the main Road to *Potopsco* Ferry, and two mark'd Pines
 written at large on the North-side of the said Trees *Baltimore*,
 and on the South-side *Ann-Arundel* County; from thence
 West-North-West to *Elk Ridge* Road to two mark'd Trees
 here, thence to *Patuxent* River, and so up the said River
 to the Extent of it, for the Bounds of *Baltimore* County.
 The Tract of Land on the North-side of those Division-
 lines is in *Baltimore* County, and all the Land on the
 South-side in *Ann-Arundel* County. The chief Town in the
 County of *Ann-Arundel* is

Anapolis, which was formerly call'd *Severn*, and by Act of Assembly, 1694, was made a Port Town, and Collector and Naval Officer were order'd to reside there; the Name of *Anapolis* was then given it. The County Court was removed to this Place, a Church was order'd to be built within the Port, which was made a Parish; and the Year 1699, the Port of *Anapolis* was made the chief Seat of Justice within this Province, for holding Assembly and provincial Courts, and all Writs, Pleas, and Processes returnable to the Provincial, or to the Court of *Chancery*, were made returnable to the Port of *Anapolis*. All Roads leading through any County to this Port were, by another Act of Assembly, order'd to be mark'd on both Sides with Notches on a Tree, and where the Road to *Anapolis* branched off from any other Road, it was to be distinguished on the Face of the Tree with the Letters *A. A.* The Assembly about ten Years ago, pass'd an Act for founding a Free-School here, to be call'd *King William's School*. Other Schools were order'd to be erected under his Patronage, and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* was to be Chancellor of the Trustees were appointed and incorporated by the Name of *Rectors, Governors, Trustees and Visitors of the Free-School of Maryland*; what has been the Effect of this good Bill I know not, but believe it is very inconsiderable. The Free-School that was to be built was to be at *Anapolis*. The County Court for Orphans is kept here the second *Tuesday* in *September, November, January, March* and *June*. The Records of the County of *Ann-Arundel* were removed to this Town, where are now about forty Houses, but it lately did not flourish according to Expectation; and while the Planters and Merchants in *Maryland* affect to live separate as they do at *Virginia*, there's no great Probability of this Town's making any considerable Figure.

In *Baltimore County* is a Parish or Town so call'd; but the Houses are so disjointed in this, and others, that the Townships are not worth the Name.

Thus we have given a short View of the Counties on the West-side of the Bay, and must observe, that the great River *Sasquahanagh* falls into that Bay, a little above *Baltimore*.

On the East-side of the Bay are the five other Counties the first of which, proceeding from West to East, is

Cecil County, the Western Part of which is so near *Delaware*, that the Cut would not be above eight or ten Miles to join that Bay and River to *Chesapeake*. This County runs along parallel with *Newcastle* and *Kent County*.

Pennsylvania. We have not learnt how many Parishes are in it, and know nothing more of it, so we proceed to *Kent County*, which runs out like an Isthmus into the Bay at *Cheapeake*. We know not the Names of the Parishes in it. The next County is

Talbot County, divided from the County of *Kent* by a double Line of mark'd Trees. That Part of this County that lies on the North-side of *Corseica Creek*, is the Southern Bounds of the County of *Kent*, and on the North the County of *Cecil*. *Oxford* was formerly the Capital of this County; but by an Act of Assembly in the Year 1695, it was named *Williamsstadt*, and made a Port Town. One hundred Acres of Land adjacent to it were order'd to be purchased, for a common Pasture for the Benefit of the Town. The second School that was to be built was appointed for this Place, and the Roads to it were to be mark'd out in the same Manner with those of *Anapolis*. A Collector and Naval Officer were order'd to reside here. Besides *Oxford*, here are the Parishes of *St. Michael's* and *Bollingbroke*. The next County is *Dorchester County*. The chief Parish is *Dorchester*, where the County Court is kept. 'Tis a small Place of about ten Houses. The Land here lying on the North-side of *Nantuxet River*, beginning at the Mouth of *Chickacoan River*, and so up to the Head of it, and from thence to the Head of *Anderton's Branch*, and so down to the North-West Fork, to the Mouth of the aforesaid *Chickacoan River* was, by an Act of Assembly in the Year 1698, declared to belong to *Panquash* and *Armatouquem*, two *Indian Kings*, and the People under their Government, their Heirs and Successors for ever, to be holden of the Lord Proprietary; under the yearly Rent of one Beaver-skin. There are more *Indian Towns* in this than in any other of the Counties.

Somerset County has a Parish of the same Name in it. The Names of the other Parishes in this and the other Counties are not come to our Knowledge; and we know nothing particularly remarkable in them, so we shall proceed to our Account of the Climate, &c.

The Climate of this Province, the Soil, Product, and all that's mentioned in the Contents of this Chapter, are the same, in a great measure, with those of *Virginia*: Both here and there the *English* live at large at their several Plantations, which hinders the Increase of Towns; indeed every Plantation is a little Town of itself, and can subsist itself with Provisions and Necessaries, every considerable Planter's Warehouse being like a Shop, where he supplies not only himself with what he wants, but the inferior Planters, Servants and

Labourers, and has Commodities to barter for Tobacco, other Goods, there being little Money in this Province, and little Occasion of any, as long as Tobacco answers all the uses of Silver and Gold in Trade. There are few Merchants or Shop-keepers, who may properly be so call'd, we mean who are not Planters also, but live wholly by their Trade. The Tobacco of this Province, call'd *Oroonoko*, is stronger than that of *Virginia*, and no *Englishman*, who has not very coarse Relish in his Smoke, will bear it; yet 'tis profitable to the Planter, and to the Trade of the Nation in general, being in demand in the Eastern and Northern Parts of *Europe*, where 'tis preferr'd before the sweet-scented Tobacco of *James* and *York* Rivers in *Virginia*. The Planters in *Maryland* finding so good Vent for their Commodity in foreign Markets, have cultivated it so much, that the Province is thought to produce as much or more Tobacco than that of *Virginia*. The Soil is here at least as fruitful, the Country being a large Plain, and the Hills in it so easy of Ascent, and of such a moderate Heighth, that they seem rather an artificial Ornament to it, than one of the Accidents of Nature. The Abundance of Rivers and Brooks is no little Help to the Fertility of the Soil; and there's no Grain Plant, or Tree, which grows in *Virginia*, but thrives as well here. The Product, the Animals, and every thing is the same here as there, only the black and yellow Bird, call'd the *Baltimore* Bird, goes by another Name in *Virginia*. It had that given it, because the Colours of the Field of the Lord *Baltimore's* Coat of Arms are *Or* and *Sable*.

If the Reader has the Curiosity to know more of the Country in any of the Particulars mentioned in the Title of this Chapter, let him see the History of *Virginia* on the same Heads, and there's nothing there which may not also be said of *Maryland*, except it is added here.

The Air of the two Provinces has the same Agreement, and if there's any Difference in the Health of the one Country and the other, *Virginia* perhaps has the Advantage. The Province of *Maryland* however thrives in a great Degree, tho' 'tis the younger Colony; and that is a plain Proof of the Profit of the coarse Tobacco, preferable to the sweet-scented, or rather that which is sold to a foreign Market turns to a better Account every way, than what is made for a home Consumption with more Labour and Cost, and at last with less Gain.

The Number of Ships trading hither from *England*, and other Parts of the *English* Dominions, were computed to be 100 above 30 Years ago; and we may imagine how many more

more there come now, from the Increase of the Inhabitants, who were then calculated to be 16000, and are now judg'd to be 30000 Souls. The Lord Proprietary had a Mint here, to coin Money; but it never was made use of.

As to the *Indians*, their Language, Manners and Customs are the same with those of *Virginia*. At the first settling of *Maryland* there were several Nations of 'em, govern'd by petty Kings; but 'tis thought there are not now 500 fighting Men of them in all the Province, if the Account Mr. *Hugh Jones* transmitted to the Royal Society of it be true: For Mr. *Glover*, who some Years before sent the same Society an Account of *Virginia*, says, *The Indians in the Lord Baltimore's Territories, at the Head of the Bay, where the English were later seated, are more numerous, there being 3000 of them still in some Towns; but these being in continual Wars with each other, are like shortly to be reduced to a small Number*; which justifies Mr. *Jones's* Relation of their Number in *Maryland*, since in Mr. *Glover's* time there was not above 10000 *Indian* Souls in all *Virginia*; out of which one cannot reckon there were many more than 500 fighting Men. The same Mr. *Jones* gives us a large Account of several things in this Province worth Notice.

The Bay of *Chesapeake*, which runs *N.* by *W.* about 200 Miles, or more, divides *Maryland* as well as *Virginia*, into two Parts, which the Inhabitants of the two Provinces call the Eastern and Western Shores. The Land is generally low on both Sides; no Hill that is to be seen, or is known by them 50 Yards perpendicular; but above 100 Miles West of them, towards the Heads of the Rivers, the Ground rises, and appears in very high Mountains and rocky Precipices, running North and South; from the Top of which a Man may have a clear Prospect of both *Maryland* and *Virginia*.

All the *Low-land* is very woody, like one continued Forest, no part cleared, but what is cleared by the *English*; who tho' they are seated pretty close one to another, cannot see their next Neighbour's House for Trees. Indeed 'tis expected that 'twill be otherwise in a few Years; for the Tobacco Trade destroys abundance of Timber, both for making of Hotheads and building Tobacco Houses, besides clearing of Ground yearly for planting.

The Soil of *Maryland* is generally sandy, and free from Stone, which makes it very convenient for Travelling, and there's no Occasion for shoeing their Horses, except in frosty Weather; and what with the Goodness of their little Horses, and the Smoothness of the Roads, People, upon Occasion,

can travel 50 Miles in a Summer's Afternoon, and sometimes 100 Miles in a Day; but then their Miles are not accounted so long as in *England*.

The rich and plentiful Gifts of Nature add much to the Happiness of the Place; the three Elements affording Plenty of Food for the Use of Man, as Deer, Fowl, both Water and Land; and for the Preservation of Health, many excellent Herbs and Roots, the Discovery of whose Virtue is chiefly owing to the *Indians*.

They have Timber of several kinds, good for Building and of them several sorts of Oak; as Red, White, Black, Chesnut, Water, Spanish, and Line Oaks (which last bears a Leaf like a Willow) Cedar white and red; the latter serves only for Posts and Ground-sels; the white to rive or split into Boards, that being the freest from Knots, and goes under the Name of Cypress, tho' 'tis falsely so term'd. There's a Tree call'd Cypress, which is extraordinary large in Bulk and bears a Leaf like the *Sensitive Plant*. 'Tis soft, spongy will not rive, and is fit for no Use. Their black Walnut is mightily esteem'd by the Joiners for its Grain and Colour. There's a sort of Poplar that makes good white Plank. 'Tis a large Tree, and bears a Flower like a Tulip. They have Plenty of Pine and Dogwood, which is a fine Flower-bearing Plant, Sassafras, Locust, a Tree of quick Growth, and very durable in Building. Hickery, of which there are two sorts, red and white; the latter serves chiefly for Fire-Wood, being the best for that Use. There's a bundance of Chefnuts and Chinquapines, another Species of Chefnuts; a sort of Elm like a *Dutch Elm*; and the Sugar mentioned in the History of *Virginia*, as well as other named here. In *Maryland* is a kind of Elder, whose Bark is closely guarded with Prickles, like a Briar. The Tulip-bearing-Laurel and Myrtle of several Sorts, one of which bears a Berry that is work'd up in the Eastern Shore to a kind of green Wax, very proper to make Candles with, if mix'd with Tallow.

The Humming-Bird and Mocking-Bird are the most curious Birds in this Province, as well as in the next; and the Rattle-Snake in both is the most noted of their Reptiles.

The Air is now more wholesom than formerly, which proceeds from the opening of the Country, the Air having by that means a freer Motion. The Summers now are not extreme hot, as in the first seating; but their Winters are generally severe. The North-East Wind is then very sharp and even cools the Air very much in the Heat of the Summer.

When a sudden North-Western Blast too often strikes their Labourers with Fevers, if they are not careful to provide for by putting on their Clothes while they are at work.

The little or no Woollen Manufacture followed by any of the Inhabitants, except what is done in *Somerset* County: Tobacco is their Meat, Drink, Clothing and Money; not that they have both *Spanish* and *English* Money pretty plenty, which serves only for Pocket-Expences, and not for Trade, Tobacco being the Standard of that, as well with the Planters and others, as with the Merchants. Their common Drink is Cyder, which is very good; and where it is highly order'd, not inferior to the best white Wine. They have Wine brought from *Madeira* and *Fyall*, Rum from *Barbados*, Beer, Malt, *French* and other Wines from *England*. There's Plenty of good Grapes growing wild in the Woods, but no Improvement is made of them.

Most of the *Indians* live on the Eastern Shore, where they have two or three little Towns: Some of them come over to the other Side in Winter-time, to hunt for Deer, being generally employ'd by the *English*. They take Delight in nothing else, and 'tis very rare that any of them will embrace the Christians way of Living or Worship. The Cause of their diminishing proceeded not from any Wars with the *English*, for they have had none with them worth speaking of; but from their own perpetual Discords and Wars among themselves. The Female Sex also has swept away a great many, inasmuch that their Number is now very inconsiderable.

One thing is observable in them, tho' they are a People very timorous, and cowardly in Fight, yet when taken Prisoners, and condemn'd, they will die like Heroes, braving the most exquisite Tortures that can be invented, and singing all the time they are upon the Rack.

If we have at any time mentioned the same thing in two several Provinces, we have taken all possible Care not to describe it but in one, that the Reader might not be tired with needless Repetitions. But it will be observed, that every Nation of these *Barbarians* has some particular Customs, which distinguish 'em from the rest; and to make the History of each Province as perfect as lay in our Power, we have, as far as we could, describ'd the Manners and Customs of all of them. We have nothing more to say of this Colony, and shall conclude with the Names of the Governor and Council, as in the former Impression.]

Col. *William Seymour*, Governor.

Thomas Tench, Esq;
Samuel Young, Esq;
John Hammond, Esq;
Francis Jenkins, Esq;
Edward Loyd, Esq;
William Holland, Esq;
Kennelau Chittleton, Esq;
William Courcy, Esq;
Thomas Ennals, Esq;
Robert Quarry, Esq;
Thomas Grinfeild,
John Contee,

Members of the Council.

Secretary to the Government, Sir *Thomas Lawrence*.
 Speaker of the Assembly, Mr. *Thomas Smithson*.
 Naval-Officer at *Anapolis*, Mr. *William Bladen*.

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THE
 HISTORY
 OF
 VIRGINIA.

CHAP. I.

containing the History of *Virginia*, from its
 Discovery to the present Times.

BY the Name of *Virginia*, was formerly call'd all that
 Tract of Land which reach'd from *Norembegua* to
Florida, and contain'd the Country, now known to
 the *English* by the Names of *New-England*, *New-*
York, *New-Jersey*, *Pensylvania*, *Maryland*, *Virginia* and
Carolina. The Natives call'd it *Apelehen*; and 'twas, as
 is said, first discover'd to the *Europeans* by *Sebastian Ca-*
mot, a *Genoese* Adventurer, who lived at *Bristol*, and who,
 the Year 1497, was sent by King *Henry VII.* to make
 Discoveries in the *West-Indies*, *Columbus's* Successes five ^{1497.} *Years* before, having set all the trading Nations in the World
 upon Expeditions into *America*, in hopes of sharing the Treas-
 ures of the *new-discovered World* with the *Spaniards*.

The *French*, who will never allow any Nation to be be-
 fore them in any thing, pretend this Country was discovered
 by *John Verazzan*, who took Possession of it in the Name ^{Robbe}
 of *Francis I.* that he call'd it *Mocosa*; and with *Canada*, to ^{Geog.}
 which he gave the Name of *New-France*, added it to the
French

French Dominions. But this is a Fiction of their own, exploded by all Authors who treat of the Discovery of *Virginia*. For which the Crown of *England* is certainly indebted to the Care and Expence of the famous *Sir Walter Rawleigh*, who having, as appears by his admirable History of the World, made strict Enquiries into the State of the Universe, and hearing of the prodigious Profit the *Spaniards* drew from their Settlements in the *West-Indies*, resolved upon an Adventure for farther Discoveries.

His Mistress, *Queen Elizabeth*, was then too much employed in *Europe*, to think of making Attempts for Acquisitions in *America*. She was apprehensive of a War with *Spain*, and was busied in protecting the States of the United Provinces, and the *French* Protestants, against the Tyranny of *France* and *Spain*. *Sir Walter* therefore found himself under a Necessity of undertaking the Adventure on the Account of private Persons, who bearing the Charge of it, were to have the Advantage.

To this Purpose, in the Year 1583, he procures several Merchants and Gentlemen to advance large Sums of Money towards carrying on the Design; and in the Year following obtain'd Letters Patents from the Queen, bearing Date the 25th of *March* 1584, *To possess, plant and enjoy for himself and such Persons as he should nominate, themselves and their Successors, all such Lands, Territories, &c. as they should discover, not then in the Possession of any Christian Nation.*

In *April*, the Gentlemen and Merchants, by *Sir Walter Amidas* and *Barlow's* Direction, fitted out two small Vessels under the Command of *Capt. Philip Amidas* and *Capt. Arthur Barlow*, two of *Sir Walter's* Servants, who knowing no better Course sail'd away to the *Canaries*, from thence to the *Charibbee* Islands, and crossing the Gulph of *Mexico*, made the Coast of *Florida*. With *Amidas* and *Barlow* went

Mr. William Greenville,
Mr. John Wood,
Mr. James Browick,
Mr. Henry Green,

Mr. Benjamin Wood,
Mr. Simon Ferdinando,
Mr. John Hawes,
Mr. Nich. Perryman.

I take *Greenville* to be a Relation of *Sir Walter Rawleigh* and of the Family of *Greenville*, afterwards called *Bath* and *Landsdown*; from *Amidas* descended that famous Navigator *Sir John Hawkins*.

They were so ignorant of Navigation, that by Commission of able Seamen, they went above a thousand Leagues out of their Way. Their Voyage was however prosperous and they anchor'd at the Inlet by *Raenoke*, at present under

Sir Walter Rawleigh undertakes it

1583.

1584.

Amidas and Barlow's Voyage.

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Government of North Carolina. They landed on certain Islands on the Coast, between Cape Fear and the great Bay of Chesapeake. They afterwards went ashore on the Continent, in a Country called *Wingandacoo*, over which the reign'd a King, whose Name was *Wingina*. They traded with the *Indians*, and made good Profit of their Truck, the Natives parting with their Furs for things of a much inferior Value. With this Commodity, Sassafras and Cedar they loaded their two Vessels, and returned home: carrying with them some Pearl, which was taken for an evident Sign of the great Riches of the Country. *Amidas* and *Barlow* made a very advantageous Voyage; and to encourage the Owners, the New *West-India-Company*, to continue the Trade, they represented the Place they had discovered to be so plentiful, and so desirable, the Climate so pleasant and healthy, the Air so sweet, the Sky so serene, the Woods so fruitful and charming, and every thing so agreeable, that all that heard it were taken with the Description; and such as had not Conveniencies to live pleasantly at home, were tempted to remove to this Paradise.

But the Discovery was in its Infancy, and the *English* could only admire, without daring to attempt the enjoying the Sweets of so delicious a Country. Besides the pleasantness of the Place, and the Profit of the Trade, *Barlow* and *Amidas* highly extol'd the Innocence and Good-nature of the *Indians*, and the Advantages that might be made by their Ignorance; and their Love of the *English*. To this they added an inviting Account of the Productions of the Soil, the Variety of Fruits, Plants and Flowers there, and their Beauty and Excellence.

They also brought over with them some Tobacco, the first ^{Tobacco first} that was seen in *England*, and two *Indians*, whose Names were *Wanchese* and *Manteo*. ^{brought into}
^{England.}

Queen *Elizabeth* was herself so well pleased with the Account these Adventurers gave of the Country, that she honoured it with the Name of *Virginia*, either because it was first discover'd in her Reign, a Virgin Queen; or, as the *Virginians* will have, because it still seem'd to retain the *Virgin* Purity and Plenty of the first Creation, and the People their primitive Innocence.

The *English* Merchants were the more fond of farther adventures to *America* at this time, for that her Majesty's ships had lately intercepted a *Spanish* Vessel bound home from *Mexico*, which had Letters aboard, containing a Description of the vast Treasures that were dug out of the Mines there, and the Company erected under the Auspices of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*,

Rawleigh, who some affirm gave the Name of *Virginia* to the Country himself, resolv'd on a second Voyage thither.

Sir *Walter* intended to have commanded in this Expedition himself, and to have carried with him a sufficient Number of Forces to have compleated his Design of making Settlement there; but being at that time jealous that Absence might be prejudicial to his Interest at Court, when the Earl of *Leicester* sought all Occasions to lessen, he committed the Conduct of this second Enterprize to his Lieutenant, Sir *Richard Greenville*, who, on the 9th of *April* set sail from *Plimouth* with seven Ships fitted out by the Company, of which himself and several other Gentlemen were Members; and this Company was the first of that kind that was establish'd in *Europe*. These King *James* incorporated by the Name of the *Governor and Company of the West Indies*, which, for their Male-administration, was dissolved by Son, King *Charles* I.

Sir *Richard Greenville*, for want of better Information fail'd round by the *Western* and *Charibbee* Islands. He laden his Ships with Provision, Arms, Ammunition, and spare Men to settle a Colony: With these he took the *Indians*, to assist him in his Negotiations with their Countrymen; and having a prosperous Voyage, he arrived at *Wokokon* on the 26th of *May*, being the same Place where the *English* had been the Year before.

In *August* following he began to plant at *Roenoke*, an Island about 5 Leagues from the Continent, which lies in 36 Degrees of Northern Latitude. He also made some little Discoveries more in the *Sound* to the Southward, trading with the *Indians* for Skins, Furs, Pearl and other Commodities which they barter'd with him for things of inconsiderable Value.

Mr. Ralph
Lane first
Governor.

He left 108 Men on *Roenoke* Island, under the Command of Mr. *Ralph Lane* and Capt. *Philip Amidas*, to keep Possession of it; and himself return'd to *England*. With Mr. *Lane* remained

Mr. *Philip Amidas*,
Mr. *Thomas Harriot*,
Mr. *Allen*,
Mr. *Stafford*,
Mr. *Thomas Luddington*,
Mr. *Marwyn*,
Capt. *Vaughan*,
Mr. *Kendal*,
Mr. *Gardiner*,

Mr. *Prideaux*,
Mr. *Rogers*,
Mr. *Snelling*,
Mr. *Harvey*,
Mr. *Anthony Rusbe*,
Mr. *Michael Pullifin*,
Mr. *Thomas Buckner*,
Mr. *James Mason*,
Mr. *David Salter*.

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As soon as Sir *Richard* was gone, the Men he left behind themselves about discovering the Continent, and rang'd and down 80 Miles Southward, and 130 Northward, venturing indiscreetly too high up the Rivers, and too far into the Country, by which the *Indians*, growing jealous of their Designs, began first to be weary of their Company, and sent off their Stragglers when they fell into their Hands; they also form'd a Conspiracy to destroy the rest, but were happily prevented.

The Journals of the Colony's Proceedings were duly transmitted to the Company in *England*, who were not so careful as they should have been, to send them Supplies of Provision; and the *English* not understanding the Nature of the Climate, had neglected to gather Food in Season, as the *Indians* did, by which means they were reduced to terrible Straights. The Natives never after kept Faith with them, but watch'd all Opportunities to cut them off. And this obliged them to be more wary in their Enterprizes on the Main, so it hinder'd their receiving any Supply from them: However, they endured all with incredible Resolution, and extended their Discoveries near 100 Miles along the Sea-Coasts.

They kept the *Indians* in Awe, by threatening them with the Return of their Companions, and the Reinforcement of Men; but no Ships coming from *England* in all that Winter, nor in the Spring following, nor in Summer, they despaired of being able to support themselves any longer; the Natives beginning to despise them, when they saw them as it were abandoned by their Countrymen, and the *English* expected daily to be sacrificed to their Cruelty.

In this Distress their chief Employment was to look out to Sea, in hopes of finding some means of Escape or Relief: And when they were almost spent with Want and Watching, Hunger and Cold, in *August* they spy'd Sir *Francis Drake's* Fleet, who was returning from an Expedition against the *Spaniards* in *North-America*, and had been commanded by the Queen to visit this Plantation in his way, and see what Encouragement or Assistance they wanted.

The Sight of Sir *Francis's* Fleet was the most joyful one that ever the Eyes of the poor Wretches who were left on *Roenoke* Island beheld. Their first Petition to him, was to send them a Supply of Men and Provisions, with a small Ship or Bark to attend them; that in case they could not maintain themselves where they were, they might embark in for *England*.

1568.

Sir

Sir Francis granted their Request, and they set all Hand to work to fit the Ship he had given them, and furnished her with all manner of Stores for a long Stay; but a Storm arising, which drove the Vessel from her Anchor to the Sea, and the Ship suffering so much in it, that she was not fit for their Use, they were so discouraged, that notwithstanding Sir Francis offer'd them another Ship, they were unwilling to stay, and earnestly intreated him to take them with him to home, which he did; and this put an end to the first Settlement.

An end of the
first Settlement.

In the mean time Sir Walter Rawleigh, being very desirous for the Preservation of his Colony, solicited the Company to hasten their Supplies of Men and Provisions, resolving to go with them in Person; and fearing the Colony would suffer by their Delays, he fitted out the Ship he intended to go in with all possible Speed; and when it was ready to set sail by himself. A Fortnight after, Sir Richard Greenville sail'd again from Plymouth, with three other Ships to Virginia.

Sir Walter fell in with the Land at Cape Hattaras, a little to the Southward of Roenoke, where the 108 Men found some Indians, whom, after strict Search, not finding there, he returned to the Colony.

The Virginians positively affirm, that Sir Walter Rawleigh made this Voyage in Person; but the Histories of those times, and the Authors of the Life of Sir Walter Rawleigh, who has been twice written, make no mention of it. 'Tis most probable, that the common Account of it is true, that he fitted out a Vessel of a hundred Tun, loaded it with Negroes, and dispatch'd it away to relieve his little Colony.

Before this Ship arrived, the English had abandoned the Settlement, and returned with Sir Francis Drake, the Master of the Vessel not being able to get any Information concerning them, made the best of his way home.

Tho' the Author of the *History and present State of Virginia* assures us Sir Walter Rawleigh went then himself, 'tis likely a Man of his Quality and Character would hazard his Person so far, and in no better an Employ than the Master of an Advice Boat or Tender.

When Sir Richard arrived, which was a few Days after the Departure of the Vessel we have mentioned, he found the Island Roenoke, where he left his Men, entirely deserted. He knew nothing of Sir Francis Drake's having been there, and thought they had been all murder'd by the Indians, who Manteo satisfy'd him to the contrary; but he could not find how they got away. However, Sir Richard left fifty Men more (some Accounts say but 15) in the same Island,

Navigant,
Itinerant.
A second
Settlement.

...d them to build Houses, giving them Materials, and two Provision; after which he returned, having assured them that they should be speedily and constantly supply'd. In the Year following Mr. John White was sent thither by the Company with three Ships. He carried with him a Company of Men and some Women, as also plentiful Recruits and Provisions, having a Commission to settle there, and preside over the Settlement as Governor.

He arrived at Roenoke the 22d of July, 1587, but found no Englishmen there; at which he was very much troubled. He enquired of Manteo what was become of them; this Indian informed him, that the Natives secretly set upon them, kill'd some, and the rest fled into the Woods, where they were never heard of afterwards.

To confirm Manteo's Information, the Fort they had built he found demolish'd, their Huts empty, the Place of their Habitation all grown up with Weeds, and at the Entrance of the Fort the Bones of a dead Man.

This did not discourage Mr. John White from making Attempts towards a third Settlement; so he sat down in the same Place, repaired the Houses, and when he had put all things in the best Order he could for their Preservation, he proceeded to constitute a Form of Government among them, consisting of a Governor and twelve Counsellors, incorporated by the Name of the Governor and Assistants of the City of Roenoke in Virginia. The Counsellors were

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|--------------------------|--------------------|
| Mr. John White Governor. | Mr. John Sampson, |
| Mr. Roger Bayley, | Mr. Thomas Smith, |
| Mr. Ananias Dare, | Mr. Dennis Harvey, |
| Mr. Simon Ferdinando, | Mr. Roger Pratt, |
| Mr. Christopher Cooper, | Mr. George Hare, |
| Mr. Francis Stephens, | Mr. Anthony Gage. |

On the 13th of August, Manteo the faithful Indian was christened, and created by the Governor Lord of Dassamonan, an Indian Nation so called, as a Reward of his Fidelity and Services to the English; and on the 18th of the same Month was born the first Child that was the Issue of Christian Parents in that Place, being the Daughter of Mr. Ananias Dare. She was, after the Name of the Country, christen'd Virginia.

'Tis from these small Beginnings that we are to trace this Colony, which has increased so much since, that 'tis now one of the best Branches of the Revenue of the Crown of England.

Good

Good Government and Industry soon render'd Mr. *White* and his Men formidable to the *Indians*, who courted their Friendship and made Leagues with the Corporation, which they kept or broke, as they thought themselves too weak to stand too strong for the *English*, who, as much as they seem'd to thrive, underwent so many Hardships, for want of due Supplies from *Europe*, that nothing but the invincible Constancy which is the distinguishing Character of their Nation, could have supported them in so much Misery; yet so far were they from repenting of their Undertaking, or desiring to return that they disputed for the Liberty of remaining at *Roanoke*, and obliged Mr. *White*, their Governor, to return for *England*, and sollicite the Company to send them Recruits Men and Provisions.

Mr. *White* undertook to negotiate their Affairs; and leaving 115 Men in the Corporation, set sail for *England*, where he arrived in Safety, and was two Years there before he could obtain a Grant of the necessary Supplies: At last he had three Ships fitted out for him, with Provisions, and more Men for the Colony.

1589. He sail'd from *Plimouth* in the latter End of the Year 1589 taking the usual Course round by the Western and *Charib* Islands; for no other was then known. Tho' they were skill'd in Navigation, and in the Knowledge of the Use of the Globes, yet they chose rather to follow a prevailing Custom, and sail three thousand Miles about, than to attempt more direct Passage.

On the 15th of *August* he arrived at Cape *Hattaras*, and landing on the Island *Roanoke*, found, by Letters cut on Trees in large *Roman* Characters, that the *English* were removed; but he could not tell where. They saw the Letters *C. R.* on several Trees; and searching farther, on one of the Hill-sides of the Fort which they had quitted, they found cut in large Capital Letters the Word *Croatan*; one of the Islands forming the Sound about 20 Leagues Southward of *Roanoke*.

On this Advice they embark'd in quest of their Fellows *Croatan*; but they were scarce aboard all of them before a dreadful Storm arose, which separated the Ships one from another. They lost their Anchors and Cables, and durst not venture in with the Shore; so they all shifted for themselves, and with various Fortunes arrived in *England* and *Ireland*.

There were no more Attempts to find and relieve the 115 Men Mr. *White* left at *Roanoke* for sixteen Years following; and what became of them God only knows, for they were never heard of to this Day. 'Tis supposed the *Indians* seeing them forsaken by their Countrymen, fell upon them and destroy'd them.

An end of
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Mr White
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This Misfortune was enough to put a Stop to any farther Enterprizes of this Nature for some time; and 'tis rather a Matter of Wonder, that the *English* ever after attempted a Settlement in *Virginia*, than that they neglected it so long, this being their third Miscarriage, and the two last with most terrible Circumstances. These were certainly the Reasons that the Design of settling a Colony there was laid aside for so long a while, and not Sir *Walter Rawleigh's* Troubles, as the Author of the *History* before-mentioned pretends; for Sir *Walter*, from the Year 1590 to the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, was in full Favour at Court, and at the Head of several famous Expeditions.

In the Year 1602, in which Queen *Elizabeth* died, Capt. ^{1602.} *Bartholomew Gosnold* fitted out a small Vessel at *Dartmouth*, ^{Captain Gosnold's Voyage.} and set sail in her from that Port, with 32 Sailors and Passengers for *Virginia*. He had been one of the Adventurers in a former Voyage thither, was an excellent Mariner, and had found out that there must be a shorter Cut to that Part of *America* than had hitherto been attempted; wherefore he designed a more direct Course, and did not stand so far to the Southward, or pass by the *Charibbee* Islands, as all former Adventurers had done, by which they not only sail'd many hundreds of Leagues out of their Way, but were expos'd to the difficult Shores and dangerous Currents of the Islands, and Coasts of *Florida*.

He attained his End in avoiding those Coasts and Currents, and taking a nearer Course than any had done before him.

He arrived in the Latitude of 42 Degrees, and a few Minutes, to the Northward of *Roenoke*, among the Islands, forming the North-side of *Massachusetts's* Bay in *New-England*; where not finding the Conveniencies he desired, he set Sail again; and when he thought he had got clear of the Land, he fell upon the Bay of *Cod*, now Part of *New-England*.

By his Method of Navigation he shorten'd his way 500 Leagues, and yet went farther about by as many more than our Ships do now.

Captain *Gosnold* staid some time on the Coast, trading with the *Indians* for their Furs, Skins, &c. with which, *Sassafras*, and some other Commodities, he loaded his Ship and returned, having too few Men in his Company to pretend to a Settlement. This Voyage was so healthy, that neither himself, nor any of his Crew were in the least indispos'd in all the time. He was the first that had made it turn to any Account since *Barlow* and *Amidas's* Voyage; and gave such a good Description of the commodious Harbours, pleasant

Places, and profitable Trade he had met with, that the *English* once more began to talk of a Plantation in *Virginia* and several Merchants, particularly the Mayor and some Aldermen of *Bristol*, with whom Mr. *Hackluit*, who made very good Collection of Voyages to *America*, was concern'd set out Ships to trade to the same Places.

Two Vessels fitted out by the *Bristol* Men, fell in with the same Land Capt. *Gosnold* had done, followed his Method and Traffick, and returned with a rich Lading.

The *Bristol* Merchants, encouraged by this Adventure continued their Voyages thither, and encreas'd their Commerce from time to time so much, that for many Years they were the most considerable Traders to that Colony; and considering the Inequality of their Numbers, out-did the *Londoners* by much, till the Merchants of *Liverpool* drove them out of the *Irisb* Trade, and rivall'd them in that *Virginia*.

The next Ship that sail'd thither from *England* was commanded by Capt. *Martin Pring*, fitted out by the *Bristol* Men, who came to *Whitsan* Bay, anchor'd there, and traded with the Natives to Advantage.

The same Year Capt. *Gilbert*, in the *Elizabeth* of *London* made a Voyage to *Virginia*, but not with the like Success. He traded with the Savages in the *Charibbee* Islands, viz. *St. Lucia*, *Dominica*, *Nevis*, *St. Christopher's*, and thence proceeded to the Bay of *Chesapeake* in *Virginia*, being the first that sail'd up into it, and landed there. The *Indians* upon him and his Company in the Woods, and Capt. *Gilbert* and 4 or 5 of his Men were kill'd by their Arrows, upon which his Crew return'd home.

Capt. Weymouth's Voyage.

The trading Voyages of *Gosnold* and the *Bristol* Men began to put the *English* on new Attempts for a Settlement but before it could be brought to pass, *Henry* Earl of *Southampton*, and *Thomas* Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, fitted out a Ship under the Command of Capt. *George Weymouth*, who fell upon the Eastern Parts of *Long Island* (as 'tis now call'd) where they landed, and traffick'd with the *Indians*, made Trial of the Soil by *English* Grain; and found the Natives more affable and courteous than the Inhabitants of those other Parts of *Virginia* which the *English* had discover'd; but the Adventurers, being greedy of Gain, over-reach'd the *Indians*, imposing on their Ignorance; of which they growing jealous, it occasion'd the many Murders and Massacres that follow in the Course of this History.

Capt. *Weymouth* enter'd the River of *Powhatan*, Southward of the Bay of *Chesapeake*. He sail'd up above for

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Miles, finding the Channel deep and broad, being a Mile
over, and 7 to 10 Fathom in Depth, having Creeks on
every Side at every half Mile Distance, all deep and safe, in
which Ships of 500 Tons may ride in many Places, with a
Cable on Shore in the soft Ooze.

As he coasted along this River he traffick'd with the Na-
tives, bartering his Trifles for their Treasures, the *Indians*
giving him to the Value of 10 or 12 l. in Furs, Beaver,
Otter and Sable, for five Shillings worth of Knives, Combs,
Beads and Toys.

In one Place where he traded, he and his Crew had like
to have been surprized by the Natives, who inviting him
to shore on Pretence of Traffick, placed 300 Men with Bows
and Arrows in Ambuscade; but Capt. *Weymouth* march'd
with so much Caution, and so well arm'd, that they durst not
attack him. He sent his Boat 70 Miles up the River, in
which his Ship lay six Weeks. While he was there he made
Trial of the Soil of the Country with *English* Grain, which
he found thrived, as it did in other Parts of *Virginia*, where
the Experiment had been made.

Having laden his Ship with the Commodities of the Place,
such as Furs, Sassafras and Tobacco, he returned to *England*,
carrying three or four Savages whom he had taken Prisoners
with him.

The Account he gave of his Voyage when he came home
tempted others to adventure thither; but none had the Cou-
rage to think of a Settlement. They had forgot the 115
Men whom Mr. *White* had left at *Roenoke*: Their Pity was
too weak for their Avarice; Trade and Profit was all they
thought of; and these private Adventurers would have put
the Design of a Colony out of the Peoples Head, had not
Capt. *Gosnold* so effectually solicited the Settlement of *Virgi-*
nia in the Court of King *James*, that several Gentlemen
contributed towards it; and the King incorporated two Com-
panies in one Patent, bearing Date the 10th of *April*, 1606, 1606.
for two Colonies.

The first Company were Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George*
Summers, the Rev. Mr. *Richard Hackluit*, Prebend of *West-*
minster, and *Edward Maria Wingfeild*, Esq; who were the
London Adventurers, and had Liberty by their Patent to seat
themselves, and such as should join with them, at any Place
on the Coast of *Virginia*, between the Degrees of 34 and
41 of Northern Latitude. They were allowed to extend
their Bounds from the Place of their Plantation, 50 *English*
Miles each way, and 100 Miles up in the Country, directly
from the Sea-Coast, and none was permitted to plant or
dwell

dwell there, without Leave of the Company, or the Council.

This Patent included *Maryland, Virginia* and *Carolina* as they are now distinguish'd from each other.

The second Company were *George Popham, Esq;* and others, as we shall shew in the History of *New-England* these were call'd the *Plymouth Adventurers*.

They had Liberty by their Patent to plant and inhabit any Part of the Continent, between the Degrees of 38 and 45 of Northern Latitude, with the like Privileges and Bounds as the first Company.

In this Patent was included *New-England, New-York, New-Jersey* and *Pennsylvania*, as they are now divided into several Provinces; but the whole Country was then call'd *Virginia*, that which was granted to the second Colony, as well as that which was granted to the first. The latter were the earliest in their Settlement; for in the same Year with the Date of their Patent they fitted out two Ships under the Command of Capt. *Newport*, who fell in with the Coast near Cape *Henry*, the Southermost Point of the Bay Chesapeake.

1606.

With him went the Honourable Mr. *Percy*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, Capt. *Gosnold*, Capt. *Smith*, Capt. *Ratcliffe*, Capt. *Martin*, Mr. *Wingfield*, of whom the five last were of the Council. They took a Minister, and abundance of Handicraft Tradesmen with them. Capt. *Newport* raised a Fort at the Mouth of the River *Powhatan*. Here he left 100 Men, with Provisions, Arms, Ammunition, and other Necessaries to make a Settlement; and this was the first Colony that remain'd on the Place. The first Company resolving to prosecute their Undertaking vigorously, had taken Capt. *John Smith* into their Service. He was a noted Seaman, who from a mean Original had acquired a great Reputation by his Adventures. Capt. *Smith* cheerfully undertook the Employment, and ventured his All on the Bottom. The Company were empower'd by their Patent to choose a President and Counsellors, to grant Commissions, and exercise judicial Authority. Accordingly they gave a Commission to the Gentlemen above-mentioned to establish a Colony in their Territories, and govern it by a President and Council, who were invested with sufficient Authorities and Powers.

Capt Newport.

First Colony that remain'd.

The Gentlemen who went over with Capt. *Smith* were very unkind to him, and envying his Zeal and Experience in Maritime Affairs, they used him so ill, that 'twas thought they intended to put him to Death. This was carried on by

the President Mr. *Wingfield*, a covetous haughty Person, ^{Mr. Wing-} who, while Capt. *Smith* was trading and treating with the ^{field Presi-} Indian Kings, contrived his Ruin: False Witnesses were produced to swear ill Designs against him, and he was not only refused to be admitted into the Council, but thrown into Prison, where he lay till all the Forgeries of his Enemies were detected. He then was admitted a Member of the Council; Mr. *Wingfield* was deposed from his Presidency, ^{pt. Rad-} and Capt. *Radcliffe* chosen President, who knowing Capt. ^{cliffe Presi-} *Smith's* Ability, left the Administration of Affairs to him. ^{dent.}

The Company gave Capt. *Newport*, when he set out, Orders to sail to that Part of *Virginia* where Mr. *White* left his miserable Colony, tho' there was no Security of Harbour there. Capt. *Smith* was the Pilot of this little Fleet, and, as good a Seaman as he was, went the old round-about way, by the Western and *Charibbee* Islands, and past his own Accounts of Navigation twice or thrice, inasmuch that his Companions began to despair of reaching the Place they were bound for, and to think of returning to *England*; but when they were at the Point of returning, Capt. *Smith*, with two of his Vessels, luckily fell in with *Virginia*, at the Mouth of *Cheseapeak* Bay. Some Authors distinguish Ca; *Smith's* Voyage from Capt. *Newport's*, and affirm, that the first Settlement which remain'd was made by *Smith*, but others make the Voyage of Capt. *Newport* prior to *Smith's*; but, on further Enquiry, we have Reason to believe *Smith* was with *Newport* in his Voyage: For the *Virginia* Company's Commission mentions these following, as Directors of the Voyage and Settlement.

<i>Edward Wingfield</i> , Esq;	Mr. <i>John Martin</i> ,
Capt. <i>Christopher Newport</i> ,	Mr. <i>John Radcliffe</i> ,
Capt. <i>Bartolomew Gosnold</i> ,	Mr. <i>John Smith</i> .

Leaving this Dispute to be decided by the Company's Books, and the *Virginians*, we proceed in our History.

Capt. *Smith*, when he had the Management of Affairs, built a Fort on the Southern Cape, which he named Cape *Henry*, from Prince *Henry*, King *James's* eldest Son: The Northern he call'd Cape *Charles*, from Prince *Charles*, afterwards *Charles* I. and the River *Powhatan* he call'd *James* River, after the King's own Name.

Before the President and Council proceeded to a Settlement, they made a full Search of *James* River, and then ^{James Towne} they unanimously pitch'd on a Peninsula, about 50 Miles up the River, to build a Town upon, which they called *James* Town. ^{built.}

The Soil about it is very good, the Place itself is surrounded by the main River, which affords good Anchorage, and the other third by a small narrow River, capable of receiving Vessels of 100 Tons, by which means the Ground the Town stands upon is a Sort of an Island. Here they built Castles and a Fort, and might have gone on with Success, had not their own Divisions put a Stop to the Growth of their Settlement, and given the *Indians* an Advantage over them. One hundred and eight Men staid upon the Place.

1607.

'Tis certain that in this Year 1607, the Plantation of *Virginia* was first settled by about one hundred Persons, and that from these small Beginnings it rose to the Figure it has since made in the *British* Commerce. The two Ships were sent back by the President and Council to fetch Recruits of Men and Provisions, and in the mean while, those that remain'd fell to planting and sowing, to building, fortifying and trading with the *Indians*, making a prodigious Profit by their Traffick: But each private Trader being at Liberty to sell his Goods at what Rates he pleased, the *English* undersold one another: by which means the Natives, who had bought dearer than their Neighbours, thought they were cheated, and so conceived an Aversion to the *English* in general, which ended in a National Quarrel.

The Trade was farther interrupted by a sort of yellow *Dust-Isinglass*, which was found to be wash'd down by a Stream in a Neck of Land on the Back of *James Town*. This the *English* mistook for Gold; and all their Hearts were set upon it, to the Neglect of their real Profit by Traffick and their Security and Preservation, by making Provision for a time of Necessity, which then came upon them; for while they were all running mad after this visionary Gold; the Town was burnt, their Stores consumed, and they were reduced to the last Extremities of Wants. Many of them were also destroy'd by the *Indians*, none minding their Defence so much were they infatuated with the Hopes of Mountains of Wealth, by the Help of these new-found Sands; and they already began to despise the Mines of *Mexico* and *Peru* in comparison of their own inestimable Stream. In the meantime they laboured under unspeakable Difficulties, which however they bore with Patience, being comforted by their golden Dreams. One of the Ships that had been sent back to *England* for Provisions, returned, and they loaded her home with this yellow *Dust*; thinking all the Stowage wasted that was bestow'd on Furs or Drugs, and could hardly afford any Room for Cedar. Not long after her Departure the

othe

Another Ship arrived, and her they also loaded home with this extraordinary Gold Dust, with Cedar and Clap-board to fit up. They were all so busy in fishing for the Dirt, that they could spare no time for Discoveries, till the Heat of their Advance began to cool a little, and some of the wiser sort to suspect that, according to a good old English Proverb, *All was not Gold that glister'd*. At last Capt. Smith, with part of the Colony, made several Discoveries in James River, and up Chesapeake Bay, with two Sloops which they had brought with them for that Purpose.

In the same Year 1608, the English first gather'd Indian Corn of their own planting, and they might have flourish'd, had not their Feuds, Folly and Negligence hinder'd their Success, and been the Cause of their future Mischiefs; for in Capt. Smith's Absence Matters fell into Confusion, several unwary People were for deserting the Settlement, and attempt'd to run away with a small Vessel, which was left to attend them; but they were prevented.

Capt. Smith, in his Expedition among the Savages, was surprized, assaulted, and taken Prisoner by them. He was when making Discoveries on the River *Chicohomony*, where *Oppeacameanough*, a King of that Nation, fell upon him treacherously, and put all his Men to Death, after he had forced them to lay down their Arms. He not only spared Mr. Smith's Life, but carried him to his Town, feasted him, presented him to *Powhatan*, the chief King of the Savages, who would have beheaded him, had he not been saved at the Intercession of *Powhatan's* Daughter *Pocahonta*, of whom we shall have Occasion to say more hereafter. Capt. Smith returning to James Town, found the Colony in such Distractions, that 'twas likely to break up. When he had prevailed upon them to remain there, Capt. Newport return'd with Supplies of Men and Provisions, and they both paid a Visit to *Powhatan*, who received them in great State. Capt. Newport did not stay long in Virginia, and Capt. Radcliffe resigning his Presidency, Capt. Smith was unanimously desired to accept of that Office. He made a second Expedition for Discoveries, leaving Mr. *Scrivener* Vice-President; but the Affairs of the Settlement still ran to Destruction.

In the Year following, 1609, *John Layden*, and *Anne Burroughs* were married, which was the first Christian Marriage in Virginia; and in the same Year the President and Council at James Town sent out People to make two other Settlements, one at *Nansamund*, under Capt. *Martin*, in James River; and the other at *Powhatan*, six Miles below

the Falls of *James River*, under the Honourable *Mr. West*, *Mr. Martin* attempting to seize the King of *Nanamun* was forced to fly from his Settlement, and *Mr. West* did not stay long at his.

The Colony was by this time so increased by Recruits from *England*, that the People of *James Town* could spare 120 Men for each of these Settlements. Not long after another Settlement was made at *Kiquotan*, at the Mouth of *James River*. *Powhatan* was an Indian Town, and was bought of *Powhatan*, King of *Werocomoco*, for some Copper.

The Company in *England* understanding how prejudicial the Divisions in their Colony were to the Advancement of the Settlement, petition'd the King for Leave to appoint a Governor, which was granted them in a new Patent. Pursuant to this Grant they made the Lord *Delaware* Governor of the Colony, whose Brother, *Mr. West*, lived then in *Virginia*. My Lord appointed three of the Members of the Society, *Sir Thomas Gates*, *Sir George Summers* and *Capt. Newport* to be Joint Deputy-Governors.

*Sir Thomas
Gates, Sir
George Sum-
mers, Capt.
Newport,
Dep. Govern-
ors.*

These three Gentlemen embark'd in one Ship, and set sail, with eight more in their Company, loaden with Provisions and Necessaries. The Ship in which the Governors were being separated from the rest in a Storm, was driven ashore, and staved at *Bermudas*; but the Crew were all saved, and the three Governors with the rest, who, notwithstanding the Dangers they had run, were always jangling to the great Detriment of their Affairs.

While they were there, the two Knights had perpetual Quarrels among themselves, form'd Factions, and their Differences grew to such Height, that they would not embark in the same Vessel; so they built each of them one of Cedar, picking up the Furniture of their old Ship for Rigging; and instead of Pitch and Tar, they made use of Fish Oil, and Hogs-Grease, mix'd with Lime and Ashes.

Several of the nine Ships that came out with the Governors, arrived in *James River*; and by their Arrival increased the Disorder in the Settlements there; for pretending that the new Commission dissolved the old one, they would not submit to the Government they found on the Place; the fatal Consequence of which we shall see hereafter.

We must now return to *Capt. Smith*, who, while the Company was preparing to dispatch away the three Governors, and those Gentlemen staid at *Bermudas*, continued his making Discoveries with great Difficulties and Hazards, in which he was opposed by *Powhatan*, with whom he made War, and had frequent Advantages of the *Indians*, tho' not without

about Lofs; himself was twice taken Prisoner by him, as was hinted before, as he was making a Discovery of the Head of *Chicohomony* River, and another time by an Ambuscade at *Onawmomet*. The manner of his Treatment among the *Indians*, and his Escape, his Friendship to *Nautawanta*, the King's Son, and the surprizing Tenderness of *Pocahontas*, his Daughter, for him, when he was about to be executed, are Incidents equally agreeable and surprizing, and very pretty romantick and suspicious, *Capt. Smith* having never forgot his main Design to make himself the Hero of his History, in which *Sir William Keith* copies him very faithfully. We must not omit the wonderful Humanity of *Pocahontas*, who, when *Mr. Smith's* Head was on the Block, she could not prevail with her Father to give him his Life, but put her own Head upon his, and ventured the receiving of the Blow to save him, tho' she was then scarce thirteen Years old: A remarkable Instance how vain we are to our selves, in thinking that all who do not resemble us in our Customs are barbarous.

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*Capt. Smith's
Adventures.*

*The Friend-
ship of Pocahontas, an
Indian Princess.*

*Capt. Smith
returns to
England.*

one Ship, and so laden with Provisions, which the Governour's Storm, was driven to the Crew were all the rest, who, notwithstanding they were always jangling, and had perpetual Contentions, and they would not embrace of them one old Ship for Riggs made use of Filth and Ashes. But with the Governour's Arrival increased for pretending that they would not stay on the Place; thenceforward, who, while the three Governours continued his Lives and Hazards, in which whom he made the *Indians*, tho' notwithstanding

We shall have Occasion, in this Chapter, to say something more of this generous Lady, who was the first *Virginian* that ever spoke *English*, or had a Child by any *Englishman*, and the first Christian of that Nation.

Capt. Smith having twice got out of the Hands of the *Indians*, proceeded in advancing the new-settled Colony, which was now so numerous, that there were 500 Men in *James City*, and Plantations up and down the Country; but *Mr. Smith* happening to be blown up by the accidental firing of some Gun powder in his Boat, was so wounded that his Life was despaired of, and his Friends obliged him to embark for *England* to be cured.

Capt. Smith's Relation of his Adventures in this Country relates not so much to the Country, Settlement and Trade, as to himself; most of them are, as we have said, carelessly preferred in *Sir William Keith's* History of *Virginia*, in which I refer the curious in such things, and to the History of *Virginia* by *R. B. Gent*. who has bestowed more of his Labour upon the *Indians* tho' not above 500 in the whole Province of *Virginia*, than on the History of the *English*. He has also incorporated a good Part of *Smith's* ancient History into his modern one, to which I also refer for such like Curiosities.

He was no sooner gone, but those he left behind, *Capt. Radcliffe* and *Capt. Martin*, fell out among themselves, and the Confusion increased upon the Arrival of the Ships belonging to the three Governours Fleet. The Colony soon mis'd their

The miserable
State of the
Colony.

their late President Capt. *Smith*, who, by his Wisdom, Valour, Courage and Care, preserved the Settlements in good Order. Without him they had certainly been destroyed either by their own Laziness and Negligence, or the Treachery and Cruelty of the *Indians*: He always kept the Granaries full, and by fair means or Force obliged the *Indians* to bring in Corn and Provisions. He aw'd them so much by his Valour, that they durst not make any Attempts against the *English*, for whose Defence he raised Forts and Batteries, and was indeed the Soul of the Settlement; for as soon as he left it the People decreased daily, and by the Treason of the Natives, or Want and Hunger, to which they were soon reduced, their Numbers were lessen'd to 60, when Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *George Summers* arrived: 'Tis true, they made some unsuccessful Attempts to defend themselves against Capt. *Sicklemore* and Capt. *Radcliffe*, with a Company of Men, going amongst the *Indians* to trade, were surpriz'd and 60 Men slain by *Powhatan*, who would have no Dealings with them after Capt. *Smith's* Departure. All those that had settled in any other Part of the Country, fled from the *Indians* to *James Town*, except the Planters at *Kiquotan*, who being defended by *Algernoon-Fort*, maintain'd themselves against the Natives, but could not subsist for want of Provisions, which they, as well as their Countrymen at *James Town*, had wasted, and, like them, they were almost famish'd. Their Distress was so great, that they fed on the dead Bodies of the *Indians* whom they slew, and even dug up and eat those that were buried.

This dreadful Famine is still remember'd in *Virginia*, by the Name of the *Starving Time*. The Persons who came on the last Ships continued their Dissention amidst these Calamities; during which, some of them, who pretended to be of the three Governors Council, assumed the Administration, and tho' the Commission was not arrived, usurped the Power of governing, to the Ruin of the Settlement, which, by Famine and Sicknes, bred by bad Diet, were reduced from above 500 to 60 Persons.

The three Governors in the mean while set sail on the 11th of *May*, 1610, from *Bermudas*, in their two small Cedar Ships, with 150 Men in their Company, and in 12 Days arrived in *Virginia*. They went up to *James Town* with their Vessels, where they found the poor Remains of the Colony.

Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Summers*, and Capt. *Newport* pitied their deplorable State, and immediately call'd a Council, to consult of what should be done for their Relief. They inform'd

The Hon. George Piercy, Esq; Deputy-Governor. Sir *Thomas Gates* was sent for by the Company at *London*, to give them an Account of their Proceedings; the Lord *Delaware* being taken sick, left Mr. *Piercy* Deputy-Governor, and returned to *England*, where he made the Adventurers such a pleasing Report of their Affairs, that they order'd it to be publish'd.

Sir Thomas Dale Marshal. There were now about 250 Men on *James River*, on whom Sir *Thomas Dale* was placed, with the Title of Marshal General, by the *London Council*. He arrived there the 10th of *June*, 1611, with three Ships laden with Provisions and Necessaries, having Supplies of Men, and some Hogs and Cattle, and Hogs aboard, for Labour and Breed.

On his Predecessor's Departure the Colony fell into the old Disorders, and began to be in Want, occasioned by their Sloth and Dissention. They depended on their Supplies from *England*, and neglected to plant Corn, to supply them in case of a Disappointment, which they might reasonably have expected, considering the Length and Hazard of the Voyage.

Dales Gift built. From this Knight's Government the Prosperity of the Plantation may be dated; for he set all the *English* to work, and did not disdain to put his own Hand to the Spade and the Axe, to help to turn up the Earth, and set Trees; and that they might no more depend on the Native for Corn, he put them upon sowing Grain of their own which, tho' they did not begin to prepare the Ground till the Middle of *May*, yielded an indifferent good Crop. He order'd Land to be wall'd in, for Fences from wild Beasts and the wilder *Indians*: He enlarged the *English* Bounds, surveyed the Rivers to find out a Place convenient for building a new Town, which was done at his own Charge and was from him called *Dales Gift*.

It was situated 12 Miles above the *Falls*, naturally fortified and almost surrounded with Water. Here, in a short time he so well employ'd his Men, that he not only palisaded the Place, but erected Watch-Towers at each Corner, built a Church, a Store-house, a Dwelling-house for himself, and Lodgings for his Men. Many hundred Acres of Land were taken in, and Plantations laid out, 8 or 10 Miles about which continues to this Day one of the most flourishing Parts of *Virginia*.

The Company in *England*, notwithstanding they had hitherto met with very little Encouragement, continued to supply their Colony with all sorts of Necessaries, solicited to do it by the Lord *Delaware* and Sir *Thomas Gates*. The latter was sent with six Ships more, having 350 Men on board

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Tools for Labour and Life.

Sir Thomas arrived in August, took upon him the Govern-<sup>Sir Thomas
Gates Govern-
nor.</sup>ment, and in September he settled a new Town at Arrabat-<sup>Henricopolis
built.</sup>town, about sixty Miles above James City, calling it Henri-^{built.}polis, or Henry's Town, in honour of Henry Prince of
Wales.

Here he built Forts and Centry-boxes, and ran a Palifade on the other side of the River at Coxendal, to secure their Hogs.

The English now plough'd the Ground, whereas before they sowed all their Corn with the Spade. They also spread themselves abroad in the Country, and possessed themselves of private Plantations, which they cultivated, and planted Tobacco and Corn, each Planter paying a Quit-Rent to the Treasury of the Colony.

Their Cattle, especially their Hogs, increased prodigiously; Laws and Order began to flourish, Industry to thrive, and the Plantation to have the Face of a Settlement that look'd to be lasting; yet it was not long before new Dangers threatened their Destruction; from which however the Hand of God deliver'd them.

The Company at London finding the Colony was in a ^{Churches} flourishing Condition, thought it their Duty to provide for ^{built.} the Welfare of their Souls, as well as their Bodies; and to that End invited many charitable Persons to contribute to the building them Churches, and founding Schools for the Education of their Youth. Many devout People, in hopes of propagating the Gospel, open'd their Purfes; Ministers were sent over, Churches built, and supply'd with Preachers; which will be shewn more at large in its proper Place.

In the Year 1612, Capt. Argall, afterwards Sir Samuel, ^{1612.} arrived from England, with two Ships more for the Use of the Settlement. Sir Thomas sent Argall to Potowmack to buy Corn, where he met with Pocahonta, the Lady of whom we have before made honourable mention. He invited her to come aboard his Ship, which, with some small Difficulty she consented to, being betrayed by the King of ^{of} ^{Slacany}, Brother to the King of Potowmak, with whom she then resided.

Argall having got her in his Custody, detain'd her, and ^{Pocahonra} carried her to James Town, intending to oblige her ^{seized by} ^{Capt. Ar-} ^{gall.} Father King Powhatan to come to what Terms he pleased, for the Deliverance of his Daughter. Tho' the King loved her tenderly, yet he would not do any thing for her sake which he thought was not for his own and his Nation's Interest; nor

She marries
Mr. Rolfe.

nor would he be prevail'd upon to conclude a firm Treaty of Peace, tho' Sir *Thomas Dale* went himself to treat with him about it, being then Marshal under Sir *Thomas Gates* till he heard his Daughter, who turned Christian, and was christen'd *Rebecca*, was married to Mr. *John Rolfe*, an English Gentleman, her Uncle giving her in Marriage in the Church.

1613.

Powhatan approved of the Marriage, took it for a fine Token of Friendship, and was so pleas'd with it, that he concluded a League with the *English* in the Year 1613. A termarriage was propos'd at that time as a sure means of continuing the Peace with the *Indians*; and how far it would have answer'd that End, the Reader may judge; but the *English* were not fond of taking the *Indian* Women to their Beds as their Wives. Whether it was on account of their being Pagans or Barbarians, we cannot decide; or whether that Nicety was not very unseasonable in the Infancy of the Settlement.

By *Powhatan's* Alliance with the *English*, and Mr. *Rolfe* marrying an *Indian* Princess, a great Nation were made Friends to the Colony; and thus they conceived Hopes that they had secured themselves from the Insults of the Savages; but we shall see, in a Page or two, they flatter'd themselves in their Security, when they were never nearer Destruction. Tho' Sir *Thomas Gates* was on the Spot, yet Sir *Thomas Dale* had a great Share in the Government; and Capt. *Argall* reduced the *Chicahomony* *Indians*.

Capt. George
Yardly Dep.
Governor.
1616.

These two Gentlemen were very industrious in the Service of the Colony; and the former, Sir *Thomas Dale*, upon *Thomas Gates's* Return to *England*, in the Year 1614, presided over it two Years; during which time it flourish'd, and he then going for *England*, left Capt. *George Yardly* Deputy-Governor; took Mr. *Rolfe* and his Wife *Pocahontas* with him, and arriv'd at *Plimouth* the 12th of *June*.

Pocahontas
arrives in
England.

Capt. *Smith* hearing the Lady who had been so kind to him was arriv'd in *England*, and being engag'd at that time in a Voyage to *New-England*, which hinder'd his waiting for her himself, petitioned Queen *Anne*, Consort to King *James* on her Behalf, setting forth the Civilities he had receiv'd from her, and the Obligations she had laid upon the *English* by the Services she had done them with her Father.

The Queen received his Petition graciously; and before Capt. *Smith* embark'd for *New-England*, Mr. *Rolfe* came with his Wife from *Plimouth* to *London*. The Smoke of the City offending her, he took Lodgings for her at *Brentford* and thither Capt. *Smith* went with several Friends to wait on her.

Pocahontas

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Pocahonta was told all along that Capt. Smith was dead,
excuse his not coming to Virginia again, from which he
been diverted by settling a Colony in New-England.
Therefore, when this Lady saw him, thinking the English
injured her in telling her a Falstity, which she had ill de-
rred from them, she was so angry, she would not deign
speak to him; but at last, with much Persuasion and At-
endance, was reconciled, and talk'd freely to him: She
then put him in mind of the Obligations she had laid upon
him, reproached him with forgetting her, with an Air so
reely, and Words so sensible, that one might have seen
Nature abhors nothing more than Ingratitude, a Vice which
even the very Savages detest.

She was carried to Court by the Lady Delaware, and en-
tain'd by Ladies of the first Quality, towards whom she
behaved herself with so much Grace and Majesty, that she
confirm'd the bright Character Cap. Smith had given of her.
The whole Court were charm'd with the Decency and
Grandeur of her Deportment so much, that the poor Gen-
leman her Husband was threatned to be call'd to an Ac-
count for marrying a Princess Royal without the King's
consent.

Tho' in that King James shew'd a very notable Piece of
Fing-Craft; for there was no Likelihood that Mr. Rolfe,
by marrying Pocahonta, could any way endanger the Peace of
his Dominions, or that his Alliance with the King of Wicco-
nago could concern the King of Great Britain: Indeed we
are told that upon a fair and full Representation of the Mat-
ter, the King was pleas'd to be satisfy'd:

The Lady Pocahonta having been entertained with all
Manner of Respect in England, was taken ill at Gravesend,
where she lay in order to embark for Virginia: She died
here with all the Signs of a sincere Christian, and true Pe-
nitent.

She had one Son by Mr. Rolfe, whose Posterity are at this
Day in good Repute in Virginia, and inherit Lands by de-
scent from her.

Capt. Yardly, whom Sir Thomas Dale had left Governor,
let the Buildings and Forts run to Decay; being so eager
in planting Tobacco, that he neglected the Security of the
settlements, and would not spare Hands enough to keep the
fortifications in repair; he also omitted sowing Corn. And
as the Colony fell into their usual Distress, were reduced
to great Want, and expos'd to the Mercy of the Indians.

In the following Year Sir Samuel Argall came over Go-
vernor, who was griev'd to see the Number of the Peo-
ple lessen'd, and every thing running to Ruin.

Her Treat-
ment at
Court and
Behaviour.

She dies in
England.

1617.
Sir Samuel
Argall Go-
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The *Indians* also, by mixing with the *English*, had learnt the Use of Fire-Arms; and the Planters, out of Laziness employ'd them to hunt and kill Wild-Fowl for them.

Sir *Samuel Argall* did what he could to regulate the Disorders; but the Mischief had taken so deep Root, that he could not hinder its Growth.

1648. Capt. *Yardly* returned to *England*, and Sir *Samuel Argall* govern'd the Colony in Peace till the next Year, 1618, when the Lord *Delaware*, who all this time seems to have been Chief Governor, and those that succeeded him only his Deputies, came near the Coast with 200 choice Men, fresh Recruits of Provisions, and all manner of Necessaries.

My Lord still sail'd the old Way, by the *Canary* and *Charibbee* Islands. The Length of the Voyage had an Effect on his People, of whom 30 died, and the Lord *Delaware* himself did not live to reach *Virginia*; so that Sir *Samuel* continued in the Government.

Lord Delaware dies on the Coast

Sir *Samuel Argall* having Advice that the *Virginia* Company in *England* were about sending a great Number of Recruits, in Expectation that there would be Corn enough raised by the *English* for their Subsistence, he wrote home several Reasons that might hinder any such Store, and represented the main one, which was sending over Gentlemen and Soldiers, as if they were only to fight for what they could get, and not Farmers and Day-Labourers, who know and could do the Business of the Field.

Powhatan dying in *April*, left his Kingdom to his second Brother *Itopatin*, who renewed the League with the *English*; but this Prince was soon outed of his Dominions by *Oppecancanough*, his younger Brother, who reign'd over *Chicohomony*, made himself Master of all the Nations round him, and his Empire at last became formidable to the *English*.

Sir *Samuel Argall* finding his Colony was in Peace, and that they thrived apace under his Government, began to look about him a little, and resolv'd to undertake an Expedition on the Coasts, to make Discoveries, and dislodge the *French*, who had settled in *Acadia*.

Sir Samuel Argall's Expeditions against the Dutch.

In his way he drove out some *Hollanders*, who had settled themselves on *Hudson's* River; he then attack'd the Settlement of *French*, to the Northward of Cape *Charles*, and afterwards drove Monsieur *Biencourt* from *Port-Royal* in *Canada*, where the *French* had sow'd and reap'd, built Barns, Mills, and other Conveniencies.

Those of them that were for returning to *France* he permitted to embark, which some of them did, and others

went up the River of Canada, to make out a new Settlement there.

With the Plunder of these two Forts Sir Samuel return'd to Virginia; and how he could justify his attacking the Subjects of a Prince who was at Peace with his Master King James, does not appear in the Histories which mention this Event; usually we are told, that some Months after it there arriv'd a small Vessel from England, which did not stay for any thing, but as soon as Governor Argall was on board, it set sail and carried him home. The Occasion of his being recall'd is not known, and therefore 'tis imputed to his attacking the French.

He is recall'd

He left Capt. Nathaniel Powell Deputy, who the same Year resign'd his Office to Sir George Yardly, whom King James had knighted, and the Company made Governor.

Capt. Nath. Powell Deputy Governor. Sir George Yardly Governor.

There arriv'd with Sir George, and some Months after him, 1300 Men in 28 Ships, the Earl of Southampton, one of the Company at London being zealous to furnish them with Supplies of Men, Cattle and other Provisions. These settled themselves in all the Plantations that had been deserted, and planted new ones. And now the Colony grew so numerous, that to have the Consent of the whole in the passing of any Laws or Orders for the publick Good, Representatives were appointed to be chosen for every Precinct, whom the People were to elect in their several Plantations.

These Representatives being the first Assembly that sat at Virginia, met at James Town in May, 1620. The Governor and Council at first sat with them, as the High Commissioner, Lords and Commons were wont to sit together in the Parliament in Scotland; here the Affairs of the Settlement were debated. We shall see, in the following Chapters, how this Method of their Session came to be alter'd.

The first Assembly. 1620.

In August a Dutch Ship put in there with Negroes, and the Merchant sold 20, which were the first Slaves that were brought thither from Guinea. This Year also the Boundaries of James City were mark'd out, and Land was laid out in several Places, to the Company, to the Governor, the College, the Churches, and particular Persons; new Settlements were made in James and York Rivers; very great Supplies continually came over: A Salt-work was set up at Cape Charles, an Iron-work at Falling Creek; and Sir George Yardly seem'd to make Amends for his former Male-Administration; yet he still suffer'd the People to grow secure, and neglected providing for their Defence. He was succeeded in the Government by Sir Francis Wyatt, a young Man, who arriv'd in October, 1621; and this Year more Men settled there,

Sir Francis Wyatt Governor. 1620.

there, who falling to planting, they made so much Tobacco that the Market was over-stock'd, and the Commodities yielded little or nothing. The King pitying their Losses, it, commanded that no Planter should the next Year plant above 100 *l.* of Tobacco a Man, advising them to turn the spare time to provide Corn and Stock, and make Potash and other Manufactures. In *November* Capt. *Newport* arriv'd with 50 Men on his own Account, and settled a Plantation at the Place, which from him is call'd *Newport's New Settlements* were made as far as *Patowmeck* River, where the *Indians* never molested the *English*; on the contrary, they were always friendly and servicable to them.

The General Assembly appointed inferior Courts, call'd County-Courts, to be held for the more convenient Distribution of Justice in Causes of less moment: The rest were tried before the Governor and Council, who were the supreme Court of Judicature in the County. The Prosperity and Increase of the Colony render'd the *English* careless of their Safety. They conversed frequently and openly with the *Indians*, admitted them to eat, drink, and sleep with them, and would often do the same at their Cabins; by this means the Savages became acquainted with their Strength and learnt the use of Guns. They knew their Places of Residence and Resort, and their Fear of them by Degrees wearing off, prepared them for any bold Enterprize against them on the first Occasion: And 'twas not long before the Emperor *Oppecanough* took an Affront for the Murder of one of his Captains, a Man very eminent in his Nation for his Valour. This Fellow had robb'd one *Manning*, and kill'd him, for which he was about to have been apprehended and carried before a Justice of Peace, when he came next time into the *English* Boundaries; but making some Resistance he was shot dead.

Oppecanough, on News of the Death of his Captain resolv'd to be revenged, and he and his *Indians* contriv'd a general Massacre of the *English*, which was to be executed on *Friday* the 22d of *March*, 1622, and most of the Nations of the *Indians* were engaged in the Conspiracy, which was revealed to Mr. *Pace* by a converted *Indian*, or the Massacre in all Probability had been general.

The Discovery he made being but 4 or 5 Hours before the intended Execution of it, the remoter Plantations could not take the Alarm, and the *English* that dwelt nearest to the Savages were barbarously butcher'd, Men, Women and Children, by the Number of 334 Persons. Mr. *Pace* fled to *James Town*, and so did all to whom he could give

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gave Notice of the Conspiracy. Others stood on their De-
fence, and made a retreating Fight to their Forts. The
Plantations were deserted, and the Planters who lived at a
Distance commanded to set their Houses, Barns, Store-
houses, &c. on Fire, to repair to the Forts, and defend
themselves against the common Enemy. Most of those
that were kill'd, fell by their own Weapons, Instruments
and Working Tools. Those who were at the Work in the
Iron Mines near *Falling Creek* were all murder'd, except a
Boy and Girl, who hid themselves. This Iron-work could
never after be restored, nor the Lead mines, which the Su-
perintendent had just then discovered, be found out. The
Project of Glass-houses at *James Town* was ruined by the
Massacre, which put Improvements out of Peoples Heads:
From this time they were so enraged at the Natives, that
they never gave over warring with them till they had almost
entirely extirpated the Nations that were concerned in the
Massacre. They dealt the same measure to them that they
had received from them; and the Savages, fearing the *Eng-
lish* after they were collected into one Body, fled to their
Woods. The Governor invited them to return to their
own Habitations, and plant their Corn, which, on Promise
of Peace, they did; and when they were as secure as the
English had been, the latter fell upon them, cut great Num-
bers of them to pieces, and destroyed their Corn and Habi-
tations. They attack'd and entirely destroy'd *Powhatan*, *Op-
pocanough's* Royal Seat, where, in Imitation of the *Eng-
lish*, he had built him a House, and was so pleased with the
Contrivance of a Lock and Key to fasten the Door, that
his said his Imperial Majesty spent most part of his time in
locking and unlocking it, wondring how such a slight Turn
of his Hand should have such an Effect on the Door and
Postern. The *English* continued to assault the *Indians*
wherever they found them; they deserted those Parts where
they then inhabited, and the Colony receiving fresh Supplies
from *England*, and Arms and Ammunition out of the Tower
by the King's Command, extended themselves every way,
and planted over all the Country, as 'tis now peopled and
cultivated.

Some time after this Massacre, several Gentlemen pro-
cured Grants of Land in *England* from the Company, and
others came over on their private Accounts to make Set-
tlements; among the former was one Capt. *Martin*, who
was named to be of the Council. This Man raised so many
Differences among them, that new Distractions follow'd,
which the *Indians* observing, took Heart, and once more
fell

fell upon the *English* on the Borders, destroying them without pitying either Age, Sex, or Condition.

King Cha. I.
dissolves the
Company.

These and other Calamities being chiefly imputed to the Mismanagement of the Proprietors, whose Losses had discouraged most of their best Members, that they sold their Shares; King *Charles I.*, on his Accession to the Throne, dissolved the Company, and took the Colony into his own immediate Direction. He appointed the Governor and Council himself, order'd all Patents and Process to issue in his own Name, and reserved a Quit-rent of 2 s. for every hundred Acres.

The present
Constitution
settled.

We have been the larger in our Account of this Discovery and Settlement of *Virginia*, because that Part of the History of the Colony is slightly touch'd by most of the Writers who have treated of it; and we have from all of them taken for many Particulars, as will together give the Reader an Idea of the Infancy, Growth and Increase of the Settlement, from Capt. *Amidas* and Capt. *Barlow's* Discovery of the Country, to the Government of Sir *John Harvey*, who was the first Governor of *Virginia* after the Dissolution of the Company. The King order'd the future Form of its Constitution to be by a Governor, a Council of Gentlemen, and the Assembly, consisting, as has been said of Representatives deputed by the several Towns and Counties in the Colony. He granted large Tracts of Land to Gentlemen and others in *England*, and to some of them added Authority independent of the Government, giving each Gentleman the same Power in his Province as the Proprietors of *Virginia* had formerly. The greatest of these Grants was that of the whole Territory of *Maryland*, which was given by the King to *George Calvert*, Lord *Baltimore*.

The *Virginians* pretend that this Division of their Countrey into separate Provinces, created separate Interests, and that the general Advantage of the Whole has often suffered by their Opposition to the Regulations which have been made for the common Good. They tell us, that when the Government of *Virginia* has thought fit to prohibit the Exportation of bad Tobacco to help the Market in *England*, the Planters of *Maryland* have poured in as much Trash as they could make, to take the Advantage of that Market. Whether the People of *Maryland* have not the same or the like Complaints to make against the *Virginians*, is to be doubted, and that the Industry and good Management of that Colony have set an Example even to her Mother-Plantation, which had been better with her if she had followed. We must leave the Dispute to be decided by the Gentlemen concern'd in it, and con-

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our History of Virginia, during the Administration of Sir John Harvey, who was a great Promoter of the large Grants that were made of Land in his Province, and often went so far, that he procured the very Settlements which had been made before to be included. In a Word he was a very bad Governor, severe in his Extortions and Exactions, in Fines and Forfeitures, proud and turbulent in his Councils, and so unjust and arbitrary, that the Gentlemen of the Colony, not being able to endure his Tyranny, seized him, and sent him Prisoner to London, in the Year 1639. They de-
1639. Seized and sent to England.

puted two of their Members to accompany him, and exhibit their Grievances to King Charles I, who was so far from redressing them, that he immediately order'd Sir John Harvey to return to his Government. But the Cry of the Plantation was so loud, that it was to be feared it might reach the Parliament: To prevent which, Sir John was soon recall'd, and Sir William Berkley order'd to succeed him.
Sir William Berkley Governor.

In Sir John Harvey's time, says Bullock, in his Discourse of Virginia, what perplex'd Condition were both he and the Gentlemen and the Country in, when, upon his Complaint, they were sent for from Virginia, to answer here in England at the Council-Board; and again, upon their Complaint, he and his Friends must come to London, to answer at the same Place, and this iterated, besides continual Hearings and Showings between two Parties, &c.

The Differences between the Governor and the Colony occasioned so much Confusion, that the Indians, who watch'd all Opportunities to fall upon the English, surprized them again, and cut off 500 Men, Women and Children.

Oppecananough highly resented the Incroachments that had been made on his Dominions by the late Grants, and had contrived another general Massacre; but the English were scattered up and down in so many separate Plantations, that it was impossible for him to destroy them at once, without an entire Conquest, to which he could not pretend. However, he order'd the Savages in all Quarters to massacre the Borderers, and himself and his Indians were the most active of all in destroying those that had settled on York River, by the Natives called Pamaunkee, where he himself kept his rude Court, and had fix'd the Seat of his Empire. This Prince is by Mr. Smith said to be Powhatan's Brother. He was of a large Stature, a noble Presence, and understood the Arts of Government as well as 'tis possible for a Man to do, who was entirely unacquainted with Letters. The Indians by Tradition report, that he was not related to their King Powhatan, but came from a far Country.

Seizes the
Emperor Op-
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try, which lay South-West of theirs; and, by their Description of it, must be near *Mexico*, or the Mines of *St Barbe*. This Action of *Oppeccanough* provoked the *English* so much, that they never would give the Savages Peace but continued to make War upon them till they took their Emperor, and led him into Captivity; for Sir *William Berkeley* hearing he was at some Distance from the Place of his usual Residence, march'd against him with a Party of Horse surprized and took him Prisoner in the Western Parts of *Henrico* County. Sir *William* intended to send him to the King; but a Soldier, in revenge of the many Miseries the Colony had endured by his Incurfions, shot him in the Back of which Wound he died. Before his Death he carried himself with a Magnanimity truly royal. He was very old, worn out with Age, and the Hardships of War. His Eye-lids were so heavy, he could not see without the Help of his Servants to lift them up. When he was a Prisoner, hearing a Noise about him, he caused them to be lifted up, and perceiving 'twas the Noise of a Rabble that were then come to see him, he reflected with Indignation on the ungenerous Treatment of the *English*, in making a Sight of him, and exposing him to the Insolence of the Multitude; and calling for the Governor Sir *William Berkeley*, he said, *Had it been my Fortune to have taken you, I would not basely have exposed you as I do now. Show to the People.*

On the Death of this Emperor, the Nations whom he had subjected became afraid of the Power of the *English*. There remained no Prince of an equal Genius to keep so many several Kingdoms united. They set up Sovereigns of their own, and their Strength being weaken'd by this Division the *English* were no more afraid of any Disturbance by them, unless it were those who lay nearest to them, and consequently were more liable to be surprized by them; but Sir *William Berkeley* made Peace with all of them, and the Savages knowing they could get nothing by War, kept it a long time unviolated.

The manner of *Oppeccanough's* Death is variously related by the Writers that have made any mention of it. Some say he was kill'd in the Action, when Sir *William Berkeley* came to surprize him. Others, that he was taken and committed to Prison, where he died. The most authentic Account of it is what we have taken from the Author of *the History of Virginia*: 'Tis certain, that with him the Power of the *Indians* was entirely destroy'd. The Colony was in a fair way of improving this great Advantage, and there were no less than 15000 Men, besides Women and Children, of the

Bullock.

the Place. When News came of the Troubles in *England*, which naturally affected all the Colonies, besides, that the Relations and Friends of the Inhabitants were involved in them, they depended on that Kingdom for Supplies and Protection, and a constant Market to take off the Commodities their Plantations produced. *Virginia*, for a while, was more concern'd in them than any of the other Settlements: For Sir *William Berkley* stood out against the usurp'd Powers in *England*, after the Murder of King *Charles I.* and by his Loyalty hinder'd the Commerce of the Planters there with their Friends and Correspondents at home. Their Supplies of Provisions were cut off, their Tobacco lay on their Hands, and the *Virginians* were obliged to subsist by themselves, which they were now in a Condition to do; for the Planters had great Stocks, 30000 Head of Cattle, an infinite Number of Hogs; Beef and Pork were 16 *d.* a Stone, Wheat and Barley very cheap, but few Beasts of Burden, for there were no more than 200 Horses and Mares, and 70 Asses at this time. However, as much as they abounded in Provisions, they could not long have supported themselves without Assistance from *England*, nor have been able to have kept up their Stocks for want of other Necessaries for their Maintenance; such as working Instruments and Tools, Hoes, Axes, &c.

The Parliament of *England*, who were very careful to secure the Plantations, sent a Squadron of Men of War to the *West Indies*, under the Command of Sir *George Ascue*, with Instructions to reduce *Barbados*, the *Charibbee* Islands, and the Northern Colonies to their Obedience. We shall see, in the History of *Barbados*, what Sir *George* did at that Island, from whence he detach'd Capt. *Dennis*, with a small Squadron of Ships to land some Forces, and drive Sir *William Berkley* out of *Virginia*. Sir *William* still continued his unshaken Principles of Loyalty: He hired some Dutch Ships that were then in his Harbours, and made a brave Resistance.

The *Virginians* being animated by his Example, Capt. *Dennis* attack'd them to no Purpose; and finding he should lose a great many Men, and perhaps not succeed at last in his Enterprize by Force, he had Recourse to Policy. He gave out that he had two very rich Cargoes of Goods belonging to two of the Council aboard one of his Ships, and if they did not surrender themselves to him, and engage the rest to do so too, he would detain the Merchandize. The Council were too well inclin'd to comply with the Wickedness of the Times: 'Twas only the Governor who was willing to hazard all, rather than submit to those Powers, to whom

three potent Kingdoms had already submitted. He would hearken to no Terms till the two Counsellors, whose Hears were bent on the Safety of their Goods, engaged the Majority of their Brethren to agree to a Surrender; and Sir *William* was not so very resolute, as to pretend to oppose both an Enemy without, and a Faction within his Government; so he was forced to lay down his Arms, and retire to his Plantation. We cannot omit correcting a Mistake of the Historian we have often mentioned in this History, who says Capt. *Dennis* was sent by *Oliver*. He has run into the vulgar Error of those, who call all the Government from the King's Death to *Cromwel's*, *Oliver's*; whereas *Cromwel* did not turn out the Rump till two or three Years after Sir *George Ascue's* Expedition.

Sir *William Keith* gives into the vulgar Opinion, and, in a strange Fit of Orthodoxy and Loyalty, asserts, that *Virginia* neither submitted to, nor acknowledged *Cromwel's* Authority; not distinguishing between the Parliament and *Cromwel*. He also glories in the Happiness of Sir *William Berkley's* Government, that there were no Puritans in *Virginia* whereas the Truth is, that the Puritans of *Virginia* sent to *New-England* for Ministers to come and preach to them, but Sir *William Berkley* would not admit them to continue among them. 'Tis somewhat extraordinary that Sir *William Keith*, who probably imbibed his first religious Principles among the Presbyterians in *Scotland*, and so long resided among the Quakers in *Pensylvania*, should have so high an Opinion of Sir *William Berkley's* wife Administration, who acted so much against the true Interest of the Country he governed, that he got restraining Acts to keep Protestants out of *Virginia*, at the same time that Lord *Baltimore, Roman-Catholick*, gave Encouragement to Protestant Dissenters to come to and settle in his Province of *Maryland*; and this succeeded so well, that it soon rival'd *Virginia* in the Tobacco Trade. In other things Sir *William Berkley* behaved like a Governor, who had a landed Interest in his Province.

Cromwel was in *Scotland* then, and had nothing to do with the Admiralty of *England*, farther than as his Council influenced the Affairs of the Commonwealth. When he was actually in Possession of the sole Administration, he busied himself about the Plantations, as much as any other part of the *English* Dominions, and *Virginia* fell under his Cognizance as well as the rest.

We read, in an old Historian, that Major-General *Pointz* who was made Governor of the *Leeward Islands* by the Parliament, sail'd from St. *Christopher's* to *Virginia*, before

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Sir *George Ascue* sent *Dennis*, who, it seems by that Author, found the Business done to his Hand, and that Country the only Retreat for Cavaliers, was forced to submit on Terms of Indemnity.

Col. Diggs was first made Governor of *Virginia* by the Parliament, during whose Government nothing remarkable happen'd. He was succeeded by Mr. *Bennet*, and he by Mr. *Matthews*. The two last Governors only were put in by *Oliver*; tho' the same Historian says, that *Diggs*, *Bennet* and *Matthews* were all Governors during the small time of *Cromwel's* Protectorate. If so, there must have been some other Governor between Sir *William Berkley* and *Col. Diggs*, if not the changing of Governors was not so extraordinary as he pretends. Before the End of our History, we shall more than once find three Governors in seven Years; for so long it was from Sir *William Berkley's* Submission to *Oliver's* Death; and this was the less rare, because Mr. *Matthews* died in his Government.

The Trade of *Virginia* flourished in those Days, notwithstanding the Act which pass in one of *Cromwel's* Parliaments, to break off that Colony's Correspondence with other Nations, and to prohibit their exporting or importing any Commodities whatever, but what should be loaden aboard English Ships, navigated by English Seamen; which Act, commonly call'd the *Act of Navigation*, was justify'd after the Restoration, by another Act of Parliament to the same Purpose; but with several Restrictions and Prohibitions, by Bonds, Securities, &c. Sir *William Berkley* having shewn a great Concern always for the Good of the Colony, was mightily beloved by the People. On the Death of Mr. *Matthews*, when they were without a Governor, they immediately cast their Eyes upon him, and by an obliging Violence compelled him to assume the Government; which however he would not consent to, unless they all promised to join with him in venturing their Lives and Fortunes for the King, who then was in Exile; but not at that time in France, as our Historian affirms.

This was indeed a very bold Action, for as yet there had no News arrived of *Oliver's* Death, and the Anarchy in England that succeeded.

The *Virginians* accepting of the Terms he propos'd, he accepted of the Government, and, we are told, forthwith proclaimed *Charles II.* King of England, Scotland, France, Ireland and *Virginia*. It happen'd well for him and his Colony that King *Charles* was not long after restored to the Throne of his Ancestors; yet we don't find that the King

gave

gave Sir *William Berkley* any greater Reward than continuing him in his Commission, and making him one of the Proprietors of the Province of *Carolina*, when he reſted it into a Principality about the Year 1663.

Col. Francis
Morrison
Deputy.

Sir *William* going for *England* to congratulate his Majesty on his Reſtoration, left Col. *Francis Morrison* his Deputy.

1660.

Hi. Beha-
viour.

When he came to Court, he was graciously received by the King, who, in Honour of his loyal *Virginians*, is ſaid to have worn a Robe at his Coronation made of the Silk that was ſent from thence. Col. *Morrison*, in the meantime, behaved himſelf to the general Satisfaction of the Plantation. He order'd the Laws to be reviſed and collected into a Body, to be laid before the Aſſembly at their next Session. He took the ſame Care of the Church, as he did of the State. He regulated the Pariſhes, ſettled the Miniſters Allowances, got a Revenue for the Support of the Government, and other Laws for the Encouragement of the Linen and Woollen Manufactories, the Breeding of Silk-worms, Tanning and Salt-works. While the Deputy-Governor was ſo buſied for the Service of the Colony, Sir *William Berkley* was in *England*, taking his Inſtructions from the King, for his future Conduct. His Majesty order'd him to promote Husbandry, Manufactures, Silk and Vineyards, that all Ships trading to *Virginia* ſhould go to *James Town*, and be enter'd at the Custom-houſe there before they broke Bulk, which Order was given with an Intention that by it the People might be tempted to come thither and dwell there, for the Convenience of Trade; and had it been obeyed, it might have increaſed the Number of Buildings in that City, which is now much leſs than it was fourſcore Years ago, every Body coveting to live at his Plantation, and ſettle where he thinks he ſhall have the beſt Crop and Conveniencies of Shipping. This is the Reaſon that there are ſo few Towns in *Virginia*, and thoſe that are there ſo very ſmall. Sir *William* being fully inſtructed by the King how he ſhould proceed on his Return to his Government, ſet ſail from *England* to *Virginia*, where he arrived in the Year 1662, and immediately put the People upon improving their Plantations, and advancing Manufactures. He ſummon'd an Aſſembly, and got an Act paſſ'd for building of *James Town*. Each County was to build ſo many Houſes, and ſome actually built their Quota, which, notwithstanding the Act, were converted into Taverns and Eating-houſes, and the Town was very little the bigger for them.

1662.
Sir William
Berkley Gov.
of Virginia.

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By Sir *William's* Behaviour on the Revolutions in *England*, we may perceive he was no Friend to the Puritans. Before the Civil War, he procured severe Laws to be made against them; and now he had an Act pass'd, laying great Restraints upon them, which not only drove many People out of *Virginia* to *Maryland* and other Colonies, but kept others from coming thither.

Tho' the Order for all Ships to enter at *James Town* was dispensed with, yet the rigorous Circumscription of Trade, by the Act of Navigation, the Persecution of Dissenters, and the low Prices of Tobacco, rais'd great Clamours among the *Virginians*, fomented by some of *Cromwel's* Soldiers, who had been banish'd thither. Clamours in Virginia.

At last the Mutiny grow to such a Head, that several Planters and others enter'd into a Conspiracy against the Government: The Servants were the chief Promoters of it, with a Design to kill their Masters, and seize their Plantations: Among those, one *Berkinhead*, a Servant to Mr. *Smith*, of *Purton* in *Glocester* County was one, and he repenting, discover'd it. Upon which Notice was sent to the Governor at *Greenspring*, his Seat so call'd, who understanding that the Conspirators were to rendezvous at *Poplar Spring* near *Purton*, sent a Party of Militia Horse to surprize them as they came. Accordingly some were taken, others made Prisoners, and informing their Fellows of the Discovery of the Plot, prevented such as were on the Road from coming to the Place appointed. Four of the Conspirators were hang'd, *Berkinhead* had his Freedom, and 200*l.* Sterling bestowed on him for a Reward; an anniversary Day of Thanksgiving was appointed on the 13th of *September*, the Day on which the Plot was to have been put in Execution. The King hearing of it, sent Orders to build a Fort at *James Town*, to curb the Mutineers, and serve for a Retreat to the Governor on the like Occasion; which Orders were never obeyed. Indeed the sending Orders from *England* to build Forts, or store up Ammunition without sending Money to do it, is making a Jest of the Security of the Inhabitants, and an Air of Government very far from begetting Reverence or Love. The *Virginians* being loth to be at the Charge, when the Danger was over, they only rais'd a Battery of some small Pieces of Cannon. A very poor Defence, if ever they should be forced to make use of it!

In *England* another Act of Parliament pass'd, which was thought to be a Hardship upon this Colony. It prohibited their having any foreign Goods, but what were first landed in *England*, and thence exported to them, This reduced

the

the Price of Tobacco still lower, and raised that of all *European Goods*. They, in return, prohibited, by an Act of their Assembly, the planting of Tobacco for one Year, in order to keep up the Demand for it; but this Act had not the desired Effect, because the Province of *Maryland* refused to consent to it, and stock'd the Market sufficiently to keep down the Price. They attempted again to have the planting of Tobacco stinted, and the Agents of *Carolina* and *Maryland*, who were then at *James Town*, consented to it; but the Governor of *Maryland* evaded it, and proclaimed the Act void. Thus the poor Planters drudg'd to their Loss, their Tobacco yielded little or nothing, and all sorts of Goods that were imported from *Europe* bore very high Prices, which was enough to raise Discontents and Murmurs, and produce the Disturbances that soon afterwards happen'd.

Tho' the *Virginians* had all the Reason in the World to expect a Compliance from the People of *Maryland*; yet they condescended to send Agents to *St. Mary's*, the Capital of the Provinces, as it were to petition for their Consent, in which they were unsuccessful also, the Governor telling them, *He would not call an Assembly on purpose*.

About this time there were Attempts made to prevent Ships unloading any where at the Master's Pleasure, that foreign Goods might be imported, which had not been landed in *England*.

It had been found impracticable to oblige all Ships to come at *James Town*, and afterwards disperse themselves up and down in the several Rivers whither they were bound, and were used to unload their Cargoes, and load again, even at the very Doors of the Merchants to whom they were consign'd, which gave them many Opportunities of bringing prohibited Goods; wherefore his Majesty order'd that Forts should be built in the several Rivers; that all Ships should ride under those Forts; and those Places only be the Ports of Trade.

Had these Orders been obeyed, it would necessarily have caused People to have resorted to such Places, Houses would have been built, and Towns raised by Degrees, without the Force of an Act, which has little Influence on the Wills of People; and in free Governments, where Mens Properties are concerned, the Laws are always tender of using too much Violence, unless the immediate Safety of the Commonwealth requires it.

The Plague and Fire happening at *London* when the Forts were about to be built, put a Stop to the Undertaking

it never was prosecuted afterwards; for want of which the Dutch often insulted the Coasts in the Wars, between England and Holland, and took the Ships out of the Harbours.

To defend them against any Invasion from the Enemy, few Batteries were raised, which contributed little to their Security.

Sir William Berkley, to remedy the Evil of the low Price of Tobacco, earnestly recommended and heartily encouraged the Silk and Linen Manufactures, Pot-Ash and Hemp: He set an Example himself at his own Plantation; and it had been well for the Colony if they had industriously follow'd it.

The Indians all this while continued quiet; indeed they durst not offend the English, who were now grown so powerful, that they could send an Army of 6 or 7000 Men into the Field, and leave twice as many at home to look after their Plantations.

He sent out Capt. Batt with 14 English and 14 Indians to make Discoveries. This little Company went from Appomattox in Charles County, and in seven Days time reach'd the Foot of the Mountains, which they cross'd with great Difficulty three Days more, and then descended into fruitful Valleys, where they found an incredible Quantity of Deer, Elks, Buffaloes and Turkeys, so tame, that they would suffer them almost to reach them. They also found Grapes as big as small Plumbs.

Farther forward they came to a Rivulet, which descended backwards. They travell'd down that Stream several Days, and coming to some Cabins, they could perceive that Indians had lately been there, and, as they supposed, fled away at Capt. Batt and his Company's Approach.

The Savages he had with him could not be persuaded to visit some Marshes that were beyond those Cabins. They said there lived a Nation a little farther that made Salt, and sold it to their Neighbours; that they suffer'd no Body to return who had been amongst them: And notwithstanding Capt. Batt used all the Arguments he could think of to persuade them to go forward, the cowardly Indians would not stir a Step farther, so the Company was forced to return.

On the Report Capt. Batt made to the Governor of his Travels and Adventures, Sir William Berkley resolv'd to go in Person; he had made Preparations for it, named the Man who was to have been his Deputy-Governor, got the Assembly to pass an Act in favour of the Enterprize, and just as things were ready for his Departure, Col. Bacon's Rebellion broke out, which ruined the Design.

Col. Bacon's
Rebellion.
In

In the Year 1670, four or five Years before Capt. Batt Enterprize, Col. Collet, with 9 *English* Horse and 5 *Indians* march'd up in the Country; and so did Major Harris, with 20 *English* Horse and 5 *Indians*; but to as little Advantage as Batt's: After whom, Sir William gave a Commission to a *German* Surgeon to discover the South-West Parts of *Virginia*.

He went along the Foot of the Mountains as far as the Lake *Sherre*, and discovered them to be passable in two Places. This Man reported, that while he was in an *Indian* Town near the Mountains, there came 4 Savages on an Embassy to the King of that Town, from a King who lived beyond the Mountains.

He brought back an Emerald, and some *Spanish* Money which he had of the *Indians* bordering on the Lake there; and this rais'd Conjectures, that the *Spaniards* are seated near the Back of those Mountains.

The Rebellion we are going to speak of being one of the most extraordinary Events that ever happen'd in the *English* Plantations; we shall be larger in our Account of it, which we have taken from publick and private Authorities.

The Author of it, Col. Nathaniel Bacon, Jun. was a Gentleman who had been liberally bred in *England*, having studied some time at the *Temple*: He was young, bold, active, handfom and eloquent; his Merit advanced him to the Degree of a Counsellor, and his good Qualities got him the Love and Respect of the People, who were at that time very much disaffected with the Government, and ready to take Fire; which Bacon perceiving, blew up the Coals of Dissention among them so much, that at last it burst out into a Flame.

Before we come to the Facts, it will be proper to let the Reader into the Causes of the Peoples Murmurs and Resentments, of which these four were the chief:

The Causes
of it.

1. The low Price of Tobacco in England, and the high Prices of all Goods exported thence to Virginia.
2. The Grants made by King Charles, of several Parts of their Country to Noblemen in England, in some of which several of their Plantations were included.
3. The Burdens laid upon them by the Parliament in England, and Taxes by the Assembly in Virginia.
4. The Disturbances given them by the *Indians*.

Of all these Grievances, that of the Grants was the most intolerable, their Property being given away from them, at

they had been at great Trouble, Hazard and Charge to make Settlements.

The Assembly taking the bad Condition of many of the Planters, by the vexatious Suits, and the Expence they were forced to be at about their Titles to their Plantations, into Consideration, deputed Mr. *Ludwell*, Secretary of *Virginia*, and Col. *Park*, to go to *England*, to represent the Matter to the King, and petition for Redress.

A new Tax was levy'd, to defray the Charge of their Voyage; and this was the more burthensom, because the Agents did not succeed in their Negotiation.

After a Year's Patience in waiting for News from them, they had Advice, that there was little Hopes of Redress. Upon which they grew outrageous, and their Rage ended in Rebellion. King *Charles* hearing of it, would not hearken to their Agents Remonstrances; and those of them who had Money were forced to compound with the Grantees for 3000 l. a Man.

The *Indians*, ever since their last Massacre, had kept very quiet till lately; and now they began to be troublesome at the Head of the Bay of *Chesapeake*, and on their own Frontiers. Those at the Head of the Bay used to trade with the *Dutch* in *Monadas*, since call'd *New-York*.

When the *Indians* travell'd thither, they pass, going and coming, by the Frontiers of *Virginia*, and traded with the *Virginians*, who had the first of their Market, and the choice of their Furs. While the *Dutch* staid at *Monadas* this Traffick went on very peaceably; but as soon as the *English*, who had possess'd themselves of *New-York* and the Trade, understood the Advantage their Countrymen in *Virginia* made of it, they treacherously set the Savages against them, and succeeded so well, that instead of calling on them Friends, they never came but to murder or rob them.

The *Indians*, on their own Frontiers, were provoked by the Loss of their Trade, which decay'd daily, and by Sir *William Berkley's* Attempts for Discoveries, which they apprehended was intended to destroy them; and therefore, whenever they had an Opportunity, they never fail'd to show their Hatred and Cruelty to the *English*, who being grown peevish by their Losses and Grievances, were glad of an Occasion of venting their Fury on the *Indians*; and on the Cry of Murders committed by them, most of the poorer sort demanded to be led against them, resolving utterly to extirpate all the Nations of the Savages. They gathered together in riotous and tumultuous Bands, running from one Plantation to another, without a Head, crying out

out against the Barbarity of the Natives, the Murder of the Countrymen, and engaging more and more every Day to undertake an Expedition for Revenge.

Sir William
Berkley op-
poses Bacon's
Designs.

The Governor, who was jealous of his Prerogative, would not suffer them to judge when 'twas fit to make War; and the more they were for it, the more obstinate he was to allow them to take Arms: However, they continued the Meetings, and Col. Bacon fell in with them, approved their Zeal for the Service of their Country, aggravated the Calamities they endured by the *Indians*, and complained of the Want of a Regulation in Trade.

Bacon chosen
General by
the People.

The Multitude were transported with Joy that they had got a Man of his Quality and Merit among them, and immediately chose him their General; which Post he accepted, and by his Eloquence and obliging Carriage charm'd them, that they were all to a Man entirely at his Devotion.

He knew the Danger of the Step he had taken, and yet his Ambition, or his Interest (for 'twas thought his Design was to engross the whole *Indian* Trade to himself) still spur'd him on to open Rebellion. He muster'd his Men, exercised them, and prepared them for Action, the Pretence being a War with the *Indians*, which was at that time a very plausible one. To reconcile his Ambition with his Duty, he sent to the Governor for a Commission, and order'd his Messenger to represent the Mischiefs the Savages did so implorably, that Sir *William* might think himself oblig'd, by the Necessity of their Affairs, to make him General.

The Council had such an Esteem of Col. Bacon's Merit, that the Governor did not think it safe to deny his Request flatly; so he answer'd the Messenger, *He would consult the Council, and send him Word what Resolution they came to about it.* But Bacon had not Patience to stay for the Result of their formal Debates. He sent again and again to Sir *William*, to issue out a Commission, and dispatch it away to him, that he might lead the Voluntiers against the *Indians*, saying, *They had already chosen him for their General, and he and they resolved to begin the War, whether the Governor sent him the Commission or not.*

'Twas out of Caution that he desired it, to justify his taking Arms; and finding Sir *William* prevaricated with him, he, with 40 of his Men in his own Sloop, went to *Jamestown* himself, to get what he wanted: He took his Seat on the Council-Board, like a Man who, far from committing a Fault, deserved Thanks for his Zeal for the publick Good, and against the common Enemy.

He laid before the Council the *miserable State of the Borders, how they were plunder'd and murder'd by the Savages, and how ready the Voluntiers were to drive them from the Borders, and prevent such Calamities for the future; if they had a Warrant to do so.*

The Governor, instead of granting Bacon a Commission, ^{He quarrell'd with the Governor.} commanded him to disperse; and, for speaking too freely before the Council, suspended him; by which he exasperated a Man who had it in his Power to be revenged, when he himself had not Strength to oppose him.

R. B. owns he went *beyond his Instructions*; in suspending Bacon; but I believe he did not do so in procuring a Law to persecute Protestants for Conscience Sake. He is angry with me for saying he withdrew from the Government, which he did not say; but might have said it, when he left it to an Assembly chosen by Bacon's Writs.

Bacon broke up from the Council-Table in a Heat, and went out with an Intention to retire to his Men. Sir William fill'd a Long-boat, and made after him, sending away some Horse to stop him, when he landed at *Sandy-Point*; the Place he designed to go ashore at.

His Orders were obey'd here, and Bacon forced to return to James Town. The Governor, instead of chastizing his insolence, received him very graciously, and by fair Words endeavoured to dissuade him from his intended Enterprize; but Bacon was resolute, and persisted in his Demand of a Commission, knowing Sir William durst not do him any hurt, when there were near 1000 Men in Arms, who would severely have revenged whatever Punishment had been inflicted upon him: Besides, while they were disputing the Matter in Council, fresh News came of Murders and robberies committed by the *Indians*, which seem'd to warrant Col. Bacon's Design and Demand.

However the Governor, who was as jealous of his Prerogative, as he was zealous for the Welfare of the Colony, would not grant him the Commission, because it look'd as if it was extorted from him, and that there was a Power in Virginia superior to his own.

Bacon seeing he could get nothing by fair Means, made his Escape out of James Town, and posted away to the Voluntiers, of whom he led 6 or 700 to the Town, and drew them up in Battalia before the State-house, where the ^{Comes to James Town with his Army.} Assembly was sitting; so that he had now the Governor, Council and Assembly of Virginia in his Power, and may be said to be Master of the Colony.

Forces the
Governor to
give him a
Commission.

The Assembly, besides that many of them wish'd well to *Bacon's* Enterprize, were afraid of offending him; so they drew up a Commission themselves, and presented it, with an Address to Sir *William Berkley*, desiring him to sign it.

By this Commission he was constituted General of all the Forces in *Virginia*; and Sir *William*, much against his Inclination, sign'd it.

As soon as *Bacon* had it, he march'd towards the Frontiers, and was chearfully followed by his Men; and no doubt, had not Sir *William Berkley* done what he could to hinder his Proceedings, these Forces, under such a General, would have conquer'd all the Nations of the *Indians* to the Mountains.

'Tis true the *Virginians* did not want Room, yet the Savages were so false and cruel to them of late, that it seems to have been their Interest to have got rid of such troublesome Neighbours; and so the People of *Virginia* generally thought at that time.

When *Bacon* had modestly withdrawn his Troops, to leave the Assembly free, the Governor prevail'd with them to consent that his Commission should be revoked, which was done: Then Sir *William* proclaimed him a Rebel; commanded his Followers to deliver him up, and disperse, on pain of being treated like Traitors: He also issued out Orders for raising the Militia, and made Preparations for Civil War.

The People were generally exasperated at this double Dealing with Col. *Bacon*, and his Soldiers unanimously resolv'd to live and die with him. Instead of marching against the *Indians*, as they design'd, they demanded to be led back to *James Town*, and in their March they fell upon the Lands and Houses of such as sided with Sir *William*.

The Governor
flies from
him.

The Governor fled to *Accomack*, on the other Side of the Bay, hoping the Inhabitants of that County, which was at a Distance from those Parts where *Bacon* had the greatest Interest, would espouse his Quarrel, having still no better Disposition to Peace, than before he had proclaimed Col. *Bacon* a Rebel.

A little Moderation in him would have remedied the Disorders, which put the King and Colony to 100000 Expence to compose them; and would have endangered the Ruin of the Country, had not *Bacon's* Death prevented it; for upon the Governor's leaving *James Town*, and abdiquating the Government, Col. *Bacon* assembled the Gentlemen of the Country at *Middle Plantation*, himself and some others of the Council signing the Writ of Summons, when

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they publish'd a Declaration of the Occasion of their meetings, and an Association to stand by *Bacon* against all Opposers, till the King was fully inform'd of the Matter, by Persons deputed by General *Bacon*.

They declared, among other things, that *Sir William Berkeley* had fomented and stirred up the People to a Civil War, and withdrawn himself from his Government, to the great Astonishment and Unsettlement of the Country. That the Army raised by *Bacon* was for the publick Good; and that the Country justify'd him in all his Proceedings.

In the mean time *Sir William* was busy in getting his Friends together, to make Head against the Rebels, whose Reasons would have had little Weight with King *Charles*, while they argued with their Swords in their Hands. The Governor was still obstinately bent on reducing *Bacon* by Force; and in order to it, several Sloops were provided to transport the Men he had raised over the Bay. Some of his Parties met with some of *Bacon's*, and Rencounters happen'd, in which some Men were kill'd, and some taken.

Thus every thing tended to a Civil War, which must have had very terrible Effects, for *Bacon's* Men were resolute, and enraged at the Hardships they endured; and *Sir William Berkeley's*, animated by the Loyalty of their Leader, were as furious and implacable as the Generals, whom they call'd and treated as Rebels.

Bacon was much superior in Numbers; but the Governour depending on Supplies from *England*, assur'd himself that he should at last be too strong for him and all his Adherents.

The King, when he was inform'd of this Rebellion, was so far from hearkening to the Pretences of *Bacon's* Assembly, that he order'd a Squadron of Men of War to be fitted out, and a Regiment of Soldiers to embark aboard it for *Virginia*.

This Squadron was commanded by *Sir John Berry*, and set sail about *Christmas*, in the Year 1676. The Hopes of succours confirm'd the Governour in his Severity, and the Terms of Accommodation were offer'd to no Purpose.

Such was the dreadful Prospect of Affairs in *Virginia*, when, in the Spring, for the Peace of the Colony, *Col. Bacon* died at *Dr. Green's* House in *Glocester* County. He was privately buried, and the Place kept very secret, to prevent his Enemies insulting his Body, as would have been done, could the Corpse have been found; for strict Enquiry was made after it, with a Design to expose his Bones to publick Infamy.

Mrs. Ayræa Behn the Poetess wrote a Tragedy on this Subject, call'd *Bacon of Virginia*. 'Tis probable she was the fonder of the Story, because she lived some time in

America, her Father being Deputy-Governor of Surinam when in *English Hands*, and her Conversation with the Negroes there, did doubtless give her the Hint of her Novel *Oroonoko*, the Foundation of those excellent Scenes of Mr. *Southern*.

Sir William
Berkley re-
turns,

The Death of the General broke all the Measures of the Malecontents, Col. *Ingram*, his Lieutenant-General, and Col. *Walklate*, his Major-General, laid down their Arms on Promise of Pardon: The rest followed their Example, and Sir *William Berkley* returned to *James Town*, after *Bacon* and his Assembly had been about six Months in Possession of the Government of all the Countries on that Side of the Bay, and had influenced the Affairs on the other Side. Peace being restored, the Governor had Leisure to punish the Criminals; but having promised them all Pardons, on their Submission, could not do it without breaking his Word. Col. *Johnson* and Col. *Walklate* were turned out of all the Places, and incapacitated of bearing Offices in the Colony for the future. As for his Proceeding with the rest, he could not come to any Resolution till he had Orders from *England*, which he did not receive; for that Affair was left to Commissioners, that were sent on purpose by King *Charles* to enquire into it; and the Lord *Colepepper*, who succeeded him in the Government, was intrusted with the Power of punishing or pardoning those who had a Hand in the Disorders committed in the late Rebellion, which were very fatal to the Country.

James Town, the Capital of the Colony, was burnt to the Ground by Capt. *Richard Lawrence*, an Officer under *Bacon*, who, when his Men refused to set fire to the House, did it with his own Hands; and thus this unfortunate City, which never deserved that Name, suffer'd so much, that she has not since recover'd even the Condition she was then in.

All Sorts of Improvements were neglected, Stock ran to Ruin; the *Indians*, taking an Advantage of these Confusions, fell upon the Borders, and butcher'd the Inhabitants without Mercy. They destroy'd the Plantations on the Frontiers so much, that the *Virginians* have hardly to this Day been able to plant them and stock them, much less to extend their Bounds; tho' the Savages are brought so low, that their Liberty is precarious, and they are little better than Slaves to the *English*. *Bacon*, was dead and the Country in Peace before Sir *John Berry* arriv'd with his Squadron, and the Regiment he had aboard, which landed in *February* following. The Soldiers were kept in pay, tho' there was no Employment for them; and soon after Sir *William Berkley* was

for England, leaving *Herbert Jeffreys*, Esq; his Deputy-Governor. *Sir William* fell sick on his Arrival in *England*, and his Sickness confined him to his Chamber till he died. The King, who had all the Reason in the World to be pleased with him, enquired often after his Health, and forbade him to hazard it, by making too much Haste to Court. *Sir William* never saw his Majesty: However he had the Satisfaction to hear the King had done him the Honour to declare he highly approved of his Conduct in *Virginia*.

He had been Governor of that Colony from the Year 1640 to 1678, when he died, in all 38 Years, if we take in the time of the Usurpation, when his Commission was virtually in force, tho' not actually.

Mr. Jeffreys's first Care, after *Sir William Berkley's* Departure, was to make Peace with the *Indians*: To that Purpose he held an Assembly at *Middle Plantation*, where *Bacon's* Convention met, and Overtures of Peace were agreed on and concluded in *May* 1677. On the 29th of that Month, the Kings of the several Nations were invited to come and sign the Peace, and partake in the Rejoicings of that Day, which the Governor celebrated with more than usual Solemnity, in Commemoration of his Majesty's Birth and happy Restoration.

The *Indian* Kings and Queens came to the Place appointed, and were kindly received by the Commissioners and Council; and Silence being proclaim'd, the Articles of Peace were publickly read, and each of them expounded by Interpreters. After which, the Queen of *Pamunke* was desired to come within the Bar of the Court to sign the Treaty, in Behalf of herself, and several Nations that were united under her Subjection. She did it chearfully, and deliver'd the Instrument to the Governor, of which he gave her back the Counter-part; and on the exchanging these Instruments, the Field-pieces were discharged.

The Queen and the other *Indian* Princes were nobly entertained by the *English*, and the next Day returned to their Kingdoms. This is the last formal Peace that was made with the Savages; and now they are sunk so low, that if they should dare to give the *English* any Disturbance, a Troop of Militia-Horse would cut 'em all to pieces. They do the *Virginians* more Good than Harm by their Trade and Services, and are suffer'd to enjoy the vain Name of Kingdoms, tho' *Kentish Town* is an Empire, compared to the biggest of them, as will appear in another Chapter. The Governor and Assembly had given the Law to them.

Treaty, which, tho' they thought hard Measure, they were obliged to comply with.

1678.
Sir Henry
Chickely
Deputy-Governor.

Mr. *Jeffreys* died the following Year, and Sir *Henry Chickely* was appointed Deputy-Governor in his Place.

He did nothing extraordinary, or worthy to be remember'd, except procuring an Act of Assembly, for building Magazines at the Heads of the four great Rivers, where Men in constant Pay were order'd to keep Guard, and Stores of Arms and Ammunition were laid up, to the great Terror of the Savages. The same Assembly observing that Tobacco was frequently imported from *Carolina* and *Maryland*, pass'd an Act against it, to streighten those Colonies for want of Shipping.

1679.
The Lord
Colepepper
Governor.

In the Year 1679, the Lord *Colepepper*, whom the King had made Governor of *Virginia*, arriv'd there, and brought with him several Acts drawn up in *England* to be pass'd into Laws.

He summon'd an Assembly, and the Members understanding he had a Power to call such to an Account, as had been concern'd in *Bacon's* Rebellion, to keep him in a good Humour, pass'd several Acts, wherein the Authority and Interest of the Governor were enlarg'd, and he, in Return, gave his Consent to some that were grateful to the Country.

The Lord *Colepepper* obtain'd a Salary of 2000 *l.* a Year of the King, which before was but 1000 *l.* He, on Account of his Quality, got an Allowance of 150 *l.* a Year for House-Rent, and turn'd the usual Presents made him by Masters of Ships, of Wine and Provisions, into a certain Sum of Money, settling the Rate at 30 *s.* for each Ship above one hundred Tun, and 20 *s.* for each below that Burden, which Duty has since been levy'd as strictly as if it had been given by an Act of the Assembly. Besides these Advantages, his Lordship had one in view that would have turn'd very well to Account, had it taken Effect. The Assembly taking into Consideration their Loss by lowering their Coin, which had occasioned the Country's being almost drain'd of it by Exportation to Places where it pass'd for more than it did in *Virginia*, order'd a Bill to be brought in for raising it.

The Governor interposing in the Matter, told them it was the King's Prerogative to alter the Value of the Coin, and the Prerogative being intrusted with him, he would do it by Proclamation. The Assembly durst not oppose such an Argument. Those were not times to dispute the Prerogative Royal; so the Governor's Reasons were allowed, and the Act dropt.

His

His Lordship, having gain'd his Point, privately bought up all the light Pieces of Eight he could get, at 5 s. the Piece; and then put forth a Proclamation, to raise the Value of them to 6 s. He soon after produced an Order to pay and disband the Regiment that had been sent over by Sir *John Berry*; and accordingly he paid them off with those Pieces at 6 s. a piece; and they were forced to take them at that rate.

This Lord however found very great Inconveniencies by his raising the Coin, as well on account of his own Salary, his Duty on Ships, as of the King's Taxes, which were paid in Pieces of Eight at 6 s. a piece: The Loss was like to be more than his Gain, by injuring the poor Soldiers. He affected a despotick way of governing; and, by his Proclamation, repeal'd several Laws. The *Virginians* began to be afraid that the Acts of their Assembly would stand in force no longer than the Governor should think fit; and that his *Will and Pleasure* would be set over them instead of Laws and Ordinances.

This occasioned fresh Murmurs, and had not *Bacon's* Rebellion been so lately suppress'd, it might have ended in Mutiny. The Assembly, at their next Session, to put a Stop to like Evils, pass'd a particular Act to provide against the ill Conveniencies of them.

The Lord *Colepepper* did not stay quite a Year in *Virginia* before he embark'd for *England*. He left Sir *Henry Chicheley* his Deputy-Governor, the Country well settled, and the Crop so good, that the Planters made too much Tobacco, by which the Market was glutted, and the Price fell yet lower: And this produced a new Riot; for some of the Inhabitants, to raise the Price, agreed with their Neighbours not only to destroy their own Tobacco, but all the Plants round the Country, wherever they found them, while they were yet in their Beds.

A Riot about Tobacco.

Accordingly they cut up their own first, and then did so in other Plantations, whether the Owners consented or not.

They destroy'd a great deal of sweet-scented Tobacco, and threatned to cut up all; but they had not Courage enough to go through with their Design. The Offenders were seized, imprison'd, tried and were condemned to be hang'd; their Plant-cutting being adjudg'd to be Felony and Sedition, and was declared to be so by an Act of the next Assembly.

The Lord *Colepepper* returning in the following Year, began to think of trumping up his Title to the *Northern Neck*, a large Territory containing several Counties.

1680.

These Counties had the Privilege of sending Representatives to the Assembly, as well as the other: And the Assembly being the supreme Court, to which all others were appeal, he was afraid his Propriety would never be allowed by them; wherefore he contrived to get the Appeals out of their Hands; and to that End, raised such Divisions between the Representatives and Council, that the former pretending to the sole Power of Appeals, were encouraged in their Pretences secretly by the Governor, till he had Instructions from the King; to whom having represented the Quarrel to the Disadvantage of the Representatives, his Majesty order'd that all Appeals should be made to the Governor and Council and now this noble Lord thought he might put in his Claim to the *Northern Neck*, by a Grant from the Crown. There were several others concern'd in the Patent, and they he bought off; after which, he prevail'd with his Cousin Mr. *Spencer*, Secretary of *Virginia*, who lived in the *Northern Neck*, to side with the Patent; which he did till he died. For his Lordship, notwithstanding he had broken the Constitution of the Assembly, thought fit to proceed by fair means, and engage as many of the Inhabitants as he could to own his Propriety, as he did Col. *Philip Ludwell* when he was in *England*, in the Year 1690.

This Gentleman undertook to manage his Matters for him, but could make nothing of it.

Col. *George Brent* and Col. *William Fitzbush*, who all were Inhabitants of the *Neck*, engaged, as Col. *Ludwell* had done, to serve him as their Proprietor; but had no better Success than Col. *Ludwell*.

The People of the *Neck* address'd the Assembly, and the King; which had no Effect, because they had no Agent in *England* to solicit the Affair: So the Inhabitants being tired with expecting Relief in vain, and wearied by various Suits with the Proprietor's Agents, thought it their Interest to compound with him, and pay him Quit-Rent. The first that did it was Col. *Richard Lee*, one of the Council, whose Example was followed by the rest; and Col. *Robert Carter*, another of the Council, and one of the greatest Freeholders of the *Northern Neck*, is at this time the Proprietor's Agent.

We have been the longer on this Propriety, because it was the Occasion of altering the Constitution of the Government; and besides, is a very large Parcel of the Colony.

I must own I have been extremely concern'd to find Grants upon Grants to Creatures of the Times after the *Restoration*, of large Tracts of Land in *America*, that had

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been discovered, planted and settled, at the sole Expence, Fatigue and Hazard of private Persons, who could only have the Right to the Property of them. If the Crown was at the Charge of the Discovery and Settlement, most certainly the Right is in the Crown to sell or to give the Country in whole or in Part, that was so discovered and settled. This *Northern Neck* had before been granted to *Henry Earl of St. Albans, John Lord Berkley, Sir William Martin, and John Tredway, Esq;* but that hinder'd not its being granted away again to the Lord *Colepepper*, after whose Death it came to his Daughter, married to the Lord *Fairfax*, whose Son, the present Lord *Fairfax*, has lately took a Voyage thither in Person, and caused an exact Survey to be made of the *Neck*, in order, as *Sir William Keith* writes, to determine Disputes about the Limits and Boundaries; and doubtless, with more special Regard to the Quit-Rents of the Premises.

In other things Lord *Colepepper's* Administration was very commendable; he regulated several Abuses that had crept into the Practice of the Courts, and prevented the Chicanery, so much complain'd of in *England*, which was beginning to corrupt the Law, and lessen'd the Expence the Clerks had contrived to put their Clients to. He demolish'd the Forts built by *Sir Henry Chickely*, they being a great Charge and of little use to the Country. In their stead he procured an Act to be pass, for some Troops of Horse to range on the Borders by turns, till there was no more fear of the *Indians*.

In the Year 1683 he returned to *England*, and would go thither no more; upon which, *Francis Lord Howard of Effingham*, was sent over Governor. The Lord *Colepepper* had declared his Kinsman Mr. *Spencer* President of the Council, tho' there were other Members, who, with more Reason, pretended to that Honour, being elder than he, and the oldest Counsellor used always to be President, as the President, in the Absence of the Governor, or Deputy-Governor, always supplies his Place.

Mr. *Spencer's* Presidentship was attended with nothing remarkable. And the next Year, 1684, the Lord *Howard* arrived, with the same Resolution to get Money as his Predecessor had done; he condescended to share the Fees with his Clerks, obliged all Lawyers and Schoolmasters to take out Licences to teach and plead, for which they paid according to their Abilities; he extorted excessive Fees for sealing Probats, Wills, and Letters of Administration, without considering the Value of the Estates of the deceased:

He

1683.
Francis Lord
Howard of
Effingham,
Governor.

1684.

He threw Men into Prison, and kept them there without Trials; he repeal'd Laws by Proclamation as much as him lay; for the Judges did not mind those Proclamations but allow'd the Laws to be in as full force as ever, one excepted, and that was the Law for paying Quit-Rent, which the Planters were permitted to pay Quit-Rent Tobacco at 2 *d.* a Pound. Tobacco falling afterwards, the Law was repeal'd by Proclamation, and the Payment demand'd in Money, or Tobacco at a Penny a Pound.

To which Order the *Virginians* submitted, no Man dur'd in that Case to stand Trial with the Governor, especially because the Quit-Rent was reser'd in Money by the Words of his Patent.

This Lord, by many other Exactions, so exasperated the Colony, that they sent Col. *Ludwell* over to *England*, to make their Complaints to the King. Mr. *Ludwell* did that could be expected from a wise and a faithful Agent, but did not prevail to have his Lordship removed.

We are oblig'd, for Connexion of things, sometimes to make bold with Chronology; and the Convenience the Reader will find in it, will, we hope, more than excuse the Freedom we take.

1685.
The Imposit on
Tobacco.

In the Year 1685, that severe Duty, which has so long load'd Tobacco, had been the Occasion of selling more than a thousand Hogheads at 12 *d.* a Hoghead, rather than at the Custom and Charges was impos'd on this Commodity three Months after King *James's* coming to the Crown. It was obtained when the Parliament were in a warm Fit of Loyalty, just on the Duke of *Monmouth's* landing.

This Imposition is the original Cause of all the Streights and Hindrances in Trade and Circumstances which the *Virginians* groan'd under above 50 Years. 'Tis amazing to consider, that a Commodity, worth, when it grows, a Half penny a Pound, should have subsisted so long, above half a Century, under the Weight of an Imposition more than ten times the Value of the prime Cost. Sir *William Keith*, who had been a Collector of the Customs, as well as a Governor, was so little sensible of this Pressure, that he says not a Word. This Duty has rais'd above twenty Millions Sterling since it was first impos'd.

The Bill had been read before; but 'tis thought would not have pass'd so easily, if the Duke of *Monmouth* had not land'd opportunely, and quicken'd it by his Rebellion.

This heavy Imposition has been a great Discouragement to the Industry of the Plantation, and is the Source of all the Miseries the Planters since suffer'd, having kept them poor

deprived them of the means to support themselves in the War that follow'd upon the Revolution.

The Lord *Howard* summon'd an Assembly, who laid the Tax imposed upon Liquors imported from other Plantations. The Pretence was for rebuilding the State-house, which had lain in Ashes ever since Capt. *Lawrence* burnt James Town.

His Lordship also erected a Court of Chancery, and took away that Jurisdiction from the general Court; he assum'd the Office of Chancellor, and the Counsellors were his Masters. He would not hold this Court in the State house, because the General Court used to sit there; and therefore, in Opposition to them, he heard Causes in a Dining-room in a private House.

He exacted exorbitant Fees in his new Court, and made it very much to account. This Novelty was laid aside on his Lordship's going for *England*, and the General Court again resumed their ancient Jurisdiction, which was as old as the Colony.

As the Lord *Howard* had shewn an extraordinary Joy on King *James's* Accession to the Throne, an Account of which was published in the Gazette; so he as joyfully proclaimed King *William* on the Revolution, and soon after went for *England*, leaving *Nathaniel Bacon*, Esq; Father of *Nathaniel Bacon*, President; during whose Administration the Prospect of a College first began. A Scheme of it was drawn up by the Projectors, and presented to the President and Council, who approving of it, the Matter was prepared to be laid before the Assembly.

The President had not time to call one himself; for 'twas not long before *Francis Nicholson*, Esq; arrived with the Character of the Lord *Howard's* Lieutenant. This Gentleman, on his Arrival, studied to grow popular, by all the winning Arts which Persons in Power make use of to engage the People: He made himself familiar with them, was solicitous about improving Trade, and encouraging Manufactures: He instituted publick Games, and allotted Prizes to such as excell'd in Riding, Running, Shooting, Wrestling and Back-sword. He enter'd heartily into the Project of the College.

That the Project might not stand still for want of Encouragement from the Assembly, which was not then sitting, a private Subscription was propos'd and agreed to by the Governor, and 2500 *l.* subscribed, Mr. *Nicholson* and the Council setting the other Gentlemen of the Colony a good Example. The *London* Merchants also contributed generously towards

Nathaniel
Bacon, Esq;
President.
A College
set on foot.

Francis
Nicholson
Esq; Lieut.
Governor.

towards it; and in the next Year, when the Lieutenant Governor summon'd an Assembly, the Matter was mov'd to them, who zealously engaged in it, drew up an Address to their Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, to get a Charter for it, and sent the Reverend Mr. *James Blair* of *England*, to present it, and solicit the Affair.

The Assembly pass'd an Act for the Encouragement of the Linen Manufactures, the Leather Trade, &c. and other for Cohabitation; yet all the Laws for it avail'd nothing, no Town was built by them, nor even *James Town* rebuilt to the State 'twas in, before 'twas burnt in the rebellion.

Mr. *Nicholson* paid an extraordinary Respect to these all other Acts of the Assembly, governing himself always by them in the General Court.

1692.
Sir Edmund
Andros
Governor.

The Lord *Howard* was dismiss'd from being principal Governor in the Year 1692, and his Place supplied by *Edmund Andros*, who had been Governor of *New-England* and behaved so very ill, that the Inhabitants seized and prisoned him. He alter'd his Conduct here for the better. However, the employing a Man of his Principles in a Revolution Government, was one of the false Steps a Ministry produced in King *William's* Reign, owing to such Men as the Earl of *Danby*, who had been deeply concerned in the Grievances of the two last *Stuarts's* Reigns.

Sir *Edmund* arrived in *February*, and began his Government with calling an Assembly. These Representatives were so managed by the Governor, that they suspended the Law for Cohabitation, which the Merchants of *London* were gainst; and found it for their Ease and Advantage to have the Trade alike open in all Parts of the capital Rivers; the Matters of their Ships could not endure to think of lying under a Fort, or at a Key, when they could come up to the Door of a Planter or Factor, live merrily and plentifully in his House, and unload and load at Pleasure.

In *England*, Mr. *Neal*, the famous Projector, had procur'd a Patent to be Post-Master-General of those Parts of *America*. This Assembly took the Patent into Consideration, pass'd an Act in favour of it; but by reason of the Distance of one House from another, 'twas found to be impracticable.

Lowthorp's
Phil. Transf.
Vol. 2 p.
104.

In the following Year there happen'd a most violent Storm in this Province, which stop't the Course of the ancient Channels, and made some where never were any; by which means, between the Bounds of *Virginia* and *Newcastle-Peninsula*, are many navigable Rivers for Sloops and small Vessels.

Sir Edmund Andros was very fond of introducing the Statutes and Laws of England, and even such as related to particular Customs in that Kingdom, which was like to have brought all things into Confusion in the Courts of Justice; the Acts of the Assembly being despised, those Laws were the best Title most of the Planters had to their Estates, were forced to give way to Customs and Usages imported to the Tenures in England; by which the Virginians were alarmed, as if they were all at once threaten'd to be deprived of their Holds.

No Body knew what was Law, and a great Man was so far as to declare frequently, *they had none of them any right to their Lands*: Tho' what he meant by it was a Mystery, he either could not or would not unfold.

Sir Edmund brought over the Charter for the College, and Dr. Thomas Bray went thither to be President of it, carrying with him a Library, well chosen for the Uses it was to be put to.

Several Professors also were preparing to go over; but that was done and given towards it came to nothing: The People were very ready to subscribe, but not so ready to pay in their Money: However, Contributions were sent from England, which were promoted by the Example of their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, of glorious Memory, who, by their own Royal Bounty, invited others to assist in so charitable an Undertaking; and there was Money enough raised to build the College, of which the Foundation was laid soon after Sir Edmund Andros's Arrival.

This Gentleman set up several Manufactures, and Fulling-mills, and was earnest with the Planters to propagate Cotton. He regulated the Management of the Secretary's Office, which had been mightily neglected since Bacon's Rebellion. He commanded all the publick Papers and Records to be sorted, and kept in exact Order; and when the *State-house* was burnt, he was careful to have them preserved, and all that could be saved, to be again sorted and register'd. He put the Clerks into a Method of dispatching Business; and by these and other commendable Acts, went a great way in gaining the Esteem of the People.

He was endeavouring to find out easy means to rebuild the *State-house*, which might not be burdensom to the People; and in all Likelihood would have effected it, had his Stay been longer.

In the Year 1697, Admiral Nevil's Squadron, which had been at the Havana looking after Monsieur Pointi and the French Squadron, touch'd, in their Return home, at Virginia.

nia. The Admiral, Commodore Mees, Capt. Lytcol, Capt. Holms, Capt. Bellwood, Capt. Dyer, Capt. Studley, Capt. Foster, all the Dutch Captains out of six but one, and most of their Men, were dead of an infectious Disease, which the Remainder of their Crew brought to Virginia with them, and the Infection spread in James Town, and the Countrey on that River, carrying off several of the Inhabitants: The Plantation continued sickly a long time after it.

1619.
Col. Nichol-
son Govern-
ment.

In November 1698, Col. Nicholson, who went from Virginia to Maryland, returned to Virginia with the Character of Governor. He removed the Seat of his Government from James Town to Middle Plantation, where he began to build a City in honour of the King, mark'd out the Streets in the Form of a *W*, and call'd the Town *Williamsburg*.

He procured a stately Fabrick to be built there, over against the College, and gave it the Name of the *Capitol*. Some Persons, who were not endow'd with any publick Principle, were against this Expence, the Impositions with which they were loaded in England and Virginia, keeping them always low. And now a Tax of 15 s. upon each Christian Servant, and 20 s. for each Negro, was laid upon them. Besides, this Year was very sickly, and the Crop so short, that the Ships returned home with not above one third Part of their Loading; but the next was healthy and plentiful.

About the Year 1700, a Pirate came into Lynhaven-Bay near the Mouth of James River, and took out some Merchant Ships that were fallen down there, in order to sail for England. It happen'd that a small Vessel came into the Bay, and saw the Pirate engaged with one of the Merchant-men. This Vessel slipt by the Pirate, and got into the River, where the *Shorem*, a Fifth Rate Man of War, Capt. Passenger Commander, lay, being newly arrived from England.

There was another Man of War, a Sixth Rate, Capt. Moredred Commander, in Elizabeth River; but that was on the Careen, fitting out for a homeward Voyage.

The Master of the same Vessel posted to Kiquotan, where the Governor happen'd to be at that time, to send away his Dispatches for England, and Capt. Passenger was also gone thither to wait upon him, and pay his Respects to him on his Arrival.

When the Captain heard of the Pirate's being in the Bay, he was for hastening to his Ship as fast as he could, in hopes to come up with him. The Governor desired him to stay a little, and he would accompany him, so he and Capt. Passenger put to Sea, and getting between the Capes and the River, forced the Pirate to come to an Engagement. The

The Fight was sharp and bloody; but at last the Pirate
 and surrender'd at Discretion, the Captain of the
 Privateer and his Crew being to be left to the King's
 Mercy.

*The Governor
 takes a Pri-
 vateer.*

It was represented by the Agents of the Colony of New-
 York to King William, that Virginia being secured from
 the Indians and French by New-York, as by a Barrier, the
 Virginians ought to contribute towards building the Fort
 there.

The King refer'd the Matter to the Assembly of Virginia,
 and the Governor thinking it a reasonable Proposal, very
 zealously espoused it. The Assembly however drew up a
 Remonstrance against it, to this Purpose: *That neither the
 Forts then in being, nor any other that might be built in the
 Province of New-York, could in the least avail to the De-
 fence and Security of Virginia; for that either the French or
 the Indians might invade that Colony, and not come within
 100 Miles of any such Fort.*

This Remonstrance put a Stop to the Affair in the As-
 sembly; whereupon the Governor contributed the 900 l.
 himself, the Sum that was demanded of the Virginians.
 This was so generous an Action, that it seems to bear some
 resemblance with that Roman Spirit, which the Heroes of
 all Ages since have been proud to imitate; and the Glory
 of it was what all the Governor's Enemies admired and
 envied.

Col. Quarry of Virginia, then in England, declared in
 a Memorial, deliver'd to the Council of Trade after Queen
 Anne's Accession to the Throne, *That as soon as Governor
 Nicholson found the Assembly of Virginia would not see their
 own Interest, nor comply with her Majesty's Orders, he went
 immediately to New-York; and, out of his great Zeal to the
 Queen's Service, and the Security of her Province, he gave
 his own Bills for 900 l. to answer the Quota of Virginia, wholly
 depending on her Majesty's Favour, to reimburse him out of
 the Revenues of that Province.*

And as Col. Nicholson was generous in promoting the Secu-
 rity of the Province of New-York, so was he to encourage
 such as fought for the Defence of that of New-England; in
 the time of the Indian War; when two New-England Wo-
 men having surprized and kill'd 10 or 12 Indians, and had a
 Bill from the Assembly there, he sent them also a very no-
 ble Present.

In the Year 1701, the Governor hearing the French Pri-
 vateers were busy on the Coasts, laid an Embargo on all
 Ships, to prevent their going out, and falling into their
 Hands.

1701.

Hands. The same Year some Camels were brought thither in some *Guinea* Ships; those Beasts would carry 1200 Weight; but we have not heard how they thrived there, and suppose the *Virginians* succeeded with them no better than the *Barbadians*, who were soon forced to lay down that sort of Carriage.

1703. On the 8th of *October*, 1703, there happen'd a very violent Hurricane at *Virginia*, which was the more remarkable because that Country is not subject to such Accidents. In this Tempest several Ships were driven ashore in their Harbour and others damaged in their Masts and Rigging; and much Mischief done by it in the Plantations.

1704. In the following Year Col. *Nicholson* returned to *England*, having in his Government deserved a better Character of the Province of *Virginia*, than the late Author of the History of that Country is pleas'd to bestow upon him. The Reception he met with at Court, is a sufficient Demonstration that her Majesty approved of his Conduct; and all the World must condemn that Historian, otherwise judicious and eloquent, for suffering a private Pique to prevail over the Justice and Gratitude which was due to the Merit of the Governor.

George Earl
of Orkney
Governor.
Edward
Notte, Esq;
Deputy-Governor.

He was succeeded by *George Earl of Orkney*, Lieutenant-Governor of his Majesty's Armies, whose Deputy was *Edward Notte*, Esq; During their Authority nothing extraordinary has happen'd in *Virginia*, which Colony is now in a safe and flourishing Condition, having no just Reason to complain of any thing but those Taxes, which the Preservation of their Religion and Liberty at this time makes necessary.

The *Earl of Orkney* held this Commission 36 Years, and received for it, in that time, upwards of 42000*l.* *Sir William Keith* writing, "Out of the Salary of 2000*l.* a Year, 12000 "is paid him by the Lieutenant-Governor residing in the "Country, whose Commission is from the King, with the "same Authority of the Great Seal, as is the Chief Governor's; by this means the Titles of Honour and Power of "acting are equally in them." If the Lieutenant-Governor who was always on the Spot, and could and did the whole Duty of the supreme Magistrate of the Colony, 'tis a little extraordinary that he who had all the Care and Trouble of the Government, should have but 800*l.* a Year paid him by the *Virginians*, and the Governor, who never was to go to *Virginia*, have 1200*l.* per Annum, by virtue of his Office in this Government.

In another Place *Sir William Keith* extols the Benefit of this principal Commission to a Man of Quality living in *England*.

England, to be at hand if the Colony's Affairs require Appli-
 cation to the Court; but I cannot think that the late Lord
 Orkney, who yet probably did as much for the Virginians as
 any other Lord would have done, procured a tenth of the
 Advantage which 42000*l.* would have been to them; and I
 must own I have different Sentiments of the Finess of a
 Nobleman to be Agent for a Colony in England, and that
 of a Planter or Proprietor, who knows its Wants by his
 own feeling. And as the Inhabitants of the American Colo-
 nies have a natural Right to the Protection of their Mother-
 State in all Cases, and do otherwise pay well for it,
 they surely will never stand in need of any other Mediation
 for them, than the Justice and Reason of the thing, which
 always requires Access to those that can protect them.

Mr. Notte prevailed with the Assembly to provide a Fund
 for building a convenient House at *Williamsburgh* for the
 Governor's Residence. He died in a few Years, and *Briga-*
Hier Hunter was appointed to succeed him in this Govern-
 ment; but he being prevented by the then Enemy, proceed-
 ed no farther in that Design, upon which *Col. Alexander*
Spotswood was appointed the Earl of *Orkney's* Deputy, or ra-
 ther the Crown's Deputy-Governor. He was a good Sol-
 dier and Mathematician; he laid out the Ground and form'd
 the Plan for building the Magazine in the Center of *Wil-*
iamsburgh. He projected a Law for regulating the *Indian*
Trade, and raising thereby an easy Fund for instructing the
Indian Children in the Principles of Christianity.

Col Spots-
wood Licent.
Governor.

Governor Spotswood promoted a Law for lodging all *To-*
acco in Store-houses, to be examined as to its Goodness
 before exported. *Sir William Keith* praises the Wisdom of
 this Project; but methinks the making any Man Judge of
 the Goodness or Badness of any Commodity, and the giving
 him the Power of rejecting it at his Choice, who may have
 his particular View or Interest in it, must have been a great
 Inconvenience to the Planter and on Trade; the Planter's
 product not being always alike good, tho' his Care and
 Charge might always be alike, and his Growth must go as it
 grows, promiscuously, unless pack'd on purpose, for a better
 Market and Price than the common, sufficient to make
 Amends for the refuse Goods, which must have been thrown
 into the *Dunghill* in *Governor Spotswood's* Scheme, well in-
 tended by that Gentleman, a Man of Sense, Honour and
 Experience, who was very zealous, active and useful in pro-
 moting the common Good of the Colony; but this Law was
 not long in force.

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 on returned to Eng
 ed a better Charact
 late Author of th
 o bestow upon him
 a sufficient Demons
 is Conduct; and a
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 Orkney, Lieutenant
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 extols the Benefit o
 of Quality living in
 England

The Rev. Mr. *James Blair*, *Mann Page*, Esq;
Robert Carter, Esq; *Cole Diggs*, Esq;
William Bird, Esq; *Peter Beverley*, Esq;
Philip Ludwell, Esq; *John Robinson*, Esq;
John Lewis, Esq; *J. Carter*, Esq;
John Harrifon, Esq;

John Carter, Esq; Secretary.
John Clayton, Esq; Attorney-General.
John Graham, Esq; Receiver-General.
John Harrifon, Esq; Auditor.

Collector of the Customs, *James Price*, Esq;
Upper District, *John Bannister*, Esq;
Surveyor, Col. *Francis Lightfoot*.
Supplied by Col. *William Randolph*.
Collector of the Lower District, Mr. *Thomas Mitchel*.
Surveyor, Mr. *Irwin*.
Collector at *York River*, Mr. *John Ambler*.
Surveyor, Mr. *William Robinson*.
Collector at *Rappahanock*, Sir *Thomas Johnson*;
Supply'd by Mr. *Richard Chichester*.
Surveyor, Mr. *Christopher Robinson*.
Surveyor at *Cape Charles*, Mr. *Griffith Bowen*.
Collector of the *Accomack* and *Northampton* Counties;
Mr. *Henry Scarborough*.

To *Hugh Drysdale*, Esq; succeeded, as Governor of *Vir-* Major *Gouge*
nia, Major *Gouge*; in whose Government, the Peace con- Governor.
tinuing, there is the same Dearth of Matter for History, as
in the time of his Predecessor.

C H A P. II.

Containing a Geographical Description of *Virginia*;
of the Towns, Ports, Rivers, Forts, &c.

IN the former Chapter we have shewn how several Pro-
vinces, that at first went all under the Name of *Virginia*,
were divided from it, by Patents granted to other Proprietors,
who gave them other Names, as *New-England*, *New-York*,
Maryland, &c. to the North, and *Carolina* to the South;

all which were a Part of the Country that was by Queen Elizabeth call'd *Virginia*.

Bounds.

In Proceſs of time that Name was loſt to all, except the Tract of Land lying along the Bay of *Chesapeake*, in which are included *Virginia* and *Maryland*, and both, in common Diſcourſe, are ſtill call'd *Virginia*; but the Province that properly ſo call'd, is bounded on the North by the great River *Patowmack*, which parts it from *Maryland*; and on the South by *Carolina*; on the Eaſt it has the *Virginian* Sea and on the Weſt and North-Weſt, thoſe Wilderneſſes that have ſo often been in vain attempted to be diſcover'd, and are ſuppoſed to ſtretch themſelves to the *Californian* Sea.

The *American* Coaſt towards *Virginia* is greatly eſteem'd by Navigators, becauſe as ſoon as they have Soundings, and can ſtrike Ground with Leads, which is commonly in 80 or 90 Fathom Water, about 40 or 50 League from Shore it ſhoots gradually, ſo that an experienced Maſter can tell the Diſtance by the Depth of the Water, the Land being ſo low that in 15 or 20 Fathom Water you can ſcarce ſee from the Maſt Head.

The Bounds of this Country are not well ſettled, and in the Year 1703, the Aſſembly had it under Conſideration to fix them; but by common Computation, 'tis reckon'd to reach 200 Miles North from *Point Comfort*, at the Mouth of *Chesapeake* Bay, and 200 Miles South, including all the Land, Weſt and North-Weſt, from the *Western* or *Virginian*, to the *Californian* Sea, with the Iſlands on both Sides within 100 Miles of the Continent.

Both this Province and that of *Maryland* are ſituate on the great Bay of *Chesapeake*, whoſe Mouth is *Cape Henry* on the South, and *Cape Charles* on the North. The Water in the Channel is for the moſt Part nine Fathom deep; but in ſome Places not above ſeven.

The Bay is eighteen Miles broad, and lies in 37 Degree North Latitude. It runs about 100 Leagues up in the Country, and is ſeven Miles over, ſixty Leagues within Land. This is what our modern Sailors call the Capes of *Virginia*.

It receives into it abundance of navigable Rivers, which like thoſe in the North of *England*, flowing into the *Humber*, all loſe themſelves in this Bay; ſo big, that 'tis ſaid all the Shipping in *Europe* can ride there. In it are ſeveral little Iſlands, ſome of which are planted.

Cape Henry
and *Cape*
Charles.

The two Capes *Henry* and *Charles* are 20 Miles diſtant from each other. The beſt Channel is near *Cape Henry*, exactly in 37 Degree N. L. So that if a Sailor can depend on his Obſervation of the Latitude at Noon, the Day he expects to make

the Land, he may safely venture in the Night-time, the Cape being a bold bluff Point, and by keeping the South-shore on board, he will come to a good Road, two Leagues within the Cape, a large Bay, call'd *Lyn-Haven Bay*, from the Parish, where Shipping commonly went for Billets, and outward-bound Fleets rendezvous in time of War. *Chefeapeak Bay* stretches from this Bay 200 Miles in Length, and is from 10 to 15 Miles broad; but grows narrow towards the Bottom. It receives many large Rivers from the Western Shore, and a few smaller Streams from a narrow Strip of Land, a *Peninsula* from the Westward, which divides the Bay from the Ocean.

Virginia is divided into 25 Countries, in which are 49 Parishes; 34 with Incumbents on them, and 15 vacant. The latter are distinguished by the Letter *V*.

We shall begin with those that lie on *James River*, the most Southern in the Province: 'Twas, as has been said, call'd *Powhatan* by the *Indians*. Here the *English* first settled, and built two Forts for their Defence; but these are since demolish'd. It runs 140 Miles up in the Country, and is near a Mile broad as high as *James City*. It opens itself directly West, from *Cape Henry*; is navigable for large Ships 100 Miles. The first County on the South-side of it is *Norfolk County*, which borders on *Carolina*.

In this Shire stands the Parish of *Elizabeth*; it contains 112019 Acres, and is water'd by *Elizabeth*, which rises in the West, and runs into *James River*, between East-Bay and West-Bay. The next is,

Princess Ann County, on the Coast, in which are 98305 Acres of Land, and the Parish of *Lynhaven V*, below *Cape Henry*. The next is,

Nansamond County, in which are 131172 Acres of Land, and three Parishes, *Upper Parish*, *Lower Parish* and *Chuckatuck*, all vacant. The River *Nansamond* rises in this Shire, and falls into *James River*, above *Bennet's Creek*. The next is,

Isle of Wight County; in which are 142796 Acres of Land, and two Parishes, *Warwick-Squeek* and *Newport*. Here's also a Spring that vents almost as great a Source of Water as *Holy-Well* in *Wales*. The next is,

Surry County; in which are 111050 Acres of Land, and two Parishes, *Southwark V*, and *Lyns Creek*. The next is,

Henrico County, the uppermost on the South-side of *James River*; it contains 148787 Acres of Land, and two Parishes,

Parishes, *Henrico* and *Bristol*. The next, over-against it on the North-side of the River, are,

Prince George and *Charles City* Counties; in which are 161239 Acres of Land, and three Parishes, *Martin-Brandon*, *Wyanoke*, *Westover*. The Parishes in the three last Counties are all supply'd with Ministers. In the County of *Henrico* there was a Town call'd *Henricopolis*, which is fallen to Decay. Twenty Miles above the Falls is the *Monaca* Town, where the *French* Refugees have settled. And near below *Charles* County, on the North-side of the River, is

James County; in which are 108362 Acres of Land, and five Parishes, of which one lies on the other Side of the River, as does part of the County. The Parishes are *Wallingford* and *Wilmington*, *James City*, *Merchants Hundred* &c. on the South-side of the River, and *Bruton*. This is reckoned the chief County, because

James City stands in it, in a *Peninsula* on the North-side of *James* River, about 40 Miles from the Mouth of it. There are several Brick Houses in it, and Taverns and Eating-houses, for the Convenience of Voyagers and Travellers; but the Buildings are not many nor contiguous, not above 60 or 70 Houses in all. In this Town there were formerly two or three Forts, and many fair Streets; but they have been ruined by Fire and Revolutions in the Government, or rather in the Disposition of the Governors. The Removal of the Courts of Justice to *Williamsstadt*, by Col. *Nicholson*; his residing and holding the Sessions of Assembly and General Court there, and the building the College there, help'd to keep *James* Town in the mean Condition he found it; and the Humour of the *Virginians* to live upon Plantations, seem'd to forbid the City to hope for an Increase of Houses and Inhabitants.

It was long since observed, that this Town, or rather this intended Town, and every other Settlement on a River Side, where the Water was brackish, produced slow intermitting Fevers and Agues, which was a very good Reason, had there been no other, for removing the capital Seat to *Williamsburgh*, a dry and healthy Situation.

Not far from *James City* Sir *William Berkley* built a handsome House for his Residence, call'd *Greenspring*, where is a Spring so cold, that 'tis dangerous to drink of it in the Summer-time. In the same County stands

Williamsburg, which, before the late Governor removed thither, was called *Middle Plantation*, is about seven Miles from *James City* within Land. In this Town are 20 or 30

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...o Houses, and the Publick Assembly and Courts are held
 here; yet neither these Advantages, nor that of the College
 and Academy founded there, could procure it a better Fi-
 nance than that of a Country Village. Here is a small Fort,
 rather Battery, mounted with 10 or 12 Guns, which
 were brought thither from *James City*, by Order of Col:
Nicolson, who caused a State-house or Capital to be erected,
 and several Streets to be laid out in the Form of a *W*; but
 we do not find that a *V*, or one Angle of it is yet finish'd, or
 ever likely to be so.

What follows is taken from the Accounts written by *R. B.*
Gent. and *Hugh Jones*, A. M. Fellow of the College here.
 There are three publick Buildings here, which are said to be
 the most magnificent of any in *America*, the College, the
 Capitol, and State-house, as it was formerly call'd. Not far
 from this is also built the publick Prison of the Country for
 Criminals, which is a large and convenient Structure, with
 Partitions for the different Sexes, and distinct Rooms for
 petty Offenders; at the End of that, another Prison for
 Debtors. The Governor's House, not the largest, but by
 far the most beautiful of the other. It was granted by
 the Assembly in Governor *Notte's* time, begun in President
Jennings's time; but received its Beauty and Conveniency,
 for the many Alterations and Decorations, of Governor *Spots-*
wood. In his time was also built a new Brick Church and
 Brick Magazine for Arms and Ammunition, and the Streets
 of the Town alter'd from the fanciful Form of *W's* and
M's to much more Conveniencies. These are all erected
 in *Middle Plantation*, now named *Williamsburgh*; they are
 all built of Brick and covered with Shingle, except the
 Debtors Prison, which is flat-roof'd, a new and very useful
 Invention of Governor *Spotswood*: but Mr. *R. B.* was very
 ignorant, if he thought flat Roofs a new Invention. Mr.
Hugh Jones, A. M. writes, the Front of the College, which
 looks due East, is double, and 136 Foot long, a lofty Pile
 advanced with a Cupola. At the North-end runs back a
 large Wing, which is a handsom Hall. There is a spacious
 Piazza on the West-side, from one Wing to the other. It
 is approach'd by a good Walk, and grand Entrance by
 Steps, with good Courts and Gardens about it, with a good
 House and Apartments for the *Indian Master* and his Schol-
 ars, Outhouses and a large Pasture inclosed like a Park,
 with about 150 Acres of Land. The Building was model'd
 by Sir *Christopher Wren*, and since it was burnt, has been
 rebuilt, nicely contriv'd, alter'd and adorned by the Direc-
 tion of Governor *Spotswood*, and is not altogether unlike

Chelsea Hospital. Mr. Jones says he had been Fellow of the College several Years; his Salary 80 *l.* a Year, and 20 *s.* P. pillage, when Pupils where to be had. The *Visitors* appoint a House-keeper, Mrs. Margaret Stith, who boards the Master and Children at a very cheap rate.

Fronting the College, near its who' Breadth, is extended noble Street, the learned Author does not say of how many Houses, mathematically right, for the first Design of the Town's Form is changed to a much better, just three quarters of a Mile in Length; at the other End of which stands the *Capital*, as noble, beautiful and commodious a Pile as any of its kind. In this is the Secretary's Office, with all the Courts of Justice and Law, as in *England*, except the *Ecclesiastical Courts*, the Want of which, however, the reverend Author does not openly complain of. Here the Governor and twelve Councillors sit as Judges at the *General Courts* in *April* or *October*, &c. The Building is in the Form of an *H*; the *Secretary's Office* and the *General Courts* taking up one Side below Stairs; the Middle being a handfom Portico leading to the Clerk of the *Assembly's Office* and the House of Burgesses on the other Side, which last is not unlike the *House of Commons*.

In each Wing is a good Stair-Case, one leading to the *Council Chamber*. Over the Portico is a large Room for Conferences, where Prayers are read to the Assembly by the *Chaplain* my Author, *Hugh Jones*, A. M. At one End of this is a Lobby, and near it the *Council's Office*; at the other End are Rooms for the Committee of *Claims*, *Pri-privileges* and *Elections*, and over all these are Offices for the *Receiver General*, *Auditor*, *Treasurer*, &c.

Parallel to the main Street mentioned, is a Street on each Side; but neither quite so long nor broad; and at proper Distances are small cross Streets, for the Convenience of Communication. I am at a very great Loss how to accommodate these Streets with Houses; for there may be twice as many as when I first wrote of *Virginia*, and yet not above fourscore Houses in the whole City.

Near the Middle stands the Church, which is a large strong Piece of *Brick-work*, built in the Form of a *Cross*, adorned and convenient as the best Churches in *London*.

Near this is a large *octagon Tower*, a Magazine for Arms and Ammunition.

Not far from hence is a large Area for a Market-place; whether there is a Market or not, Mr. Jones does not tell us; but near it is a good Bowling-Green and a Play-house. I am very doubtful of the Excellence of the Performance on the

the *Virginian Stage*, notwithstanding the Genius for Poetry, which Mr. Jones has given us a Specimen of in his own History, p. 96.

God bless the Church, and George its Defender;
Convert the Fanaticks and BAULK the Pretender.

In another Place that reverend Divine laments the *Jesuiti-Plots* of the *Presbyterians* in *Maryland*, to pull down the Church of *Virginia*, that is, *England*, as by Law establish'd; as I cannot think there are certainly any such Plots, I hope the Government of this Colony will have, in the first Place, due Regard to the Morals and Abilities of the Clergy, and then reward, as they deserve, the orthodox and antimonarchical Principles, which the learned and reverend Author places among the finest Growths of *Virginia*.

The private Buildings were also at this time very much improved; several Gentlemen there having built themselves large Brick Houses, of many Rooms on a Floor; but they don't covet to make them lofty, having Extent enough of Ground to build upon, and now and then they are visited by high Winds. They love to have large Rooms, that they may be cool in Summer. Of late they have made their Stories much higher than formerly, and their Windows larger, and fast'd with Crystall Glafs. Their Offices are Outhouses, and their Tobacco-houses built of Wood, as open and airy, as consistent with keeping out the Rain. Next to *James County* is *York County*: It lies between the two Rivers, *James River* and *York River*, and contains 60767 Acres of Land, and three Parishes, *Hampton, V, York* and *New-Pokoson*; the latter stands at the Mouth of *York River*. The next County to it is

Warwick County: In which are 38444 Acres of Land, and two Parishes, *Denby, V,* and *Mulberry Island, V.* The River *Pokoson* rises in it, and runs into the Bay of *Cheseapeak*, near the Mouth of *York River*. The next to this is

Elizabeth City and County, the least in *Virginia*, containing but 29000 Acres of Land, and one Parish. *Elizabeth City*, which, tho' never very great, is less than when 'twas first built: It had then several good Houses of Brick and Stone, and a Fort was raised there in the *Dutch War*; all which are Ruins already, there being a Sort of Fatality which attends the Towns in *Virginia*, so that they are like never to come to any thing, unless the very Nature of the Inhabitants is quite alter'd; for they have now nothing so little in their Thoughts, as the building of Towns. The Parish-

Parish-Church of *Elizabeth City* is supplied with a Minister. Crossing the Neck of Land to *Pokefon*, we come to the Mouth of *York River*, which the *Indians* call'd *Pamunkey*, a Name the upper Branch of this River in *King William's County* still retains.

This River is navigable 60 Miles with great Ships, and with Ketches and Sloops 30 more. It runs the same Course with *James River* for 100 Miles, and so near it, that in some Places 'tis not above 5 Miles over Land from one to the other; which Land between them being so well accommodated for Navigation, and so near two such great Rivers is best inhabited, and here the richest Planters are seated. Forty Miles up this River it divides itself into two Branches navigable a considerable way for Sloops and Barges. The small Slip of Land which divides *York River* from *James River*, is esteem'd to be a very rich Soil, producing, at this time, the best Tobacco in the Country, known by the

Sweet-scented Tobacco.

Name of *sweet-scented*, which is stript from the Stalk before 'tis pack'd in the Hoghead, and then so press'd, a Hoghead will sometimes weigh 14 or 1500 l. Weight, and some particular Crops of the most careful planting of this Commodity have frequently been sold at the Key for 12 d. a Pound. This Spot of Ground, so happily situated, has also the Convenience of two Inlets, navigable by flat-bottom'd Boats: the one runs from *James River*, and stretches North a-crook the Land about 5 Miles, to a safe Landing-place. The other runs South from *York River* up into the Land; so that there is a Space only of one Mile between the landing of these two Inlets, and that Mile a gravelly wholesom Soil, where stands the Capital *Williamsburgh*, which, by means of these two Inlets or Creeks, commands the Navigation of *James River* and *York River*. The College here is, by this time, I suppose, in worse Condition than when I first mentioned it, and Sir *William Keith's* writing of it is worth repeating: "As to the College erected in *Virginia*, and other

Williamsburgh commands the Navigation of James and York River.

Designs of the like Nature, which have been propos'd for the Encouragement of Learning, it is only to be observ'd in general, that tho' great Advantages may accrue to the Mother State, both from the Labour and Luxury of its Plantations; yet they will probably be mistaken who imagine that the Advancement of Literature and the Improvement of the Arts and Sciences in our *British Colonies* will be of any Service to the *British State*.

After the *Indian Massacre*, 'twas propos'd to draw a Pale from one River to the other, and wholly clearing the Country of Savages, to live secure between the two Rivers, where they

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they had the Conveniency of Ships coming within a few
 Miles of every House; we must go up higher into the
 Country, and following the Course of the River through
Elizabeth, *Warwick* and *York* Counties, before-mentioned,
 we come to

New-Kent; containing 171314 Acres of Land. This is
 one of the largest and most populous Counties in *Virginia*.
 'Tis water'd by the Southern Branch of the River *York*, and
 has two Parishes in it, *Blisland* and *St. Peter's*. The
 Western Bounds of this County and the next are certain
 Hills, out of which issue forth a glittering Sand, like the
 Filings of Brass, which Sand was, as is shewn in the History,
 mistaken for Gold by the first Planters. The next County
 to this, nearer the Falls, is

King William County; in which are 84324 Acres, and
 one Parish, *St. Jehn's*: *Pamunky* runs through it; 'tis the
 Southern Branch of *York* River. On the South of this lies

King and *Queen's* County; containing 131716 Acres of
 Land, and two Parishes, *Straton-Major* and *St. Stephens*.
Chicobomony River rises in it, and falls into *James* River,
 near *Bromfield's* Plantation. From this County, returning
 through *King William* County, and *New-Kent*, down the
 North-shore of *York* River, we come to

Gloucester County; the best peopled of any in the Coun-
 try. It has 142450 Acres of Land in it, and 4 Parish
 Churches, *Perjo*, *Abington*, *Ware* and *Kingston*. 'Tis part-
 ed from

Middlesex County, by the River *Prankitank*, which is
 navigable twenty or thirty Miles up, containing 49500
 Acres, and one Parish, *Christ-church*. The County of
Middlesex lies on the South-shore of *Rappahanock* River,
 which is very broad, deep and navigable 40 Miles within
 Land, where 'tis remarkable the Heads of *York* River and
Rappahanock River issue out of low marshy Ground, and
 not of Hills and Mountains, as other Rivers do. Above
Middlesex, towards the Falls, is *Rappahanock*, or

Essex County; containing 140920 Acres of Land. In
 this County and *Middlesex* lies the great Swamp, or Bog,
 call'd the *Dragon-Swamp*; 'tis near 60 Miles long, and is
 over-run with Briars, Thorns and wild Beatts, which herd
 there, because the Place being almost inaccessible, the In-
 habitants can't come at them, at least not so easily as in the
 Woods and Savana's. In this County stands three Parishes,
South Farnham, *Sittinburn*, V, *St. Mary's*. The South-side
 of it is water'd by *Mattapony*, the Western Branch of *York*
 River, which is navigable. Above it are the Counties of

Richmond

Richmond and *Stafford*; a Survey of which I have not seen; they are new Counties, and are not in the old Surveys, going all by the Name of *Rappahanock*. In these are three Parishes, *North-Farnham*, in *Richmond*, and *St. Paul V*, and *Overworton* in *Stafford* County. The next below it, between *Rappahanock* and *Patowmack*, is

Westmoreland County, which is very large; but our Author has not communicated the Number of Acres. It has two Parishes in it, *Copely* and *Washington*. Below it lies the County of

Lancaster, on the North-shore of *Rappahanock* River 'tis water'd by the River *Cartmain*, or *Corotomon*, which runs into *Rappahanock* River, about three Leagues from the Mouth of it. There are two Parishes in this County, *Christ-church* and *St. Mary's Whitechappel*. The next to this, and the last in the Province, on the South-shore of *Patowmack*, is

Northumberland County; in which are two Parish-Churches, *Fairfield* and *Bowtracy V*, and *Wiccomoco*. There is a River of the same Name *Wiccomoco*, which rises in this County and runs into the Bay at the Mouth of *Patowmack* River, which is the Northern Bounds of *Virginia*, and divides it from *Maryland*.

The River *Patowmack*, where it falls into the Bay of *Chesapeake*, is 7 Miles broad, and from its Mouth to the Falls 140 Miles. There are Cataracts in it 40, 50 and 60 Miles from its Source at the Foot of the Mountains. At the Falls this River is divided into several Branches, one of which extends North-West a great way; another stretches South-West, and comes out from behind the *Apalachian* Mountains, which divide the Waters that run Eastward into the Sea, from those that flow Westward and fall into the *Mississippi*. Thus it appears, that by means of these Waters that vast River may be approach'd by the *English* 8 or 900 Miles from the Mouth of it; and that the *French* have no more Power than Right to usurp and engross the Navigation of it, whenever the *English* shall have the same Desire to it as They have. Col. *Spotswood*, a wise enterprizing Governor, traversed the great Mountains, and had probably extended his Discoveries as far beyond it as that River, if he had been duly encouraged. Sir *William Keith* writes: "If the *English*, as one time or other they probably may, extend their Settlements in *Virginia* beyond the great Mountains, and come to possess on the Lake *Evic*, and so far back as the Branches of the River *Mississippi*, the *Indian* Trade would be very considerable, and cause such

The Missis-
sippi River
as much Eng-
lish as
French.

a Vent for coarse Woollen and other Manufactures, as
 will justly merit the Care and Encouragement of the State.
 If the *French* have settled themselves any where at or near
 the Mouth of that River, or indeed 100 Leagues up the
 River, the Country planted and settled by them, is certainly
 their Propriety, or the *Indians*, whom they dispossess'd of
 it; and I do no where find that the *French* have made more
 Conscience than the *Spaniards*, of possessing themselves of
 the Lands of the *Indians* without Purchase. To pretend the
French are Proprietors of the Countries all along the *Miss-*
issippi, 1900 or 2000 Miles from its Mouth to *Canada*,
 when about 1000 Miles of *English* Settlements lie between
 them, the *Mississippi* running on the Back of *Georgia*, *Ca-*
rolina, *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Pensylvania*, *New-York*, is as
 great a Jest as it would be for the *Dutch* to claim the Pro-
 priety of *Terra Australis*, or half of the *American* World
 yet undiscovered, because a *Dutchman* touch'd on that Coast
 first, and call'd it *Orange*, or *Nassau*, in Honour of their
 Headholder, our late King *William*. There are 100000
British Souls, *Capt. Vring* says 150000; but his Computa-
 tion is too large, in the Provinces just mentioned. There
 are many Rivulets that communicate with the Sea, which
 have their Rise in the great Mountains, which Rise is not
 far from that Lake that communicates with the Branches of
 the *Mississippi*, all which promises fair for Trade and Naviga-
 tion, a more extensive Trade, and a quicker Navigation than
 the *French* have by the Bay of *Mexico*; besides the Advan-
 tage of so many Planters ready settled to carry it on, which
 the *French* could not hope to have in Hundreds of Years,
 never. The *English* increasing now in much greater Pro-
 portion than the *French* could do, tho' they sent ten times
 the Numbers to the *Mississippi* which they can maintain there.
 The Neck of Land from *Wiccomoco* to the Bay is what goes
 by the Name of the *Northern Neck*, which we often men-
 tioned in the first Chapter. We must now cross over the
 Bay, and all along the Shore from *Cape Charles*, at the
 Mouth of the Bay, to the River *Pocemoke*, which divides
 from *Maryland* on the Eastern Bounds, the Province of
Virginia still continues, and there are two Counties in it:
Accomack, which retains its *Indian* Name. This is the
 largest County in *Virginia*, and contains 200923 Acres of
 Land. 'Tis not so populous as those on the other Side of
 the Bay, and has but one Parish in it, that of *Accomack*,
 which is without a Minister. The River *Chiffoneffex* rises in
 this County, as do several others of less Note. The other
 County is

Northampton:

Northampton; a narrow County, that runs along in Neck between the *Virginian* Sea and the Bay of *Chesapeake*. *Cape Charles*, in the most Southerly Part of it, is opposite to *Cape Henry*, and those two Points of Land are what is commonly call'd *the Capes of Virginia*. This County contains 99384 Acres of Land, and one Parish Church that of *Hungers*, which is also without a Minister.

The History of *Virginia* by *R. B.* adds four Counties more, which are however included in the above. *King George* County, between *Rayahannock* and *Patauknuck* Rivers, in which is one Parish, call'd *Hanover*.

Spotsylvania County in the Neck between *Rappahanock* and *York* Rivers, call'd *St. George*.

Hanover County, in the Neck between *York* River and *James* River; the Parish *St. Paul's*.

Brunswick County lies toward the Southern Pass of the Mountains; the Parish *St. Andrew's*.

Thus we have visited the whole Province, and have taken notice of the most remarkable things; but as there are no Towns nor Mines, nor other Places worthy the Reader's Curiosity; so our Relation wants that Variety of Objects which renders such Descriptions delightful. The *Apelchean* Mountains are in the Western Bounds of *Virginia* and are stored with Minerals, if we may believe some Travellers who have spoken of them; but we don't find that there have been of any other Advantage to the *Virginians*, than to furnish them with Earth, for the Experiments of their Virtuoso's at the College. The whole Country is water'd with Rivers, the most noted of which we have treated of; the Falls of each of those Rivers are but 15 or 20 Miles distant from one another; and besides them, there are *North* River, *Eastermost* River, *Pungoteque*, *Apumatuc*, *Poyanktank*, and others, that are navigable many Miles, and well stored with Fish. The Tides are scarce discernable when the Winds hold at N. W. but at other times they flow as they do in *England*, only they seem not so large, which is thought to be occasioned by the Tide diffusing itself into so many Rivers. The original Springs that make all the Rivers rise at the Foot of the *Appallean* or *Apelchean* Mountains; but the Cataracts or Falls are 60 or 70 Miles distant from those Hills. Having never met with any Account of Hills in *Virginia* so large as that in *R. B.* I shall copy him in this Article.

Lowth.
Phil. Transf.
p. 567, 568.

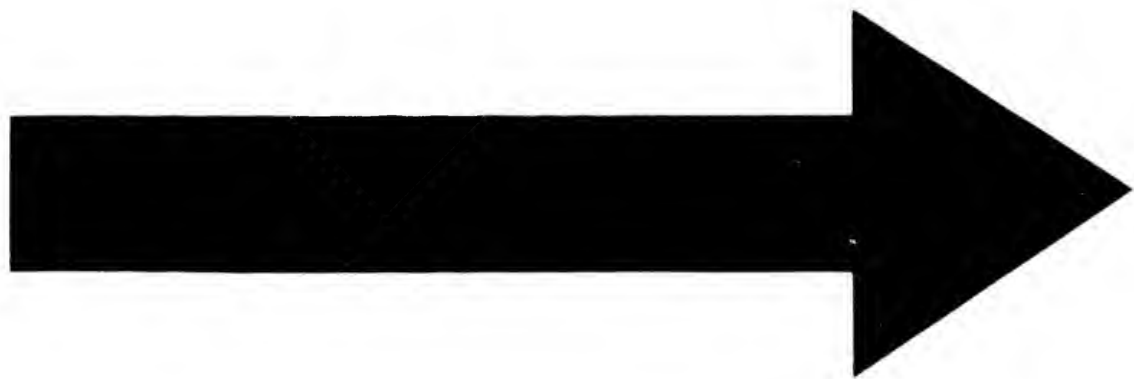
“ Some People that have been in that Country, without knowing any thing of it, have affirm'd that it is all Flat, without any Mixture of Hills, because they see the

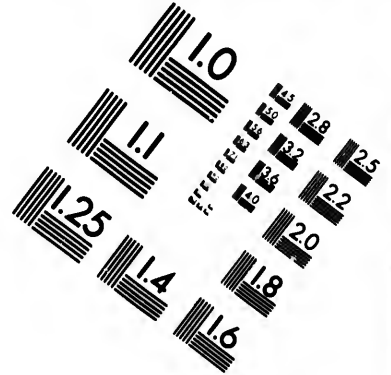
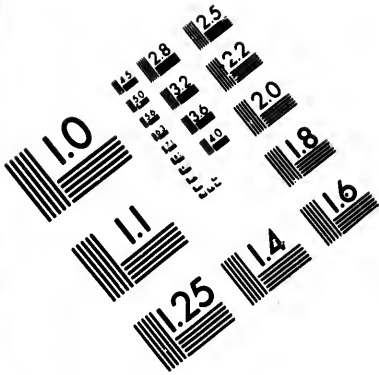
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Coast to the Seaward perfectly level; or else they have made their Judgment of the whole Country by the Lands lying on the lower Parts of the Rivers, when, in truth, upon the Heads of the great Rivers there are vast high Hills, and even among the Settlements, there are some so *topping*, that I have stood upon them and viewed the Country all around over the Tops of the highest Trees, for many Leagues together; particularly there are *Mawborn-Hills*, in the Freshes of *James River*, a Ridge of Hills about 14 or 15 Miles up *Mattapony River*, *Taliver's Mount*, upon *Rappahanock River*, and the Ridge of Hills in *Stafford County*, in the Freshes of *Patowmeck River*, all which are within the Bounds of the *English Inhabitants*.

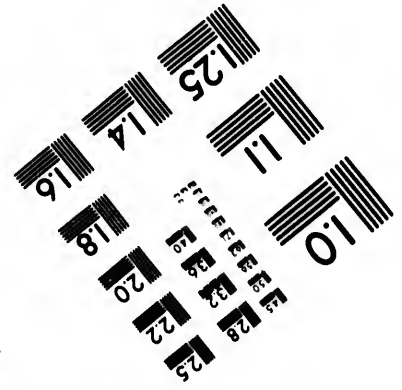
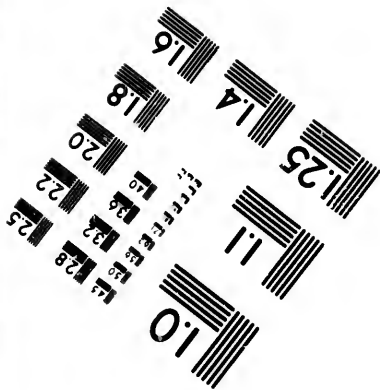
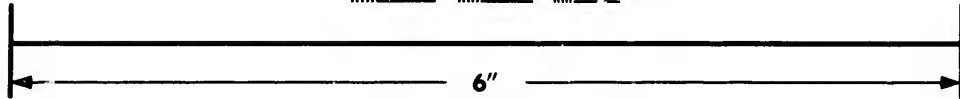
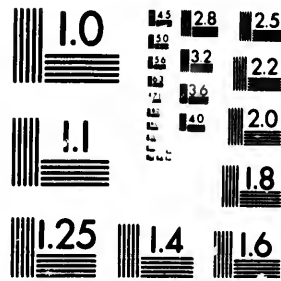
These Shores are for the most Part sandy. What Stones there are, are almost all of them hard and transparent. Some will cut Glass like Diamonds, and are equal to them in Lustre. The Cliffs of these Rivers are full of great Veins of Iron Mine, and generally all the Lands, under the Mould are a mere Rock of Iron. The Charge of raising Iron-work is so great, that no body in *Virginia* dares venture on the Expence; or the Planters are so intent on planting Tobacco, that they neglect all other Improvements.

There was another Town built in *James County*, call'd *Dale's Gift*, but 'twas ruined by the Incurfions of the *Indians*, Fire, and other Accidents. The Country lying between *York River* and *James River*, is the best inhabited. The Banks of the former are full of Plantations; and the best Tobacco growing there, the Trade of the Colony tends most that way. We have elsewhere observed in what Counties the *Indian Nations* still remain. Their Towns are very small, and their Houses or Huts such mean Dwellings, that they are rather like the Cabins of the Slaves in the Sugar-Islands, than the Habitations of free People. The Abundance of Rivers occasion Abundance of Mills in this Country: some of their Springs send forth such a Glut of Water, that in less than half a Mile below the Fountain-head, they afford a Stream sufficient to supply a Grist-mill. All these Rivers are full of Creeks, in which the Planters employ an infinite Number of Sloops and small Boats, to convey their Tobacco and Merchandize from and to the Ships that lie in the greater Rivers, or in the less. We have said little of the greatest River of them all, *Patowmeck*, because 'twill as properly come under the Article of *Maryland*, being the Boundary of that Province on the Western-side of *Virginia*. It cannot be expected, that in so little a Map as that is which





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which is annex'd to this History, so full a Description can be made of *Virginia*, as in the large one; but this is the new Survey; and the Country is divided into the Counties that are the present Divisions of it, there being at this time six new ones, *Prince George*, *Princess Anne*, *King William*, *King and Queen*, *Richmond* and *Stafford*. In the former Survey there were but 19 Counties; in this all of them are included, together with as many Plantations as would stand in so much Room; and the same Care has been taken in the Maps of the other Countries.

C H A P III.

Of the Inhabitants, and first of the *Indians*; the Government, Religion, Manners and Customs of the *English*, Masters, Servants and Slaves, their Numbers, Strength and Way of Living.

WHEN the *English* first discover'd *Virginia*, the *Indians* were divided into several Nations, as the *Keconothans*, the *Weanocks*, the *Arrahattocks*, the *Appemetocks*, the *Nansmunds*, the *Chesapeake*, the *Paspahoges*, who possess the Ground where *James City* now stands. These Tribes or Divisions inhabited the Country lying on the River *Potomac*, or *James River*. On the River *Pamunke* there dwelt the Nations of the *Youngtanunds* and the *Mattapamets*. On the *Rappahanock*, or *Toppahanock* River, the *Manaboacs*, the *Moraughtacunds*, and the *Cuttatawomens*. The Country in which the *English* landed, when *Capt. Barlow* and *Capt. Amidas* discovered it, was called *Wingandacoa*, and the Kingdom of it *Virginia*. It lies Southward of the Bay of *Chesapeake* near the Frontiers of *Florida*. Sometimes the King of one of these Nations made War on the rest, and conquered three or four of them; the Dominion of which generally after his Death, fell back to the natural Princes of those Countries. All these Nations are now entirely ruined, occasioned partly by their Feuds among themselves, and partly by their Wars with the *English*, who are Masters of all the Countries which they formerly possess'd: The *English*, for their Convenience, or out of Humanity, suffer'd them to enjoy their Lives and Liberties, and frequently enter'd into

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agues with them, which the faithless Savages kept no
 ger than they were forced to it. Those who dwell upon
 the Borders of the Province, which only retains the Name
 of *Virginia* at this Day, were the most treacherous and
 cruel to the *English* of all the *Indian* Nations. The People
 of *Wingandacoa* were affable and courteous to the first Ad-
 venturers, while *Grangamemo*, *Wingina's* elder Brother, reign'd.
 His Wife also did many good Offices to the *English*, who af-
 terwards attempted to settle on the Island of *Roenoke*; but at-
 ter *Grangamemo's* Death, *Wingina*, who perhaps liked them
 better for Dealers than for Neighbours, behaved himself
 very treacherously towards them; and when a Party of them
 was going towards the Kingdom of the *Mangoacs*, in quest
 of Copper-Mines, he stirred up several Tribes against them,
 and particularly *Temoatan*, Prince of the *Moratoes*, whose
 Father *Ensenare* prevented his falling upon them; and *Me-*
atonon, King of one of those Tribes, courted their Friend-
 ship by Presents of Pearl, as did *Okisco* King of the *Weopome-*
les, who submitted to become tributary to the Queen of
England. *Wingina* finding all his Contrivances to destroy
 them were disappointed, thought it his Interest to affect a
 friendship for them, as the other Kings did; but this
 friendship lasted no longer than till he had an Opportunity
 to shew his Treachery, and when he thought he had them
 at an Advantage, he fell upon them, who putting his wild
 Army to flight, took him Prisoner, and cut off his Head.
 The *English* being forced to abandon those Settlements,
 Capt. *Smith* founded the present one, as we have elsewhere
 related, in the Dominions of *Powhatan* King of *Wicomoco*,
 who warr'd with the *English* all his Life-time, except a few
 intervals of Peace, and the same did his Successor *Oppe-*
cancanough, the last Prince of any Fame of the Savages.
 They fell to decay after his Death, and tho' they committed
 several Murders on the Borders, 'twas rather like the Sallies
 of Robbers from their lurking Holes, than the Incurfions of
 a war-like Nation. They are now brought so low, that
 the *English* are not in the least fear of them, having it in
 their Power to extirpate them whenever they please; but
 they serve them in Hunting and Fowling, and other Services;
 which is the chiefest, if not the only Cause of their Preser-
 vation. One may judge, by *Oppecanough's* Greatness,
 who we are told could bring 20000 Men into the Field,
 that had all the *Indian* Tribes been united, it would have
 been impossible to have made a Settlement with such small
 numbers as the *English* brought over, or from time to
 time sent to *Virginia*. Of all the Nations that were then

in being, at which time two or three thousand Bow-men lived in a Town together, the few that remain are scatter'd up and down on the Frontiers of the *English* Plantations and tho' they live in Towns, or what some call Cities, we may perceive, by the following Account of them, they are reduced so low, that the Hand of Providence appears visible in their Destruction.

They are much more afraid of the *Indians* who inhabit higher up in the Country, than of the *English*, to whom they pay Tribute of three *Indian* Arrows and 20 Beaver-skins each Town, for Protection.

On the North-side of the Bay,

In *Accomac* are 8 Towns, viz.

- Matomkin*, Lately almost depopulated by the Small-Pox.
Giugoteque, What is left of this Place is now Part of the Kingdom of a Prince, who reigns over Nation of *Maryland* *Indians*.
Kiquotan, Almost ruin'd.
Matchepungo, Some few Families remain there.
Occahanock, There a few Families are also yet in being.
Pungoteque, Govern'd by a Queen; a small Nation.
Oanancock, Has but 4 or 5 Families.
Chiconeffex, Not any more.
Nanduye, Govern'd by an Empress, to whom all the Nations on the Coasts are tributary.
Gangascoe, In the County of *Northampton*, bordering on *Accomac*, as numerous as all the other Nations put together.

On the South- of the Bay are,

- Wyanoke*, In Prince *George* County, almost come to nothing. The Remains of this Tribe are gone to live with other *Indians*.
Appamatiox, In *Charles* City. These live on Col. *Byrd*'s Lands; about 7 Families; they were formerly a great Nation.
Nottawayes, In *Surrey*. This King can raise 100 Bow-men the most thriving People of all the *Virginian* *Indians*.
Menkeering, By *Nansamund*: Has about 30 Bow-men.
Nansamund, About 30 Bow-men, and increase of late.
Pamunkys, In King *William* County, has 40 Bow-men they decrease.

Chickahomony, Has 16 Bowmen; they increase, and were a powerful People when the *English* first landed here.

Rappahanock, In *Essex*; has but a few Families, and they live scatter'd on the *English* Seats.

Pari-Tobago, In *Richmond*, 5 Bow-men.

Wiccome, Of which Nation there are now but three Men living, who retain the Name of their Kingdom, and the particular Customs of their Ancestors. Of this People *Powhatan* was at first King, and conquer'd several others after them. If these three Men have a King, he must be of the same Rank with *Trincolo* in the Tempest, the Nation being much of the same Size. These Men are very proud of their Original, and live by themselves, separate from either the other *Indians*, or the *English*.

Were all these Nations or Tribes united, they could not make 500 fighting Men; a poor Army, compared to the *Virginian* Militia, which, as we shall make appear in this Chapter, consists of near 10000 Men.

Those miserable Wretches still follow the Religion and Customs of their Ancestors; and are not become either more pious or more polite by the Company of the *English*.

As to their Religion, they have all of them some dark Notion of God; and some of them brighter ones, if my Author may be believ'd, who had this Confession from the Mouth of an *Indian*, That they believed God was universally beneficent: That his Dwelling was in Heaven above, and the Influences of his Goodness reach'd to the Earth beneath: That he was incomprehensible in his Excellence, and enjoy'd all possible Felicity: That his Duration was eternal, his Perfection boundless; and that he possesses everlasting Indolence and Ease. So far the Savage talk'd as rationally of the Being of a God, as a Christian Divine or Philosopher could have done; but when he came to justify their worshipping of the Devil, whom they call *Okee*, his Notions were very heterodox. He said, 'Tis true God is the Giver of all good Things; but they are given naturally and promiscuously from him: That they are pour'd down upon all Men indifferently, without Distinction: That God does not trouble himself with the impertinent Affairs of Men, nor is concern'd at what they do; but leaves them to make the most of their free Will, and to secure as many as they can of the good things that flow from him; that therefore

it was to no purpose either to fear or worship him: But, on the contrary, if they did not pacify the evil Spirit, he would ruin their Health, Peace and Plenty, he being always visiting them in the Air, Thunder, Storms, &c.

As to the Idol which they all worship, and is kept in a Temple, call'd *Quiccasan*, he seem'd to have a very different Opinion of its Divinity, and cried out upon the Juggling of the Priests--- This Man does not talk like a common Savage, and therefore we may suppose he had studied the Matter more than his Countrymen, who, for the Generality, pay a great deal of Devotion to the Idol, and worship him as their chief Deity.

Their Priests and Conjurers are highly revered by them. They are given extremely to Pawawing or Conjuring; and one of them very lately conjured a Shower of Rain for *Col. Byrd's* Plantation in a time of Drought, for two Bottles of Rum. We are not apt to give Credit to such supernatural Events: and had we not found this in an Author who was of the Spot, we should have rejected it as a Fable.

Their Priests promise fine Women, eternal Spring, and every Pleasure in Perfection in the other World, which charm'd them in this; and threaten them with Lakes of Fire and Torments, by a Fairy in the Shape of an old Woman. They are often bloody in their Sacrifices, and offer up young Children to the Devil. They have a superstitious Ceremony among them, which they call *Huskanawing*, and is perform'd thus: They shut up ten or twelve young Men the most deserving among them, about 20 Years of Age, in a strong Inclosure, made on purpose, like a Sugar-loaf, and every way open like a Lattice, for the Air to pass through. They are kept there for several Months, and are allowed to have no Sustenance but the Infusion or Decoction of poisonous intoxicating Roots, which turns their Brain, and they run stark mad.

By this 'tis pretended they lose the Remembrance of former things, even of their Parents, Treasure, Language, as if they had drunk of the Water of Oblivion, drawn out of the Lake *Lethe*.

When they have been in this Condition as long as the Custom directs, they lessen this intoxicating Potion; and by Degrees the young Men receive the Use of their Senses. But before they are quite well, they are shown in the Towns; and the Youth who have been *huskanaw'd* are afraid to discover the least Sign of their remembering any thing of their past Lives; for, in such Case, they must be *huskanaw'd* again; and they are disciplined so severely the second time that it generally kills them.

After the young Men have passed this Trial, they are *Cou- rages*, or Men of Quality in their Nations; and the *Indi- ans* say they do it, to take away from Youth all Childish *Impressions*, and that strong Partiality to Persons and Things, which is contracted before Reason comes to take place.

The *Indian* Priests; to command the Respect of the Peo- ple, make themselves look as ugly and as terrible as they can. The *Conjurers* always share with them in their Deceit, and they gain by it. The *Indians* consult both of them before they go on any Enterprize. There are no Priestesses or Witches among them. They erect Altars on every remarkable Oc- casion, and have Temples built like their common Cabins, in which their Idol stands, and the Corps of their Kings and Rulers are preserved.

They have no sort of Literature among them; and their way of communicating things from one to another, is by Hieroglyphicks. They make their Accounts by Units, Tens, Hundreds, &c. as the *English* do; but they reckon their Years by Cohonks, or Winters, and divide every Year into three Seasons, the Budding-time, the Earing of the Corn, the Summer, the Harvest, the Winter.

The Months they count by Moons. They divide the Day into three Parts, the Rise, Power, and Lowering of the Sun; and keep their Accounts by Knots on a String, or Notches on a Stick. Of which Capt. *Smith* relates a pleasant Story: That when the Princess *Pocahonta* came for *England*, a *Coucarouse*, or Lord of her own Nation attended her; his Name was *Uttamaccomack*, and King *Powhatan*, *Pocahonta's* Father, commanded him, when he arrived in *England*, to tell the People, and give him an Account of their Number. *Uttamaccomack*, when he came ashore, got a Stick, intending to count them by Notches; but he soon found that his Arithmetick would be to no purpose, and threw away his Stick. At his Return, the King asked him, How many People there were? And he reply'd, Count the Stars in the Sky, the Leaves upon the Trees, and the Sand on the Sea-shore, and you will know how many; for such is the Number of the People in *England*.

They esteem the Marriage-Vow as the most sacred of all Engagements, and abhor Divorces; Adultery is the most unpardonable of Crimes amongst them.

Their Maidens are very chaste; and if any one of them happens to have a Child before Marriage, her Fortune is spoiled. This Account contradicts others, that describe them to be common Prostitutes; but the *Indians* and the *Virgini- ans* disown the Scandal, which some Authors lay to their Charge.

Charge. They are very spritely and good-humoured, and the Women generally handfom. Their manner of handling Infants is very rough; as soon as the Child is born, they plunge it over Head and Ears in cold Water, and then bind it naked to a Board, making a Hole in it in the proper Place for Evacuation. Between the Child and the Board they put some Cotton-Wool, or Fur, and let it lie in this Posture till the Bones begin to harden, the Joints to knit and the Limbs to grow strong. Then they loosen it from the Board, and let it crawl about where it pleases. From this Custom 'tis said the *Indians* derive the Cleanness and Exactness of their Limbs, which are the most perfect for these Qualities in the World. Some of them are of Gigantick Stature, live to a greater Age, and are stronger than others; there being never a Dwarf, crooked, bandy-legged, or ill-shapen *Indian* to be seen. Some Nations of them are very tall and large limb'd, and others are short and small. Their Complexion is a Chestnut brown and Tawny. They paint themselves with a Pecone-Root, which stains them of a reddish Colour. They are clear when they are young, but greasing and sunning makes their Skin turn hard and black. Their Hair, for the most Part, is Cole black, so are their Eyes: They wear their Hair cut after several whimsical Modes, the Persons of Note always keeping a long Lock behind. The Women wear it very long, hanging it at their Backs, or twisted up with Beads; and all the better sort adorn their Heads with a kind of Coronet. The Men have no Beards, and, to prevent their having any, use certain Devices, which they will not communicate to the *English*.

Their Clothes are a Mantle girt close in the Middle, and underneath a Piece of Cloth tied round the Waste, and reaching down to the Middle of the Thigh. The common Sort only tie a piece of Cloth or Skin round their Middle. As for their Food, they boil, broil, or roast all the Meat they eat. *Homony* is their standing Dish, and consists of *Indian Corn* soak'd, broken in a Mortar, and then boiled in Water over a gentle Fire for 10 or 12 Hours together. They draw and pluck their Fowl, skin and paunch their Quadrupedes; but dress their Fish with their Scales on, without gutting: They leave the Scales, Entrails and Bones till they eat the Fish when they throw the Offals away. Their Food is chiefly Beavers, Turtle, several Species of Snakes, Broth made of Deer Humbles, Pease, Beans, &c. They have no set Meals, they eat when they are hungry, and drink nothing but Water. Their Bread is made of *Indian Corn*, wild Oats, or the Seed of the Sun-flower: They eat it alone, and not with Meat.

They travel always on Foot, with a Gun or Bow. They live upon the Game they kill, and lie under a Tree upon a high Grass. The *English* prohibit them to keep Corn, Sheep, or Hogs, lest they should steal their Neighbour's.

When they come to Rivers, they presently patch up a canoe of Birch-Bark, cross over in it, and leave it on the River's Bank, if they think they shall not want it; otherwise they carry it along with them.

Their way of receiving Strangers is by the Pipe or Calumet of Peace. Of the later, *Pero Hennepin* has given a large account in his Voyages, and the Pipe is as follows: They take a Pipe of Tobacco, larger and bigger than any common Pipe, light it, and then the Chief of them takes a Whiff, and gives it to the Stranger, and if he smokes of it, 'tis Peace; if not, War: If Peace, the Pipe is handed all round the Company.

The Diseases of the *Indians* are very few, and easy to be cured: They, for the most Part, arise from excessive Heats and Colds, which they get off by Sweating. As for Aches, and settled Pains in the Joints or Limbs, they use Causticks and scarifying. Their Priests are their Physicians, and from their Childhood are taught the Nature and Use of Simples, in which their Knowledge is excellent; but they will not communicate it, pretending 'tis a Gift of God; and by the Mystery they make it the more valuable.

Their Riches consist in Furs, Peak, Roenoke, and Pearl. Their Peak and Roenoke are made of Shells; the Peak like an *English* Buglas; the Roenoke is a Piece of Cockle, drill'd through like a Bead. Before the *English* came among them, the Peak and Roenoke were all their Treasure; but now they set a Value on their Fur and Pearl, and are greedy of scraping Quantities together. The Pearl is good, and formerly was not so rare as 'tis at this time.

They had no Iron Tools before the *English* brought them over: Their Knives were sharpen'd Reeds or Shells, their Axes sharp Stones. They rub'd Fire, by turning the End of a hard Piece upon the Side of one that is soft and dry, which at last would burn. They fell'd great Trees by burning them down at the Root, having ways of keeping the Fire from ascending. They hollow'd them with gentle Fires, scraped the Trunk clean; and this made their Canoes, of which some were 30 Foot long. They are very good Handicraftsmen, and what they do is generally neat and convenient.

In the first Chapter, we have said enough to shew that the Government of the *Indians* was Monarchical: Their Kingdoms descended to the next Heir, Male or Female; and

they were very exact in preserving the Succession in the right Line. If, as it often happen'd, one great Prince subjected the other, those Conquests commonly were lost at his Death, and the Nations returned again to the Obedience of their natural Princes. They have no written Laws, neither can they have any, having no Letters. Their Lands are in common, and their *Werowances*, or Judges, are all Lords, Chancellors, deciding Causes and inflicting Punishments according as they think fit. These *Werowances*, and the *Coucaroufes*, are their Terms to distinguish their Men of Quality; the former were their War Captains, and the latter such as have past the Trial of Huskanawing. Their Priests and Conjurers have great Authority among them. They have Servants whom they call *Black Boys*, and are very exact in requiring the Respect that is due to their several Qualities. And thus much of the *Indians*, who, from a State of Nature and Innocence, in which the *English* found them, are now infected with the *European* Vices of Drunkenness, Avarice and Fraud, having learned nothing of the new Comers but what has served to render their Ignorance the more detestable.

We must now treat of the *English* Inhabitants, their Rise, Numbers, Distinction, and way of Living. We have seen, in the Beginning of this Treatise, from what small Beginning the *English* Colony rose to the State it is in at present: And it cannot be imagined, that the first Adventurers there were Men of Quality and Fortune, whatever the Proprietors in *England* were. Men of Estate would not leave their native Country, of which the *English* are of all Men most fond, to seek an Habitation in an unknown Wilderness: And what deterred such from going thither at first, will always deter them. 'Tis true, as the Colony encreased, and became settled, Men of good Families and small Fortunes removed to *Virginia*, thrived and grew great by their Industry and Successes. And thus many Gentlemen of *Virginia* may boast a good Descents as those in *England*; but there's no need as yet of an Herald-Office to be set up at *James Town*; and the Colony are in the right to make slight of such empty Honours, in Comparison of the substantial Profit which is got by Planting and Traffick. Wherefore the honest Merchant and industrious Planter are the Men of Honour in *Virginia*, and it would not be the worse for *England*, if Industry and Honour were nearer a-kin than some vain Persons make them.

'Twas a long time before *Virginia* saw a Race of *English* born on the Spot; which was occasioned by the small Number

manuring the Ground, sowing and planting Tobacco, is easy, that, as hard Work as 'tis represented to be, the Labourers in England are much the greater Slaves, if hard Work and hard Living are Signs of Slavery.

The Servants and Slaves are never lifted in the Militia the Country; but every Freeman, from 16 to 60 Years of Age, is enroll'd, and obliged to muster once a Year. Their Number is in all 9522, of which 2363 are Light Horse, and 7159 Foot and Dragoons, according to the following Schedule, taken in the Year 1703, by which the Reader will have a clear View of the Strength of Virginia without including the Northern Neck, or the French Refugees at the Monacan Town, which may increase the Number of Souls to near 70000.

Counties Names.	Number of Souls.	Males.	Females and Children.	Militia.	Horse.	Foot & Dragoons.
Henrico,	2413	915	1498	345	98	247
Prince George	} 4045	1406	2639	625	303	422
and Charles City,						
Surrey,	2230	880	1350	350	62	288
Isle of Wight,	2714	841	1873	514	140	374
Nansamund,	2530	1018	1512	591	142	449
Norfolk,	2279	717	1572	380	48	332
Princess Anne,	2037	686	1351	284	69	215
James City,	2990	1297	1693	401	123	278
York,	2357	1208	1142	390	68	215
Warwick,	1377	282	895	201	49	152
Elizabeth City,	1188	469	719	196	54	142
New-Kent,	3374	1325	2049	420	120	300
King William,	1834	803	1031	} 691	189	509
King and Queen,	2842	1244	1598			
Glocester,	5834	2628	3206	594	121	473
Middlesex,	1632	776	856	199	56	143
Essex,	2400	1090	1301	438	139	299
Richmond,	2622	1392	1230	504	122	382
Stafford,	2033	863	1170	345	84	261
Westmoreland,	2736	1131	1605	451	133	318
Lancaster,	2155	941	1214	271	42	229
Northumberland,	2099	1168	931	522	130	092
Accomack,	2804	1041	1763	456	101	355
Northampton,	2081	712	1369	347	70	277

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In R. B.'s *New History* are four Counties added, King
George's, Spotsylvania, Hanover County, Brunswick County;
 he takes no Notice of the Number of Inhabitants in
 ch; and as they made Part of one or other of the above-
 mentioned Counties, when the Militia was muster'd, they
 must be therein included.

Besides the *English* Inhabitants, there are now several hun-
 dreds of *French* Refugee Families, who were sent thither by
 King *William*. These Refugees had a very rich Territory
 assigned them, twenty Miles above the Falls of *James* River,
 on the South-side of the River, formerly the Habitation of
 a War-like Nation of the *Indians*, call'd the *Monachans*;
 and the Town where the *French* Protestants settled, is call'd
 the *Monachan* Town.

The Assembly has granted them great Privileges, and been
 plentiful in their Charity to them, for their Encouragement.
 They are also very much obliged to the Generosity and Pro-
 tection of *Col. Byrd*, whose Friendship has been serviceable
 to them on many Occasions. They are an industrious Peo-
 ple, have made excellent Wine there, even of the wild
 Grapes, and are upon several Improvements, which will be
 very much to their own Advantage, and that of the Colony.

'Tis computed that the Number of Souls which either
 came over at first, or since, or have been born in the
 Country, amounts to near twelve hundred *French*. And
 the *Northern Neck* being larger than the largest of the
 other Counties, and almost as populous, may contain about
 ten thousand; so that the whole Number of Souls in the Pro-
 vince of *Virginia*, exclusive of *Maryland*, is about 70000.

The Increase since the Year 1710, by Births and new
 Comers, is computed at 30000; so the whole Computa-
 tion is 100000 Souls..

R. B. in his Account of the *Militia*, makes them to be
 8000 Freemen in the Year 1722. Now add to these 2000
 for the *French* Increase, and an half for the Servants, with
 the Increase of Females and Children to that time, the Com-
 putation of 140000 Souls in all, will be moderate.

As to the Customs and Manners of the *Virginians*, they
 are the same with the *English*; and one may as well go about
 to describe the Manners and Customs of any one particular
 County of *England* separate from the rest.

Their Diet is somewhat different, so is their Clothing, as
 also their Sports and Pastimes, and Diseases, occasioned by
 the Difference of the Climates. Besides Beef, Mutton and
 Veal, which the *Virginians* have in plenty, tho' not so good
 in its kind as we have in *England*, they have Pork, Bacon,
 and

Militia.	Horse.	Foot & Dra- goons.
345	98	247
625	303	422
350	62	288
514	140	374
591	142	449
380	48	332
284	69	215
401	123	278
390	68	215
201	49	152
196	54	142
420	120	300
691	189	509
594	121	473
199	56	143
438	139	299
504	122	382
345	84	261
451	133	318
271	42	229
522	130	092
456	101	355
347	70	277
9522	2363	7359

and all sorts of tame and wild Fowl, better than any of several Kinds that are in *England*.

Pork is sold from 1 *d.* to 3 *d.* a Pound; a large Pullet 6 *d.* a Capon for 8 *d.* Chickens 3 *s.* a Dozen; Deer 8 *s.* Head. The Bread which the better sort of People use is generally made of Wheat; the poorer eat Pone made of *Oppon* or *Indian* Meal. Their Kitchen-Gardens supply them with all sorts of Roots, Sallads and Pot-herbs. Their Drink according to their Circumstances; the Gentlemen brew small Beer with *English* Malt; strong Beer they have from *England*, as also *French* Wine and Brandy, with which they make Punch; or with Rum from the *Charibbee* Islands, or Spirits of their own distilling, from Apples, Peaches, &c. *Madeira* Wine is the most common and the most noble of all their strong Drinks. The Poor brew their Beer with Melass and Bran, or *Indian* Corn dried in a Stove. They have several other Sorts of Potables, which are very wholesom and pleasant. They burn Wood every where, tho' there is Pit Coal in many Places; but Wood being so plenty, that they may have it for cutting, no Body has thought it worth the while to dig for Coal.

Their Clothes are brought from *England* for Persons of Distinction, and are as much in the Mode as Art and Goodness can make them. They are generally of the lightest Stuffs of Silks, both for Men and Women. The Men, for Coolness as in other Parts of the *West-Indies*, wear, in the Heat of the Summer, Fustian and Linen Jackets; and the Women Linen or Muslin Gowns. They have almost all their Necessaries, as to Dress, from *England*. Their Buildings are as in *England*, of Brick, Timber and Stone, the Outside of their Houses being cover'd with Lime made of Oyster-shells much more durable than *English* Lime.

Their Sports are Deer-hunting, Hare-hunting; but different from the *English* Chace. They learnt of the *Indian* to come up to the Deer under the Blind of a stalking Horse as the Savages did under that of a stalking Head. They teach a Horse to walk gently by the Huntsman's Side, to cover him from the Sight of the Deer, and so they have an Opportunity to kill him. They have other ways of Deer hunting; but this being the most remarkable, I have chose to mention it in this Place.

Their Hares they hunt with Mungrils, or Swift-Dogs. The Hares generally hole in a hollow Tree, and then they are smoked out by the Hunters. They also have other sorts of Hunting, as Vermin-hunting, and Horse-hunting; the latter is much delighted in by young People, who pursue wild

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old Horses with Dogs, and sometimes without them. These
 old Horses are such as are foal'd in the Woods in the
 Hill Country, and no Body knowing whom they belong to,
 every one is free to catch and keep as many as he pleases.
 Tho' they are of the *English* Breed, they are as shy as any
 savage Creature; but this sort of Cattle seldom is fit for

They have several other Sports, as taking wild Turkeys
 and Wolves in Snares, Fishing, Fowling, and catching of
 Beavers, which is an excellent Pastime. 'Tis said that these
 Creatures live in a sort of Monarchy, like Bees, and
 are very obedient to their Sovereign.

The Diseases most incident to the Place are Colds,
 brought by the irregular Conduct of People at their first Ar-
 rival; Gripes and Fluxes, occasioned by the same means, the
English eating too greedily the pleasant Fruits of the Country;
 Achexes, or *Yaws*, which is a violent Scurvy. The *Season*
 here, as in other Parts of *America*, is a Fever or Ague,
 which the Change of the Climate and Diet generally throws
 new Comers into: The Bark is in *Virginia* a Sovereign Re-
 medy to this Disease.

The *Virginians* have but few Doctors among them, and
 they reckon it among their Blessings, fancying the Number
 of their Diseases would increase with that of their Physicians.
 The few they have study and make use of Simples most, with
 which their Woods are plentifully furnish'd.

We will conclude this Account of the Inhabitants of
Virginia, with a short Character of them. They are a pru-
 dent, careful, generous, hospitable People, their Houses be-
 ing open to all Travellers, whom they entertain as heartily as
 Relations or Friends; and that fordid Wretch who offends
 against this laudable Custom of his Country, is the Object of
 every one's Contempt.

As for the Convenience of Society, the Gentlemens Houses
 are at not much greater Distance from one another than they
 are in *England*. The Planters are almost all sociable; and
 every thing towards making their Friends welcome is cheaper
 than in *England*, so the Entertainments there are larger, the
 Reception more sincere, and the Mirth of the Company more
 merry than in most of our Gentlemens Houses, among whom
 Hospitality is so far out of Fashion, that a Man who pretends
 to it is reckoned a Sot or a Bubble; and the costly and per-
 nicious Vices that were introduced in the Place of it, in the
 last Century, has banish'd it from that Country where it for-
 merly flourish'd, to the eternal Praise of our Ancestors, and
 the Shame of their Posterity.

C H A P IV.

Of the Government of *Virginia*; of the Laws, Courts of Judicature, Publick Offices, and Revenues.

THE Government of *Virginia* was at first by a President and a Council of twelve. Mr. *John White* was the first President, and when the Presidency was abrogated, there was a Commission granted by the Company or Proprietors in *England* to Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Summers*, and Captain *Newport*, to be joint Governors. We don't find that the Governors and their Council had any more Power than the President and his Council; but the Name gave more Authority to their Acts in the Imagination of some Persons.

When King *Charles I.* dissolved the Company, he continued the Form of the Government by a Governor and Council for the executive Power, and placed the Legislature in the Assembly. The Assembly had been appointed before and met several times during the Governments under the Company. The chief Court next to the Assembly is the *General Court*, held by the Governor and Council, who are Judges of it, and take Cognizance of all Causes Criminal, Penal, Ecclesiastical and Civil. There is no Appeal from the Court, unless the matter in dispute amounts in Value to above three hundred Pounds, and then Appeals lie to the Queen and Council in *England*. In criminal Cases there never was any Appeal; but the Governor can pardon Persons for any Crime whatsoever, except Murder, and reprieve even for that till her Majesty's Pleasure be known therein. In the Governor's Power in this and the other Plantations very great. He is subject only to the Queen's Commands and represents her Person in his Government: He assents to or dissents from the Acts of Assembly, as he thinks fit, and by his Assent passes them into Laws. He calls, prorogues and dissolves the Assembly: He calls and presides in the Council; he makes Justices of the Peace; all Officers of the Militia, under the Degree of a Lieutenant-General puts out Proclamations; is the Keeper of the Seal of the Colony, and disposes of the Queen's Lands according to the Charter and Laws of the Country; all Payments out of the Treasury are order'd by him, or in his Name; he

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Admiral by Virtue of a Commission from the Admiralty,
has a Salary of 2000 l. a Year; formerly 'twas but 1000 l.
about 500 l. Perquisites; 200 l. a Year was added by
the Assembly in favour of *Sir William Berkley*, and the
Colepepper got it increased to 2000 l. a Year, and 150 l.
Year House-rent, which, with the Perquisites, make-it
with near 3000 l. a Year to the Governor, and more if he
suffices the Peo, as too many Governors have done.
When the Governor and Deputy-Governor are absent, the
Administration falls to the President of the Council for the
being, who has a Salary of 500 l. a Year only, added
what is given him as a Counsellor, which is a very small
allowance. The Queen nominates the Counsellors by Let-
ter or Instruction, which says no more, but that they be
Members of the Council. The Governor can fill up the vacant
places of such as die, or are removed without staying for
Orders from *England*. These Counsellors have an equal
Vote with the Governor at the Council-Table in many things,
and are a Check upon him, if he offers to exceed the Bounds
of his Commission, in calling Assemblies, disposing of the
publick Revenue, placing and displacing Officers, Votes and
Orders of Council, publishing Proclamations, making Grants,
and passing all Patents. They are the upper House in the
Assembly, and claim a negative Voice to all Laws.
Their Salary in all is 350 l. a Year, which is divided a-
mongst them, according to their Attendance on General
Courts and Assemblies. The lower House of the Assembly
consists of the Representatives of the Counties, two for
each, and one for *James City*, in all 51. The College
has Power by their Charter, to send a Member to the
Assembly. The Assembly-Men are chosen by the Free-
holders, by Virtue of a Writ directed to the Sheriff, which
is read in every Church and Chapel in the County, and the
Majority of the Election then appointed. The Privileges of these
Assembly-Men are the same with the Members of Parlia-
ment in *England*, and the Power much the same with that
of the House of Commons, only they are very much in-
fluenced by the Pleasure of the Governor; and after their
Orders have regularly pass'd the lower House an upper House,
and have had the Governor's Assent, they must send to *Eng-
land* to be confirmed by the Queen; but, till she has de-
clared her Negative, they are in full Force. These Assem-
blies meet once or twice a Year, as occasion requires. Besides
the Governor and Council, the publick Officers are,

The Auditor of the Revenus, Dudley Diggs, Esq; whose Salary is $7\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. of all the publick Money.

The Secretary and President of the Council, Edmund Jennings, Esq; whose Fees and Perquisites amount to about 400 l. a Year.

The Treasurer, William Byrd, Esq; whose Salary is 6 per Cent. of all Money that passes through his Hands.
Collector of the Customs, Col. Gawen Corbin.

These are General Officers and Servants of the Colony. There are other little Officers, as Clerks of Courts, Sheriffs and Surveyors, &c. The Sheriff's Place of each County very profitable by an Allowance of 10 per Cent. out of all Receipts and other Advantages. The Revenues of Virginia arise,

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|---|-------------------|
| 1. By the Queen's Quit-rents 2 s. for every 100 Acres. | } 1200 l. a Year. |
| 2. By the Act for the Support of the Government, 2 s. for every Hog-head of Tobacco exported; 15 d. a Tun for every Ship; 6 d. Poll for every Passenger; Fines and Forfeitures, Waifs and Strays, Escheats of Land, and personal Estate, for want of a lawful Heir. | } 1200 |
| 3. By the Act reserved to be disposed of by the Assembly, 4 d. a Gallon on Wine, Rum and Brandy; 1 d. a Gallon on Beer, Cyder and other Liquors, 15 s. for each Servant not being a Native of England and Wales, and 28 s. for each Slave; or Negroe. | } 1200 |
| 4. The College-Revenue, a Duty on Skins and Furs. | } 100 |
| 5. The Duty of 1 d. a Pound on all Tobacco exported to the other Plantations, and not carried directly to England, King William gave it to the College. | } 200 |
| | <hr/> 5700 <hr/> |

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The present Revenue, according to Sir *William Keith's* Calculation, is

Quit-Rents	3500 l. per Annum.
The 2s. a Hoghead on 32000 Hogheads.	} 3200
<i>Out of this Revenue the 2000 a Year to the principal Governor in England, and to the Lieutenant-Governor in Virginia is taken.</i>	
A Shilling a Ton on Shipping 10000 Ton.	} 500
Marriage Licences, Probats of Wills, entring and clearing of Ships, Governor's Perquisites.	} 600
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	7800 l.
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I do not understand how he comes to put *Marriage Licences, Probats of Wills* among the Revenues of the County; but so it stands in his Book.

The General Court, of which we have made some Mention, is also call'd the Quarter Court, as being held every Quarter of a Year. There are inferior Courts, which are kept every Month in each County, and are call'd the County-Courts, or Monthly-Courts, where Matters that are not of the highest Moment, such as do not relate to Life or Member, or exceed a certain limited Value are tried. From these Courts there lies an Appeal to the Quarterly Courts, in which no Action can be originally brought under the Value of ten Pounds Sterling. The Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and other Officers are Judges of these County-Courts; in which every Man may plead his own Cause, or his Friends do it for him; the *Virginians* understanding their Interest too well to encourage Lawyers, believing that Diseases would be brought in by Doctors, so Lawyers would create Suits; a Mischief we in *England* all complain of, but despair of seeing remedied. The Justices of the Peace also hold Courts yearly in each County to look after Orphans, and take Care of them and their Estates; to provide for those Children that are Fatherless, and have no Body to provide for them. The Laws of *Virginia* are the Acts of Parliament and Statutes of *England*, which affect her Majesty's Dominions in general; the Statutes and Acts of the Assembly, which relate only to the Affairs of

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this Colony, in particular Orders of the Queen and Council in *England*, which in many things have the Force of Law in the Plantations; the Usages of the Country, or the Civil Law, by which all Cases in the Admiralty are adjudg'd. But there being an excellent Collection of the Laws of this and all the other Plantations already publish'd, I refer the Reader to it for a larger and clearer Account of them.

C H A P. V.

Of the Church, and Church Affairs, and the
College in *Virginia*.

WHEN the Nobility, Gentry, Merchants and others first got a Grant of this Country, and resolved to make a Settlement upon it, they received large Contributions to carry it on from several devout Persons, who were for propagating the Gospel among the *Indians*, building Schools, Churches, and settling Ministers for their Conversion and Instruction. To this End a great Lottery was set up in *London*, the Profits of which were for the Benefit of the Colony; and what instigated many charitable People to put Money into it, were Hopes that a good Part of it would be laid out on the use for which it was by them intended. This Lottery was drawn in *St. Paul's Church*; but we do not find that the Money was employed as those religious Persons would have had it, or that there had been many Converts made by the *English* in this Country. The Religion of the *Virginians* is the same as in the rest of her Majesty's Dominions: The Body of the People are Members of the Church of *England*. There are but a few Dissenters, and might have been more, had they not been persecuted by Sir *William Berkley*. Whether the *Virginians* glory in it or not, or honour the Memory of the Governor the more for it, we can't tell; but *Puritans* were certainly always discountenanced by him. In the Year 1636 Mr. *Bennet* went to *Boston* in *New-England*, to desire, the Name of some other Gentlemen, that two or three Ministers might be sent them. Mr. *Phillips*, Mr. *Thompson* and Mr. *Knowles*, a late Dissenting Minister in *London*, came thither, where they were kindly entertain'd by private Persons; but the Governor and his Council forbade them

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reach, and order'd, That such as would not conform to the
 Ceremonies of the Church of England should depart the Country.
 There are now 54 Parish Churches in the Province, of which
 10 or 40 are supplied with Ministers. It were to be wish'd
 that Care was taken to supply them with such Divines as
 might, by their Example as well as by their Preaching, in-
 duce the People to a religious Life; the *Indian* Darkness being
 not more gloomy and horrid than what some of the meaner
 sort of the *Virginians* live in; and their Parsons, for the most
 part, don't take much Pains to lead them into the Light
 of the Gospel. In each Parish there is a Church built ei-
 ther with Timber, Brick, or Stone, and decently adorned
 with all things proper for the Celebration of Divine Service.
 In large Parishes there's a Chapel of Ease, and sometimes
 two, for the Convenience of the Parishioners. The Minister
 of the Parish preaches in them alternately, and each of them
 has a Reader to read Prayers in his Absence. The Minister's
 Maintenance is settled at 16000 *lb.* Tobacco each, yearly,
 besides Perquisites, as 40 *s.* for a Funeral Sermon, 20 *s.* for
 a Marriage. The Parish Affairs are govern'd by a Vestry
 of twelve Gentlemen chosen out of the Inhabitants; these
 are call'd the Patrons of the Church, and on the Death
 of one of them, the Survivors elect another in his Place.
 They have the Presentation of Ministers, and the sole
 Power of all Parish Assessments: No Man can be of the
 Vestry, but who subscribes an Instrument to be conforma-
 ble to the Church of *England*; two of these are the Church-
 Wardens, whose Business it is to see the Orders of the
 Vestry obeyed, to collect the Parish and the Parson's To-
 bacco, to keep the Parish Accounts, and to present all Pro-
 faneness and Immorality, The Power of Induction, upon
 the Presentation of Ministers, is lodg'd in the Governor's
 Hands by Law. There are only two Presbyterian and
 three Quakers Meetings in this Colony. The Bishop of
London, who is the Ordinary of this and all the other Plan-
 tations, appoints a Commissary here, whose Business is to
 make Visitations of Churches, and have the Inspection of
 the Clergy, for which he is allowed 100 *l.* per *Annun*; and by
 the strict Hand that the Clergy and Government have held
 over Dissenters, they have been kept low in *Virginia*, and
 never increased there; the Assemblies having done what their
 Governors would have them, to discourage them.

In the Year 1642, Sir *William Berkeley*, then Governor,
 they pass an Act to prevent Dissenting Ministers preaching
 and propagating their Doctrines. They admitted none to
 preach in their Churches, but such as were ordained by some

Bishop of the Church of *England*; and in 1663, Sir *William Berkley* being still Governor, great Restraints were laid upon them by a mistaken Zeal, to prevent their getting Ground. Of what ill Consequence this has been to the Colony, I leave to those moderate *Virginians* to determine who think they ought not to sacrifice the true Interest of their Country to the Revenge or Pride of a Party.

I have little enlarged the Chapter of Church Affairs, there having been publish'd a Piece by a Divine of *Virginia*, Mr *Hugh Jones*, A. M. Chaplain to the Assembly, Fellow of the College, Mathematical Professor there, and Minister of *James City*, wherein these Matters are handled in a clerical manner, by a Hand more worthy of the Subject than a Lay one can pretend to; only I cannot help objecting to that Divine's laudable Zeal against Protestant Dissenters; he should not, methinks, have pressed to the Legislature the worst Part of the *Schism Bill*, by taking away the Liberty of teaching Children to read without Licence from the Parson of the Parish, or President of the College, who on the present Footing, will never grant it to any one in Communion with the Church of *New-England*, or of the Religion in any Part of the World. I shall only add the Minister's edifying Complaint of the Causes of the Decay of Christian Piety there, if a thing can be properly said to decay that never flourished. *In Virginia there is no Ecclesiastical Court, so that Vice, Profaneness and Immorality are not suppress'd. The People hate the very Name of the Bishop's Court, there are no Visitations, and the Churches are not consecrated, there are no Confirmations; Ministers are often obliged to preach Sermons in Houses.* There is a great deal more on this Subject, which he closes thus: *All which things make it absolutely necessary for a Bishop to be settled there, to pave the way for Mitres in the English America.* I am satisfied a common Reader will be content with this Sample of the reverend Author's Church History.

In the former Chapter of this Treatise we have mentioned the Project of a College, which was built at *Middle Plantation*, now called *Williamsburgh*, mostly at the Charge of their late Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, who gave 2000*l.* towards it, and 20000 Acres of Land, the Duty of 1*d.* Pound on all Tobacco exported from *Virginia* and *Maryland* to the Plantations, and the Surveyor-General's Place, which was then vacant. He also granted them the Privilege of sending a Member to the Assembly. The Assembly afterwards added a Duty on Skins and Furs. The whole Profit amounts now to above 4000*l.* a Year

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Year, and the Revenue increases yearly. The Foundation
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A President.
 Masters, or Professors; the chief Master was to have
 100 l. a Year.
 100 Scholars, Graduates or Non-graduates.

They were enabled to purchase and hold to the Value of
 1000 l. a Year, and were to be governed and visited by
 certain Gentlemen named in the Charter, who were to be
 called the Governors and Visitors; and upon the Death of
 any one of them, were impower'd to choose another in his
 place. One of these was to be Rector, and their Number
 all to be 18. They were to name the President, Ma-
 sters, and other Officers of the College, and had Power to
 make Statutes and Ordinances. The Building, when per-
 fect, was to consist of a Quadrangle, and two Sides of it
 were carried up. The Kitchen, Brewhouse and Bakehouse
 were finish'd.

The Professors were to read on all the liberal Sciences;
 Agriculture, Architecture, Art Military, Navigation,
 Gardning, Trade, and Manufactures, once a Week from
 Easter to Michaelmas, and twice a Week from Michaelmas
 to Easter. They began upon Experiments of Plants, Mine-
 rals, and were assisted by the French in the Monachan Town;
 their own Lead, Iron and Copper-Mines in the Appallean
 Mountains were under their Consideration, when the Fire
 put an End to their College and Studies.

The first President of the College by Charter, was Mr.
 Blair. Dr. Bray, who went to Virginia, procured con-
 siderable Contributions in England, towards collecting a Li-
 brary. It proceeded so far, that there was a Commence-
 ment there in the Year 1700, at which there was a great
 Concourse of People; several Planters came thither in their
 Coaches, and several in Sloops from *New-York*, *Pensylvania*
 and *Maryland*. It being a new thing in *America* to hear
 Graduates perform their Academical Exercises, the *Indians*
 themselves had the Curiosity to come to *Williamsburgh* on
 this Occasion, and the whole Country rejoiced as if they
 had some Relish of Learning.

C H A P V

Of the Climate, the Soil, and its Productions,
Trees, Seeds, Plants, Roots, Fruits and Flowers.

WE may imagine, by the Situation of the Country, that the Climate is healthy; and indeed it generally agrees well with *English* Constitutions. 'Tis full of Rivers, and consequently the Soil very fruitful. The Sickness that the *English* who go thither complain of, is occasioned by Folly, Intemperance, or Carelessness; and a sober prudent Man will not only find every thing that preserves and confirms Health, but also all things that are charming, by the Beauty of the Prospect, and the Delight, the Fragrancy of the Fields and Gardens, the Brightness of the Sky, and Serenity of the Air affects the ravish'd Senses. The greatest Disturbance the People meet with there, are terrible Claps of Thunder, which however do very little Harm; the excessive Heats of the Summer, against which the Inhabitants are defended by the cool Shades of the Woods and Groves, and stinging Insects, as Frogs, Snakes, Musketa's, Chinchilla Seed-takes and Red-worms. The Rattle-snake is most talked of, and his Bite, without a present Application, is infallible Death; but the Remedies are so well known, that there ne'er a Servant, and scarce a Slave, who cannot cure it immediately, by applying the Rattle-snake's Heart to it, which restores the Patient in two or three Hours. Besides, 'tis very rare here, that these or any of the other poisonous Snakes are to be seen. The Musketa's are troublesome, like Gnats in Marshy Ground in *England*, but are only found in the Fenny Places there. They are stronger, and continue longer than the Gnats in *England*. As to the other Insects, there are ways to get rid of them, and the Trouble they put the People to is not worth naming. The Winter in all *Virginia* does not continue above three or four Months, *December, January, February,* and *March*, in which thirty or forty Days only are very bad Weather. The Frosts are severe, but attended with a clear Sky, and don't last long. The Rains are frequent and refreshing, and the Heats of the Summer, which are most violent in *June, July* and *August*, are much mitigated by them, and the fresh Breezes that are common in this Country contribute much

uch to render the Heat tolerable to new Comers, and
ably sensible to the Inhabitants.

The Soil in general is a rich fat Mould three Foot deep,
and under it a Loam, of which they make a fine Brick;
and according as the Situation is moist or dry, the Soil va-
rieth. 'Tis distinguish'd into three Sorts, *High, Low* and
Marshy, all which having Sand mix'd with them, makes their
Land warmer than *Old-England*. The Highlands are most
fertile: However, they bear good Crops of Tobacco, only
the Soil does not hold in Strength so long as the Low-Lands,
which are very rich, being a blackish Mould about a Foot
deep, and this Soil will hold its Strength seven or eight
Crops without manuring. Their Marsh-Lands bear Sedges
and Rushes like ours, and are unimproved. Their Land, in
general, is as good as in *England*; that at the Mouth of
the Rivers is moist and fat, and produces Rice, Hemp and
Indian Corn. There are Veins of cold, hungry, sandy
Soil, where Huckleberries, Cranberries, and Chinkapins ge-
nerally grow. Also Oaks, Poplars, Pines, Cedar, Cypress
and Sweet-Gums, Hockly, Sweet-Myrtle, and the Live
Oak are found here in great Quantities. The Land higher
up the River is a various Soil, and stored with Chestnuts,
Chinkapins, Oaks, Walnut, Hickories, Dogwood, Elder,
Hazel, Locust, Sassafras, Elm, Ash, Beech and Poplar.
The Land at the Heads of the Rivers, and its Productions
are also various. Here are Trees of an incredible Bigness,
and Plenty of Pasture-Ground, Physick-Earth, Dyers-Wares,
Coal, Quarries of Stone, Iron and Lead-Mines; Col. *Byrd*
being at this time searching for one, which was formerly
work'd, but destroyed at the Massacre, as is related in the
first Chapter; and Mr. *Wittaker*, Minister of *Henrico*, be-
fore the Dissolution of the Company, wrote home, That
not far from the Fall, there was found some Silver Ore.
Thus we see *Virginia* abounds in every thing that is for the
Pleasure or Profit of the Inhabitants. We shall now de-
scribe some of the chief Productions of the Soil, and speak
first of the Timber-trees, of which the most useful are Oak,
Cedar, Cypress, Firs, two Sorts of Elm, Walnut and Ash.
The Oaks are commonly of such prodigious Bigness, that
they will measure two Foot Square at 60 Foot high. The
first Ships that went to *Virginia* were used to load with
Cedar and Clapboard, but some richer Commodities have
been exported. There is not much of this Timber sent a-
broad, tho' the Country was then full of Woods: They
were so clear from Bushes, Briars and Underwood, that a Man
might have been seen above a Mile and a half among them,

and the Trees stood at that Distance, that a Cart or Coach might have been driven thro' the thickest of the Trees, they having no Boughs to a great Height; yet they were so tufted, that they afforded a very comfortable Shade in Summer. Yet tho' the Grapes are juicy and plenty, all that have attempted to get into the Wine Trade, to raise Vineyards and make Wine have never been able to bring their Designs to Perfection. The Reasons are, because the Fir and Pine-tree, with which the Country abounds, are noxious to the Vine, and the Experiments that have been made were in the Low-lands, subject to the Pine, and near the malignant Influence of the fresh Water. This ruined Monsieur *Jamart*, a French Merchant, who had a Vineyard on *James River*, near *Archer's Hope Creek*; and Sir *William Berkley's* had the same Inconveniencies, and the same Fate. Several French *Vignerons* were sent over in 1621 the Year before the Massacre, and wrote over very promising Letters of the Country, and the Vineyard they were raising; but that bloody Treason of the Savages put an End to them and their Undertaking, which the French Refugees at the *Monacan Town* talk of reviving. There are plenty of Shrubs, as well as of Timber; and besides the Berry we have before mentioned, there is a Brier growing something like the *Sassafrilla*. The Berry is as big as a Pea, round and of a bright crimson Colour. Besides the *Sassafras-tree* whose Root was formerly one of the best Commodities that came from hence: Here are several sorts of Gums and Drugs and most of the Shrubs that grow in *England*, or other parts of *Europe*. The whole Country is interspersed with an incredible Variety of Plants and Flowers, there being scarce any kind of either which does not thrive wonderfully in *Virginia*, and the Fruits are equally plentiful and pleasant.

Of Stone-Fruits, they have here Plumbs and Persimmons or *Putchamimes*. Here are three sorts of Cherries, which are as plentiful as they are in *Kent*, and larger than the *English*. The one grows in Bunches, like Grapes; the other is black without and red within. The third is the *Indian Cherry*, and grows up higher than the others do. Here is such Plenty of Peaches, that they give them to their Hogs; some of them, call'd *Malachotoons*, are as big as a Lemon, and resemble it a little. Quinces they have in abundance, as also Pumpions and Muskmelons. The Plumbs that grow here are the black and the Murrey Plumb. The *English* sorts of Plumbs do not ripen so kindly as they do in *England*. Their wild Plumb is like our White Plumb. The Persimmons or *Putchamimes* are of several Sizes, from the Bigness of a Damson to that of a Bergamot Pear; when 'tis eaten

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ripe, 'tis as delicious as an Apricot; but if green, 'tis dan-
 gerous and causes Gripes and Convulsions. Their Taste and
 Colour resemble those of a Cherry; all those Fruits grow
 wild, and without cultivating, as most of those do that we
 have already treated of. Apples and Pears are so plentiful,
 that 50 Buts of Perry, and as many of Cyder, have been
 made out of two Orchards, few of which have less than 11
 or 1200 Trees. The Bergamot and Warden are the most
 common. There's great Store of Quinces in *Virginia*, of
 which the People used to make Quince-Drink. Their
 Messamines are a kind of Grapes; the Cheinquamine is a
 kind of Fruit resembling a Chestnut; the Rawcamen, like
 a Gooseberry; the Macoquez, a kind of Apple; Matraque-
 sumauks, a Fruit like an *Indian* Fig; Matococks a kind of
 Strawberry; *Oconghtanamins*, like a *Caper*; Figs grow as
 well there as in *Spain*; but Oranges and Lemons do not
 thrive. Besides the common Acorns, the *Virginians* find an-
 other sort, with which the Natives used to make a sweet Oil
 to anoint their Joints; and another sort of Acorn, better
 than the ordinary, the *Indians* dried and kept for their Win-
 ter Food, when Corn was scarce. Of Roots, they have the
 Puccoon and Musquasfern, the Juice of which is of a plea-
 sant Colour, and the *Indians* made use of it to paint their
 Bodies and Warlike Arms. The Tockawaeigh, a very
 wholesom and savory Root. Shumack, Chapacour, and the
 famous Snake-root, so much admired in *England* for being a
 Cordial, and an Antidote in all pestilential Diseases. There
 is no kind of Garden Root but what they have in Perfection;
 Sallad-herbs and Pot-herbs grow there spontaneously, as do
 Purslain, Sorrel, &c. Their Flowers are as fine as any in
 the World; such as the Crown-Imperial, the Cardinal-
 Flower, the Moccasin-Flower, the Tulip-bearing-Laurel, the
 Tulip-tree, the Locust, like the *Jessamin*, the Perfuming-
 Crab-tree, and the Assentamin, a kind of Pink. They have
 Plenty of Muskmelons, Water-melons, Pumpions, Cushaws,
 Macocks and Gourds. Their Cushaws are a kind of Pum-
 pions of a blueish-green Colour, streak'd with white. Their
 Macocks are a less sort of Pumpions; there are several kinds
 of them: The Savages never eat the Gourds, planting them
 only for the Shells, which serve them instead of Flaggons
 and Cups. The *Indians* had Pease, Beans and Potatoes be-
 fore the *English* came among them; but the Staff of their
 Food was their Corn; of which we have given a large De-
 scription in the History of *New-England*.

Plantain of all sorts grow wild in the Woods; as also
 Yellow-Dock and Burdock, Solomon's-seal, Egrimony,
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Centery, Scabions, Groundfel, Dwarf-Elder, yellow and white Maiden-hair; Afarum is gather'd on the Sides of the Hills, and Soldanalla on the Bay-side. Their Dittany grows a Foot and a half high; the Water distill'd from it the best Medicine for the Worms. The Turbil and Mechoacan, or Roots exactly like them, grow there.

Tobacco is the standing Commodity of the Country, and is so beneficial to the Planter, and so natural to the Soil, that all other Improvements give place to that. Indeed they could turn their Hands to nothing that would employ so many Slaves and Servants, and require so little Stock to manage it, or take up such a large Tract of Land; for the same Ground that is planted every Year with Tobacco, would produce, if Corn was sown there, more than all the Plantations in *America* could consume. This Plant is so common in *England*, that we need not describe it: It grows much like a Dock; and whereas, in our Gardens, it must be managed with as much Care as the choicest Fruit or Flower, in *Virginia* they leave it expos'd to all the Injuries of the Weather, which is very favourable to it, and 'tis seldom that the Crop suffers by it. The Tobacco of this Plantation was not at first so good as 'tis now. That of *Brazil* had once the greatest Reputation all over *Europe*; but now *Virginia* and *Maryland* has the best Price in all Markets. 'Tis not known how the *Indians* cured theirs; they now have it all from the *English*. 'Tis said they used to let it run to Seed, only succouring the Leaves, to keep the Sprouts from growing up and starving them. When it was ripe, they pull'd them off, cured them in the Sun, and laid them up for use. The *Virginia* Planters sow the Tobacco-Seeds in Beds, as the Gardeners in *England* do Colwort-Seeds; they leave them there a Month, taking care all that time to have them well weeded. When the Plants are about the Breadth of ones Hand, they are removed in the first rainy Weather, and transplanted into what they call Tobacco Hills. In a Month's time the Plants will be a Foot high, and they top them, and then prune off all the bottom Leaves, leaving only seven or eight on the Stalk, that they may be the better fed by the Top, and these Leaves, in six Weeks time will be in their full Growth. The Planters prune off the Suckers, and clear them of the Horn-worm twice a Week, which is call'd Worming and Suckering; and this Work lasts three Weeks or a Month; by which time the Leaf from green begins to turn to brownish, and to spot, and to thicken, which is a Sign of its ripening. As fast as the Plants ripen you must cut them down, leave them

them in the Field for half a Day, then heap them up, let them lie and sweat a Night, and the next Day carry them to the Tobacco-house, where every Plant is hanged one by another, at a convenient Distance, for about a Month or five Weeks; at the End of which time they strike or take them down in moist Weather, when the Leaf gives, or else will crumble to Dust; after which they are laid upon Sticks, and cover'd up close in the *Tobacco-house* for a Week or a Fortnight to sweat, and then opening the Bulk in a wet Day, the Servants strip them and sort them, the top Leaves being the best, and the bottom the worst Tobacco. The last Work is to pack it in Hogheads, or bundle it up, which is also done in a wet Season; for in the curing Tobacco, wet Seasons are as necessary as dry, to make the Leaf pliant, which would otherwise be brittle and break. They take a great deal of Pains with it now, and with all their Trouble can scarce make it turn to Account. The *English* have carried over a thousand several sorts of the Productions of Nature, and have found all to succeed there: They have had such extraordinary Success with Apples and Pears, that there's never a Planter but has an Orchard, and makes large Quantities of Cyder and Perry, which is some of their common Drinks, and there is nothing in *England* belonging either to a Garden or Orchard, but what they have, or may have there in as great or greater Perfection.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Beasts, Birds, and Fish.

THE Beasts that are peculiar to this Country are the *Aronghena*, somewhat like a Badger. The *Assapanick*, or flying Squirrel; the *Mussascus*, a kind of Water-Rat; the *Utchunquois*, a wild Cat; the *Opassum*, a certain Animal, whose Female has a Bag under her Belly, wherein she carries her young one. The Woods are stock'd with Deer, the same in kind with ours in *England*, and larger and fatter for the most Part. There are *Raccoons*, *Beavers*, *Otters*, *Foxes*, wild Cats, *Martins* and *Minks* in the Freshes. The *Indians* are dextrous in catching them, and keep the Secret to themselves, that they may preserve the Fur Trade, which otherwise the *English* would soon drive them out of. *Lions*, *Leopards*,

Leopards, Elks, Bears and Wolves, especially the latter, are met with in *Virginia*, tho' not so frequently as in some other Parts of *North America*, and the Wolves are not much bigger than *English* Foxes. This Country was not overstock'd with any kind of Beasts, either wild or tame, when the *English* discover'd it, and the Cattle that are now to be found there, are all of *English* Breeding: Horses are as plenty and as good as in *England*.

Having mentioned the flying Squirrel, we think the Reader will not be displeas'd with a Description of it. This Creature has a fleshy Substance, which it extends in its skipping from one Tree to another, like Wings, and by the Help of these, he will fly, or rather skip, 30 or 40 Yards at a time, from Tree to Tree. The Opossum has a Head like a Hog, and a Tail like a Rat; 'tis about the Bigness of a Cat, and the false Belly, in which the Female carries her Young, is thus described by one that saw it. 'Tis like a loose Skin quite over the Belly, which never sticks to the Flesh, but may be look'd into at all times, after they have been concern'd in Procreation. In the hinder Part of it is an Overture big enough for a small Hand to pass, and thither the young ones, after they are full haired, and strong enough to run about, fly when any Danger appears, or when they go to rest or suck, and continue to do so till they have learned to live without their Dam. The strangest Part of this Description is, that the young ones are bred in this false Belly, without ever having been in the true one. They are form'd at the Teat, and grow there for several Weeks together, till they are in perfect Shape, and have Strength, Sight and Hair: They then drop off, and rest in this false Belly, going in and out at Pleasure. The Person from whom we took the Description says, he has seen them thus fasten'd to the Teat, from the Bigness of a Fly till they became as large as a Mouse. Neither is it any Hurt to the old one to open the Bag, and look in upon her Young. Some Panthers, Buffaloes and wild Hogs, which yield equal Pleasure and Profit to the Hunter, are caught up in the Country, near the Heads of the Rivers. The Reason of there being few Sheep, is because the Country is not yet cleared of Wolves; all other Beasts that are reckon'd wild, do no Damage to the *Virginians*, flying from the Face of a Man whenever they see one; and the Planters, by Pasture-Fences, secure their Cattle and Hogs from them. There were no Rats nor Mice there when the *English* first landed; but they soon multiplied so from the *English* Shipping, that once there was like to have been a Sort of Rat-

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Plague among the Planters. The *Virginian* Water-Rat,
the *Mussascus*, smells like Musk. Pole-cats and Weasels are
sometimes to be seen there; but the Plenty of Hares and
Rabbits make Amends for it.

There is no Country more remarkable for the Variety of
Birds in it than *Virginia*, where the Woods and Groves in
the Spring, Summer, Autumn, and almost all the Year, are
render'd as delightful by the Musick of the feather'd Choirs,
as by the Coolness of their Shades, or the Fragrancy of their
Flowers. Among these the Rock-Birds are the most di-
verting; they love Society so well, that whenever they see
Mankind, they will perch upon a Twig near the Person,
and sing the sweetest Airs in the World. The next is the
Humming-Bird, who revels among the Flowers, and licks
off the Dew and Honey from their Leaves. 'Tis not half
so large as an *English* Wren, and its Colour is a shining
Mixture of Scarlet, Green and Gold. There are Black-
birds with red Shoulders, that come in prodigious Flights out
of the Woods about the Fall of the Leaf; a sort of Nightin-
gale, whose Feathers are very gay, of a crimson and blue
Colour; but it seldom or never sings. The Mock-bird comes
in about *March*, and stays till *June*, and in Bigness and
Colour is like a Thrush. The Herons there are very large,
and the Partridges very small. There's great Variety of
wild Fowl, as Swans, Geese, Brants, Sheldrakes, Ducks,
Mallard, Teal, Bluewings, Cranes, Curlews, Snipes, Wood-
cocks, Ox-Eyes, Plover, Larks, Pheasants, Pigeons; and
which is best of all of them, wild Turkeys, much larger
than our tame; they are in Season all the Year. The *Vir-
ginians* have several ingenious Devices to take them; among
others, a Trap, wherein 16 or 17 have been caught at a
time.

As for Fish, there's such prodigious Plenty of them, that
'tis hardly credible to an *European*. Some of the Stories that
have been told of it are certainly romantick, and are rejected
as fictitious, such as Shoals of Fishes, swimming with their
Heads above Water, and to be taken by Hand, loading a
Canoo with Fish in the open Sea by one *Indian* in half an
Hour; but 'tis certain that no Rivers in the World are better
stored than theirs, and that the *Virginian* Sea-Coast abounds
in Cod and Sturgeon, of which some are eight Foot long.
Indeed there's scarce any Fish but what may be caught either
in the Sea or the Rivers; and yet there's only one sort pecu-
liar to this Country, which is the Stinggrass. 'Tis good to
eat; but has a long Tail, with a very dangerous Sting in it.
There are other strange Fishes; but then they are also to be
found

found in most Parts of *North America*, such as the Coney Fish, Rock-Fish, Cat-Fish, and a Fish in the Form of a Dragon, to which there's no Name as yet assigned in our Language. The Toad-Fish, when 'tis taken out of the Water, swells till 'tis like to burst. Muscles and Oysters are very plentiful in *Virginia*, and so large that some of them are as big as a Horse's Hoof. Pearl has been often found in the Shells; the *Indians* had large, but the *English* found only Seed-Pearl, of which good Quantities have been sent to *England*. In the Spring-time the Brooks and Fords are full of Herrings, which come up to spawn there, that 'tis almost impossible to ride through without treading on them. The Rivers are also at that time stock'd with Shads, Rock Sturgeon and Lampreys, which fasten themselves to the Shoals in the salt Water, at certain times of the Year, there are Shoals of other Fishes; such as the *Old Wife*, something like a Herring, and the Sheeps-head, which the *Virginians* esteem in the Number of their best. Black and red Drums, Trout, Taylors, Green-fish, Sun-fish, Bass, Chub, Place, Flounders, Whittings, Flatbacks, Maids, Wives, small Turtle Crabs, Cockles, Shrimps, Needle-fish, Breme, Carp, Pike, Jack, Mulletts, Eels, and Perch. These are to be found in the Rivers and Brooks all the Summer long, and are eaten by the People. Those that follow are not eaten: The Whale, Porpus, Shark, Dog-fish, Gar, Thornback, Saw-fish, Land-Crabs, Fidlers and Periwinkles. Many of these Fishes will leap into Canoos and Boats, as the *English* or *Indians* cross a River; and there's such Quantities of them, that they often tire the Sportsmen with taking them; whereas in *England* they are generally tired for want of it. The manner of Fishing-Hawks preying upon Fish is very diverting. The Sport is to be seen every Summer in the Mornings and sometimes all Day long. These Hawks are wonderful eager after their Game, when the Fish first come in the Spring. In the dead of the Winter 'tis supposed they fish further off at Sea, or remain among the uninhabited Islands upon the Sea-Coast. They have often been seen to catch Fish out of the Water, and as they were flying away with their Quarry, the bald Eagles have taken it from them again. The Fishing-Hawk will hover over the Water, and rest upon the Wing some Minutes together; and then from a vast Heigth dart down directly into the Water, and plunge into it for the space of half a Minute, and at last bring up a Fish with him, so big, that he can hardly carry it. When he is on the Wing, he shakes himself so strongly, that the Water comes off of him like a Mist, and then he flies to the

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Woods with his Prey, unless the bald Eagle intercepts him,
 and takes it away from him. This Bird, as soon as he per-
 ceives the Fishing-Hawk with his Game in his Mouth, pur-
 sues him, and strives to get above him in the Air, which
 if he can do, the Hawk lets his Fish drop, and the Eagle
 leaves him to take up his Prey, which she shoots after with
 such surprizing Swiftness, that he catches it in the Air, be-
 fore it falls to the Ground. These Fishing-Hawks, when
 the Seasons are extraordinary plentiful, will catch a Fish, and
 chatter about with it in the Air, on purpose to have a Chace
 with the Eagle for it; and if the Eagle does not come, he'll
 make a daring Noise, as if it were to defy him. This Sport
 has frequently been seen by the *English*, and by the De-
 scription of it, must certainly be extremely pleasant to the
 Spectators.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Coins in *Virginia*; of the Trade to and from
England, and other Parts of *Europe* and *America*:
 the prodigious Revenue that the Customs of To-
 bacco brings in; the Advantage that Trade has
 been to *England*, and the Disadvantages it lies
 under.

THO' the common way of Traffick there is by Barter
 or Exchange of one Commodity for another, or of
 any for Tobacco; yet there is some Silver Coins, *English*
 and *Spanish*, and were much more, till the lowering of the
 Value tempted People to export the Coin to the other
 Plantations, where it went for more than it did in *Virginia*.
 The chief of their Coins are either Gold of the Stamp of *Ara-
 bia*, or Silver and Gold of the Stamp of *Spanish America*, or
English Money. There's very little of either kind to be
 seen in this Country, for the Reasons above-mentioned:
 The Governments round about it often raising the Value of
 the Coin, is the Cause that *Virginia* is drained of the little it
 has. And 'tis impossible to prevent this Inconvenience, un-
 less all the Colonies on the Continent were obliged to have
 one and the same Standard for their Coin, which there
 have lately been some Attempts made to effect, tho' with-
 out

out the Success that was expected and desired. The Scarcity of Money is such in this Plantation, that Gentlemen can hardly get enough for travelling Charges, or to pay Labourers and Tradesmens Wages. It occasions also the commencing many vexatious Suits for Debt, which for this means are contracted. The Value of the several Coins that are there is as follows:

	l.	s.	d.
The <i>Spanish</i> Double Doublon, - - -	03	10	00
The Doublon, consequently, - - -	01	15	00
The Pistole, - - - - -	00	17	06
<i>Arabian</i> Chequins, - - - - -	00	10	00
Pieces of Eight (except of <i>Peru</i>) weigh- ing 16 Penny-weight, - - - - -	00	05	00
<i>French</i> Crowns, - - - - -	00	05	00
<i>Peru</i> Pieces of Eight, and <i>Dutch</i> Dollars,	00	04	00

And all *English* Coin as it goes in *England*.

The Trade of this Colony, as well as that of *Maryland*, consists almost entirely of Tobacco; for tho' the Country would produce several extraordinary Commodities fit for Trade, yet the Planters are so wholly bent on planting Tobacco, that they seem to have laid aside all Thoughts of other Improvements. This Trade is brought to such Perfection, that the *Virginian* Tobacco, especially the sweet-scented, which grows on *York* River, is reckoned the best in the World, and is what is generally vended in *England* for a home Consumption. The other Sorts, call'd *Oranogac* and that of *Maryland*, are hotter in the Mouth; but they turn to as good an Account, being in demand in *Holland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden* and *Germany*. Of this Commodity 30000 Hogsheds have been exported yearly, which, besides the other Advantages that the *English* reap by it, have clear'd 5 *l.* a Hogshed in a foreign Market, and increased the general Stock of the Nation 150000 *l.* a Year. The whole Trade of Tobacco is indeed one of the most profitable of all the *English* Commerce; it employs above 200 Sail of stout Ships every Year, and brings in between 3 and 400000 *l.* to her Majesty's Treasury, one Year with another. Tho' this Calculation may seem too extravagant to such as know nothing of this Trade, and to some who make Gueses of the Trade in general only, from their own in particular; yet it will appear to be modest to all that have Experience in the Matter. There are 200 Sail of Ships freighted with this Commodity *Communibus Annis*, from the whole Bay,

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in which we include the Province of *Maryland*; and, one
with another, we cannot reckon they carry less than 300
Hogsheads of Tobacco, in all 70000 Hogsheads, of which
half we suppose to be sold and spent in *England*; and the
Duty of those 35000 Hogsheads, at but 400 Weight of To-
bacco each, will come to 8 l. a Hogshead, and 280000 l.
for the Whole. The other Half which is exported will
not produce above a 5th Part so much in the Exchequer,
because all the Imposts are drawn back, and part of the Sub-
sidy; yet allowing but 50000 l. for the Duty of the 35000
Hogsheads exported, the whole Amount of the Customs for
the 70000 Hogsheads of Tobacco, will come to 330000 l.
a Year, and so much it certainly brings into the Exchequer
in a time of Peace. For in this War time our trade is more un-
certain, and a just Calculation of this Branch of it, in part, or
in the whole, cannot now be made; tho', considering that
the *Virginia* and *Maryland* Merchants have escaped much
better than those of *Barbados*, *Jamaica* and the *Charibbee*
Islands, our Estimate, with some Abatement, according to
the Number of Ships lost, may stand good. Some who
pretend to be very well acquainted with the *Virginia* Trade,
have assured us, that 100000 Hogsheads have been ship'd
off from *Virginia* and *Maryland* in a Year, and 40000 of
them spent in *England*; if so, we are rather too short in
our Account than too long, both with reference to the
Calculation of the Customs, and the Addition the Trade
makes to the National Stock. But we have kept as close
to Truth as we could by our own Experience, and the best
Information; and to render what we have said the more
credible to the Reader, 'tis necessary he should know how
vastly this Trade is improved in all Parts of *England*, as well
as in the Port of *London*. The Town of *Liverpool* has had
50 Sail of Ships uplade at her Key from thence in a Year, for
several Years past, reckoning one Year with another; many
of the Out-ports have 8 or 10 Sail employed yearly in the
Virginia Trade, and the City of *Bristol* is said to pay above
100000 l. a Year Duty for Tobacco herself, which will not
appear improbable, if what we are very credibly informed
by *Bristol* Men is true, that one Ship belonging to that
Port, call'd the *Bristol Merchant*, has paid 8 or 100000 l.
Custom every Year for these twenty Years last past; and very
often 30 or 40 Sail of Ships have come into the *Severn* at a
time bound for *Bristol*, besides Runners and Stragglers. If
the Out-ports together send 100 Sail to *Virginia* in a Year,
as we think we have sufficiently proved, *London* will more
than make up the other 100. And what we have said of
the

the Trade and the Customs, will seem very rational and certain.

Besides the vast Advantage that accrues to the National Stock, by the Exportation of Tobacco from *England* to all other Parts of *Europe*, we must consider how beneficial this Trade is, by the prodigious Number of Hands it employs, and Families it maintains in *England* and *Virginia*; no less than seventy thousand *English* Souls in *Virginia*, and as many in *England*. There are vast Quantities of Manufactures exported from hence daily to this Colony, who have all their Necessaries for Clothing, Labour and Luxury from *England*; and those Commodities that are sent hence lying most among Handicraft Trades, are such as employ the most Hands, feed the most Mouths, and consequently are the most beneficial to the Publick, such as *Weavers, Shoemakers, Hatters, Ironmongers, Turners, Joiners, Tailors, Cutlers, Smiths, Bakers, Brewers, Ropemakers, Hosiery*, and indeed all the Mechanicks in *England*; their Manufactures being good Merchandise in *Virginia*, when the Ignorance or Avarice of some Merchants do not glut the Market. The Commodities sent thither, besides Linen, Silks, *Indian* Goods, Wine, and other foreign Manufactures, are Cloth coarse and fine, Serges, Stuffs, Bays, Hats, and all sorts of Haberdashers Ware; Houghs, Bills, Axes, Nails, Adzes and other Iron Ware; Clothes ready-made, Knives, Bisket Flower, Stockings, Shoes, Caps for Servants; and in short every thing that is made in *England*.

They formerly drove a considerable Trade with Pipe Staves and Hoops from *Virginia* to *Madeira, Terceiras, Fial* and the other Islands call'd the *Azores*; but lately *New-England* and *New-York* have almost driven the *Virginians* out of that profitable Trade. They still keep part of the Trade to and from the Sugar Islands, on Account of the *York River* Tobacco, which is most smoked among the better sort of People; tho' the *Oranoc* will serve the Negroes, and the worst of the white Servants, as well or better than the sweet-scented. The *Virginia* Merchants and Planters export Tobacco, Cattle and Provisions to *Barbados* and the Leeward Islands; and in Exchange bring back Rum, Melasses and Sugar; for notwithstanding they make good Brandy of their own, and might have Sugar from their Sugar-tree, as has been proved by many Experiments; yet they are so lazy that they will be at no Pains to provide themselves with any thing which they can fetch elsewhere for Tobacco. There are several Trades which they might fall into, besides that of Tobacco, and which would be a Service to that Commo-

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city, because the less of it was made, the greater Price it
 would bear. The Country is certainly capable of large Im-
 provements, by the Timber Trade and its Appurtenances,
 as Pitch, Tar, and Rosin. They might also manufacture
 Flax, Hemp, Cotton, and even Silk, the three first Com-
 modities thriving there as well as in any Country in the
 World; and the Mulberry-tree feeding Silk-worms formerly
 in Abundance: *Edward Diggs*, Esq; was at great Charge
 and Pains to promote the Silk Manufacture, since it
 given over by others; but wanting Encouragement, he alto
 gave it over. Several of the late Governors have, for
 Reasons which they did not think fit to reveal, discouraged
 all such as went about Manufactures; and the Planters have
 been obliged to stick to their old Drudgery, the planting of
 Tobacco. Silk-Grafs grows there spontaneously in many
 Places, and may be cut several times in a Year. The Fibres
 of this Plant are as fine as Flax, and much stronger than
 Hemp. A Piece of Grogam was made of it in *Queen*
Elizabeth's Reign, and presented to her; and yet the *Eng-*
lish neglect it, and make no manner of Use of it; not so
 much as the *Indians* did, who made their Baskets, Fishing-
 Nets and Lines with it. The *Virginians* might also drive
 as good a Trade with Cattle and Provisions, Horses, Cows,
 Oxen, Beef, Pork, &c. as the People of *New-England* and
Carolina do. the Sugar-Islands; but all their Thoughts run
 upon Tobacco, and they make nothing of those Advantages,
 which would enrich an industrious People.

Indeed the Naval Stores that might be brought thence to
England for the Queen's and Merchants Service, are of such
 Consequence, that 'twould be well if some Care was taken
 to oblige them to manufacture them, and due Encourage-
 ment was given to do it. It seems a little unaccountable,
 why the *English*, whose Plantations are so well furnished with
 those Commodities, should be at the Charge of buying them
 in the *Baltick* with ready Money, such as Pitch, Tar, Rosin,
 Turpentine, Plank, Timber, Masts, Yards, and Cordage.
New-England and *Virginia* would plentifully supply all our
 Naval Wants, and we should not then be obliged to the
 People of the North, who do not always deal friendly or
 fairly by us. The *Virginians* are so far from thinking of
 improving these Manufactures, that tho' they see others send
 thither to build Ships, they seldom or never do it themselves.
 They not only neglect making a Trade of Provisions, but
 even to provide a necessary Store against an accidental Scar-
 city, contenting themselves with a Supply of Food from
 Hand to Mouth, insomuch that if a scarce Year should come,
 there

there would not be enough in the Country to subsist them three Months. The only Excuse that the *Virginians* can plead for their Laziness is, that their Industry was never encouraged. Their want of Towns hinders them from receiving many Advantages by the Fruitfulness of their Soil for the People who inhabited them would take those Commodities off their Hands, which every Planter in the Country is furnished with at home. By this want of Cohabitation they are incapable of making a beneficial Use of their Flax, Hemp, Cotton, Silk, Silk-Grafs and Wool, which might otherwise supply their Necessities from their Towns, and their Tobacco would enrich them, as we have shewed elsewhere. The greatest of their Discouragements is the high Duties on their Commodities, the Custom being often ten times as much as the prime Cost; and if it wants in Goodness, there is no Abatement for it; no Consideration for Losses, for high Freights and Premio's of Insurance, for small Crop, the Dearness of Hands, and other Accidents which may prove the Ruin of this Plantation: For when his Goods come to Market, after Custom and the Factor's Bill for Commission is paid, the Net Proceed comes to little. The poor Planter is not only disappointed in the Value of his Goods, but his Bills that he drew came back protested, and he is forced to pay exorbitant Interest, to prevent being sued, or forced to sign Judgments to the Merchant there, who having got the least hold of his Estate feeds him insensibly with Money, till the whole follows at a mean Rate. If this Fate does not attend his Bills, he is forced to buy the Necessaries at home at dear Rates, which he wrote for to *England*; and if he goes upon Trust, he gets at such Prices, that a Usurer blushes to extort, but Custom makes it look like lawful. If he sells his Tobacco in the Country, the Factors take Care to beat down the Price so low, that 'twill hardly pay for cultivating. How can this be remedied; you say, in War-time? By securing the Trade, which would make Insurances unnecessary: And how can it be secured? That Question has been so often answered to such as have the Care of these things, 'tis needless for us to decide it here. This we may venture to say, that the sending a Ship or two to this or other Colonies, under Commanders who think themselves Admirals, and defy all Power but their own, will never answer the End. A Representation of which was made to those that have the Management of these Affairs, in which 'twas said, *They make it their Business to oppose Authority, and when there is any Faction in any Place they are sure to join with them against the Governor; they will*

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The History of Virginia.

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in a Harbour for a Week together, without once going out
 to cruise. By their ill Usage of their Men they force them
 to run away from the Ship, and then they ruin the Merchants
 and Trade of the Place, by pressing away the Seamen from the
 Vessels. Some Instances of the ill Practices of these Cap-
 tains are mentioned. One of them, when he was at Virginia,
 neither spared the Gentlemen of the Country, the Queen's Of-
 ficers, nor the Governor himself, because they would not suffer
 him to marry a Gentleman's Daughter, when at the same
 time he had a Wife and Children at London. Upon which
 he attempted the Lives of the Gentlewoman's Father, several
 of her Relations, especially of a very worthy Gentleman, one
 Col. Cary, who courted the young Lady. The Governor was
 forced to secure the Peace: The Province being all in an
 Uproar by this Man's extravagant Actions. The Council of
 Maryland complained of another, representing, He was
 sicker for Bedlam than to command a Ship. And another at
 New-York. When the Lord Cornbury order'd him to take sever-
 al Vessels loaden with Provisions on her Majesty's Account, in
 Pennsylvania and Carolina, and convoy them to Jamaica, excus-
 ed himself, saying, His Ship was laid up and unrigg'd. They
 might have been ready before Christmas; but he would not go
 till the 25th of March, promising then to set sail: However, he
 lay in the Harbour till the latter End of May; all which time
 her Majesty paid Demurrage, the Provisions lying on board,
 which is great Damage. He refused to obey the Orders he re-
 ceiv'd to touch at Carolina, and take those Vessels under his
 Convoy.

But should we go about to write a History of all the Com-
 plaints that have been made against such Officers as these,
 for their Miscarriages in America, one might add another
 Volume to these of the Plantations.

We have also seen a State of Virginia, drawn by an In-
 habitant of North America, and presented to the Lords of
 Trade in England. The People are very numerous, dispersed
 through the whole Province. Their almost sole Business is plant-
 ing and improving Tobacco, even to that Degree, that most of
 them scarce allow themselves time to produce their necessary Pro-
 visions, and consequently take little Leisure to busy themselves a-
 bout Matters of State. They have always been respectful and
 obedient to Government, &c. Again, On every River of
 this Province there are Men in Number from ten to thirty,
 who by Trade and Industry have got very compleat Estates.
 These Gentlemen take Care to supply the poorer sort with Goods
 and Necessaries, and are sure to keep them always in their
 Debt, and consequently dependent on them. Out of this Num-

A State of
 Virginia.

ber are chosen her Majesty's Council, the Assembly, the Justice and Officers of the Government. Many of these Gentlemen have apply'd themselves of late Years to procure from their Governour good Laws, for the better Government and Improvement of the Country, &c. Again, They consider this Province is of far greater Advantage to her Majesty, than all the rest of the Provinces besides on the Main; and therefore falsly conclude, that they ought to have greater Privileges than the rest of her Majesty's Subjects. Farther, The Assembly think themselves entitled to all the Rights and Privileges of an English Parliament, and begin to search into the Records of that Honourable House, for Precedents to govern themselves by. The Council imagine, they almost stand upon equal Terms with the Right Honourable House of Lords. We think a great Part of what follows in this Representation might have been spared for we leave it as we found it.

Church Affairs.

The Society for propagating the Gospel, in the Account they have publish'd of their Success in America, tells us, Virginia is divided into fifty Parishes, and about thirty Churches. Here was also a noble College, erected for the Education of the American Youth, in the Studies of Divinity and Philosophy. A Maintenance for the Students has been settled but by Disuse has been impaired in many Places. Several Parishes are not supplied with Ministers, particularly in Princess Ann's County. There was no Mathematical Professor in William and Mary College. The Society have paid to Mr. Tyliard 20 l. and to Mr. Wallace of Elizabeth City Parish 15 l. in Books.

See an Account of the Society for propagating the Gospel, &c. p. 26.

Of the College above-mentioned we have spoken already but since that, have met with a better Account of it. A stately Fabrick was raised, a Royal Charter given, with ample Privileges and Immunities, a publick Fund was allotted for the Endowment of it, and a President appointed with an honourable Salary, &c. and in Honour of the Founder, it was call'd William and Mary College. But it could not be furnished with Professors and Students, nor advanced above Grammar-School, before the whole College was unfortunately destroyed by Fire. And the great Service Col. Nicholson did this Society, and the Cause of Religion in this Province while he was Governour, has been often acknowledged by them in publick and private.

We have nothing farther to observe relating to Virginia but that on the Death of Mr. Notte, my Lord Orkney's Deputy in the Government of this Colony, Col. Hunter was appointed his Successor in that honourable Post, A. D. 1701. On which he embark'd for this Province, and in his Passag

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... taken by the French, and carried into France; from
... he returned into England, and now waits for a Con-
... to Virginia.

We have only to add a List of the chief Officers, Civil
and Military, as is done in the other Parts of this Treatise,

Col. Hunter, Governor.
Edmund Jennings, Esq; President.

Dudley Diggs, Esq;	} Councillors.
Benjamin Harrison, Sen. Esq;	
Robert Carter, Esq;	
John Custis, Esq;	
The Rev. Mr. James Blaire,	
Philip Ludwell, Esq;	
Henry Duke, Esq;	
Robert Quarry, Esq;	
John Smith, Esq;	
John Lewis, Esq;	
William Churchill, Esq;	

Commissary to the Bishop of London, the Reverend

Mr. James Blaire.

Auditor of the Revenue, Dudley Diggs, Esq;

Secretary, Edmund Jennings, Esq;

Receiver-General, William Bird, Esq;

Collector of the Customs, Col. Gawen Corbin.

Attorney-General, Stephen Tompson.

THE
H I S T O R Y
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C A R O L I N A.

C H A P. I.

Containing an Account of the Discovery and Settlement of this Province, and of all the Wars, Factions, Disturbances, and other Events there, from that time to the present.

Discovery.

WE are not ignorant of the Pretences of the Concern'd in this Province, who affirm 'twas discover'd by *Sebastian Cabot*. Mr. *Archdale*, one of the Proprietors, in his printed Description of *Carolina*, says, *Henry VIII*, about the Year 1500, furnish'd Sir *Sebastian Cabot* with Shipping, (He was born at *Bristol*, tho' his Father was a Venetian) to make a Discovery; and he fell upon the Coast of *Florida*, and having sailed along the Continent a considerable way North-East, returned. But this does not appear in any authentick Historian, nor that Sir *Sebastian Cabot* ever got so far to the South.

Carolina is the Northern Part of the vast Region of *America*, which was discover'd by *John Ponce de Leon*, in the Year 1512. He made Land about 30 Degrees from the *Equator*, near the River of *San Matteo*, the most Southerly

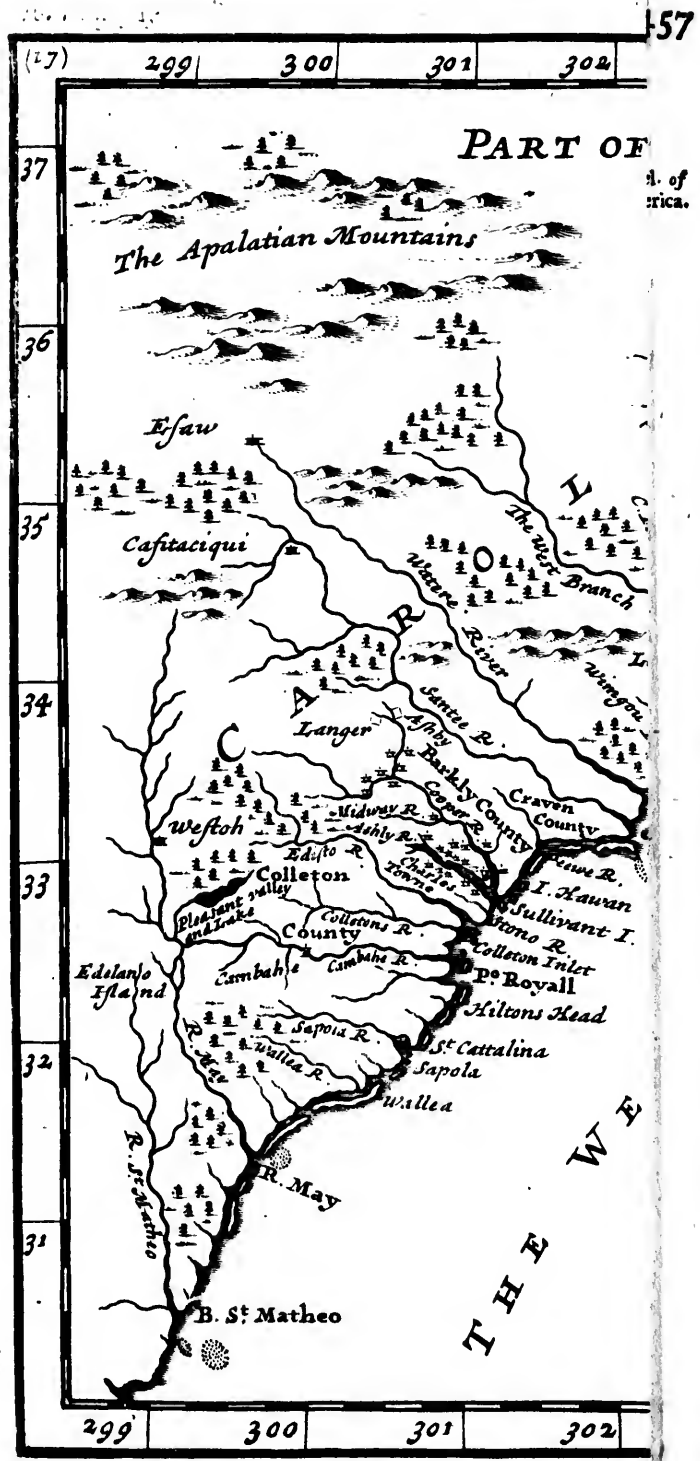
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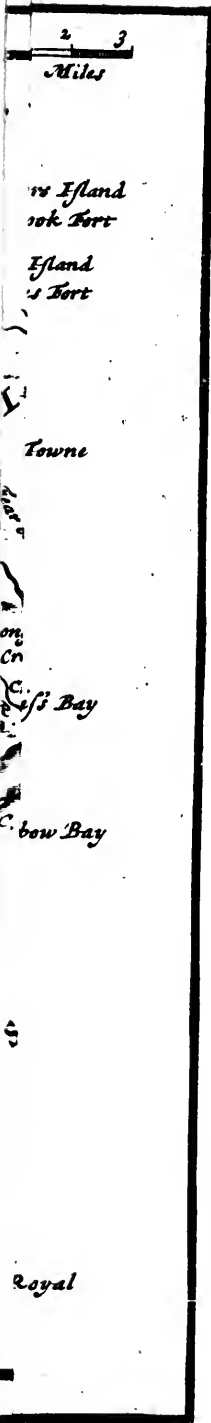


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by Part of this Province. He sailed thither from the Island of *Porto Rico*, and gave the Country the Name of *Florida*, for that the Face of it has the Resemblance of a continual Spring.

The *Spaniards*, who passionately desired to secure it to themselves, eight Years afterwards sent *Vasquez de Ayllon* to ^{Castel. of} *America*. to make a farther discovery of it, as belonging to *Charles V.* in whose Name *de Leon* had taken Possession of it. He came upon the North Coast, and call'd the North North-West River by the Name of *Jordan*. He did nothing memorable, except this infamous Action, of inviting many of the Natives aboard his Ships, where when he had got them, he hoisted Sail, and carried them into miserable Bondage.

In the Year 1526, *Charles V.* Emperor of *Germany* and King of *Spain*, sent *Pamphilio Narvesi* to *Florida*, who staid so long in the South-West Part of this Country, which is the most barren, that, says my Author, *they were fain to eat one another*, his Crew having spent their Provisions.

Ten Years afterwards, *Ferdinando a Soto* came hither in the Search of Gold and Silver Mines, having a little Army of 900 Foot, and 500 Horse. Himself and three Parts of his Soldiers died, either through Want, or by Sickness, or the *Indians*; and the rest were led back by *Lewis Moscos* to *New-Spain*, tho' not without great Difficulty; for the Natives setting upon them several times in their March, kill'd all that fell into their Hands.

This unfortunate and expensive Expedition so discouraged the *Spaniards*, that for several Years they made no more Attempts in these Parts; and indeed they search'd no farther than that Part of the Continent which lies opposite to the Gulph of *New-Spain*, and not within and beyond the Streights of *Bahama*, which includes that Part of the Country we are now treating of, and which is the most fertile and rich, abounding in several merchantable Commodities.

The *French* perceiving the *Spaniards* neglected this long Tract of Land, Admiral *Coligny*, in the Reign of *Charles IX.* procured two of the King's Ships to be sent thither, the Command of which he gave to *Jean Ribaut*, who, after a Voyage of two Months, arrived at the River of *Dolphins*, between that of *San Matteo* and that of *May*, lying about the 30th Degree.

The next River to that of *May*, he call'd the *Saine*; the next to that, the *Somme*; then the *Loire*; then the *Charente*, and the *Garonne*. At the Mouth of *Albemarle* River then called the *Great River*, the Port being safe and commodious, he built a Fort, which he call'd *Charles Fort*, and gave

gave it the Name of *Port Royal*, in 32 Degrees of Latitude, bordering on *Virginia*, now *North-Carolina*, where the first Settlement was made by any *European* Nation.

The Civil Wars raging in *France*, *Ribaut's* Soldiers mutinied, for Want of Supplies. The Natives, 'tis true, were very kind to them, out of Hatred to the *Spaniards*; but they could not furnish them with many Necessaries which they wanted; and the Admiral was so engaged in Politicks at home, that he had not Leisure to provide for the Wants of his Colony. So *Ribaut* having made some Discoveries in the North-East Part of *Florida*, returned to *France*; and, in his Return, if Credit may be given to an old Author, his Company were reduced to such Extremity, that they kill'd and eat one of their own Men; and probably would have done so by others, had they not accidentally met with an *English* Ship, the Master of which furnish'd them with some Provisions. A Peace being concluded two Years after in *France*, between the Papists and Protestants, *Coligny*, who was then in Favour at Court, procured other Ships to be sent to this Country, which was now call'd *Carolina*, from Fort *Charles*, as that was from the *French* King. The Command of those Ships, and the Men aboard, was given to *Lewis Laudoner*, who was order'd to carry on the Settlement. He arrived here the 20th of *June*, 1564, with three Ships, and was kindly received by the *Indians*; but could find no Gold and Silver Mines, tho' he spent much Labour and Time in Search after them. His Provisions being almost all gone, and the Natives either unable, or unwilling to furnish him with more, *Laudoner* resolv'd to return also to *France*: and as he was preparing to depart, *Jean Ribaut* arriv'd with three Ships, which had so good an Effect on the *Indians*, that they seem'd to be as welcome to them as to the *French*. The Kings of *Homoloa*, *Seravatri*, *Abracam*, *Malica* and *Castri* wait'd upon *Ribaut*, to congratulate his Arrival, and promis'd to conduct him to the *Apalataean* Mountains, which part *Carolina* from *Virginia*.

The *French* conceived great Hopes of this Settlement; but all vanish'd on the Arrival of the *Spaniards*, who with a Squadron of Ships and Land Forces, drove the *French* out of their Forts, kill'd *Ribaut* and 600 Men, after having given them Conditions of Life, and oblig'd *Laudoner*, with a few of his Countrymen who remained alive, to return to *France*.

The *French* King took no Notice of this Act of Violence committed on his Subjects, because they were Protestants; and indeed 'tis thought *Coligny* intended, by this Settlement,

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to secure a Retreat for himself, and his Brethren of the reformed Religion, in case they were conquer'd in France. Peter Melanda commanded the Spaniards, who dislodg'd the French, and so provoked the Indians by his Cruelty and Injustice, that they were very ready to revenge themselves when Opportunity offer'd, as it did not long after; for Capt. De Gorgues, a French Gentleman, at his own Cost, fitted out three stout Ships, and with 280 Men sail'd to Carolina, where he took the Fort, and put all the Spaniards within it to the Sword. They had built two other Forts, which he easily reduced, and served the Garrisons as he did that of Fort Charles. He demolish'd them, and was assisted by the Kings of Homoloa and Seravatri.

The French travell'd into the Dominions of the great King ^{Dav. of Kid.} of Apalacha, near the Mountains, where they converted ^{P 247.} many Indians to Christianity. These Indians were more civil than those to the Northward, their Kings Dominions larger, and their Manners, in a great measure, resembled the Mexicans.

We do not find that Monsieur de Gorgues made any Settlement here; or that the Spaniards attempted to recover the Country, which, from the Year 1567, lay deserted by all European Nations, till the Reign of King Charles II. of England. In the Year 1622, several English Families flying from the Massacres of the Indians in Virginia and New-England, were driven on these Coasts, and settl'd in the Province of Mallica, near the Head of the River of May, where they acted the Part of Missionaries among the Mallicans and Apalachites. The King of the Country is said to have been baptized; and in the Year 1653, Mr. Brigstock, an Englishman, went to Apalacha, where he was honourably entertain'd by his Countrymen, who were there before him; and from his Relation of the Country ours is taken.

It will not be unacceptable to the curious, to see a Description of Carolina, as it was before the English settl'd there, which we find very distinctly related in a Discourse printed ^{A Description of Old Carolina.} A. D. 1644. *The nearest River of any Note to Virginia, falling into the Sea, is the Jordan, which lies in 32 Degrees; from whence, about 20 Leagues downwards to the South, is the Promontory of St. Helen, near Port-Royal, which the French chose for the best and surest Place to begin their Plantations. Between the River Jordan and St. Helens, are Oristanum, Ostanum and Cayagna; Oristanum lying 6 Leagues from St. Helens, Ostanum 4 Leagues from Oristanum, and Cayagna 8 Leagues from Ostanum. From St. Helens to Dos Baxos Haven is 5 Leagues. From thence to the Bay de Asapo 3 Leagues,*

Castell. p. 33.

Leagues, thence to Cafanufium 3, to Capula 5, to Saron 9, to S. Alcany 14, and to S. Peter 20 Leagues, lying in 31 Degrees of Latitude. The next Place is San Mattæo, 5 Leagues from St. Peter.

'Twill be difficult for an Inhabitant of the present *Carolina* to reconcile all these Names to the modern, and the old Description to the new; wherefore we shall not pretend to it, at least but occasionally, and where we can be almost sure that we are in the right.

This Country having been abandoned by all *European* Nations for near 100 Years, it seem'd reasonable then, that any one who would be at the Expence of settling upon it, and cultivate it, should possess it; and the Pretence of *Sebastian Cabot's* discovering it gave the Crown of *England* a Title to it, which King *Charles II.* asserted; for some Noblemen and Gentlemen begging it of him, he made a Grant of it, by a Patent bearing Date the 24th of *March*, 1663, to *Edward Earl of Clarendon*, then Lord High Chancellor of *England*, *George Duke of Albemarle*, *William Lord Craven*, *John Lord Berkley*, *Anthony Lord Ashley*, *Sir George Carteret*, *Sir William Berkley*, and *Sir John Colliton*; who, to use the Words of the Grand Charter, being excited with a laudable and pious Zeal, for the Propagation of the Gospel, begg'd a certain Country in the Parts of *America* not yet cultivated and planted, and only inhabited by some barbarous People, who had no Knowledge of God, &c. wherefore the King granted them all that Territory in his Dominions in *America*, from the North End of the Island call'd *Lucre-Island*, which lies in the Southern *Virginian Sea*, and within 36 Degrees of North Latitude; and to the West as far as the *South Seas*; and so Southernly as far as the River *San Mattæo*, which borders on the Coast of *Florida*, and is within 31 Degrees of North Latitude, and so West, in a direct Line, as far as the *South Seas* aforesaid. With all Royal Fisheries, Mines, Power of Life and Limb, and every thing necessary in an absolute Propriety, paying a Quit-rent of 20 Marks yearly.

We are not to enter into the Merits of the Cause, nor enquire by what Right King *Charles* became possess'd of this Province, and *Carolina* to be a Part of his Dominions in *America*; 'tis enough for us, that he gave the Proprietaries such a Charter, and that they proceeded towards a Settlement by virtue of it, which was in a few Years effected. Whatever has been said of the *French* and *Spaniards*, 'tis but just, that if one Nation does not think a Country worth cultivating, and deserts it, another, who has a better Opinion of it, may enter upon it, by the Law of Nature and Reason.

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The Proprietaries, after they had got their Charter, gave due Encouragement for Persons to settle in this Province, and there being exprefs Provision made in it for a Toleration and Indulgence to all Christians in the free Exercise of their Religion, great Numbers of Protestants, Dissenters from the Church of *England*, retired thither.

This Toleration appears so firm by this Charter, that we wonder any Palatine could presume to break in upon it. The King granted the Proprietaries full and free License, Liberty and Authority, by such legal ways and means as they shall think fit, to give unto such Person and Persons, inhabiting and being within the said Province, or any Part thereof, who really in their Judgments, and for Conscience sake, cannot or shall not conform to the Liturgy, Form and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, and take and subscribe the Oaths and Articles, made and establish'd in that Behalf, or any of them, such Indulgences and Dispensations in that Behalf, for and during such time and times, and with such Limitations and Restrictions as they, &c. shall think fit.

Let us now see what the Proprietaries did, pursuant to the Power the King has invested them with, to grant Liberty of Conscience. We cannot have a better Authority than the *Case of the Dissenters in Carolina*, publish'd lately by a Gentleman of this Province.

The first Proprietors were so sensible that nothing could people that Province, and enrich it, but an universal and absolute Toleration, that they made the most exprefs and ample Provision for such a Toleration that ever was made in any Constitution in the World, as may be seen in the 96, 101, 102, 106 Articles of the Fundamental Constitutions; which provide, as the Lords Proprietaries word it in those Constitutions, That since the Natives of that Place, who will be concerned in our Plantations, are utterly Strangers to Christianity, whose Idolatry, Ignorance, or Mistake, give us no Right to expel or use them ill; and that those who remove from other Parts to plant here, will unavoidably be of different Opinions concerning Matters of Religion, the Liberty whereof they will expect to have allowed them; and that it will not be reasonable for us, on this Account, to keep them out: Therefore, that sure Peace may be maintain'd, amidst the Diversity of Opinions, and our Agreement and Compact with all Men may be duly and faithfully observed, the Violation whereof, upon what Pretence soever, cannot be without great Offence to Almighty God, and great Scandal to the true Religion, which we profess: And also that Jews, Heathens, and other Dissenters from the Purity of the Christian Religion may not be scar'd, and kept at Distance

tance from it, but by having an Opportunity of acquainting themselves with the Truth and Reasonableness of its Doctrines, and the Peaceableness and Inoffensiveness of its Professors, and by good Usage and Persuasion, and all those convincing Methods of Gentleness and Meekness, suitable to the Rules and Designs of the Gospel, be won over to embrace, and unfeignedly receive the Truth. Therefore the said Constitutions provided for their Liberty; but declared, *That no Person above seventeen Years of Age shall have any Benefit or Protection of the Law which is not a Member of some Church or Profession, having his Name recorded in some one religious Record.*

Thus did these Lords Proprietaries take care, that Persons of all Professions in Religion should be protected and secured in the free Exercise of them; and the Reader thus prepossess'd with the Laws of the Country, on which the Government of the Colony is intirely founded, will be the better able to judge of the Principles of those Men, who, in the Sequel of this History, we shall find endeavouring to overturn the most considerable Articles of these Fundamentals for great Numbers of Protestant Dissenters from the Church of England, removing with their Families to Carolina, when there were so many Inhabitants, that a Form of Government was necessary, the Proprietaries agreed on that above mentioned, call'd the Fundamental Constitutions, consisting of 120 Articles, signed by the Duke of Albemarle, then Palatine of the Province, the Lord Craven, the Lord Ashley, Sir John Colliton, the Lord Cornbury, the Lord Berkley, Sir George Carteret, the 1st of March, 1699. Which Constitutions, as is expressed in the last Article, *shall be and remain the sacred and unalterable Form and Rule of Government in Carolina for ever.*

George Duke
of Albe-
marle.

They were drawn up by that great Philosopher Mr. Locke, at the Desire of that famous Politician the Earl of Shaftsbury, one of the Proprietors, and the only one that could be suspected of having the least Inclination to favour the Dissenters. The first Article of these Fundamentals is *That a Palatine shall be chosen out of the Proprietaries, who shall continue during Life, and be succeeded by the eldest of the other Proprietaries.* The Palatine has the executive Power in most Cases, and the rest of the Proprietaries have their Places and Privileges. Mr. Archdale, in the before-mentioned Treatise, says, *They center'd all their Power in four of them, viz. in a Palatine of their own choosing, and three more, who were authoriz'd to execute the whole Powers of the Charter. This is call'd the Palatine's Court; and their Deputies in Carolina execute it as they are directed by their Principals.*

By the Fundamental Constitutions, there are to be three hereditary Noblemen in every County, one call'd a Landgrave, and two call'd Cassiques. The Parliament consists of the Proprietors, or their Deputies, the Governor and Commons; and by the Fundamentals should have 25 Landgraves, and 50 Cassiques to make a Nobility; but the Number of Landgraves and Cassiques is very small, and they are not summon'd to make an upper House on that Account; so the Governor and the Proprietors Deputies arrogate that Title. The Commoners are chosen by the Freeholders of every County, as the Commons in *England*, and all were at first to sit in one House, and have equal Votes. This Parliament should meet once in every two Years, and oftener, if Occasion require. The Courts of Justice are, besides those of the Palatine's Court, the Chief Justices Court, the High Constable's Court, the Chancellor's Court, the Treasurers Court, the Chamberlain's Court, the High Steward's Court; besides which, there are the Great Council, and the Hundred Courts. Mr. *Archdale*, on this Head, tells us, "The Charter generally, as in other Charters, agrees on the Royal Privileges and Powers, but especially at that time it had an overplus Power to grant Liberty of Conscience, tho' at home was a hot persecuting time; as also a Power to create a Nobility, yet not to have the same Titles as here in *England*; and therefore they are there by Patent, under the Great Seal of the Province, call'd Landgraves and Cassiques, in lieu of Earls and Lords, and are by their Titles to sit with the Lords Proprietors Deputies, and together make the upper House, the lower House being elected by the People. These Landgraves are to have four Baronies annex'd to their Dignities, of 6000 Acres each Barony; and the Cassiques two Baronies, of 3000 each, and not to be divided by Sale of any Part. Only they have Power to let out a third Part for three Lives, to raise Portions for younger Children." Every County has a Sheriff and four Justices of the Peace. Every Planter pays 1 *d.* an Acre Quit-rent to the Proprietaries, unless he pays it off. All the Inhabitants and Freemen, from 16 to 60 Years old, are bound to bear Arms, when commanded by the *Great Council*.

The Proprietaries enter'd into a joint Stock, and fitted out Ships on their own proper Charges, to transport People and Cattle thither, which Expence amounted to 12000 *l.* besides as much or more disburs'd by single Proprietors to advance the Colony; and all their Rents and Incomes have since the Beginning been laid out in publick Services.

Many Dissenters of good Estates went over, and many other Persons, in hopes to mend their Fortunes. And they could tell how to improve the Opportunities that were put into their Hands there, they had seldom any Reason to repent of going thither.

Tho' the Difficulties and Dangers they met with at first were a little discouraging, all free Persons who came over were to have 50 Acres of Land for themselves, 50 more for each Man Servant, and 50 more for each Woman Servant marriageable, and not marriageable 40 Acres. Each Servant out of his or her time was to have 50 Acres, paying the Quit-rent of 1 *d.* an Acre.

The Proportion of Land was much greater by the first Instructions which the Proprietaries sent their Governor, but they afterwards thought fit to reduce it to the present Allowment. Some Gentlemen who did not care to be liable for the yearly Quit-rent of 1 *d.* an Acre, bought their Lands outright.

The common Rate of purchasing now, is 20 *l.* for 100 Acres, and 10 *s.* a Year Quit-rent. The Proprietors, in all their Leases, never forget to except all Mines, Mineral and Quarries of Gems, and precious Stones.

Things being thus establish'd, the Lords Proprietaries appointed Col. *William Sayle* to be Governor of their Province, about the Year 1670. The first Plantations that came to any Perfection, were about *Albemarle* and *Port-Royal* Rivers; but *Ashley* and *Cooper* Rivers drew People that way, for the Convenience of Pasture and Tillage, for which Reason that part of the Country became most inhabited.

In 1671, the Proprietaries sent Capt. *Halsed* with a Supply of Provisions and Stores for the Colony, and created *James Carteret*, Sir *John Yeamans*, and *John Lock*, Esq. Landgraves.

The Constitutions having been found deficient in some Cases, Temporary Laws were added, and the Form of Government settled thus.

A Governor named by the Palatine.

A Council, consisting of

- 7 Deputies of the Proprietors.
- 7 Gentlemen, chosen by the Parliament.
- 7 of the eldest Landgraves and Cassiques.

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Secretary,
Surveyor,
Treasurer,

High-Steward,
High-Constable,
Register of Births, Burials
and Marriages,
Register of Writings,
Marshal of the Admiralty.

All which were nominated by the Proprietors respectively. The *Quorum* of the Council were to be the Governor and six Councillors, of whom three at least were to be Proprietors Deputies; and because there were not Inhabitants to make a Parliament, according to the *Fundamental Constitutions*, 'twas order'd to consist of the Governor, the Deputies of Proprietors, and twenty Members chosen by the Freeholders, of whom ten were to be elected by *Berkley's* County, and ten by *Colliton* County; which Number was increased, as more Counties were laid out, and more People came to settle in the Province.

The Temporary Laws were made in the Year 1671. At ^{William} which time *William* Earl of *Craven* was Palatine; on which ^{Earl of Craven Palatine} Office he enter'd, after the Death of the Duke of *Albemarle*, ^{King.} who, as has been said, was Palatine when the *Fundamental Constitutions* were signed; but died soon after. In the same Year Capt. *Halsted* was order'd to make Discoveries up *Waple* River, and a Model of a Town was sent, which it will be well if the People of *Carolina* are able to build 100 Years hence; but the Proprietaries, as appears by their Constitutions and Instructions to their Governors, thought 'twas almost as easy to build Towns, as to draw Schemes.

The next Governor to Col. *Sayle* was Sir *John Yeomans*, ^{Sir John Yeomans Governor.} Baronet, in whose time many of the before-mentioned Transmutations happen'd; but we have not been able to distinguish the Events in his Government from those in *Sayle's*.

About the Year 1680, the Proprietaries made *Joseph West*, ^{Joseph West Governor.} Esq; one of the first Planters, their Governor. He was a Man of Courage, Wisdom, Piety and Moderation; and such an one was necessary in his time: For though many Disturbances had fled from the Rage of their Enemies in *England*, yet there were not wanting Men of other Principles, who by Factions disturb'd the Peace of the Infant Colony. Mr. *Archdale's* Word will, in this Case, be more acceptable to the Reader: "The most desperate Fortunes first ventured over to break the Ice, which being generally the ill Livers of the pretended *Churchmen*, tho' the Proprietors commissioned one Col. *West* their Governor, a moderate,

“ just, pious, and valiant Person; yet having a Council of
 “ the loose principled Men, they grew very unruly, and had
 “ like to have ruined the Colony by abusing the *Indians*
 “ whom in Prudence they ought to have obliged in the high-
 “ est Degree, and so brought an *Indian War* on the Country
 “ like that in the first planting of *Virginia*, in which several
 “ were cut off; but the Governor by his manly Prudence
 “ at least in a great Measure, extinguished the Flame, which
 “ had a long Time threatened the Dissolution of the Colony.
 The two Factions were that of the Proprietaries and that of
 the Planters, like Court and Country Party in *England*. This
 Division got to such a Head, that one Mr. *John Culpeper* was
 sent Prisoner to *England*, with a Charge of High-Treason
 against him for raising a Rebellion in *Carolina*; for which he
 was tried at *Westminster-Hall*, and upon hearing the Matter
 it appeared only to be a disorderly Quarrel among the Planter
 and Inhabitants of the Province, so he was acquitted.

Col. *West* held a Parliament in *Charles-Town*, A. D.
 1682, in which several Acts were passed and ratified by him
 (*Andrew Percivall*, Esq; *William Owen*, Esq; and *Maurice*
Matthews, Esq; Deputies of the Proprietaries) as, *An Act*
for Highways, for suppressing Drunkenness and profane Swear-
ing, for Observation of the Lord's Day, and for settling the
Militia.

'Twas in this Governor's Time, that the *Westoes*, a Nation
 of the *Indians*, were troublesome to the Colony, and attempted
 the Subversion of this hopeful Settlement, as the Act of Par-
 liament to raise Money for repelling them words it. There
 was not much Blood shed or Money spent, for 4 or 500
 paid the Charge of the War and other publick Expences.

The Lords Proprietaries erected a Commission for *Maurice*
Matthews, Esq; *William Fuller*, Esq; *Jonathan Fitz*, Esq;
 and *John Boon*, Esq; to decide all Causes between the *English*
 and *Indians*. And Mr. *West* is charged with dealing in
Indians: For which and opposing the Proprietaries Party, he
 was removed in the Year 1683, and *Joseph Moreton*, Esq;
 appointed Governor in his stead.

'Twas about this Time, that the Persecution, raised by the
 Popish Faction and their Adherents in *England* against the
 Protestant Dissenters, was at the Height, and no Part of the
 Kingdom suffered more by it than *Somersetshire*. The Au-
 thor of this History lived at that Time with Mr. *Blake*, Bro-
 ther to the famous General of that Name, being educated by
 his Son-in-law who taught School in *Bridgewater*; and re-
 members, though then very young, the Reasons old Mr. *Blake*
 used to give for leaving *England*: One of which was, That

Joseph
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Miseries they endured, meaning the Dissenters then, were nothing to what he foresaw would attend the Reign of Popish Successor, wherefore he resolved to remove to Carolina: And he had so great an Interest among Persons of Principles, I mean the Dissenters, that many honest substantial Persons engaged to go over with him.

I must prevent all Prejudice to what I have said, by declaring that this Book is written by one who is not himself a Dissenter, but verily believes the true Church of *England* is the most orthodox and the most pure Church in the World. And by the true Church of *England*, he understands all those who live up to the Doctrine it professes, who by their Piety, Charity and Moderation, are Ornaments of our holy Religion, and who do not blindly espouse a Name out of Interest, or from the Impressions of Education; who pity, and do not hate such as dissent from them, who are loyal to their Prince, submissive to their Superiors, true to their Country, and charitable to all: Of such a Temper is every true Churchman, and may their Number daily encrease, till we be all of one Mind and one Religion, as we have but one God and one Saviour.

If the Reader will pardon this Digression he shall have no more, and so much it was necessary to say, that he may not think whatever is said of *Mr. Blake* or his Brethren, is out of Respect to his Profession, but as a Christian: For though I doubt not there may be many good Christians of the same Principles, I should esteem them more if they would be convinced and conform; that the Union, so often recommended by our gracious and glorious Queen *Anne*, may be universal.

I say the more of *Mr. Blake*, because his Family is one of the most considerable in this Province, where he arrived in the Year 1683, with several other Families the Followers of his Fortune. What Estate he had in *England* he sold, to carry the Effects along with him, and though the Sum was not many Thousands, if it did at all deserve the plural Number, it was all that his great Brother left him, though for several Years he commanded the *British Fleet*, and in a Time when our naval Arms were victorious, and the Treasures of *New Spain* seldom reached Home.

By *Mr. Blake's* Presence in *Carolina*, the *Sober Party*, we call them so in Opposition to *Mr. Archdale's Ill Livers*, began to take Heart, and the other to be discouraged in their irregular Courses. The Gentleman I just mentioned, in his Description of *Carolina* writes thus: *In Governor Moreton's time, General Blake's Brother with many Dissenters came to Carolina; which Blake being a wise and prudent Person, of an*

heroick Temper of Spirit, strengthened the Hands of sober inclined People, and kept under the first loose and extravagant Spirit, &c. The Governor, as we are told, married Mr. Elizabeth Blake his Daughter, and by this Alliance, the Strength of their Party was so encreased, that we hear little of the other till Mr. Colliton's Government.

There being some Complaints against Mr. Matthews, and the other Commissioners for deciding Causes between the English and the Indians, they were discharged and the Commission abrogated. The Lords Proprietaries ordered the Indians 400 Miles from Charles-Town to be taken into the Protection.

The County of Berkley between Stono and Sewee was now laid out, and soon after Craven County on the North of Berkley, and Colliton County on the South: All which Counties were divided into Squares of 12000 Acres, for the several Shares of the Proprietaries, Landgraves and Cassiques.

Mr. Moreton at his entring upon his Office called a Parliament, which met in Form and passed several Acts; as *For raising 500 l. for defraying the publick Charge of the Province; for regulating the Surveyor General's Fees; for raising the Value of foreign Coin; for Trial of small and mean Causes under 40 s. for Damage of protested Bills of Exchange; for ascertaining publick Officers Fees; to suspend Prosecution for foreign Debts; to inhabit the trading with Servants or Slaves; for laying out and making good Highways; for preventing the taking away Boats and Canoos; for marking of several Sorts of Cattle; to prevent unlicensed Taverns and Punct Houses, and ascertaining the Rates and Prices of Wine and other Liquors; to prevent Runaways.* All which Acts were signed by Joseph Moreton, Esq; Governor, John Godfrey Esq; John Boon, Esq; James Moor, Esq; Maurice Matthews Esq; Andrew Percivall, Esq; Arthur Middleton, Esq; Counsellors and Deputies, and Mr. Joseph Oldys, Clerk to the Parliament. At this Time Robert Gibs, Esq; was Treasurer of the Colony; John Moor, Esq; Secretary; John Boon Esq; Robert Daniel, Esq; Mr. Bernard Schinkingh, Mr. Peter Hearn, and Capt. Florence O Sullivan, were appointed Commissioners for stating and passing the publick Accounts. Maurice Matthews, Esq; was also Surveyor-General. The Trade of dealing in Indians continued, and several of the Proprietors Deputies were concerned in it: Whether the Governor Mr. Moreton favoured it or not, we cannot undertake to determine. 'Tis certain he did not long enjoy the Office: For it appears by the Copies of the original Instructions sent by the Proprietaries to his Successor, that in the following

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Following Year the Palatine made Sir *Richard Kyrle* Governor. He was a Gentleman of *Ireland*, and dying within the Year, *Joseph West*, Esq; was again chosen Governor by the Council, and being a Man of great Interest, the Proprietaries thought fit to confirm him in his Government: But they removed out *Maurice Matthews*, Esq; *James Moor*, Esq; and *Arthur Middleton*, Esq; from being Deputies and Councilors, for disobeying their Orders and sending away *Indians*. They also displaced their Secretary *John Moor*, Esq; and put *Robert Quarry*, Esq; in his Place.

Sir *Richard Kyrle* Governor.
Joseph West, Esq; Governor.

Thus we see the latter has enjoyed honourable Offices many Years in the *American Colonies*; with the Interest of which he must by this Means be very well acquainted.

In Mr. *West's* second Government, the Right Honourable the Lord *Cardross* removed to *Carolina*, and with ten *Scots* Families settled at *Port-Royal*, esteemed the most convenient Place in this Province for Commerce, as being the best Port. The Lord *Cardross* having been disgusted with the Government of the Province, for some ill Usage he met with returned to *Scotland*, and the *Spaniards* dislodged the *Indians* who had seated themselves on that fine River. This Lord was of the House of *Buchan*, and in King *William's* Reign enjoyed the Title of Earl of *Buchan*.

Dissenters continuing to come hither from all Parts of *England*, the Colony thrived and increased in Numbers and Riches.

James Colliton, Esq; of *Barbados*, Brother to Sir *Peter Colliton* Baronet, a Proprietary, being honoured with the Title of Landgrave, left the Island he lived in, and transported himself and Family to *Carolina*, where he seated himself at old *Charles-Town* on *Cooper River*, built a handsome House there, and being made Governor, his Seat is to this Day called the Governor's House. Had this Gentleman had as much Honour and Capacity as his Brother Sir *Peter*, we should have had no Occasion to excuse ourselves for keeping to the Truth of History in his Behalf. One of his Successors writes in this Manner of his Government: 'The Party Governor *Moreton* had gone a great Way in suppressing, grew now so strong among the common People, that they chose Members to oppose whatsoever the Governor requested, insomuch that they would not settle the Militia Act, though their own Security depended on it, and that it would be Grounds of their farther Strength.' The Reason of the Discontent the People lay under, were Disputes about the Tenure of their Lands and Payment of their Quit-Rents, which were not settled till Mr. *Archdale's* Government.

James Colliton, Esq; Governor.

Mr. *Archdale's* Description of *Carolina*.

Mr. Colliton called a Parliament A. D. 1687. This Assembly not liking the Proprietaries *Fundamental Constitution* and thinking they could supply the Deficiencies in them, appointed a Committee to examine them: And these Gentlemen drew up a new Form of Government, differing in many Articles from the former, to which they gave the Title *Standing Laws* and *Temporary Laws*. This Committee were *James Colliton, Esq;* Governor, *Paul Grimbball, Esq;* and *William Dunlop, Esq;* Deputies; *Bernard Schinkin, Thomas Smith, John Farr,* and *Joseph Blake, Esqrs;* Commissioners. But neither the Lords Proprietaries nor the People of Carolina accepted of them; and thus the *Fundamental Constitutions* keep their Ground to this Day.

Mr. Colliton gave such Discontent in his Administration that he was banished the Province; a Fate few Governments of Colonies were ever so unhappy as to meet with.

Thomas
Smith, Esq;
Governor.

Mr. Archdale tells us, Mr. Smith succeeded Mr. Colliton and that he succeeded Mr. Smith, but then the latter may have been twice Governor: For we find several other Gentlemen who had that Title and Office before the Year 1690 when Mr. Archdale says, Governor Smith wrote over to the Proprietaries, to advise them to send one of their Number

Col. Robert
Quarry
Governor.
Mr. South-
well Govern-
or.

to Carolina. For Col. Robert Quarry was Governor about the Year 1690. After him Mr. Southwell. And in the Year 1692, Col. Philip Ludwell held this Government. In which it is certain, he was succeeded by the above-mentioned Thomas Smith, Esq; Landgrave of this Province.

Col. Philip
Ludwell
Governor.
Thomas
Smith, Esq;
Governor.

We are not doubtful of any Error in this Order of the Governors except in Mr. Southwell's, our Informations have been uncertain as to him.

Mr. Smith, says Mr. Archdale, was a wise, sober, and living Man, who grew so uneasy in the Government that Reason he could not satisfy People in their Demands, that he wrote over Anno 1694, *It was impossible to settle this Country, except a Proprietary himself was sent thither with full Power to hear their Grievances.* The Proprietaries took Governor Smith's Letter into Consideration, and Lord Ashley was pitched upon by all the Lords as a Person every Way qualified for so good a Work, but he desired to be excused on Account of his particular Affairs in England. Upon which Mr. Archdale was chosen by the Proprietaries to be sent over with large and ample Powers. Which having received, he embarked and sailed to Carolina. When he arrived and entered upon the Government in August 1690 he found all Matters in great Confusion, and every Fact applied themselves to him in Hopes of Relief. In order

John Arch-
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which he summoned an Assembly, and made a kind Speech to them. The Parliament chose *Jonathan Amary, Esq;* to be their Speaker, and having presented a dutiful Address to the Governor, proceeded to do Business. But the Divisions among them were so great, that had not Mr. *Archdale* exercised a great deal of Patience, neither his Power as Governor, nor his higher Title of Proprietary could have brought that Assembly to any Temper, which he at last effected, and the Disorders of the Province were remedied.

The Parliament presented an Address of Thanks to the Governor to be transmitted to the Proprietaries, and all Things ended well. In his Time the *Tammasees* an Indian Nation, who formerly lived under the *Spanish* Government and now under the *English*, made an Incurfion into the Territories of another Indian Nation near *Sancta Maria*, not far from *St. Augustino*, took several Prisoners, and intended to sell them for Slaves at *Barbados* or *Jamaica*, as had been usual among them. Mr. *Archdale* hearing of it sent for the King of the *Tammasees*, and ordered him to bring those Indians to *Charles-Town*, which he did. They were Papists, and the Kings of *England* and *Spain* being at that Time Confederates, the Governor gave the King of the *Tammasees* Orders to carry them to *St. Augustino*, with a Letter to the Governor, which may serve to give us an Idea of the Power of an Indian King, who receives Orders from a Governor of a small Province, as *Carolina* was then at least whatever it is now.

The *Spaniard* who commanded in *St. Augustino* returned Mr. *Archdale* a Letter of Thanks, and not long after another Indian King was sent by the *Spanish* Governor, with a Letter of Complaint, of Wrong done the *Spanish* Indians by those allied to the *English*.

The *Spanish* Indians were called *Churchcates*, of whom the *Apalachicoles*, *English* Indians, had killed three. The Governor commanded that Nation and all others depending on the *English*, to forbear molesting those within the *Spanish* Jurisdiction; which had so good an Effect, that when Mr. *Robert Barrow*, Mr. *Edward Wardell*, and other *Englishmen*, were afterwards cast away to the Southward of *Augustino*, the barbarous *Indians* offered them no Hurt; and when they arrived at that Town, the Governor supplied them with all Neccessaries.

Col. *Bull*, one of the Council and a great Trader with the *Indians*, engaged that Nation which dwelt about *Cape Fear* to submit to the *English*, who however were afraid to trust them; for a Vessel coming from *New-England* being ship-

shipwrecked on that Coast, the Passengers to the Number of 52 despaired of their Lives from those Barbarians, but resolved to defend themselves as well as they could: Accordingly they entrenched in their little Camp. The *Indians* came down, and by Signs of Friendship invited them to come forth, which they were afraid to do. At last when their Provisions were almost all spent, some of them ventured out were kindly received and furnished by the *Indians* with Necessaries. The King invited them to his Town, treated them, and four or five of them travelling to *Charles-Town* gave the Governor Notice of their Misfortunes; which hearing he sent a Ship to fetch the rest, and they arrived safely at the Capital of *Carolina*.

In Mr. *Archdale's* Time, two *Indians* quarrelling in their drink; one of them presently killed the other, whose Wife being by immediately dismembered the Murderer to revenge her Husband's Death, cutting off his Privities with a Knife. The Governor happening to be near the Place where the Murder was committed, ordered the Criminal to be pursued. He was taken in a Swamp about 16 Miles from the Town, to which he was sent under a Guard. The Nation to whom the slain *Indian* belonged, hearing of his Death, their King came to Mr. *Archdale* and desired Justice upon the Murderer. Some of whose Friends would have bought him off as usual, but nothing less than his Death would satisfy the injured Nation; and according to the Custom of his own Country, the Governor ordered him to be shot by the Kinsman of the Deceased. As he was leading to Execution his King came to him, and bid him *die like a Man since he must die*, adding, *he had often forewarned him of Rumour the Liquor which he was drunk with when he killed the Man, and now he must lose his Life for not taking his Counsel*.

When he came to the Tree, he desired not to be tied to it but to stand loose, saying, *I will not stir when he shoots me*. So he was shot in the Head and fell down dead.

This Piece of Justice hindered a War between the Nations to which these two *Indians* belonged. The *Indians* inhabiting the Country about the River *Pemlico*, were almost all consumed by a pestilential Disease while this Governor was in *Carolina*; and the *Coranines*, a bloody and barbarous People, were most of them cut off by a neighbouring Nation.

In his Time several Families removed from *New-England* to settle at *Carolina*, and seated themselves on the River *Sewee* in *North Carolina*. These are all the Events which happened during Mr. *Archdale's* Government, at least he has thought fit to communicate no more to the Publick, and

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inconsiderable as they may appear to some Persons who are
 sed to turn over the *Grecian* and *Roman* Histories, if they
 will give themselves the Trouble to examine the Affairs of
 these two Empires, they will find them as trivial in the Be-
 ginning at least, if they can distinguish the *History* from the
Fable.

We cannot expect much Business in the Infancy of a
 Colony, and yet *Carolina* is not so young, but Factions have
 been as rampant there, as if the People had been made wan-
 derers by many Ages of Prosperity.

Mr. *Archdale*, to use his own Phrase, Returned for En-
 gland, being not sent for Home. And *Joseph Blake*, Esq;
 Son of the before-mentioned Mr. *Blake* being become a Pro-
 prietary, was looked upon as the fittest Person to succeed him
 in his Government, in which Office he behaved himself to
 the Satisfaction of the Country, which he governed with
 equal Prudence and Moderation.

*Joseph
 Blake, Esq;
 Governor.*

In his Time Major *Daniel* brought from *England* new
 Constitutions, consisting of 41 Articles, wherein as ample
 Provision was made for Liberty of Conscience, as in the fun-
 damental Constitutions. These new Laws were called the
 last *Fundamental Constitutions*, and signed by *John Earl* of
Bath, Palatine; *Anthony Lord Ashley*, the Lord *Craven*, the
 Lord *Carteret*, the Earl of *Bath*, Sir *John Colliton*, *William*
Thornburgh Merchant, *Thomas Amy* and *William Thorn-*
burgh; but they were never confirmed in Parliament at
Carolina.

*John Earl
 of Bath Pa-
 latine.*

Mr. *Blake*, though he was himself a Dissenter, finding there
 was no settled Maintenance for the Church of *England* Mi-
 nister, procured an Act of Assembly (in which there were a
 great Number of Dissenters) for the settling a very convenient
 House with a Glebe, two Servants, and 150 *l. per Annum* up-
 on the Minister of *Charles-Town* for ever. 'Twas by his
 Influence that Act past, and he gave his Assent to it; he as
 Governor, having a negative Voice to all Bills. His Lady
 also was one of the greatest Benefactors towards the Ornaments
 of the Church. And this Friendship deserved a more grate-
 ful Return than they met with from those who succeeded in
 the Government.

Mr. *Blake* dying about the Year 1700, after he had been
 Governor four or five Years, the Proprietaries Deputies met
 according to their Instructions in such Cases, and proceeded
 to the Election of a new Governor; which Post is generally
 conferred on the eldest Landgrave if there's no Objection to
 him, and no Person sent from *England* with that Character.

Joseph Moreton, Esq; being the eldest Landgrave, was elected Governor by the Deputies; but Capt. *James Moor* one of these Deputies, knowing the Party he had among them objected against Mr. *Moreton*, as if he had made Breach of the Trust reposed in him by the true and absolute Lords and Proprietaries, by accepting of a Commission from King *William* to be Judge of the Admiralty, when he had at the same Time a Commission from the Lords Proprietaries for the same Office.

Though this Objection was answered by Mr. *Moreton's* Friends, That it did not appear by the Charter, the Proprietaries can empower anyone to try Persons for Facts committed out of their Dominions, which is necessary for such a Judge, and the Proprietaries could not grant it; yet such was Mr. *Moor's* Interest, that on this his Objection Mr. *Moreton* was set aside, and his Opponent Mr. *Moor* chosen Governor. Mr. *Moreton* informed and complained to the Proprietaries, but was never redressed.

Col. James
Moor Govern-
or.

From this Election I date the Rise of all the Misfortunes that have since befallen this Colony, and that have given the Government of *England* so much Trouble.

John Lord
Granville
Palatine.

The Earl of *Bath* was dead, and his Son *John Lord Granville* lately advanced to the House of Peers, was Palatine. All the World knew how zealous that Gentleman had been for promoting a Bill against occasional Conformists in *England*, and that he shewed his Aversion to Dissenters even in the Court of *Stannaries* in the *West* while he was Warden. The Bitterness of his Spirit appeared in the Speeches he made to the Representatives of that Court, and was such that he was not long employed by a Government, which is founded on Principles of Justice and Moderation; which has in all Things promoted Union, and which has united the Hearts of all the Subjects of the *British* Empire more than all the Princes could do since the *Conquest*, and many Ages before it.

In an ill Time therefore did this Palatine countenance the Divisions in *Carolina*, by encouraging this and the succeeding Governor in their vain Endeavours to establish that for a Law there, which had been rejected with such Marks of Abhorrence in *England* by our *Illustrious Representatives*.

Mr. *Moor* was easily confirmed in his new Dignity by the Palatine, and as he is said to have sought after it to enrich himself, so he made Use of it to that End, he being in mean Circumstances, if the Representation of the principal Inhabitants of the Colony does not deceive us.

Let us give the Reader the proper Words, that we may not be accused of Partiality, which we detest in all Things that

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hurt the Truth. But we know very well that Faction will often accuse Fact of Partiality; and an Historian may write Things true, and yet by writing the Truth only of one Side, and concealing what is to its Disadvantage, it may give a plausible Appearance to a bad Cause; wherefore we solemnly declare, that after a full Enquiry we have not been able to learn any Thing that could excuse the Disorders we are about to relate, and vindicate the Administration in *Carolina* while the Lord *Granville* was Palatine. Whether that Lord or his Governors ought to be blamed most, let the World judge.

Mr. *Moor*, says the Author of the above-mentioned Representation, having thus boldly gotten the Government, resolved to make the best use of his Authority, and finding himself too poor with the Countenance of his Office to make any considerable Profit of the *Indian Trade*, he laid the Design of getting it wholly into his Power. He to that End procured a Bill to be brought into the Assembly then sitting, for regulating the *Indian Trade*: Which Bill was so drawn, that had it passed he would have engrossed all that beneficial Commerce. But Mr. *Robert Stephens*, and Mr. *Nicholas Trott* (who had not then forsaken the Country Interest) and some others, so plainly shewed the ill Aim of that Act, that it was thrown out of the Assembly: Which Mr. *Moor* dissolved, perceiving they would not answer his Ends.

We do not think ourselves obliged to keep to the Words of this Representation which are too rough in some Places, but we keep religiously to the Sense; and having referred the Reader in the Margin to our Authority, he cannot suppose we endeavour to impose on him.

The Governor called a new Assembly about the latter End of the Year 1701. At the choosing of which, though the Right of electing be in the Freeholders only, *he so influenced the Sheriff, that Strangers, Servants, Aliens, nay Malatoes and Negroes, were polled* and returned.

Such as at the Place of Election opposed these Practices were abused, and some assaulted by Mr. *Moor's* Favourites. By this Means having got several into the Assembly, Men of no Sense and Credit, who would vote as he would have them, he there kept them from being thrown out, on the Petition of those who were unjustly excluded.

Colliton County sent a Representation against him to the Palatine, containing in Substance the same as that we have spoken of before, therefore we cannot suspect the Truth of it.

When the Governor was afraid any of the Members he was sure was in his Interest would be turned out on Petitions, he

Case of Diss.
in Car. p.
29, 30.

ibid. p. 34

P. 35.

he prorogued the Assembly; and when at last they were suffer'd to sit, the Enquiry into the Sheriff of Berkley County's Return was obstructed, by setting on foot an ill-contriv'd Design of raising Forces to attack St. *Augustino*, a Fort belonging to the *Spaniards*, to the Southward of *Carolina*. If any Member of the Assembly undertook to speak against it, and to shew how unable the Province was at that time to undertake such an Expedition, he was presently look'd upon by him and his Adherents as an Enemy and Traitor to his Country, and accordingly reviled and affronted; though the true Design of the Expedition, as the Representation from *Colliton* County tells us, was *no other than catching and making Slaves of Indians, for private Advantage*. He would have had this Military Enterprize been undertaken before the War with *Spain* was proclaimed; but the Assembly carried that in the Negative.

Ibid.

Before we treat of this Expedition, we must observe what pass'd farther in the Assembly. Mr. *John Ash*, one of the Members, propos'd to have the *last Fundamental Constitutions*, which Mr. *Daniel* brought over, confirm'd; but he was oppos'd by Mr. *Trott* and Mr. *How*, the Governor's Creatures.

This Mr. *Trott* had himself been Governor of *Providence*, and behaved himself so arbitrarily, that he was complain'd of to King *William* some Years before. *Trott* and *How* expos'd the Constitutions as ridiculous, and the Country was thus left in an unsettled Condition.

Col. County
Repr. Art. 5.

There's one Article in this Representation which is very extraordinary: *That the said late Governor Moor did grant Commissions to Anthony Dodsworth, Robert Mackoone, and others, to set upon, assault, kill, destroy, and take as many Indians as they possibly could; the Profit and Produce of which Indian Slaves were turned to his private Use. Whereas such Undertakings, unjust and barbarous in themselves, will in all Probability draw upon us an Indian War.*

We have said enough to give an Idea of the Condition the People of *Carolina* were in under such a Government, and have taken it all from Memorials presented by their Agents to the Lords Proprietaries. The next thing that comes in our way is the War of *Augustino*.

Two thousand Pounds were rais'd by an Act of the Assembly, to defray the Charge of this Expedition. The Governor prest as many Merchant Ships as were necessary to transport the Troops he intended to embark, who were order'd to rendezvous at *Port-Royal*.

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The Number of Men that were lifted for this Enterprize were 1200, 600 *English*, and 600 *Indians*, Col. *Moor* took the Command on himself, as General of all the Forces that should be raised within the Limits of his Government.

Col. *Robert Daniel*, a very brave Man, commanded a Party who were to go up the River in *Periaqas*, and come upon *Augustino* on the Land Side, while the Governor failed thither and attack'd it by Sea. They both set out in *August*, 1702. Col. *Daniel*, in his way, took St. *John's*, a small *Spanish* Settlement; as also St. *Mary's*, another little Village belonging to the *Sponiards*. After which he proceeded to *Augustino*, came before the Town, enter'd and took it; Col. *Moor* not being yet arrived with the Fleet.

The Inhabitants having Notice of the Approach of the *English*, had pack'd up their best Effects, and retired with them into the Castle, which was surrounded by a very deep and broad Moat.

They had laid up Provisions there for four Months, and resolved to defend themselves to the last Extremity: However, Col. *Daniel* found a considerable Booty in the Town. The next Day the Governor arrived, and a Council of War was immediately call'd, in which 'twas resolved to land.

Accordingly the Governor came ashore, and his Troops following him, they entrench'd, posted their Guards in the Church, and block'd up the Castle. The *English* held the Possession of the Town a whole Month; but finding they could do nothing for want of Mortars and Bombs, they dispatch'd away a Sloop for *Jamaica*; but the Commander of the Sloop, instead of going thither, came to *Carolina*, out of Fear or Treachery. Finding others offer'd to go in his Stead, he proceeded in the Voyage himself, after he had lain some time at *Charles-Town*.

The Governor all this while lay before the Castle of *Augustino*, in Expectation of the Return of the Sloop; which hearing nothing of, he sent Col. *Daniel*, who was the Life of the Action, to *Jamaica*, on the same Errand.

This Gentleman being hearty in the Design, procured a Supply of Bombs, and returned towards *Augustino*; but in the mean time two Ships appear'd in the *Offing*, which being taken to be very large Men of War, the Governor thought fit to raise the Siege, and abandon his Ships, with a great Quantity of Stores, Ammunition and Provision, to the Enemy. Upon which, the two Men of War enter'd the Port of *Augustino*, and took the Governor's Ships. Some say he burnt them himself. Certain it is they were lost to the *English*, and that he returned to *Charles Town* over Land,

300 Miles from *Augustino*. The two Men of War that were thought to be so large, proved to be two small Frigates, one of 22, and the other of 16 Guns.

When Col. *Daniel* came back to *Augustino*, he was chas'd, but got away; and Col. *Moor* retreated with no great Honour homewards. The *Periagas* lay at St. *John's*, whither the Governor retired, and so to *Charles-Town*, having lost but two Men in the whole Expedition. *Arratommakaw*, King of the *Yaniosaves*, who commanded the *Indians*, retreated to the *Periagas* with the rest, and there slept upon his Oars, with a great deal of Bravery and Unconcern. The Governor's Soldiers taking a false Alarm, and thinking the *Spaniards* were coming, did not like this slow Pace of the *Indian King* in his Flight, and to quicken him in it, bad him make more Haste: But he reply'd, No; though your Governor leaves you, I will not stir till I have teen all my Men before me.

1b. p. 30.

The first Representation, call'd also *the present State of Affairs in Carolina*, reflects a little too bitterly on Col. *Moor* on this Head; and one would suspect the Truth of what it contains, if it was not confirmed by the second. We are told there, *They sent Plunder to Jamaica by their trusty Officers, under Colour of seeking Supplies, and sending for Bombs and Mortars*. Which is a malicious Turn given by Col. *Moor's* Enemies to Col. *Daniel's* going to *Jamaica*, who, by the Dispatch he made there, shewed he went really for Mortars; and had the Governor staid till he had returned, the Castle of *Augustino* had perhaps now been in *English Hands*; for the *Spaniards* had not above 200 Men aboard the two Frigates. This Expedition, as unfortunate as it was in itself, was much more so in the Consequence of it; for it brought a Debt of 6000 *l.* on the Province. The Assembly had been under a Prorogation during the Governor's Absence, and when he returned they met. The first thing they went upon, was to raise Money, to pay off the Debt above-mentioned, and then they took into Consideration the Danger of the Country, as it lay exposed to the Southward. But while these Bills were passing, another, for the better regulating Elections, pass'd the lower House twice, and was sent up to the Governor and Council, by whom 'twas rejected without so much as a Conference. Upon which, several of the Members, jealous of their Privileges, and being so order'd by those that sent them, enter'd their Protestation, and left the House; but returned the next Day, offering to sit longer, if the rest of the Assembly would join with them in asserting their Right. The whole Assembly

See the Representation of the Members of Col. linton County.

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consists of but 30 Members, and 15 of them protested against the irregular Proceedings of the Governor. Instead of tempering Matters, when they returned to the House, they were abused and treated with the most scandalous Reflections, unbecoming an Assembly that represented a whole Province. And as they were insulted within Doors, they were assaulted without; for a Day or two after, Lieutenant-Colonel *George Dearsby* drew his Sword upon *Thomas Smith*, Esq; a Landgrave, and once Governor of the Colony, threatening his Life. *John Ash*, Esq; a Member of the Assembly, was not only abused in the Streets, by a Company of drunken Fellows, but forced aboard a Ship belonging to *Capt. Rhett*, and threatened to be hang'd, or sent to *Jamaica*, or left on some desert Island. This Mr. *Ash* is the Man who was employed as Agent for the People of *Carolina*, to represent their Grievances in the first Memorial, call'd *the present State of Affairs in Carolina*; and the Persons who thus barbarously treated him, were *George Dearsby*, *Nicholas Nary*, *Thomas Dalton*, and others, whom, says the Representation of *Colliton County*, Article XI, *the Governor had treated immediately before the Riot began, and used such Expressions to them, as gave them, next their Drink, the greatest Encouragements for what they acted*; telling them, *The protesting Members would bring the People on their Heads, for neglecting to pay the Country's Debts. After the Riot began, of Part of which he was an Eye-witness, having first drank with some of them, he withdrew himself out of the way.* This Riot continued four or five Days; and *Edmund Bellinger*, Esq; a Landgrave, and Justice of Peace, attempting to suppress it, was call'd opprobrious Names by the Rioters, and *Rhett* can'd him for a considerable time. The Rioters assaulted Mr. *Joseph Boon*, a Merchant, deputed by *Colliton County*, to present the above-mention'd second Representation to the Palatine and Lords Proprietaries, and put him in Danger and Fear of his Life, without any Provocation. The same they did by Mr. *James Byres*, who, with the rest, complained to the Governor; and receiving no Satisfaction, they ask'd him, whether he did not look on himself, as Governor, obliged to keep the Peace of the Province? The Governor reply'd, *That's a Question I am not obliged to answer.* He told them, 'twas a Justice of Peace's Business.

The Rioters went one Night to the House of one *John Smith*, a Butcher in *Charles-Town*, and forcing open the Door, threw down a Woman big with Child, and otherwise misusing her, she brought forth a dead Child, with the Back and Skull broken. These Instances are enough to show

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shew any Man the Temper of this Governor and his Party who were the same that stickled so much for the unhappy Bill we must speak of in the Sequel of this History. What follow'd upon this Riot, is told us in a late Tract, which shall make use of in the Author's own Words, "As the

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"Riot was raised, encouraged, and countenanced by the said Governor and Council; and as no Assistance could be obtained to quell it, so all Methods to enquire into and punish it, have been render'd ineffectual, and the Course of Justice intirely stop'd. For Sir Nathaniel Johnson was made Governor in the Room of the said Moor. The said Governor Moor was presently made Attorney General; and Mr. Trott, another of the chief Abettors of the Riot, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who in this Province, is sole Judge. Sir Nathaniel Johnson was General of the *Leeward Islands*, in the Reign of the late King James; but he quitted his Government upon the Revolution, and retired to *Carolina*, where he lived privately till the Death of the late King James. Upon which, he first took the Oaths to the Government, and some time after, was made Governor of the Province. And he has, since his being Governor, appointed such Sheriffs, as prevent all Prosecutions of this Riot at their Assizes or Quarter Sessions (which are the only Courts of Justice in this Province) where Crimes of this Nature can be tried, and where the said Mr. Trott is sole Judge, by returning such Jurors as were known Abettors of the said Riot; so that there is a total Failure of Justice, and nothing but Corruption in the whole Frame and Administration of Government.

Colliton County Representation tells us particularly, that Mr. Bullinger did what in him lay to have the said Riot enquired into. He gave in the Record of it to the Bench, and some of the Grand Jury urged to have it presented, but to no purpose. The first Representation informs us, that the Grand Jury presented it to the Court as a great Grievance, that the Riot was not look'd into, and the Rioters prosecuted; yet no Justice against them could be obtained, the Judge giving for Answer, 'Twas before the Council, his Superiors. The present Governor, That it was an Action done before his coming to the Government; that he thought the time of Prosecution laps'd; but would take Care the like should be no more.

Ep. p. 20.

This Answer had, in the last Part of it, a Face of Moderation; and such an Air was necessary, because an Assembly was about being elected. The Conspirators, as my Author

terms

terms them, saw that a new Parliament might set all things rights again; and therefore when the time of a new Election came, which, according to their Constitution, is once in two Years; they resolved to procure a Commons House of Assembly of the same Complexion with the former, and by more illegal Practices, if those they had used in the former Elections would not do their Business. Their Designs took Effect, and such a Commons House of Assembly was returned, as fully answered their Expectations.

The first Representation brought over by Mr. Ash informs us, That at the Election for Berkley and Craven Counties, the Violence in Mr. Moor's time, and all other illegal Practices, were with more Violence repeated, and openly approved by the present Governor, and his Friends.

The second Representation adds, Jews, Strangers, Sailors, Servants, Negroes, and almost every Frenchman in Craven and Berkley Counties, came down to elect, and their Votes were taken, and the Persons by them voted for, were returned for the Sheriffs.

The Assembly meeting, chose Job How, Esq; to be their Speaker; and this was that Parliament, who, to oppress the Protestant Dissenters, brought in a Bill contrary to the first and last Fundamental Constitutions, to the true Interest of the Colony, and the Right of every Freeholder there. 'Twas entitled, *An Act for the more effectual Preservation of the Government, by requiring all Persons that shall hereafter be chosen Members of the Commons House of Assembly, and sit in the same, to Ecc. and to conform to the religious Worship in this Province, according to the Church of England, and to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the Rites and Usage of the said Church.*

Every Dissenter that was turned out of the House, by virtue of this Act, made Room for the most bigotted of the Faction to get in; for it provided, that the Person who had the most Votes next to such Dissenter should be admitted to his Place; and those that opposed the Dissenters being generally, according to the before-mention'd Author, Men of violent and persecuting Principles, the Faction secured the Power in their own Hands.

There were 12 Members for this Bill, and 11 against it, in the lower House; and in the upper, Joseph Moreton, Esq; Landgrave, and one of the Proprietaries Deputies, was denied the Liberty of entering his Protest against it. The Bill passed the 6th of May, A. D. 1704, and was signed by Sir Nathaniel Johnson, Col. Thomas Broughton, Col. James Moor,

Moor, Robert Gibbs, Esq; Henry Noble, Esq; Nicholas Trott, Esq;

The Governor and Proprietaries Deputies, upon passing this Act, alarm'd all the Dissenters, who, according to the orthodox Minister of *Charles Town*, the Reverend Mr. *Mason's* Letter to the Reverend Dr. *Stanhope*, are the *soberest* most numerous, and richest People of this Province; and the Assembly was composed of many Men of very loose and corrupt Morals.

Case of Diss.
Part 2. p. 57.

We have shewn, in the Beginning of the History of *Carolina*, that by the Fundamentals of the Province, the Dissenters could not be justly excluded from any Rights of the Members of it; we have shewn here what a sort of Convention, and by what Government countenanced, this Assembly was; and there's no need of exaggerating Matters, make the thing look black, wherefore we shall proceed in our History.

It cannot be imagined, that a People who had been used so ill, would sit still and tamely bear such barbarous Usage, especially considering those that were concern'd in the Reformation were some of the worst, and those that suffer'd by it, for the most part, of the best Men in the Province.

Col. *Joseph Moreton* and *Edmund Bellinger, Esq;* Lawyers, and Deputies of the Lords Proprietaries, all the other Members of *Collitons* County, and several of the greatest Worth and Reputation in *Berkley* County, prevailed with Mr. *Joseph Ash* to come for *England*, to represent the miserable State of the Province to the Proprietaries.

The Faction being apprehensive of their Danger in such a Proceeding, did their utmost to prevent Mr. *Ash's* Voyage, and 'twas not without the greatest Difficulty that he got away from *Carolina* to *Virginia*, where his Powers and Instructions were conveyed to him, as Agent for the Gentlemen and Inhabitants above-named.

Coming to *England*, he applied himself to the Lord *Granville*, then Proprietary of the Province; but finding he was entirely in the Interests of the prevailing Party in *Carolina*, he despaired of seeing the Grievances he came to complain of redress'd, he therefore drew up the first Representation, often cited in this Treatise, printed a Sheet of it, and intended to go through with it; but died before he could finish it, and his Papers, after his Death, were betray'd into his Enemies Hands.

How this Agency was liked in *Carolina*, we may suppose, and that the Author of the *Case of the Dissenters* in *Carolina* does not impose upon us, in telling us, *The Governor* and

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Agents prosecuted and insulted several of the Inhabitants; and particularly Landgrave Smith, on the Account of some private Letters which they sent to the said Ash, while he was in Virginia and England, and which were found among the Papers betray'd to the Governor's Agents.

Mr. Ash may probably represent Things with too much Partiality, especially if what Mr. Archdale says of him be true; Their first Agent seem'd not a Person suitably qualified to represent their State here; not that he wanted Wit, but Temper.

What Share the Governor had in this Business, appears not in the same Tract. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, by a Chymical Wit, Zeal and Art, transmuted or turned this civil Difference into a religious Controversy; and so setting up a Standard for those call'd High Church, ventured at all to exclude all Dissenters out of the Assembly, as being those principally that were for a strict Examination into the Grounds and Causes of the Miscarriage of the *Augustino* Expedition.

The Party did not stop here; for on the 4th of November an Act pass'd, and was sign'd by the Governor, and the Deputies above-named, entitled, *An Act for establishing religious Worship in this Province, according to the Church of England; and for the erecting of Churches for the publick Worship of God, and also for the Maintenance of Ministers, and the building convenient Houses for them.*

Which Act Mr. Archdale acquaints us, notwithstanding its splendid Gloss, favour'd of a persecuting Spirit, and of a mighty Dominion over the Clergy itself; for they set up a High Commission Court, giving them Power to place and displace Ministers, and act much in the Nature of the High Commission Court erected by King James II. in England. These Commissioners were Sir Nathaniel Johnson, Thomas Broughton, Esq; Col. James Moor, Nicholas Trott, Esq; Col. Robert Gibbes, Job How, Esq; Ralph Izard, Esq; Col. James Risbee, Col. George Logan, Lieutenant-Colonel William Rbett, William Smith, Esq; Mr. John Stroude, Mr. Thomas Hubbard, Richard Beresford, Esq; Mr. Robert Stearns, Mr. Hugh Hicks, John Aubby, Esq; Capt. John Godfrey, James Serurier, alias Smith, Esq; and Mr. Thomas Barton.

It will not be improper to give a Character of this James Serurier, who has been mightily employed by the present Government in Carolina; and we cannot do it better than by using the same Words Mrs. Blake, Mother of the Proprietary, Joseph Blake, Esq; writes to the Lords Proprietaries. Towards the Satisfaction of the *Augustino* Debt, an Act was

contrived for forcing the Currency of Bills of Credit to the Value of 6000*l.* These Bills were declared current in all Payments, and the Refuser of them sueable in double the Value of the Sum refused; whereby the boldest Stroke has been given to the Property of the Settlers in this Province, than ever was known in any Country not govern'd by arbitrary Power. And the bad Consequences of this forced Currency, in relation to Trade with Strangers, are so great, that they can scarcely be express'd. But there has nothing of this been weigh'd by your Lordships Deputies here, or by the particular Members of our Commons House of Assembly. Besides all this the People are not satisfy'd how many Bills are truly sent abroad, and the great Concern Mr. James Smith, alias Serurier (who cheated the Scots Company of a considerable Sum of Money, and with his Keeper made his Escape from London hither) had in this Contrivance, gives a Jealousy of indirect Practices. But this the Reader understands what Inconveniencies the Augustino Expedition brought upon the Colony, and what sort of Persons were Promoters of this occasional Bill in America. But to shew that this Faction in the Assembly had nothing less in their View, than the real Advancement of Religion, and the Church of England, the Reverend Mr. Edward Marston, Minister of that Church in Charles Town was censured by them, for three Passages of a Sermon preach'd there by him, two of which Passages were not in the said Sermon, and that which was, amounted to no more than that the Clergy had a Divine Right to a Maintenance. They deprived him of his Salary settled on him by Act of Parliament, and of 30*l.* besides, due to him by an Act of Assembly; tho' the chief Reason was his having visited Mr. Landgrave Smith, when he was in Custody of a Messenger being committed by the Commons House, and living friendly with the Dissenters.

Case of Diss.
Car. p. 23.

Seeb's Letter
to Dr. Stan-
hope, Part
2. p. 57.

P. 62.

P. 63.

Of this Assembly the same reverend Divine says, *They made some very odd and unjustifiable Laws, which have occasioned great Feuds and Animosities here.* And in his Representation to the Lords Proprietaries: *Most of the late Members of the Assembly have been constant Absenters from the Holy Sacrament: So 'tis no Wonder they have inserted an absolute Oath in a late Act, &c. I cannot think it will be much for the Credit and Service of the Church of England here, that such Provisions should be made, for admitting the most lewd and profligate Persons to sit and vote in the making of our Laws who will but take the Oath appointed by the late Act.* And the High Commissioners 'tis said, *Eleven of the twenty were never known to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.*

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And that this furious Faction were no Friends to the Church of England is plain, by their Design to wrest the ecclesiastical Jurisdiction out of the Hands of the Right Reverend Father in God, Henry Lord Bishop of London. Mr. Martin being threatened in Col. Ribbee's House, That at the next Sessions of Assembly he should see the Bishop of London's Jurisdiction abolished there. And of this Carolina Parliament he says farther, Our lower House of Assembly imprison by a Vote of Page 67. the House sine Die, and bid Desiance to the Habeas Corpus Act, though made in Force there by an Act of Assembly. The Governour was very choleric with the Minister, because he had made Page 60. Burdgrave Smith a Visit at the House of the Messenger; and a Bully lashed him causelessly with his Whip, and tore his Gown Page 58. from his Back. His Creatures also in the Assembly were the Occasion of his Sufferings.

If I am accused of being partial in representing this Matter, I answer, that besides the Memorials published by the Agent of Carolina, Mr. Archdale's Tract and others, I have diligently inquired into the Truth of the Fact, and have not been able to learn the least Hint that makes against it, or vindicates the Party that is complained of, and were powerfully protected by the Lord Granville, notwithstanding it was made out to him, that the Assembly in passing the *occasional Bill* in Part 1. p. Carolina, were guilty of the most notorious ill Practices, and 38. were Men of corrupt Principles and Manners. That Bill was brought into the House the 4th of May, and carried so precipitately that it past the 6th, four Days before the Time which they were prorogued. There never were above 15 Members present from the 26th of April to the 6th of May. There was but one more for it than against it, and of the latter many were Members of the Church of England.

There's one Thing very remarkable in the Act, which is the Stile: *Be it enacted by his Excellency John Lord Granville, and the rest of the true and absolute Lords and Proprietors of Carolina, &c.* A Stile never assumed by them till very late. From whence we may observe how pleased that Faction every where with the despotick and absolute Power, inso-much as to usurp the Name when they cannot obtain any Thing more. *The Case of the Dissenters in Carolina* is full of Irregularities in the Course of this Affair, that we must refer the Reader to it. We have taken the most material, and now are to see what was done in England relating to this Matter.

The principal Merchants in London trading to Carolina drew up a Petition to the Lord Granville against passing this

Act, or to order its Repeal. Which Petition they lodged with Mr. Boone, the Agent of Carolina, who solicited the Palatine seven Weeks before he could prevail to have a Board of Proprietaries called.

Mr. Archdale, one of the Proprietaries, opposed the ratifying the Bill against the Dissenters at the Board, and with solid Reasons, that it is amazing to find the Palatine make this short Answer to all of them: *Sir, you are of one Opinion and I am of another, and our Lives may not be long enough end the Controversy: I am for this Bill, and this is the Party that I will head and countenance.*

What other Tone could he have talked in had he been Secretary of Carolina? Mr. Boone prayed he might be heard in the Council. The Palatine replied, *What Business has Countess here? It is a prudential Act in me, and I will do as I see fit. I see no Harm at all in this Bill, and am resolved to pass it.* He should have added, *Car tel est notre Plaisir.*

As all Methods to procure Justice from this Board were ineffectual in the Case of the Dissenters, the same were the in Mr. Marston's Case, and the Abuses he met with from the Party the Lord Granville was resolved to head and countenance. And what that Party was in England, and how they have seen their unreasonable Attempts baffled and exploded, too well known to need any Remembrance here.

Pag. 12.

The Bill which occasioned all the Complaints in Carolina having past thus illegally and arbitrarily, the Dissenters in the Province being notoriously known to be above two Thirds of the People, and the richest and soberest among them according to Mr. Marston's Evidence, it was not likely that they would suffer themselves to be insulted and persecuted without seeking Redress. The very Assembly who passed the Bill, about half a Year afterwards passed another to repeal it when the House was full, but it was lost in the upper House; and the Governor in great Indignation dissolved the Commons House by the Name of the Unsteady Assembly. The Society for propagating the Gospel in America and elsewhere, meeting in St. Paul's Church, taking the Act for the establishing religious Worship, &c. into Consideration, resolved not to send or support any Missionaries in that Province, till the said Act or the Clause relating to the Lay Commissioners was annulled.

Pag. 41.

There being no Hopes of any Redress of the Grievance the Inhabitants of this Colony suffered in Carolina, nor from the Lords Proprietaries in England, they resolved to bring the Matter before the House of Lords in England, not doubting but to have entire Justice done them by that august Assembly, where the Language of their Palatine was never

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never heard from the Throne, at least in this Reign or the last, both which are the Glory of the *British Annals*.

Mr. Boone was not only empowered by the principal Inhabitants of *Carolina* to act as their Agent, but he was assisted in his Agency by several eminent Merchants of *London*, who signed the Petition to the House of Lords; as Mr. *Micajah Perry*, Mr. *Joseph Paice*, Mr. *Peter Renew*, Mr. *Christopher Fowler* and others.

The Effect of which was, after a full hearing of the Cause at the Lord's Bar, that most honourable House, who have done such great Things for the Liberties of *England*, voted an Address to the Queen in Behalf of the Province of *Carolina*: But the Reader cannot be better satisfied than to have it in their Words, by which the State of the Case will be best seen.

“ The House having fully and maturely weighed the Nature of these two Acts, found themselves obliged in Duty to your Majesty, and in Justice to your Subjects in *Carolina* (who, by the express Words of the Charter of your royal Uncle King *Charles II.* granted to the Proprietors, are declared to be the Liege People of the Crown of *England*, and to have Right to all the Liberties, Franchises and Privileges of *Englishmen*, as if they were born within this Kingdom: And who by the Words of the same Charter, are to be subject to no Laws but such as are consonant to Reason, and as near as may be to the Laws and Customs of *England*) to come to the following Resolutions:

The humble Address of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, Die Martii 12, 1705.

“ *First*, That it is the Opinion of this House, that the Act of the Assembly of *Carolina* lately passed there, and since signed and sealed by *John Lord Granville* Palatine, for himself, and for the Lord *Carteret*, and the Lord *Craven*, and Sir *John Colliton*, four of the Proprietors of that Province, in Order to the ratifying it, entitled, *An Act for the establishing religious Worship in this Province, according to the Church of England, and for the erecting of Churches for the publick Worship of God, and also for the Maintenance of Ministers, and building convenient Houses for them*; so far forth as the same relates to the establishing a Commission for the displacing the Rectors or Ministers of the Churches there, is not warranted by the Charter granted to the Proprietors of that Colony, as being not consonant to Reason, repugnant to the Laws of this Realm, and destructive to the Constitution of the Church of *England*.

“ Secondly, That it is the Opinion of this House, That
 “ the Act of the Assembly of Carolina, entitled, *An Act for*
 “ *the more effectual Preservation of the Government of this*
 “ *Province, by requiring all Persons that shall hereafter be*
 “ *chosen Members of the Commons House of Assembly and sit in*
 “ *the same, to take the Oaths and subscribe the Declaration ap-*
 “ *pointed by this Act, and to conform to the religious Worship*
 “ *in this Province, according to the Rites and Usage of the*
 “ *said Church lately passed there, and signed and sealed by*
 “ *John Lord Granville Palatine, for himself and the Lord*
 “ *Craven, and also for the Lord Carteret, and by Sir John*
 “ *Colliton, four of the Proprietors of that Province, in Or-*
 “ *der to the ratifying of it, is founded upon Falstity in Ma-*
 “ *ter of Fact, is repugnant to the Laws of England, contrary*
 “ *to the Charter granted to the Proprietors of that Colony,*
 “ *is an Encouragement to Atheism and Irreligion, destructive*
 “ *to Trade, and tends to the depopulating and ruining the*
 “ *said Province :*”

May it please your Majesty,

We your Majesty's most dutiful Subjects, having thus humbly presented our Opinion of these Acts, we beseech your Majesty to use the most effectual Methods to deliver the said Province from the arbitrary Oppressions under which it now lies; and to order the Authors thereof to be prosecuted according to Law.

To which her Majesty was graciously pleased to answer.

I thank the House for laying these Matters so plainly before me, I am very sensible of what great Consequence the Plantations are to England, and will do all that is in my Power to relieve my Subjects.

It appeared to the House, that some of the Proprietors absolutely refused to join in these Acts. This Matter being referred to the Lords of Committee of Trade, they examined into it; and finding all the Fact charged upon the Promoters of these Bills true, represented to her Majesty the 24th of May 1706, That the making such Laws is an Abuse of the Power granted to the Proprietors by their Charter, and will be a Forfeiture of such Power. They farther humbly offered to her Majesty, That she would be pleased to give Directions for re-assuming the same into her Majesty's Hands by *Scire Facias*, in her Majesty's Court of *Queen's-Bench*. Which Representation was signed by the Right Honourable the Lord *Dartmouth*, the Honourable *Robert Cecil, Esq;* *Sir Philip Meadows, William Blathwayte, Esq;* *Matthew Prior, Esq;* and *John Pollexfen, Esq;* On

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On the 10th of *June* her Majesty was pleased to approve of the said Representation, and accordingly having declared the Laws mentioned therein to be NULL and VOID did Order, That for the more effectual Proceeding against the said Charter by Way of *Quo Warranto*, Mr. Attorney, and Mr. Solicitor General do inform themselves fully concerning what may be most necessary for effecting the same.

Thus did our most gracious Sovereign hear the Cry of the Oppressed, right the Innocent, and do Justice on the Oppressor. For no Distance of Country can put any of her Subjects out of her Protection; nor no Difference of Opinion (provided they are kept within the Bounds of Duty and Religion) prevent her favouring alike all her People, and doing her utmost to make them all happy, as the infinite God has made her Reign to herself and her Empire in a distinguished Manner.

The Assembly which passed these two memorable Acts were dissolved in the following Year, and a new one summoned to meet at *Charles-Town*. At the Election, *Craven* and *Berkley* Counties were so straitened by the qualifying Act, that they had not 20 Men to represent them, unless they would choose a Dissenter, or a Man not fit to sit in the Assembly. Nineteen of the Party against the *Occasional Bill* were chosen, and one Mr. *Job How* was elected by the Interest of the *Goojécreek* Faction, a Branch of the former. The *French* who were Freeholders voted for them, being induced to it by a *Frenchman's* being set up for a Candidate. They also procured Masters of Ships, particularly Capt. *Cole*, who lay in the Harbour to vote on their Side. This Election was made in the Town, and the Faction gave out an Assembly was chosen, who would repeal the Church-Act and not pay the *Augustino* Debt, threatening if they did, the House and Town should quickly be too hot to hold them.

In *Colliton* County there were but 14 Men would qualify themselves: Therefore none of the Dissenters appeared, and there were but 10 Votes out of 200 that appeared at the Election. The 10 Electors voted for 14 Candidates, and the Sheriff returned 10 that had the Majority of Votes.

On *Jan. 2*, 1705, the Members met, but not enough to make a House and choose a Speaker. Mr. *Stephens* one of the Members, asked Mr. *How* in the Governor's Presence to attend, but he refused. Before Night the House was complete and waited on the Governor, and asked if he would direct them to choose a Speaker? He answered, he thought it was too late, but if they would venture they must do it with Speed for he was not well, and it would endanger his Health

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to sit up. So they presently chose Mr. *Seabrook* and presented him to the Governor, who approved of the Choice.

The next Day the House met, the Speaker in the Chair and the Members were called upon to qualify themselves Six did and three more were ready to do it, and Debates arising about qualifying, the House adjourned.

The House meeting again, a Report was, as it is said, industriously spread, that the Members had forfeited 50 l. a Man for adjourning before they were qualified. Mr. *Hou* and Mr. *Wiggington* attended in their Places and offered to qualify themselves, but Mr. *Bornwell* coming with a Message the House waited on the Governor, who spoke to this Purpose:

Gentlemen,

You are building on a wrong Foundation, and then the Superstructure will never stand; for you have dissolved yourselves by adjourning before there was a competent Number of Members to adjourn, and I cannot dissolve you if I would, you not being a House. All this I know very well, as being myself many Years a Member of the House of Commons in England; and therefore as I am Head, I would advise you to go back no more to the House, but go every Man about his own Business: For if you should persist in settling and making Laws, besides the incurring the Penalties of the Act, the Laws would be of no Force, &c.

The Speaker refused to return to the Chair, and the Members dispersed. The Governor and Council disowning the Assembly, Mr. *Wiggington* declared, it was his Opinion the House was dissolved. But their Dissolution was aggravated, by the Pleasure the Government took in making them *Felo de se*, their own Murderers.

Then another Assembly was called, the Choice of which was carried on with greater Violence than the former. *Job Hou*, Esq; was chosen Speaker, and the Members for the most Part qualified themselves according to the qualifying Act. The Faction had not then heard of the Proceedings against them in *England*, which indeed were not come to a Conclusion. They continued their Irregularities as if they were the most innocent Men in the Province, and the only true Patriots. They passed an Act for their Continuance two Years after the Death of the present Governor, or the Succession of a new one: The Reason is told us in the Preamble, *Whereas the Church of England has of late been so happily established among them, fearing by the Succession of a new*

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Governor, the Church may be either undermined or wholly subverted, to prevent that Calamity befalling them, be it enacted, &c. Mr. Job How, Speaker of the Assembly dying some Time after, Col. William Rhet was chosen in his Place. But what has been since done in these Affairs, we know not more than in general, that the two Acts have been repealed, and the Party who drove Things on with such Fury have entirely lost their Credit, and that the Proprietaries are obliged to them for the Cause now depending; wherein if they are cast, the Government of the Province will be forfeited to the Crown. They may thank themselves for it, or at least their late Palatine the Lord Granville, for since the foregoing Pages were written that Lord died.

How Things may be managed now is not difficult to be foreseen, from the good Intelligence between the Persons we have just mentioned; and the Fall of this Faction is a terrible Example to all Colonies, not to let any Prejudice or Passion hurry them on to do Things which they cannot answer to their Superiors in England.

The next Governor to Sir Nathaniel Johnson was Major Tynte, of whose Administration we have no perfect Account, and indeed we can give but little more for several Years than the Names of the Governors. But I am sure the Reader will excuse it, when he understands the Pains I took to get Information in this as well as the other Colonies, and how I came to fall short of it.

We know as little of the Government of President Gibbs or of Charles Craven, Esq; probably preferred to this Command by his Kinsman William Lord Craven Palatine.

The next in Command was Robert Daniel, Esq; Deputy Governor, after him came into the Administration Robert Johnson, Esq; whom we shall speak more of when he comes a second Time into the Government; after him was James Moore, Esq; then Francis Nicholson, Esq; whom one would take to be a Person of uncommon Genius for Government, if we could form his Character by the Number of Commands that was given him; for he had already been at several Times Governor of New-Scotland, New-York, Maryland and Virginia, but if his Character is to be formed by his Actions, People would be puzzled to distinguish his Merit from his Fortune.

During his Command the Province was miserably infested with Pirates, as it had been for some Time past, which obliged that Government in the Year 1718, to fit out at their own Cost two Sloops under the Command of Capt. William Rhet of that Province, who took after an obstinate Defence of seven

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1718.
Pirates infest
that Coast.

seven Hours, and brought into *Carolina*, a Pirate Sloop of 10 Guns and 70 Men, called the *Revenge* commanded by one *Bennett*, and at the same Time retook two Vessels that had been taken by the said Pirate; and soon after *Robert Johnson*, Esq; late Governor, with two Ships and two Sloops under his Command, took and brought into *Carolina* a Pirate Sloop of six Guns and 30 Men, commanded by *Richard Worley*, called the *New-York Revenge*, and also retook a Ship called the *Eagle*, which had been before taken by the said Pirates, of which Pirates near 40 were executed. Yet from the Year 1717 to 1721, we have an Account of between 30 and 40 Vessels that had been taken on that Coast. And

1722.

In the Year 1722, the Chiefs of four *Indian* Nations came to *Charles-Town*, to settle the Terms of Peace between them and the *English*, who had suffered much by the Irruptions of the Savages. These Chiefs were honourably received by the Militia upon their Arrival, saluted by the Guns from the Fort and by those of all the Ships in the Harbour. They were afterwards carried into the Fort, where they owned his Excellency as chief Governor of that Province; whereupon they were clothed with Apparel presented to them on the Part of the *British* Crown.

President
Middleton.
1730.

President *Middleton* was the next in Government about the Year 1730, at which Time we find this Speech to the Assembly. "I cannot think but you must be thoroughly convinced

"of the Necessity there is for granting immediate Supplies
"for the paying the Arrears due to the Garrisons, the
"Rangers, Scouts and Lookouts: You will do well to consider the miserable Circumstances of those poor People
"who have now three Years due to them.

"I would fain know, wherein consists the Prudence and
"Policy of deferring the Payment of publick Debts Year
"after Year, till the Burthen becomes heavy and the Country becomes Bankrupt.

"I need not tell you, the *Indians* are no longer our Friends
"than you keep them in Fear, and who will credit the Publick
"in Time of Danger, when they will pay nothing of
"what they owe in Time of Tranquillity?

"Before I conclude, I must put you in Mind, *Gentlemen*,
"of humbly addressing his Majesty with Thanks, for purchasing the Soil and taking us under his immediate Protection, &c."

Negro Plot.

About this Time Advice came Home from *Carolina*, that the whole Inhabitants of that Province were in great Danger of being murdered by their Negro Slaves, who had entered into a Conspiracy for massacring all the white People

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of the Province at once; but they happily differed about the Manner of executing this bloody Design. Some of them proposed that the Negroes of every Plantation should, upon a certain Night, and a certain Hour of the Night, destroy every one their own Masters, and if they had pursued this Design they had probably succeeded; but others of them, being jealous of the Resolution of their Comrades, were against trusting the Execution of it to the Negroes of every Plantation singly and by themselves, and therefore proposed to meet under some Pretence in a Body, and strike the Blow at once by Surprize. This Project was generally approved of and the Time come for executing it, and a great Body of them met at the Back of the Town under a Pretence of a Dancing-Bout, and only waited for the coming in of the Country Negroes. But the Plot was discovered before many of them were got together, and the chief Men amongst them had picked out some of the principal Planters Wives for themselves, and particularly Governor *Johnson's* Lady was destined to be the Wife of one of them; but the Villains did not intend that these *English* Wives of theirs should long escape the Massacre. There was at this Time near 28,000 Negroes in this Province, of which 10,000 might be able to bear Arms, and of the white Men there was not above a third of that Number.

I have touched very little on Law Matters in my History, *Trial by* the Subject being equally disagreeable and perplexed, and *Juries.* there being Books written on Purpose as well with Respect to the Plantations as to *England*, but the Manner of impa-
 nelling *Juries* in this Province is so much preferable to that of *England* and all other Colonies, that it is worth remarking. *Juries* here are not returned by Sheriffs, but the Names of all the best qualified Persons are put together into a *Ballot Box*, which being well shaken, a Child draws out 48 Names of which a List is taken, and these 48 Names put into another Ballot Box or a Partition of the same, and another Child draws out 12 Names which are the Jury if no Exceptions are made to any of them, if there are, the Child draws other Names till the Jury is full. How preferable is this Practice to that of leaving the Fannel to the Management of Under Sheriffs, who are commonly Country Attorneys, with whose Integrity and Ingenuity the World is well acquainted. This valuable Privilege of getting *Juries* by *Ballot* was taken from them by the Palatine about 20 Years ago, probably a Palatine in the same Way of thinking with him who passed the *Seclusion Bill* before spoken of. The People of *Carolina* alarmed at this flagrant Act of Injustice, sent a Deputation to *England* to solicit the Palatine and Proprietaries to restore their

their former Privilege of Jury by Ballot. *Jeremiah Dummer*, Esq; the *New-England* Agent, joined with these Deputies in representing to the Proprietaries the Enormity of such daring Violation of the *Fundamental Constitutions* and the Rights of this Province, which had so good an Effect, that the *Ballot* was continued, and Juries are impannel'd by it to this Day.

About the same Time, a new *Indian War* broke out in *Carolina*. It was apprehended in *England* that the Complaint of the *Indians* of fraudulent and forceable Dealings in Trade by the *English* was not without some Ground for it. Be that as it will, the *Indians* fell upon the Out-Settlements in *Carolina*, and cut off many *English*, who were unprovided for Defence. The *Carolinians* had Supplies of Arms and Ammunition from *New-England*, before any could be brought them from *Old England*; but the ill Condition they were in to repel the Savages, who were set on by the *Spaniards*, as the *Northern Indians* were by the *French* against the *English*, was a Pretence not only to resume the Charter of this Colony, but the Charters of all the *British Colonies* in *America*, that the Defence of them might, with the Government, be given up to the Crown. Indeed the *Carolinians*, according to Mr. *Dummer*, brought this Peril upon themselves, and our other Charter Governments in *America*, by their addressing the Crown to take them under its Protection. He writes: "The dissolving the Charters was with a special View to *Carolina*, which was reduced to Extremity by a War with the *Spanish Indians* about the Year 1718; and being neither able to defend themselves, nor obtain Succours from their Lords Proprietors, address'd the Crown, &c. as before." Proprietors, whose chief if not only View is to make the most of their Propriety, will, no doubt, always rather abandon their Territory, than be at the Expence of War to defend it, which perhaps they may not be able to support; but in a free Government, like that of *New-England*, where the Property is in the People, they will always be willing and able to defend it, in Proportion to their Number and their Circumstances. The *Carolinians*, in the Progress of the *Indian War*, had much better Fortune, according to the Relation of it in the Letter written by one of them.

The Weakness as well as Injustice of this Scheme is admirably well set forth by Mr. *Dummer*, in his Defence of the *New-England Charter*, address'd to the Lord *Carteret*, one of the Lords Proprietaries of *Carolina*, when his Lordship was Principal Secretary of State; but according to the *Carolina* Writer, the Inhabitants of this Province were, in the

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the Progress of this War, so far from being likely to lose it for want of Defence, that they drove both *Indians* and *Spaniards* out of *Florida*. The Reader must have this good News in his own Words:

“ Since the Beginning of this War we have exerted ourselves very much in the Defence of the Colony. Besides the new Fortification at *Charles Town*, we have been at great Expences in providing necessary Supplies of Arms and Ammunition.

“ We have also undertaken several foreign Expeditions, one against *St. Augustine*, a Town and Garrison of the *Spaniards*, on the Coast of *Florida*, in the Latitude of 29 Degrees; and others against the *Spaniards* and *Indians* of *Apalachia*.” That Part of this Continent of *North America* so call'd, that lies along at the Foot of the *Mountains*, from the Coast of the Bay of *Mexico*, beyond the utmost Northern Bounds of *Virginia*; and at the Back of these Mountains, flows the great River *Mississippi* through Countries as ill inhabited, as was the *British* Province of this Continent by the *Indians*, when Adventurers came first from *England* to settle there. *La Sale's Travels* through that Wilderness, from the Bay of *Mexico* to *Canada*, prove what is here asserted, for the Use of such as are curious concerning *French* Attempts to make themselves Masters of the Trade and Navigation of that vast River Matter for their Speculation. The *Carolina* Writer proceeds:

“ I shall not trouble you with a long Account of these Enterprizes, *I wish he had given us a particular one, tho' ever so short*; but only tell you, our Forces intirely broke and ruined the Strength of the *Spaniards* in *Florida*, destroying the whole Country, burnt the Towns, brought all the *Indians*, who were not kill'd or made Slaves, into our own Territories; so that there remains not now so much as one Village with ten Houses in it in all *Florida* that is subject to the *Spaniards*; nor have they any Houses or Cattle left, but such as they can protect by the Guns of *St. Augustine*, that alone being now in their Hands, and which is continually infested by the Incurfions of the *Indians* subject to this Province.

“ These Expeditions have added very much to our Strength, first, by reducing the *Spanish* Power in *Florida* so low, that they are altogether incapable of ever hurting us; then by training our *Indian* Subjects in the Use of Arms, which would be of great Use to us in case of an Invasion from an Enemy; and what is yet more considerable, by drawing over to our Side, or destroying all the *In-*

“ *dians*

“Indians within 700 Miles of Charles-Town.” Now it is well known that even the *Mississippi* Indians are nearer than that from the same Town. Probably he means the Indians only between the *Apallachean Hills* and the *British Plantations*; and I doubt his History in that too wants Confirmation; for if it was as he says, there could be no more *Indian Wars* to annoy the *English* in our Continent Colonies from *Georgia* to *New-England*. Our Author adds: “This makes it impracticable for any *European Nation* to settle on that Coast, otherwise than as Subjects to the Crown of *Great Britain*, because we are capable of giving them such continual Molestation, by the Invasions of our Savages, that they could not easily subsist, or venture to make any Improvement.

If Truth is not wanting to this Account written on the Spot, the new Settlers in *Georgia*, as well as the old ones in *Carolina*, may encourage and delight themselves with a Prospect of Security, as well as Profit, the main Inducement to *Europeans* to remove thither and settle.

Since I made several Reflections on the *French Settlements* at the Mouth of the *Mississippi*, to lessen the Affright which some *Colony Writers* endeavour to throw the *English* into on that Account, I have met with this Confirmation of my own Opinion by that of Mr. *John Peter Purry* of *Newcastle*, now Col. *Purry* of *Carolina*, some time Director General in the Service of the *India Company* in *France*, contained in a Memorial he presented to his Grace the Duke of *Newcastle*, Secretary of State, in the Year 1724. “’Tis most certain, says Col. *Purry*, *Canada* is one of the meanest Countries in all *America*. The *English* were settled in *Carolina* no sooner than the Year 1664, and before that time, upon their advancing as far as *Virginia*, they were soon sensible that the Country was exceeding fruitful.” The Author then blaming the Negligence of the *Europeans*, in improving that Fruitfulness as much as they might do, proceeds: “It is true the *French* are in Possession of the Mouth of the *Mississippi*; but not to insist on the exceeding Badness of the Soil towards that Mouth for 2 or 300 Miles, should they pretend to hinder the *English* from falling down that River, and so enter the Gulph of *Mexico*, the *English*, when they are well settled on that River, might, in their Turn, by Right of first Seizure, hinder them from getting up higher. Besides, it would be as ridiculous for the *French* to imagine, upon I know not what chimerical Pretensions, that all the Country on the *Mississippi*

The *Mississippi* not so dangerous to the Colony as represented.

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" *Mississippi* belongs to them, as it would be for the *Dutch* to
" claim those Places that lie on the *Rhine* and the *Meuse*,
" under Pretence that all is theirs to which the Mouth of
" those Rivers afford an Entrance." By reading *Hennepin's*
and *La Salle's Travels* more than once, I have so well ac-
quainted myself with the Situation and Condition of those
Countries on the *Mississippi*, from the Gulph of *Mexico* to
Canada, that it seems absurd to imagine the *French* could,
in a 1000 Years, so settle themselves on the Back of our
Northern Colonies, as to be able to dislodge them; but,
on the contrary, 'tis evident that the *English*, whenever they
shall think it worth their while, may settle themselves very
easily on that River for 5 or 600 Miles between *Canada* and
the Gulph of *Mexico*, and entirely cut off any Communica-
tion between them; but it is much to be questioned, whe-
ther the peltry Trade, the only valuable one that can be car-
ried on with the *Mississippians*, for 1500 Miles together,
would, in 100 Years, make a hundredth Part of the Profit
which the *French Mississippi* Company pretend to have in
view by it, to stock it and jobb it, which they do in *France*,
as well as is done in *England*. The Stories that have been
told of the Abundance of Copper Mines in that Part of the
American Continent, are mere Fiction; the Hopes of Silver
Mines are visionary; the *Indians* never heard of any nearer
than *Mexico*. Skins and Lumber may be had by the *French*
at four times the Expence of fetching them, which the *Eng-
lish* are at in their Northern Colonies, and the *English* may
have it of the *Mississippians*, by extending their Trade back-
wards from their *Appalachean* Mountains. 'Twas impossible
for us in Things transmitted to us to keep to a Chronological
Order, and therefore we must come abruptly to the Account
of Sir *Alexander Coming's* Journey from *Charles-Town* in
Carolina, among the *Indian* Nations, between *Carolina* and
the *Mississippi*, which shews us that he must be very near, if
not in the very Country of the Savages, whose Neighbours
inhabit the Borders, if not the Mouth of that River; and
Carolina alone has more People than are said to be in all
the *French* Settlements at *St. Lewis* or *Louisiana*, as they af-
fect to call both Sides of that River, from its Mouth to its
Source.

Before the *Indian* War was brought to an Issue, the In-
habitants of *Carolina* were so harass'd and ravaged by them,
that they were unable, with the Help of the other *English*
Colonies, to make head against the Savages; and the Bor-
derers fled from them to a Ship in *Port-Royal* Harbour, where
they remained till the Savages retreated. 'Tis said that the

English had given them no Provocation; but we fear such Relations are too partial to our Countrymen. The Lords Proprietors being alike unable or unwilling to take the Charge of the War on themselves, the Colony, as has been said, applied by their Deputies to the Crown, and prayed that the Surrender of their Charter might be accepted, and the Colony be taken into his Majesty's Protection.

*The Charter
Surrender'd
to the Crown.*

This Surrender was made by the Proprietaries to *Edward Bertie, Samuel Horsey, Henry Smith, and Alexias Clayton*, Esqrs, in Trust for the Crown. The Proprietors, in their own Right, or in Trust, were then *Henry Duke of Beaufort, William Lord Craven, James Bertie, Esq; Dadington Greville, Esq; Henry Bertie, Esq; Mary Danson, Elizabeth Moor, Sir John Colliton, John Cotton, Esq; and Joseph Blake, Esq;* who were possess'd of Seven-Eighths of the Propriety of the Province, and sold it to the Crown for 17500*l.* each Proprietary, who had a whole Share, having 2500*l.* The out-standing Quit-rents, and other Incomes due to the Proprietaries from the People of the Province, amounting to somewhat above 9000*l.* also were sold to the Crown for 5000*l.* which was paid to the above-mentioned Proprietaries, after the Sale and Surrender had been confirmed by a particular Act of Parliament in the Year 1728, intitled an *Act for establishing an Agreement with seven of the Lords Proprietaries of Carolina, for Surrender of their Title and Interest in that Province to his Majesty.*

It will appear, by the following Clause in the Act of Parliament, that the remaining One-Eighth of the Propriety, and Arrears of Quit-rents aforesaid, were reserved to the Right Honourable *John Lord Carteret, Having and reserving always to the said John Lord Carteret, his Heirs, Executors, Administrators and Assigns, all such Estate, Right, Title, &c. to One-Eighth Part of the Share of the said Provinces or Territories, and to One-Eighth Part of all Arrears, &c.*

This being agreed, his Majesty was pleased to appoint *Robert Johnson, Esq;* to be Governor of *Carolina.* The Supplies and Relief that were sent them from *England* enabled them to repulse the *Indians*, who thereupon submitted to such Terms of Peace as were safe and honourable to the *English*, for which they had been prepared by *Sir Alexander Coming*, who went in Person from *Charles-Town* 4 or 500 Miles into the Country, to confer with their Kings or Chiefs, and engage them to put themselves under the Protection of the King of *Great Britain.*

He set out the 13th of *March*, 1729, and came to *Kecab-wee*, the first Town of the *Cherokees*, about 300 Miles from

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from that Town. He was here informed by Mr. Barker, a travelling Trader, that the *Cherokees* had received Messengers from the *Lower Creek* Nations, to persuade them to come over to the *French* Interest. The Writer of Sir *Alexander's* Journal does not sufficiently explain what he means by the *Lower Creek*; whether the Nations of *South Florida*, which is most likely, or the *Indians* on the Borders of the *River Apalacha*, which falls into the Gulph of *Mexico*. But the Author intimates, that Sir *Alexander's* Journey prevented a new War. He went directly to the House where the head Men of the Nation were assembled, in the midst of 200 others; and the head Men, to shew their Obedience, kneeled down at his Approach. Sir *Alexander* here caus'd Expresses to be dispatch'd through the whole Country, for the Chiefs to meet him at *Nequessie* the 3d of *April*. The 27th of *March* he came to *Passetchee*; there had happen'd, the Night before, the most terrible Thunder Storm the Savages had ever known; and their chief Conjuror or Priest complimented the Knight with a Prophecy, That he knew he was come among them to have the Rule over them. The 29th he arrived at *Great Felliquo*, in the upper Settlements, 200 Miles up from *Keeabwee*. Thus it appears he was 500 Miles from *Charles Town*, which if directly on the Back of the Coast of *Carolina*, must not be far from the *Mississippians*, as I call all the Nations bordering on that River, who are distinguish'd by 100 different Names, spell'd and pronounced differently by those that treat of them, as are also the Names of the Savage Nations we have been just speaking of. At *Telliquo*, Sir *Alexander* was waited upon by *Moyty*, the chief Warrior or Captain-General, who told him, that two Years before the Nations design'd to have made himself Head over all; but now he said it should be as Sir *Alexander* pleased. Here the chief Priest, or Conjuror declared the same, and they jointly offer'd to make him a Present of their Crown. The 30th he arrived at *Tannossie*, 16 Miles only from *Felliquo*. The King of those Savages declared his Obedience to the Crown of *Great Britain* on his Knees. From hence Sir *Alexander* returned to *Nequassie*, where the Kings, Princes, Warriors, Priests and Beloved Men were all met, according to his Appointment; with great Solemnity Sir *Alexander* was plac'd in a Chair by *Moyty's* Orders, *Moyty* and the Priests standing about him, while the Warriors strok'd him with 13 Eagles Tails, and their Singers sung from Morning till Night, as the Custom is on solemn Occasions. They fasted the whole Day, and after the Solemnity of stroking was over, Sir *Alexander* made a

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Speech to them, representing the great Power and Goodness of his Majesty King George, whom he call'd the *Great Man* on the other Side of the *Great Water*: *That himself and all his Subjects were to him as Children, and they all would do whatever the great King order'd them.* He required *Moyty* and all the *Warriors* to acknowledge themselves dutiful Subjects and Sons to King George, and to do whatever Sir *Alexander* should direct. This they promised to do, and on their Knees invocated every thing that was terrible to them to destroy them, and that they may become no People, if they violated their Promise and Obedience to the *British* Crown; to secure which, Sir *Alexander* appointed *Moyty* Chief of the Nation, and the whole Assembly joyfully agreed to it. The next Day, April 4th, their Crown was brought from Great *Jannasse*; it consisted of five Eagles Tails, and four *Scalps* of their Enemies. *Moyty* presented this to Sir *Alexander*, with a Request that he would be pleased to lay the Diadem of the *Cherokees* at his Majesty's Feet. The Priests assured Sir *Alexander* they would, when he was gone from them, punctually observe the Agreement they had made, and obey the Orders of *Moyty* pursuant thereto, as if they were his own. Sir *Alexander* had determin'd to return to *England* by the *Fox* Man of War, which was to sail from *Charles-Town* the 20th of *April*; so he had but 15 Days to travel above 400 Miles, and then embark. *Moyty* would have attended him not only to *Charles-Town*, but to *England*, had not his Wife lain dangerously ill, so he desired the Knight to take with him whom he pleas'd of the principal Men of the *Cherokees* to bear Testimony to the Truth of this Compact and Submission. Accordingly he took the head Warrior of the *Tapetchees*, a Man of great Power and Interest, who had a Right to be a King, and several others of like Rank and Authority. Sir *Alexander* returned to *Charles-Town* the 13th of *April*, leaving the *Indians* that were to attend him with Mr. *Hunter*, who reach'd Mr. *Kinloch* with them twenty three Miles from *Charles-Town*, where they met with a chief Warrior, a Friend of theirs, who was just come from the *Katarba* Nation, and desired to go along with his Countrymen, to which the rest consented. Sir *Alexander*, with five or six of these chief Warriors, embark'd aboard the *Fox*, which sail'd from *Charles-Town* the 4th of *May*, and arriv'd at *Dover* the 5th of *June*, a very short Passage, where Sir *Alexander* took Post, and arriv'd at *London* that Night. Thus he was 4 or 500 Miles from *Carolina* the 5th of *April*, and at *London* the 5th of *June*. He brought with him the Crown of the *Cherokees*, and let the Secretary

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of State immediately know he had Power to lay it at his Majesty's Feet, and had brought with him seven of the chief Indian Warriors or Generals, to witness to the Truth of the Submission of their People to his Majesty. Sir Alexander was order'd to bring those Warriors to an *Installation*, where they were struck with Amazement at the Magnificence and Splendor of the Court. They compar'd the King and Queen to the *Sun*, the Princesses to the *Stars*, and themselves to *nothing*. The 22d of *June* Sir Alexander was introduced to his Majesty, and upon his Knees declared the full Power he had received to present his Majesty with the Crown of the *Cherokees*, which the chief Warriors, being also on their Knees, solemnly attested and confirm'd.

His Majesty having graciously accepted the Crown and the Scalps before-mentioned, directed that the Warriors should be nobly entertained and diverted, which was done accordingly; and when, with equal Pleasure and Surprize, they had past a few Days in *London*, they set out for *Portsmouth*, where being arriv'd, they embark'd aboard the same Ship they came in, the *Fox*, which carried them back to *Carolina*, from whence they returned to their Nation. What Influence this Journey and Transaction of Sir Alexander Cuning's had on the friendly Disposition of the *Cherokees*, and other *Indian* Nations, and how far the Report of their chief Warriors, of their Reception in *England*, and the Numbers, Riches and Strength of the *English* might contribute to the Treaty of Commerce, that was not long after concluded, between the Government of *Carolina* and those *Savages*, I can rather conjecture than relate.

The Proprietors of this Province having surrender'd their Charter to the Crown, and his Majesty having appointed Robert Johnson, Esq; to be Governor of *Carolina*, he arriv'd there in 1731, and made a handsom Speech to the Assembly, in which, among other things, he said:

"The King our Royal Master having been pleas'd to appoint me his Governor of this his Province, I took the first Opportunity to repair hither, where, on my Arrival, finding an Assembly newly elect'd, which had never set to do any Business, considering how short a time there will be for a Session, before the Season of the Year will make you desire to be at your several Plantations, I chose rather to meet you now, than to wait for a new Election.

"His Majesty out of his great Goodness and fatherly Care of you, and at the earnest Request and Solicitation of yourselves, has been graciously pleas'd, at a great Expence, to purchase Seven-Eighths of the late Lords Pro-

Robert Johnson, Esq; Governor.

“ prietors Charter, whereby you are become under his immediate Government, a Blessing and Security we have been long praying for, the good Effects of which we only experience by the Safety we enjoy, as well in our Trade by the Protection of our Ships, as by Land in an independent Company, maintain’d partly for our Safety and Encouragement. The taking off the Duty on Rice is a peculiar Favour &c.

The Governor recommended to them the Encouragement of the publick Schools, particularly that near *Charles-Town*; and the repairing the Fortifications of that Town and *Johnson’s Fort* in particular. He then added:

“ His Majesty was pleas’d to order the Lords of Trade to settle Articles of Peace and Friendship with the *Cherokees* Indians, which I have brought with me; as also a considerable Present to engage them in Friendship and Obedience.

The Treaty was laid before the Assembly, consider’d and approved, and the head Men of the *Indians* came to *Charles-Town* to sign and ratify it; which was done in the Council-Chamber, and the Ratifications exchanged by the *English* and *Indians*. There were many Persons to see the Ceremony, and among the rest, several Ladies in their best Attire, whom the *Indian* Chiefs were about to salute like the Men, by taking them by the Hand, when one of them gave a Check to that Salutation, by saying, *They were not made to touch such things*.

It appears by a Petition of the Traders among the *Cherokees*, that before this Treaty, the being often insulted by them was not their only Cause of Complaint; for they represented that the *Virginians* invaded their Trade, and much damaged it by underselling them. This Petition was sign’d by *Daniel Hunt*, *Joseph Barker*, *William Hatwin*, *Jacob Morris*, *Hugh Gordon*, &c.

That Governor *Johnson* took a great deal of Care of the Out-settlements appears by the Journals of the Commanders of the Rangers always in Guard on the Frontiers, too particular to be inserted. Nor was this Governor’s Care less for improving and extending the *Indian* Trade, to which End he went in Person *August* the 25th, 1732, and had an Interview with *Mingobe Mingo*, one of the Chiefs of the Nations of the *Chickesaw* *Indians*, who came attended by eight *Chickesaw* Men and two Women together with two *Nauchee* *Indians*. With the Governor were *John Herbert*, Esq; Commissioner of the *Indian* Trade, *Col. Glover*, Agent &c. *Tweed Somerville* and *Samuel Welcigh*, Esqrs, and several

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ral other Gentlemen and Indian Traders from *Charles-Town*; Governor *Johnson* told the *Indians* by his Interpreter *John Molton*, he was glad to see them in his Country, and if they had any Thing to say he was ready to hear them. Then *Mingobe Mingo* having presented the Governor with 26 *Indian* drest Deer Skins, made a Speech, wherein (calling the Governor Father) he said, "He had undertaken a very long Journey to see him, that he hoped the Path between them would never be shut up, that he came from a great Town in his Nation of which he was King, and that in their Way thither they lost one of their Men who was killed by one of the *Cherokee Indians* in Friendship with the *English*. That he was sent down by the other Head Men of his Nation to receive the *Talk* from him, and that he would faithfully carry it back."

Governor *Johnson* expressed his Concern for the bad News of their Friend's being killed on the Way, and said, he believed it must have been done by some wild and mad young Fellows, for it could not be with the Consent and Approbation of the Nation; then he enquired if they had a War with the *Chactaws*, and what *Talk* that was he heard they had sent up to that Nation, they answered, it was a *Talk* for Peace, and being asked the Reason of the War, said, it was because they traded with the *English* and were their Friends. The Governor replied, *You shewed yourselves very good Friends to me and my People, by not suffering the French to trade with you; and since you have suffered by your Friendship to me, I now make you a Present of 12 Cags of Gun-Powder and 24 Bags of Bullets, for the Use of your Nation to defend you against your Enemies.*

Then *Mingobe Mingo* presented the two *Nauchee Indians*, and said, they were also come from their Towns to see him and hear his *Talk*, and carry it back to their Towns, and that their King was willing, if he desired it, to come down himself.

These *Nauchee Indians* seem to have been Borderers on the *French* near the *Mississipi*, and were now settled among the *Chickesaws*. Governor *Johnson* received them well, and as a Token of Friendship made a Present to each of a Coat, Gun, Hat, &c. as he had done to *Mingobe Mingo*, and other Presents to his Attendants. And told the *Nauchees* they were so far off before that the *English* could not trade with them, but should now do it since they were come near, and recommended to the *Chickesaws* to take Care of the Traders, which they termed maintaining the *Path*.

The Governor at their going away, after mutual Professions of Friendship and good Correspondence, said to them, that

that he was heartily sorry for the Loss of their Friends, and advised them to demand Satisfaction of the *Cherokees* in an amicable Way, which might happily prevent a Rupture, and that what he had farther to say should be sent in Writing to the head Men of their Nation.

A very remarkable Event happened in Mr. *Johnson's* Government, by the Addition of a new Province on the South Borders of *Carolina*. This Province is called *Georgia*, and as soon as he had Information that such a Design was formed in *England*, and he was desired by the Trustees to assist in promoting it, he published the following Advertisement in the *Carolina Gazette*, January 13, 1733. "Whereas I have received a Power from the Trustees for establishing the Colony of *Georgia*, to take such Contributions, as any of his Majesty's Subjects of this Province shall voluntarily contribute towards so good and charitable a Work, as the relieving the poor and insolvent *Tobacco* Dealers, and establishing and relieving any poor Protestants of what Nation soever as shall be willing to settle in the said Colony, and whereas the said intended Settlement will in all human Appearance be a great strengthening and Security to this Province, as well as a charitable and pious Work; I have therefore thought fit to publish and make known to all such Persons who are willing to promote so good a Work, that I have ordered and directed Mr. *Jesse Badenhop* to receive all such Subscriptions, &c."

Governor *Johnson* says in a Letter, that Mr. *Oglethorpe* arrived almost as soon as he heard of his coming, and he published this Order two or three Days before his Arrival at *Charles-Town*, where he received that Gentleman with great Civility, and all his People with much Chearfulness and Pleasure, as did all the Inhabitants of that Capital, where they stayed but a very short Time, but proceeded to the Place of their intended Settlement.

Three Days after their Departure the general Assembly met, and the Governor moved them to assist this generous Undertaking, and they came to a Resolution, that Mr. *Oglethorpe* should be furnished at the publick Expence with 104 Head of breeding Cattle, 25 Hogs and 20 Barrels of good Rice, that besides small Craft to convey them, the Scout-Bouts and Capt. Mac Pherson with 10 of the Rangers, who are Horsemen always kept in Pay to discover the Motions of the *Indians*, should attend Mr. *Oglethorpe*, and obey his Command in Order to protect the new Settlers from any Insults, which the Governor says he thought there was Danger of, and he gave the necessary Instructions to the Garrisons and the

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Indians in Friendship with the Carolinians, to befriend and assist them.

Mr. Johnson also desired Col. Bull, who was afterwards Governor, and a Gentleman of great Probity and Experience in the Affairs of this Province, the Nature of Land and the Method of settling, and who is well acquainted with the Manner of the Indians, to attend Mr. Oglethorpe at Georgia, and offer him his Advice and Assistance. Governor Johnson had gone himself had not the Assembly been sitting.

In the Year 1733, a Contest arose in this Province between the Assembly and the Lawyers; it began by a Complaint made to the Assembly by some of the Inhabitants of Granville County, that all the valuable Lands on the navigable Rivers and Creeks adjacent to Port-Royal, had been run out into exorbitant Tracts of 12 and 24000 Acres, under Colour of Patents heretofore granted by the Proprietaries to Landgraves and Casiques, by which the Complainants who had at the Hazard of their Lives defended that Province against the Spaniards and the Indians, were prevented from taking up any Land that could be useful to the Province, the established Quit-Rents, though the Attorney General in England had declared them to be void.

Mr. Job Rothmabler and Dr. Thomas Cooper, having been accused of some illegal Practices in this Matter, a Petition was presented to the Assembly in their Justification, signed by 39 Persons Inhabitants of Granville County. The Assembly having examined into this Affair made the following Order, That John Brown Gent. Messenger, do forthwith take into Custody Job Rothmabler and Thomas Cooper, Esq; for aiding, assisting and superintending the Deputy Surveyors in running out of Patent Lands already surveyed, contrary to the Quit-Rent Act, &c.

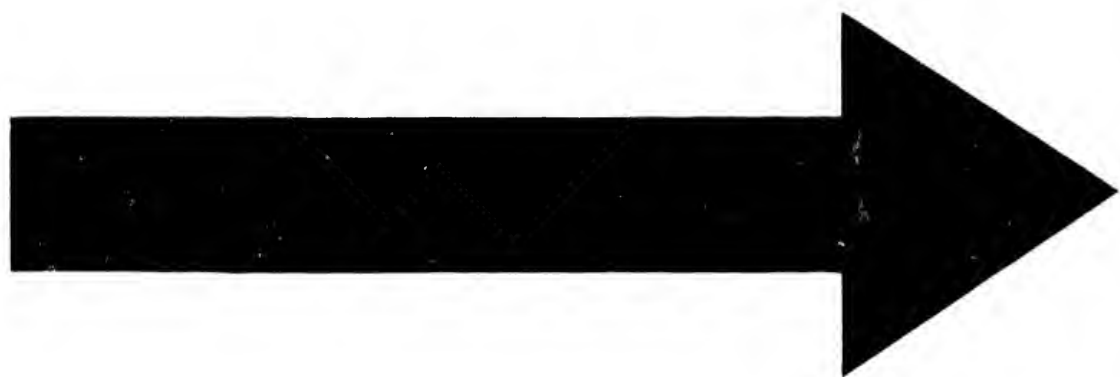
Upon this Dr. Cooper being taken into Custody, he applied to the Chief Justice for his Writ of Habeas Corpus, which the Chief Justice granted, and the same was accordingly served on the said John Brown, but he refused to yield Obedience thereto, upon which ensued so great Broils and Disturbances, that the Assembly found themselves obliged to endeavour to put an End to them by an Act on Purpose.

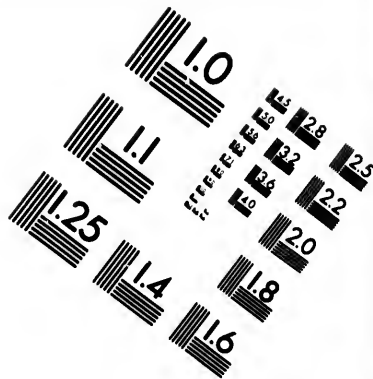
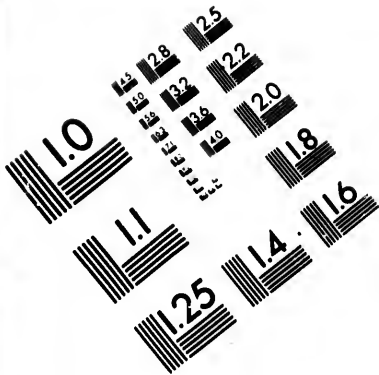
We must here observe, that Col. Peter Purry the Swiss, had procured a great Number of his Countrymen to come and settle in this Province, where Lands were laid out for their settling and a Town built called from him Purrysburg, but there seems to have been some Mismanagement in that new Plantation, by the following Proclamation of Governor Johnson. "Whereas I have received Information from Col.

"Peter

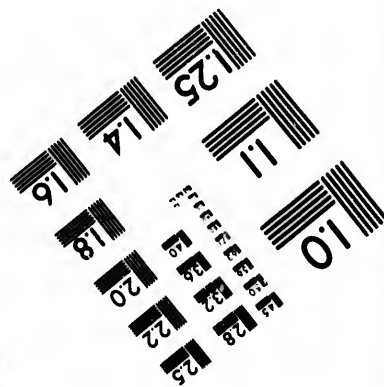
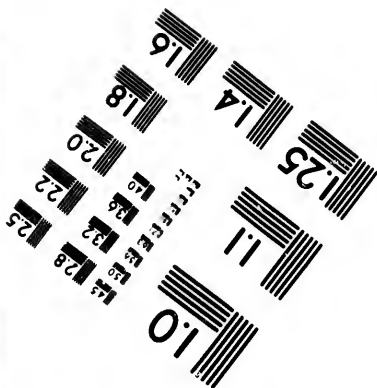
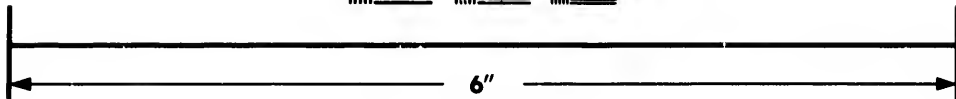
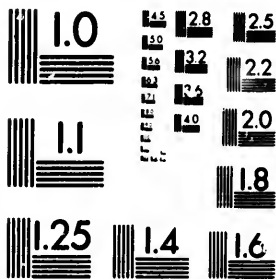
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WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

“ *Peter Purry*, that several Persons at *Purrysburgh* have sold the Lots and Lands to which they pretend Right in that Township, although they have obtained no Grants for the same, and notwithstanding they have received the Benefit and Bounty of this Province in Provision, &c. as also that they have attempted to sell their pretended Lots though they were never at *Purrysburgh*, which is contrary to the King’s royal Intention in settling the said Township. For the preventing of which fraudulent Practices I here issue this my Proclamation to inform the Publick, that no Grants will pass of any Lands in any of the Townships laid out in this Province, but only to those in whose Names the original Warrants were made out and shall settle there.”

This Town is now very much enlarged, consisting of near 100 Houses tolerably well built; it lies on the North Side of the *Savanah* River, and is 24 Miles above the Town of *Savanah*. In *Georgia* the People might be well tempted to sell their Lots, the Soil about it being so fruitful and so much of it taken in for cultivating, that Lands that sold before the *Swiss* came for 250*l.* sold at that Time for 1000 *Guineas*.

This Proclamation was Governor *Johnson*’s last Act of Government, he dying soon after (*May* the 3d 1735) and was succeeded by *Thomas Broughton*, Esq; Lieutenant Governor. I do not insert his Speech to the Assembly, the Substance being much the same as other Governor’s Speeches, of which I find this said by a Collector of such Things. “ We cannot help taking Notice, that in every one of the Governor’s Speeches, there are great Complaints of the bad State of their Fortifications; and as these Complaints have long continued and yet remain without Redress, it really seems to be high Time to put those Affairs upon some different footing, for this Nation reaps too great a Benefit from our Colonies in the *West-Indies* to be quite unconcerned, whether or no they keep themselves in a proper State of Defence. If the People of our respective Colonies can bear Taxes, and will not tax themselves in a proper State for so necessary a Purpose, the legislative Authority of *Great-Britain* might interpose, and if they already pay as many Taxes as they are able to bear, which are all appropriated to other more necessary Purposes, if any more necessary can be, this Nation ought to assist them; but it looks a little odd, that while our Governors are most of them reaping their annual Thousands, their respective Governments should remain without the necessary Fortifications for Scores of Years.”

Thomas
Broughton,
Esq; Lieute-
nant Govern-
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What we have said of the Agreement of *North and South-North-Carolina* in every Article we treat of, must be our Excuse for not enlarging upon it in this as well as our former Impression. It is a separate Government, and we have the Names of several of its Governors since that Impression, as Capt. *Hyde*, Sir *Richard Everard*, Capt. *Burrington*; but our Information has been so short, and the Subject so barren, that we can add no more to it but what we borrow from the Rev. Mr. *Hugh Jones* Chaplain to the Assembly of *Virginia*. "As for *North-Carolina* it is vastly inferior. Its Trade is smaller and its Inhabitants thinner and for the most Part poorer than *Virginia*, neither is their Government extraordinary though they have some good Laws, and there is some good living in this large Country, in which is Plenty of good Provision.

"As for the Churches they are but very few, and says Mr. *Jones*, I knew of but one Minister in the whole Government, and he had no great Faculty of influencing the People and is lately removed thence, and on Account of the Deficiency of such Ministers the Reverend Author complains, that much Religion cannot be expected among a Collection of such People as fly thither from other Places for Safety and Livelihood. For Want of Clergy the Justices of Peace marry, and others perform the Office of Burial; the common nominal Christians live there not much better than Heathens, the Society for propagating the Gospel have been frequently disappointed, by sometimes pitching upon Persons that have not answered the End of their Mission.

"Col. *Frederick Jones*, one of the Council, and in a good Post and of a good Estate in *North-Carolina*, applied to me before his Death, desiring me to communicate the deplorable State of their Church to the late Bishop of London, assured me that if the Society would contribute and direct them, the Government there would join in establishing such Maintenance as might be sufficient for some Clergymen to settle among them.

"I acted according to his Request, but never heard of the Event of this Application."

CHAP. II.

Containing a geographical Description of Carolina, as also an Account of the Climate, Soil, Product, Trade, first Inhabitants, &c.

THIS very well known, that the Province of Carolina has been a long Time divided into two separate Governments, the one called *North Carolina* and the other *South Carolina*; but the latter being the more populous, goes generally under the Denomination of *Carolina*; and as such we have treated of it in the foregoing Pages. The Proprietaries of *North Carolina* are the Proprietaries of *South Carolina*, though the Governors are different, in other Things they are exactly the same. And we shall put them together in the geographical Description, as also in our Account of the Climate, Soil, Product, Trade, first Inhabitants, &c.

Carolina, as has been said, contains all the Coast of *North America*, between 31 and 36 Degrees of Northern Latitude. Its Breadth is not to be computed, King *Charles II.* having granted the Proprietors all the Land Westward in a direct Line from the above-mentioned Degrees to the South Seas. 'Tis in Length three hundred Miles. Its Situation is most convenient for Trade, the Coast pleasant and safe, not stormy or frozen in the Winter.

Descrip. of
Car. p. 6.

As to the Climate, Mr. *Archdale* says of it, *Carolina* is the Northern Part of *Florida*, viz. from 29 Degrees to 36 $\frac{1}{2}$, and is indeed the very Center of the habitable Part of the Northern Hemisphere; for taking it to be habitable from the Equinoctial to 64 Degrees, the Center of *Carolina* lies in about 32, which is about the Middle of 64, lying; 'twill with the Land of *Canaan*, and may be called the temp. Zone comparatively, as not being pestered with the violent Heats of the more Southern Colonies, or the Extreme and violent Colds of the more Northern Settlements. Its Production answers the Title of *Florida*, quia Regio est Florida. *Carolina* North and South is divided into six Counties, of which two are in *North Carolina*, *Albemarle* and *Clarendon*; and four in *South*, *Craven*, *Berkley*, *Colliton*, and *Carteret* Counties.

The first is *Albemarle* County to the North, bordering on *Virginia*. 'Tis watered by *Albemarle* River, and in this Part of the Country lies the Island *Roanoke*, where *Philip Amidas* and *Arthur Barlow*, whom Sir *Walter Rawleigh* sent to *Virginia*,

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Carolina, landed. This County may be said to belong to Virginia, as New-England, &c. did, which justifies King Charles's Grant. When Carolina was first settled, Albemarle was more planted than any of the other Counties, and consisted of near 300 Families. But the Plantations upon the Ashley River in Time grew upon it so much, that most of the Planters were removed thither. This River is full of Creeks on both Sides of it, which for Breadth deserve the Name of Rivers, but they do not run far into the Country. At Sandy Point it divides itself into two Branches, *Noratoke* and *Notaway*, and in the North Point lives an Indian Nation called the *Matatomogs*. Next to Albemarle is *Pantego* River, between them is *Cape Hatteras*, mentioned in the History of Virginia. Next to it is *Newse* River. The *Coranines* an Indian Nation, inhabit the Country about *Cape Lookout*.

Next to Albemarle is *Clarendon* County, in which is the famous Promontory called *Cape Fear*, at the Mouth of *Clarendon* River, call'd also *Cape Fear* River. Hereabouts a Colony from *Barbados* formerly settled. The Indians in this Neighbourhood are reckoned the most barbarous of any in the Province. The next River is named *Waterey* River, or *Winyann*, about 25 Leagues distant from *Ashley* River: 'Tis capable of receiving large Ships, but inferior to *Port-Royal* nor is yet inhabited. There's another small River between this and *Clarendon* River called *Wingon* River, and a little Settlement honoured with the Name of *Charles-Town*, but so thinly inhabited that it is not worth taking Notice of. We come now to *South Carolina*, which is parted from *North* by *Zante* River. The adjacent Country is called

Craven County, it is pretty well inhabited by *English* and *French*, of the latter there's a Settlement on *Zamee* River, and they were very instrumental in the irregular Election of the *Unsteady Assembly*. The next River to *Zantee* is *Sewee* River, where some Families from *New-England* settled: And in the Year 1706 the *French* landed there, they were vigorously opposed by this little Colony, who beat off the Invaders, having forced them to leave many of their Companions dead behind them. This County sends 10 Members to the Assembly. We now enter

Berkley County, passing still from North to South. The Northern Parts of this Shire are not planted, but the Southern are thick of Plantations, on Account of the two great Rivers *Cooper* and *Ashley*. On the North Coast there's a little River called *Bowal* River, which with a Creek forms an Island, and off of the Coasts are several Isles, named the *Hunting-Islands* and *Sillivant's* Isle. Between the latter and

Bowal River is a Ridge of Hills; which from the Nature of the Soil is called the *Sand-Hills*. The River *Wando* waters the North-West Parts of this County, and has several good Plantations upon it, as Col. *Daniel's* on the South Side, and Col. *Dearsby's* lower down on the North. It runs into *Cooper* River near the latter, and they both unite their Streams with *Ashley* River at *Charles-Town*. The late Assembly enacted, That a Church should be built on the South East of *Wando* River, and another upon the Neck of Land lying on the North-West of *Wando*, but we do not see that this Act was obeyed.

Charles-Town, the Capital of this Province, is built on a Neck of Land between *Ashley* and *Cooper* Rivers, but lying most on *Cooper* River, having a Creek on the North Side and another on the South. It lies in 32 Deg 40 Min N Lat two Leagues from the Sea. This is the only free Port in the Province, which is a great Discouragement to it and a vast Injury to Trade: 'Tis fortified more for Beauty than Strength. It has six Bastions and a Line all round it. Towards *Cooper* River are *Blake's* Bastion, *Granville* Bastion, a half Moon and *Craven* Bastion. On the South Creek are the *Palisades* and *Ashley* Bastion, on the North a Line; and facing *Ashley* River are *Golliton* Bastion, *Johnson's* covered half Moon with a Draw-Bridge in the Line, and another in the half Moon. *Carteret* Bastion is next to it. If all these Works are well made, and can be well manned, we see no Reason why they should not defend as well as beautify the Town; says a late Writer of this Province, we have fortified *Charles-Town* with strong and regular Works, and erected another Fort upon a Point of Land at the Mouth of *Ashley* River, which commands the Channel so well, that Ships can't easily pass it. This Place is a Market Town, and thither the whole Product of the Province is brought for Sale. Neither is its Trade inconsiderable, for it deals near 1000 Miles into the Continent: However it is unhappy in a Bar, that admits no Ships above 200 Tuns. Its Situation is very inviting, and the Country about it agreeable and fruitful: The Highways extremely delightful, especially that called *Broad-way*, which for three or four Miles make a Road and Walk, so pleasantly green, that says Mr. *Archdale*, I believe no Prince in Europe by all his Art can make so pleasant a Sight for the whole Year. There are several fair Streets in the Town, and some very handsome Buildings; as Mr. *Landgrave Smith's* House on the Key, with a Draw-Bridge and Wharf before it; Col. *Rhett's* on the Key, also Mr. *Boone's*, Mr. *Loggan's*, Mr. *Schinking's* and 10 or 12 more, which deserve to be taken Notice of.

Archd. p. 9.

As for publick Edifices, the Church is most remarkable; tis large, and stately enough; but the Number of the Professors of the *Anglicane* Worship increasing daily, the Auditory began to want Room, and another Church. This is dedicated to *St. Philip*; and by the Act, which appointed the High Commission Court, 'twas enacted, *That Charles-Town, and the Neck between Cooper and Ashley River, as far up as the Plantation of John Bird, Gent. on Cooper River, inclusive, and from henceforth shall for ever be a distinct Parish, by the Name of St. Philip's in Charles-Town*: And the Church and Cœmtery then in this Town were enacted to be the Parish Church and Church-yard of *St. Philip's in Charles-Town*. Mr. *Williams* was the first Church of England Minister in *Carolina*; a Person of whom, since Mr. *Marston* has said so much, we shall say no more. One Mr. *Warmel* was sent over after him. The Reverend Mr. *Samuel Marshal* was the first establish'd Minister at *Charles-Town*; and his Successor was Mr. *Edward Marston*, the present Rector of *St. Philip's*; he came over seven Years ago: Mr. *Kendal*, Minister of *Bermudas*, was invited to this Colony; and Mr. *Corbin*, an Acquaintance of Mr. *Marston's*, coming by chance, he got him settled in this Province.

The Society for propagating the Gospel sent over one Mr. *Thomas*, to convert the *Roman-Catholick Indians*; but he did not obey his Mission. On the contrary, 'twas by his Influence on some Men of Interest here, that Mr. *Kendal* was displaced; upon which he went distracted.

Mr. *Warmell* was also used so ill by him, that he also died distracted; and Mr. *Corbin* was forced to leave the Colony, by the careless Quarrels of the Inhabitants, in which the Dissenters had the least Hand. 'Twas by their Procurement that the 150*l.* a Year, &c. was settled on the orthodox Minister of this Church. The Church stands near the cover'd Half Moon.

There's a publick Library in this Town, and a Free School was long talk'd of; whether founded or not, we have not learn'd. The Library is kept by the Minister for the time being. It owes its Rise to Dr. *Thomas Bray*, as do most of the *American* Libraries, for which he zealously solicited Contributions in *England*.

Not far off, by *Carteret Bastion*, is the Presbyterian Meeting-house, of which Mr. *Archibald Stobe* is Minister. Between *Colliton* and *Ashley* Bastion is the Anabaptist Meeting-house, Mr. *William Screven* Minister. The *French* Church is in the chief Street: Besides which, there is a Quakers Meeting-house, in the Suburbs of it, properly so call'd,

See Mr. Marston's Letter to Dr. Stanhope, Part 2. of the Case of Dissent. p. 53.

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call'd, on the other Side of the Draw-bridge, in the Half-Moon, toward *Abley* River.

To the Southward is the Watch-house; and the most noted Plantations in the Neighbourhood of *Charles-Town*, are *Ferguson's*, *Underwood's*, *Gilbertson* and *Gornat's*.

We may see, by this Description, that the Town is full of Dissenters, and would flourish more, were not the Inhabitants uneasy under the Government there. For one may imagine they who fled from *England*, to avoid Persecution, cannot be well pleas'd to meet with it in *America*; nor to cross the *Atlantick*, to live under Oppression abroad, while their Relations and Friends at home enjoy all the Blessings of a peaceful and gentle Administration.

There are at least 250 Families in this Town, most of which are numerous, and many of them have 10 or 12 Children in each; in the whole amounting to about 3000 Souls.

In *Charles-Town* the Governor generally resides, the Assembly sit, the Courts of Judicature are held, the publick Offices kept, and the Business of the Province are transacted.

The Neck of Land between *Cooper* and *Abley* Rivers is about 4 Miles over, and the Banks of both of these are well planted. The chief Settlements on *Cooper* River are *Mathew's*, *Green's*, *Gray's*, *Starkey's*, *Grimboll's*, *Dickson's*, and *Izard's*; the latter on *Turky* Creek. About a Mile from thence is the Mouth of *Goose-Creek*, which is also very well planted. Here Mr. *William Corbin* above-mentioned lived, and had a Congregation of Church of *England* Men; and one of the Churches propos'd to be built by the Assembly which pass'd the two fatal Acts we have spoken of, was to be erected.

Mr. *Thomas*, a Missionary sent by the Society before-mentioned, settled here, by Capt. *Hew's* and Col. *Moor's* Solicitations; as did Mr. *Stackhouse*, and the Reverend Dr. *Lejau*.

Mr. *Marston*, in his Letter to the Reverend Dr. *Stanhope*, accuses Mr. *Thomas* of being the Occasion of the ill Usage that made Mr. *Kendal* run distracted. He complains he never had University Education, saying, *That the best Service your Society can do this young Man, Mr. Thomas, is to maintain him a few Years at one of our Universities, where he may better learn the Principles und Government of the Church of England, &c. and some other useful Learning, which I am afraid he wants.*

Sir *John Yeoman's*, and Mr. Landgrave *Bellenger's* Plantations are here; as also Col. *Gibbs's*, Mr. *Schinking's*, and *Colliton's*

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Colliton's Company. Between this and *Back River* are Col. *Moor's* and Col. *Quarry's* Plantations.

Back River falls into *Cooper River*, about 2 Miles above *Goose-Creek*, and its Western Branch a little higher. Here another Church was proposed to be built. The most noted Plantations are Capt. *Comming's* and Sir *Nathaniel Johnson's*, bordering on the Barony of Mr. *Thomas Colliton*.

We must now take a View of *Ashley River*, where we first meet with Mr. *Langrave West's* Plantation on one Side, and Col. *Gibbs's* on the other. Mr. *Baden's* over-against Col. *Godfrey's*, Mr. *Simonds's* opposite to Dr. *Trevillian's*, and Mr. *Peardarvis's* to Mr. *West's*, Mr. *Colliton's* to Mr. *Marshall's*, and others almost contiguous.

This Part of the Country belongs to the Lord *Shaftsbury*. On the South-West of *Ashley River* is the great *Savanna*. One of the Churches intended to be erected in this County, was to have been built on *Ashley River*.

Dowchester is in this Shire, bordering on *Colliton County*. 'Tis a small Town, containing about 350 Souls. There's a Meeting-house belonging to the Independents, the Pastor of which is Mr. *John Lord*. Next to it is *Stono River*, which divides *Berkley* from *Colliton County*, to which we must now proceed; observing only, that *Berkley County* sends ten Members to the Assembly. The same does

Colliton County, which *Stono River* waters, and is joined by a Cut, near Mr. *Blake's* Plantation, to *Wadmooslaw River*. The North-East Parts of this Division of the Province is full of Indian Settlements; and the *Stono*, and other Rivers, form an Island, call'd *Boone's Island*, a little below *Charles-Town*, which is well planted and inhabited. The two chief Rivers in this County are *North-Edistow* and *South-Edistow*. At the Mouth of the latter is Col. *Paul Grimboll's* Plantation; and for two or three Miles up the River, the Plantations are thick on both Sides; as they continue for three or four Miles higher on the North-side, and branching there, the River meets with the *North-Edistow*.

Two Miles higher is *Wilson*, by some call'd *New-London*, a little Town, consisting of about 80 Houses. Landgrave *Moreton*, Mr. *Blake*, Mr. *Boone*, Landgrave *Axtel*, and other considerable Planters, have Settlements in this Neighbourhood, which is Sir *John Colliton's* Precinct.

A Church was to have been built on the South-side of the *Stono*, had that Project gone on, and the Act taken effect. This County has 200 Freeholders, that vote in E-

lection for Parliament Men. There's an orthodox Church in this Precinct, of which Mr. *Williams* is Minister.

Carters County is not yet inhabited, but is generally esteemed to be the most fruitful and pleasant Part of the Province. This and *Colliton* County are distinguish'd from the other by the Name of the *Southward*. In it is the great River *Camboge*, which joining with the River *May*, forms with the Sea Island *Edelant*.

The Country upon the River *May* was inhabited by the *Westoes*, an Indian Nation already mentioned. There's a pleasant Lake and Valley in it; and the first *English* that came to *Carolina* thought of settling hereabouts; but the *Indians* advised them to the contrary, because the Harbour of *Port-Royal* was the finest in *Florida*, and would have tempted the *Spaniards* to disturb them.

The *Scots* settled here, under the Lord *Cardross*; but were soon forced to abandon their Settlements, as has been elsewhere hinted. *Port-Royal* River lies 20 Leagues from *Asheley* River, to the South, in 31 Degrees, 45 Minutes, North Latitude. It has a bold Entrance, 17 Foot low Water on the Bar. The Harbour is large, commodious, and safe for Shipping, and runs into a fine fruitful Country, preferable to the other Parts of *Carolina*. It spends itself, by various Branches, into other large Rivers. This Port is not 200 Miles from *Augustino*, and would be a great Curb to the *Spaniards* there, where their Settlement is not very considerable.

Next to it is the River *May*, and then *San Matteo*; which is the last of any Note in the *English Florida*, a Name this Province highly deserves.

Arch. p. 8.

The Air of this Country is healthy, and Soil fruitful, of a sandy Mould, which, near the Sea, appears ten times more barren than it proves to be. There's a vast Quantity of Vines in many Parts of the Coasts, bearing abundance of Grapes, where one would wonder they should get Nourishment. Within Land the Soil is more mix'd with a blackish Mould, and its Foundation generally Clay, good for Bricks.

Its Products are the chief Trade of the Inhabitants, who send it abroad, according as the Market offers; and 'tis in Demand in *America* or *Europe*. But the chief Commerce from hence is to *Jamaica*, *Barbados* and the *Leeward-Islands*; yet their Trade to *England* is very much increased; for notwithstanding all the Discouragements the People lie under, seventeen Ships came last Year, laden from *Carolina*, with Rice, Skins, Pitch, and Tar, in the *Virginia* Fleet, besides straggling Ships.

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Its principal Commodities are Provisions, as Beef, Pork, Corn, Pease, Butter, Tallow, Hides, tann'd Leather, Hog-head and Barrel-Staves, Hoops, Cotton, Silk, besides what they send for *England*. Their Timber-trees, Fruit-trees, Plants and Animals are much the same with those in *Virginia*, in which History may be seen a large Account of them: But since Mr. *Archdale* has been a little particular in his, and has added a short Description of the Natives, &c. we will communicate what he says to the Reader.

“ ’Tis beautified with odoriferous Woods, green all the P. 9.

“ Year; as Pine, Cedar, and Cypres. ’Tis naturally fertile, and easy to manure. Were the Inhabitants industrious, Riches would flow in upon them; for I am satisfy’d, a Person with 500*l.* discreetly laid out in *England*, and again prudently managed in *Carolina*, shall in a few Years live in as much Plenty as a Man of 300*l.* a Year in *England*; and if he continues careful, not covetous, shall increase to great Riches, as many there are already Witnesses, and many more might have been, if Luxury and Intemperance had not ended their Days.

“ As to the Air, ’tis always serene, and agreeable to any Constitutions, as the first Planters experienced. There’s seldom any raging Sickness, but what is brought from the Southern Colonies, as the late Sickness was, which raged *A. D. 1706*, and carried off abundance of People in *Charles-Town*, and other Places.

“ Intemperance also has occasioned some Distempers.

“ What may properly be said to belong to the Country is, to have some gentle Touches of Agues and Fevers in *July* and *August*, especially to new Comers. It has a *Ibid.* “ Winter Season, to beget a new Spring.” *I was there, P. 7.* adds my Author, at twice, five Years, and had no Sickness, but what I got by a careles violent Cold; and indeed I perceived that the Fevers and Agues were generally gotten by Carelessness in Clothing, or Intemperance.

“ Every thing generally grows there that will grow in any Part of *Europe*, there being already many sorts of Fruits, as Apples, Pears, Apricots, Nectarines, &c. They that once taste of them, will despise the warty washy Taste of those in *England*. There’s such Plenty of them, that they are given to the Hogs. In 4. or 5 Years they come from a Stone to be bearing Trees.

“ All sorts of Grain thrive in *Carolina*, as Wheat, Barley, Peas, &c. And I have measured some Wheat Ears 7 or 8 of our Inches long. It produces the best Rice in the known World, which is a good Commodity for Returns

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Inhabitants, who offers; and ’tis in chief Commerce and the *Leeward*-much increased; ts the People lie en from *Carolina*, *Virginia* Fleet,

“ home; as is also Pitch, Tar, Buck, Doe, Bear-skins and
 “ Furs; though the last not so good as the Northern Co-
 “ lonies.

“ It has already such Plenty of Provisions, that it, in a great
 “ Measure, furnishes *Bartados, Jamaica, &c.* There are
 “ vast Numbers of wild Ducks, Geese, Teal; and the Sea
 “ and Rivers abound in Fish. That which makes Provi-
 “ sions so cheap, is the Shortness of the Winter; for hav-
 “ ing no need to mow for Winter Fodder, they can apply
 “ their Hands in raising other Commodities.

“ The Rivers are found to be more navigable than was
 “ at first believed; and 'twas then prudently contrived not
 “ to settle on the most navigable, but on *Ashley* and *Cooper*
 “ River; those Entrances are not so bold as the others, so
 “ that Enemies and Pirates have been dishearten'd in their
 “ Designs to disturb that Settlement.

“ The new Settlers have now great Advantages over the
 “ first Planters, since they can be supply'd with Stocks of
 “ Cattle and Corn at reasonable Rates.

I shall conclude the Account of *Carolina* with an Extract
 of a Letter from thence, from a Person of Credit, in whose
 Words I communicate it to the Publick: He speaks of the
Southward.

“ The many Lakes we have up and down breed a
 “ Multitude of Geese, and other Water Fowl. All along
 “ *Port-Royal* River, and in all this Part of *Carolina*, the
 “ Air is so temperate, and the Seasons of the Year so regu-
 “ lar, that there's no Excess of Heat or Cold, nor any trou-
 “ blefom Variety of Weather; for though there is every
 “ Year a kind of Winter, yet it is both shorter and milder
 “ than at *Ashley* or *Cooper* River, and passes over insensibly,
 “ as if there was no Winter at all. This sweet Tempera-
 “ ture of Air causes the Banks of the River to be cover'd
 “ with various Kinds of lovely Trees, which being per-
 “ petually green, present a thousand Landships to the Eye
 “ so fine, and so diversify'd, that the Sight is entirely
 “ charm'd with them. The Ground is very low in most
 “ Places near the River; but rises gradually at a Distance
 “ with little Hills adjoining to fruitful Plains, all cover'd
 “ with Flowers, without so much as a Tree to interrupt the
 “ Prospect. Beyond these are beautiful Vales, clothed with
 “ green Herbs, and a continual Verdure, caused by the
 “ refreshing Rivulets that run through them. There are
 “ great many Thickets, which produce abundance of Sim-
 “ ples. The *Indians* make use of them for the Cure of
 “ their Diseases. There are also *Sarsaparilla, Cassia-trees*

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"Gums and Rosin, very good for Wounds and Bruises; and such a prodigious Quantity of Honey, which the Bees make every where, that the Store of it is not to be exhausted. Of this they make excellent Spirits, and Mead as good as *Malaga Sack*. The Bees swarm five or six times. There's a kind of Tree, from which there runs an Oil of extraordinary Virtue for curing Wounds. And another Tree, which yields a Balm, thought to be scarce inferior to that of *Mecca*.

Silk is come to a great Improvement here, some Families making 40 or 50 *l.* a Year, and their Plantation Work not neglected, their little Negro Children being serviceable in feeding the Silk-worms. And we must do Sir *Nathanael Johnson* the Justice, to own he has been the principal Promoter of this Improvement, as also of Vineyards. He makes yearly 3 or 400 *l.* in Silk only.

But 'tis objected, since the Climate is so proper, since Grapes are so plentiful, and the Wine they make so good, why there is not more of it? Why do we not see some of it?

To which I answer, That the Inhabitants either think they can turn their Hands to a more profitable Culture, or impose upon us in their Reports; for I would not think them so weak, as to neglect making good Wine, and enough of it, if they could, and thought it worth their while.

They manufacture their Silk with Wool, and make Druggets. The *French* Protestants have set up a Linen Manufacture; and good Romalls are made here.

A *French* Dancing-Master settling in *Craven* County, taught the *Indians* Country-Dances, to play on the Flute and Hautboy, and got a good Estate; for it seems the Barbarians encouraged him with the same Extravagance, as we do the Dancers, Singers and Fiddlers his Countrymen.

Though we have said enough of the *Virginian* *Indians*, who are much the same with the *Carolinian*; yet since we find Mr. *Archdale* speaks of them in particular, let the Reader see what he has said of them.

"Providence was visible in thinning the *Indians*, to make Room for the *English*. There were two potent Nations, the *Westoes* and *Sarannas*, who broke out into an usual Civil War before the *English* arrived; and from many thousands reduced themselves to a small Number. The most cruel of them, the *Westoes*, were driven out of the Province; and the *Sarannas* continued good Friends and useful Neighbours to the *English*. It pleased God also to send unusual Sicknesses among them, as the Small-

P. 2. 3.

“ Pox, &c. The *Pemlico Indians*, in North Carolina, were lately swept away by a Pestilence; and the *Caranins* by War. The Natives are somewhat tawny, occasioned chiefly by oiling their Skins, and by the naked Rays of the Sun. They are generally straight body'd, comely in Person, quick of Apprehension, and great Hunters; by which they are not only very serviceable, by killing Deer, to procure Skins for Trade with us; but those that live in Country Plantations procure of them the whole Deer's Flesh, and they will bring it many Miles for the Value of about 6 d. and a wild Turkey of 40 Pounds for the Value of 2 d.

P. 7.

They have learnt one of their worst Vices of the *English*, which is Drinking, and that occasions Quarrels among them, one of which we have mentioned in the time of Mr. *Archdale's* Government. As to what he would excite us to their Conversion to Christianity, 'tis a Project which, like a great many other very good ones, we may rather wish than hope to see effected.

Mr. *Thomas* was sent to instruct the *Yamosees* in the Christian Religion, and had an Allowance of 50 l. a Year from the before-mentioned Society, besides other Allowances; But finding it an improper Season, his Mission is respited; the Reason is, those *Indians* revolted to the *English* from the *Spaniards*, and not being willing to embrace Christianity, 'tis feared they would return to their old Confederates, if any means were made use of to that Purpose.

This Country is in a very flourishing Condition, the Families are very large, in some are 10 or 12 Children, and the Number of Souls, in all, is computed to be 12000. The Children are set to Work at 8 Years old. The ordinary Women take Care of Cows, Hogs, and other small Cattle, make Butter and Cheese, spin Cotton and Flax, help to sow and reap Corn, wind Silk from the Worms, gather Fruit, and look after the House. 'Tis pity this People should not be easy in their Government; for all their Industry, all the Advantages of the Climate, Soil, and Situation for Trade, will be useless to them, if they live under Oppression; and *Pensylvania* will have no Occasion to complain that she tempts away her Inhabitants; being a new Beauty, a fairer, and consequently a powerful Rival.

C H A P. III.

Extract from a late Account of this Province, containing Observations not mentioned in the former Edition.

CAROLINA is in general a plain champain Country, having no considerable Hills for the Space of 1000 Miles together along the Coast, within 100 Miles of the Sea. There are, however, almost every where Risings, or gentle Ascents, from 5 Foot to 70 above the Level of the highest Side. Behind these vast Champain Countries lies a high Ridge of Mountains, which beginning in the Latitude of 34, 90 or 100 Miles to the Westward of the *Mississippi*, run almost parallel with the Sea Coast, behind *Florida, Carolina, Virginia* and *Maryland*. They are variously named the *Apelchen, Appellachean* and *Appellean* Mountains; from the Foot of which, to the Sea, is about 200 Miles. The Springs of most of the great Rivers in the before-mentioned Provinces are in these Hills.

This Province is capable of containing above sixty times the Number of its present Inhabitants.

The Seasons of sowing *Indian* Corn here, is from the 1st of *March* to the 10th of *June*. An Acre produces from 18 to 30 Bushels. The Seed-time of Rice is from the 1st of *April* to the 20th of *May*. 'Tis sow'd in Furrows, about 18 Inches distant; a Peck usually sows an Acre, which yields seldom less than 30 Bushels, or more than 60; but between these two, as the Land is either better or worse. It is reap'd in *September* to the 8th of *October*, and the Product is now become so large, that it returns to *Great Britain* at least 80000 *l.* a Year, including Freight and Commission, which are the most profitable Articles in the *British* Commerce. In a good Year it can export 80000 Barrels of 400 Weight, and upon a Medium of 7 Years, may make 50000 Barrels, disposed of as follows, by a Calculation six Years ago.

P. 18

To the South of Cape Finistre	10000 Barrels.
To the North of Cape Finistre	38000 Barrels.
To Great Britain	2000
	<hr/>
	50000 Barrels.

This

This Quantity of *Rice* will employ above 10000 Ton of Shipping, and may return to *Great Britain* about 80000 *l.* per Annum.

This Product is so very large, so good, and continues so increasing, that there is very great Likelihood, that, in a few Years, all the Markets in *Europe* will be supplied therewith from this Province; the Trade of which is otherwise so much augmented, that it loads at least 200 Sail of Ships yearly, with this and other Products from all Parts.

Silk-worms.

Silk-worms in *Carolina* are hatch'd from the Egg about the 6th of *March*; at the same time that the Mulberry Leaves, which are their Food, begin to open. Being attended and fed 6 Weeks, they eat no more, but have small Bushes set up for them to spin themselves into Balls, which thrown into warm Water are wound off into *Raw Silk*.

Rosin.

Rosin, Tar and *Pitch* are all produced from the *Pine Trees*. *Rosin* by cutting Channels in the standing green Trees that meet at a Point at the Foot of the Tree, where is placed a *Receiver*. The Channels are cut as high as one can reach with an Ax, and the Bark is peeled off from all those Parts of the Tree that are exposed to the Sun, that the Heat of it may the more easily force out the *Turpentine*, which being taken from the *Receiver* and melted in Kettles becomes *Rosin*.

Tar.

Tar is made thus, they prepare a circular Floor of Clay declining a little towards the Center, from which is laid a Pipe of Wood, whose upper Part is even with the Floor, and reaches 10 Foot 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 dry *Pine Wood* split in Pieces and surrounded with a Wall of Earth, which covers it all over only a little at the Top where the Fire is first kindled. After the Fire begins to burn they cover that likewise with Earth, to the End there may be no Flame, but only Heat sufficient to force the *Tar* downward into the Floor. They temper the Heat as they please, by thrusting a Stick through the Earth, and letting the Air in at as many Places as they see convenient.

Pitch.

Pitch is made by boiling *Tar* in large Iron Kettles set in Furnaces, or by burning it in round Clay Holes made in the Earth.

Black Cattle.

Black Cattle have mightily encreased since the first settling of the Colony. About 40 Years ago it was reckoned a great deal to have three or four Cows, now some People have 1000 Head, and for one Man to have 200 is very common. The Cows graze in the Forests, and the Calves, being separated and

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and kept in Pastures fenced in, return Home at Night to suckle them. They are first milked, then shut up in a Fold all Night, milked again in the Morning and then turned out into the Woods.

Here are Hogs in Abundance, they go daily to feed in the ^{Hogs.} Woods, where they rove several Miles feeding on Nuts and Roots, but having a Shelter made at Home to keep them warm and something given them to eat, they generally return in the Evening. The Eggs and Pork that are raised by it find a good Market in the ^{Sugar} Islands.

The Trade between this Province and *England* employ one ^{Trade.} Year with another 22 Sail of Ships, laden with all Sorts of Woollen Clothes, Stuffs and Druggets, Linens, Hollands, printed Linen and Calicoes, Silks and Mullins; all Sorts of Iron Ware, as Nails, Hoes, Hatchets, &c. Bedticks, strong Beer, bottled Cyder, Raisins, earthen Ware, Pipes, Paper, Rugs, Blankets, Quilts, Hats, Stockings, Gloves, Pewter Dishes and Plates, Bras and Copper Ware, Guns, Powder, Bullets, Flints, Glass Beads, Cordage, Woollen and Cotton Cards, Steel Hand-Mills, Grind-Stones, Looking and Drinking Glasses, Lace, Thread, Mohair, and all Kinds of Trimming for Clothes, Pins, Needles, &c. To purchase which are sent from hence 70,000 Deer-Skins, besides the Commodities Rice, &c. before-mentioned, there are above the 22 Sail of Ships for the *England* Trade, 60 Sail annually entered at *Charles-Town* for some Places of *Africa* and *America*.

From *Jamaica*, *St. Thomas*, *Curassó*, *Barbados* and the *Leeward-Islands*, they have Sugar, Rum, Melasses, Cotton, Chocolate made of Cocoa Nuts, Negroes and Money; they send thither besides Beef and Pork, Butter, Candles, Soap, Tallow, Mirtle Wax-Candles, Cedar, Pineberries, Pitch and Tar, Shingles and Staves, Hoops and Heading. From *New-England*, *New-York* and *Pensylvania*, they have Wheat, Flower, Bisket, strong Beer, salt Fish, Onions, Apples, Hops, and return them Hides, small Deer-Skins, Gloves, Rice, Slaves taken by the *Indians* in War, some Tar and Pitch.

From *Madeira* and the *Western Islands* they have *Wine*, and send thither Provisions, Slaves, Heads for Barrels, &c.

From *Guinea* they have Negro Slaves, but the Ships that bring them being sent with the Effects that purchase them from *England*, the Returns are sent thither.

As to the Encrease of Inhabitants since the former Im-^{People.}pression, the late Writer of *Carolina* either knew not the Use of Numbers in *political Arithmetick*, or was shy of communicating

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municating his Knowledge of them, for he says only, "It is not necessary to infer the exact Numbers of the several Inhabitants, but the Proportion they bear to one another and each to the whole are as follows."

Whites { Planters } as { 8½ } to 12
 { Traders } { 11 }
 { Artizans } { 2 }

All the Whites }
 Indian Subjects } to the whole, as { 12 } to 100
 Negro Slaves } { 66 }
 { 22 }

He afterwards subdivides the *White* People into

Episcopal Party }
 Presbyterians and } to the whole, as { 4½ } to 10
 French Protestants } { 4½ }
 Baptists } { 1 }
 Quakers } { ½ }

Church.

Page 39, 45.

After this Reckoning of more Curiosity than Use, the *Episcopalians* are the most numerous of all the Denominations, and almost equal them all together; which is not the State of the Case in other Accounts of this Province. He says there are eight Ministers of the Church of *England*, and in another Page, that there are ten Church of *England* Ministers, who have each 100 *l. per Ann.* paid by the Publick: But the other Protestants pay their Ministers by private Contributions, and also contribute alike with the other Inhabitants to pay the Church Incumbents. I shall not inquire into the Reason of this double Payment, which one could very well account for in *England*, but leave it to others to compare this Practice with the Establishment of Religion by the *Fundamental Constitutions*, which *Locke* drew up.

Revenues.

There are at present no Taxes in *South Carolina*, but the publick Revenue arises from Duties laid on Spirits, Wines, Staves, Sugars, Melasses, Flower, Bisket, dry Goods, Imports 3 per Cent. Deer Skins, Exports 3 farth. a Skin, all which Duties amount to about 4500 *l. per Ann.* out of which are paid

Payments.

To ten Church of England Ministers,	1000 <i>l.</i> yearly.
For finishing and repairing Fortifications,	1000
For the Officers of Forts and Centinels,	600
To the Governor, _____	200
For Military Stores, _____	300
Accidental Charges, _____	400

Total 3500

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Which taken out of 4500 l. there remains yearly 1000 l. to cancel so much of the *Bills of Credit* which as mentioned formerly were struck at first for 6000 l. only, but upon Experience of the good Use of them, 10000 Bills were added afterwards. They ran at first with 12 *per Cent.* Interest, but upon making the second Parcel, the Currency of them was so well established and found to be so convenient, the Assembly having secured the Payment of them beyond all Exception, that the Interest upon them was quite taken off.

Besides these Bills of Credit, the Currency of this Province in Money is chiefly *French Pistoles* and *Spanish Gold*, which passed before the Act for regulating Coin in the Colonies at 6 s. and 3 d. a Penny Weight, and 3 d. the odd Grains, *Dutch Dollars* and *Peruvian Pieces* of Eight at 5 s. There is little *English Money*, but what here passes at 50 *per Cent.* Advance, a Crown at 7 s. 6 d. a Guinea at 32 s. 3 d.

The Method of settling in this pleasant Country; has hitherto been for Men to pitch upon a void Piece of Ground, purchased at the Rate of 20 l. for 1000 Acres, and one Shilling Quit Rent for every 100 Acres, or else to pay a Penny an Acre Quit-Rent yearly to the Proprietors without Purchase Money. The former Method is the most common and the Tenure a *Freehold*. The Land being laid out the Purchaser builds upon it, raises Stock, plants Orchards, and makes such Commodities as when sold procure him Slaves, Horses, Household Goods and other Conveniences, and after this is done he may yearly encrease his Capital, and by Industry become rich.

My Author gives in a Scheme of settling an Estate of 50 l. a Year for 100 l. prime Cost only.

	l. s.
200 Acres of Land, Purchase, Survey, and other Charges	6 0
2 Negro Slaves 40 l. each	80 0
4 Cows with Calves at 25 s. each	5 0
4 Sows at 15 s. each	3 0
A Canoe, it must be by a River	3 0
Axes, Hoes, Wedges, Hand-Saws, Hammers and other Tools	2 0
A Steel Mill	3 0
A small House, Hut or Cabin for the first Year or two	8 0
Corn, Pease, Beef, Pork, &c. for the first Year	14 0
Expences and Contingencies.	26 0

150 l. Carolina Money, or 100 l. Sterling.

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rolina, but the Spirits, Wines, y Goods, Im- Skin, all which t of which are

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Which

There are many who at their settling save the great Charge of Slaves and do the Labour themselves, and this reduces the first Settlement of 150 l. a Year to 70 l. only.

As for those who have no Substance at all, and would hire out their Labour, Wages run thus.

	s.	d.	
Price of Labour.			A Taylor 5 0 a Day,
			A Shoemaker 2 6 almost as cheap as in England.
			A Smith 7 6 three Times as dear as in England.
			A Weaver 3 0
			A Bricklayer 6 0
			A Cooper 4 0

Page 58. The Carolina Writer recommends to the Board of Trade to get Seeds of Almonds, Dates, Olives, Coffee, Tea, Drugs, &c. growing and thriving in Climates of the same Latitude as Carolina, including the finest Countries in the World, to have them carefully preserved, sent to Carolina and there propagated.

Page 59, & 59. This Author's Scheme in general is so to lay out 6000 l. and that in Freight, Tools, Clothes and Necessaries, as that it shall in 20 Years Time bring in 36,562 l. and have an improving Stock in Carolina to the Value of 7000 l. If I was more in Love with general Schemes and this in particular, I should not depend on the Success of either at Home or Abroad.

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THE
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THE Gentlemen who first formed the Design of Settlements in this Country (then a Part of *Carolina*) did it as a charitable Foundation by providing for Numbers of poor People, not only to live comfortably themselves, but to be a Benefit to the People to which they were before a Burthen. This they gave out, and invited all well disposed Persons to join with and assist them in so useful and laudable an Undertaking. In order to proceed regularly and effectually they petitioned the King for a Charter, which was granted them in the Year 1732.

The Charter grants to the Trustees and their Successors, ^{Charter-} all the Lands and Territories from the most Northern Stream of the *Savannah* River, all along the Sea Coast to the Southward unto the most Southern Stream of the *Alatamaha* River, and Westward from the Heads of the said Rivers respectively in direct Lines to the South Seas, and all that Space, Circuit and Precinct of Land lying within the said Boundaries, with the Islands in the Sea opposite to the Eastern Coast of the said Lands within 20 Leagues of the same, &c.

It is a vast Tract of Land Southward of *Carolina*, divided from it by the River *Savannah*, and bounded on the South by the River *Alatamaha*, which are both large and navigable. From one River to the other at the Sea, is between 60 and 70 Miles, and as some say since 120 Miles, and its Extent from the Sea to the *Apalatian* or *Apallachean* Mountains, is about 300 Miles widening very much in its Progress from the Sea.

This

This Country was erected into a Province called *Georgia*, a Name taken from that of his *Britannick* Majesty, and is born by the most fruitful Kingdom in *Asia*, inhabited by Christians from the Times of the Apostles.

About the End of the Month of *August* 1732, Sir *Gilbert Heathcote* acquainted the Court of Directors of the Bank of *England*, that his Majesty had granted a Charter for establishing a regular Colony in *Georgia*; that the Fund was to arise from charitable Contributions which he recommended to them, shewing the great Charity of the Undertaking and the future Benefit arising to *England* by strengthening all our *American* Colonies, by encreasing the Trade and Navigation of the Kingdom, and by raising of *Raw-Silk*, for which upwards of 500,000 *l.* a Year was paid to *Piedmont*, and thereby giving Employment to Thousands of Tradesmen and working People. Then Sir *Gilbert* gave a handfom Benefaction to the Design, and his Example was followed by the Directors then present, and a great many others belonging to that opulent Society; and *James Vernon*, *Robert Hucks*, and *George Heathcote*, Esqrs; paid into the Bank (the Treasury for this Use) 100 *l.* each for the Charity, which was conducted by the following Noblemen and Gentlemen as Trustees.

Anthony Earl of *Sbafisbury*.

John Lord Viscount *Perceval*.

John Lord Viscount *Tyrconnel*.

James Ld. Viscount *Limerick*.

George Lord *Carpenter*.

Edward Digby, Esq;

James Oglethorpe, Esq;

George Heathcote, Esq;

Thomas Tower, Esq;

Robert More, Esq;

Robert Hucks, Esq;

William Sloper, Esq;

Francis Eyles, Esq;

John Laroche, Esq;

James Vernon, Esq;

Stephen Hales, A. M.

Richard Chandler, Esq;

Thomas Frederick, Esq;

Henry L' *Apostre*, Esq;

William Heathcote, Esq;

John White, Esq;

Robert Kendal, Esq;

Richard Bundy, D. D.

Collections were made all over *England* and large Sums raised, and the Parliament gave 10,000 *l.* which enabled the Trustees to entertain many poor People that offered, and to make Provision for their Transportation and Maintenance till they could provide for themselves.

First Imbar-
kation.

On the 6th of *November* the Persons chosen by the Trustees to be sent over being about 100 in Number, embarked at *Gravesend* on Board the *Anne* of 200 Tons Capt. *Thomas*. They had with them all Manner of Tools, Arms and Ammunitions. And on the 15th, *James* Oglethorpe, Esq; one of the

called Georgia, Majesty, and is inhabited by

32, Sir Gilbert of the Bank of er for establish- nd was to arise omended to rtaking and the ng all our Ame- Navigation of which upwards r, and thereby and working unction to the Directors then to that opulent r, and George reasury for this was conducted Trustees.

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and large Sums ch enabled the offered, and to Maintenance till a by the Truf- ber, embarked Capt. Thomas. ns and Ammu- Esq; one of the

the Trustees, set out for *Gravesend*, to embark on board the same Ship, in order to go and see the first Settlement made; and on the 15th of *January* following, they arrived at *Carolina* in good Health.

The Governor of that Place received them with great Marks of Civility and Satisfaction, and order'd Mr. *Middleton*, the King's Pilot, to carry the Ship into *Port-Royal*, and small Craft to convey the Colony from thence to the *River Savannah*. In ten Hours they proceeded to *Port-Royal*. On the 18th Mr. *Oglethorpe* went ashore upon *Trench's Island*, and left a Guard upon *John's*, being a Point of that Island which commands the Channel, and is about half way between *Beaufort* and the *River Savannah*. They had Orders to prepare Huts for the Reception of the People in their Passage. From thence Mr. *Oglethorpe* went to *Beaufort Town*, and was saluted with a Discharge of the Artillery, and had a new Barrack fitted up where the Colony landed on the 20th, and were chearfully assisted by Lieutenant *Watts* and Ensign *Farrington*, and the other Officers of the Independent Company; as also by Mr. *Delebar*, and other Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood. From thence he went to view the *Savannah River*, and pitch'd upon a convenient Spot of Ground 10 Miles up the River. But Mr. *Oglethorpe's* Letter from thence will be most satisfactory.

The River there forms a Half-Moon, ^{Savannah} ^{Town.} around the South-side of which, the Banks are about 40 Foot high, and on the Top a Flat, which they call a Bluff. The plain high Ground extends into the Country five or six Miles, and along the River about a Mile. Ships that draw twelve Foot Water can ride within ten Yards of the Bank. Upon the River-side, in the Center of this Plain, I have laid out the Town. Opposite to it is an Island of very rich Pasturage. The River is pretty wide, the Water fresh, and from the Key of the Town you see the whole Course of the Sea, with the Island of *Tybee*, which forms the Mouth of the River; and the other way, you see the River for about 60 Miles up into the Country. The Landskip is very agreeable, the Stream being wide, and border'd with high Woods on both Sides. The whole People arrived here the 1st of *February*, at Night their Tents were got up; till the 7th they were taken up in unloading and making a Crane, which I then could not get finish'd, so took off the Hands, and set some to the Fortification, and began to fell the Woods. I mark'd out the Town and Common; half of the former is already clear'd, and the first House was begun

“ Yesterday in the Afternoon, *February* the 9th; not being
 “ able to get Negroes, I have taken 10 of the Independent
 “ Company to work for us, for which I make them an
 “ Allowance. A little *Indian Nation*, the only one within
 “ 50 Miles, is not only at Amity, but desirous to submit
 “ jects to his Majesty King *George*, to have Lands given them
 “ among us, and to breed their Children at our Schools.
 “ Their *Chief* and his *beloved Man*, who is the second Man
 “ in the Nation, desire to be instructed in the Christian
 “ Religion.

Mr. *Oglethorpe* call'd the Town *Savanah*, the Name also
 of the River. The *Indian Nation* here was before call'd
Yamacraw, and had for Chief *Tomochichi*, of whom more
 hereafter; from hence, by another Letter, dated *Feb.* 20th,
 1733, he wrote as follows:

“ Our People are all in perfect Health. I chose the Situa-
 “ tion for the Town upon a high Ground, 40 Foot perpendi-
 “ cular above high-water Mark; the Soil dry and sandy, the
 “ Water of the River fresh, Springs coming out of the Sides
 “ of the Hill. I pitch'd on this Place not only for the
 “ Pleasantness of its Situation; but because from the above-
 “ mentioned, and other Signs, I thought it healthy; for it
 “ is shelter'd from the Western and Southern Winds (the
 “ worst in this Country) by vast Woods of Pine-trees, many
 “ of which are 100, and few under 70 Foot high. There
 “ is no Moss on the Trees, tho' in most Parts of *Carolina*
 “ they are cover'd with it, and it hangs down 2 or 3 Foot
 “ from them.

Hither came to them Col. *Bull* from *Carolina*, with a
 Message from the General Assembly to Mr. *Oglethorpe*, and
 a Letter from Governor *Jones*, acquainting them with what
 was done for them in *Charles-Town*, where Notice had been
 sent of their coming.

Col. *Bull* brought with him 4 of his Negroes, who were
 Sawyers, to assist the Colony, and also Provisions for those
 Negroes, that the Trust might be at no Expence on them.

On the 9th Mr. *Oglethorpe* and Col. *Bull* mark'd out the
 Square, the Streets, and 40 Lots for Houses. The first
 House was made of Clapboards. The River before the
 Town is a 1000 Foot wide.

After Mr. *Oglethorpe* had settled the first Colony, he re-
 turned to *Charles-Town*, to solicit for Assistance for his Co-
 lony, and very large Supplies were given them, not only
 by the Assembly, but almost the whole Body of the People.
 Five hundred Pounds of that Money Mr. *Oglethorpe* imme-
 diately laid out in Cattle.

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From thence he returned to *Savannah*, and on his Way lay at Col. *Bull's* House, on *Ashley* River. There the Rev. Mr. *Guy*, Rector of St. *John's* Parish, waited on him, and told him his Parishioners had raised a handsome Contribution.

Being arrived at *Savannah*, he found that Mr. *Wiggan*, the Interpreter, with the chief Men of the *Lower Creek* Nation, had been to treat of an Alliance with the new Colony. The *Lower Creeks* are a Nation of *Indians*, who formerly consisted of 10, but now are reduced to 8 Tribes, who have each their different Government; but are allied together, and speak the same Language. They claim from the *Savannah* River as far as St. *Augustino*, and up *Flint* River, which falls into the Bay of *Mexico*. *Tomochichi Mico*, and the *Indians* of *Yamacraw* are of the *Creek* Nation and Language.

Mr. *Oglethorpe* received the *Indians* in one of the new Houses. They were as follow.

From the Tribe of *Coweeta*.

Yahou-Lakee, their King or *Mico*.

Essaboo, their *Warrior*, the Son of old *Breen*, lately dead, whom the *Spaniards* call'd Emperor of the *Creeks*, with 8 Men and 2 Women Attendants.

Indian Nations submit to the Eng^d lish.

From the Tribe of *Cuffetas*.

Cuffeta their *Mico*.

Tatchiquatchi, their head *Warrior*, with four Attendants.

From the Tribe of *Owseecheys*.

Ogeese the *Mico*, or War King.

Neathlouthko and *Ougachi*, two chief Men, with three Attendants.

From the Tribe of *Cheechaws*.

Outhleteboa, their *Mico*, *Thlautho-thluee*, *Figeer*, *Soota-milla*, War Captains, with three Attendants.

From the Tribe of *Echetas*.

Chutabeeche and *Robin*, two War Captains (the latter was bred among the *English*) with four Attendants.

From the Tribe of *Palachucolas*.

Gillatee, their head *Warrior*, and five Attendants:

M m

From

*The History of Georgia.*From the Tribe of *Oconas*.*Oueckachumpa*, call'd, by the *English*, Long King. *Coo-woo*, a Warrior.From the Tribe of *Eufaula*.*Tomaumi*, head Warrior, and three Attendants.

The *Indians* being all seated, *Oueckachumpa*, a very tall old Man, stood and made a Speech, which was interpreted by Mr. *Wiggan* and Mr. *Musgrove*, and was to the following Purpose: *He first claimed all the Land to the Southward of the River Savannah, as belonging to the Creek Indians. They then said, Though they were but poor and ignorant, he that had given the English Breath had given them Breath also. That he who had made both had given more Wisdom to white Men: That they were persuaded that the great Power which dwelt in Heaven and all around (and then he spread out his Hands, and lengthen'd the Sound of his Words) and which hath given Breath to all Men, had sent the English thither for the Instruction of them, their Wives and Children: That therefore they gave them up freely their Right to all the Land they did not use themselves. That this was not only his own Opinion, but the Opinion of the eight Towns of the Creeks; each of whom having consulted together, had sent some of their chief Men with Skins, which is their Wealth. Then the chief Men brought a Bundle of Buck-skins, and laid eight from the eight Towns before Mr. Oglethorpe. He said, Those were the best things they had, and that they gave them with a good Heart. He concluded with thanking him for his Kindness to Tomochichi Mico, and his Indians, to whom he said he was related; and though Tomochichi was banish'd from his Nation, that he was a good Man, and had been a great Warrior, and it was for his Wisdom and Justice that the banish'd Men chose him King. He also said he had heard that the *Cherokees* had kill'd some *Englishmen*, and that, if Mr. Oglethorpe would command them, they would enter their whole Force into the *Cherokee* Country, destroy their Harvest, kill the People, and revenge the *English*. When he had done speaking, Tomochichi came in with the *Yamacraw* Indians, and making a low Obeisance, said, I was a banish'd Man; I came here poor and helpless to look for good Land near the Tombs of my Ancestors, and when the *English* came to this Place, I feared you would drive us away, for we were weak and wanted Corn; but you confirm'd our Land to us, and gave us Food.*

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Then the Chiefs of the other Nations made Speeches much to the same Purpose as *Oueekachumpa's*. After which they agreed with Mr. *Oglethorpe* on a Treaty of Alliance and Commerce, which was signed by him and them. A laced Coat, a laced Hat, and a Shirt was given to each King, and to each of the Warriors a Gun, a Mantle of *Duffils*, and to all their Attendants coarse Cloth for Clothing, and other Things.

The Articles of Agreement were,

The Trustees engaged to let their People carry into the Indian Towns all Sorts of Goods, fitting to trade at Rates and Prices settled by the Treaty.

Restitution and Reparation to be made for Injuries on both Sides, and Criminals to be tried and punished according to the English Law.

Trade to be withdrawn from any Indian Town, offending against Treaty.

The English to possess all Lands not used by the Indians; provided that, upon settling of every new Town the English should set out, for the Use of their Nation, such Lands as should be agreed on between the English beloved Men, and the head Men of their Nation.

To restore all run-away Negroes, and carry them either to Charles-Town, the Savanah, or Patachuchula Garrison, upon being paid for every such Negro four Blankets, or two Guns, or the Value thereof in other Goods, if taken on the other Side of Ocorivy River; and one Blanket, if the Negro is kill'd in taking, or endeavouring to make his Escape.

Lastly, They promised with streight Hearts and Love to their Brother English, to give no Encouragement to any other white People to settle there; and to all this they set the Marks of their Families.

The Treaty concluded, the Care of the People, and of carrying on the Works, was left to Mr. *St. Julian* and Mr. *Scott*, and Mr. *Oglethorpe* set out again for *Charles-Town*, in order to return to *England*.

On the 14th of May, Capt. *Yoakley*; in the Ship *James*; First Ship arrived at *Savanah*, with Passengers and Stores for that Place. from Eng-
The Ship rode in two Fathom and a half Water, at low Wa-land.
-Mark, close to the Town, and unloaded there, and the Captain received the Prize order'd to be given to the first Ship that should unload at that Town. In his Passage up the River, he found the Bar and the Channel very good, and Water enough for Ships of much greater Burden than his;
100 Tons. M m 2 Soor

Soon after, about 50 Families were accepted by the Trustees to be sent over in their Ship *Francis*, Capt. *Lionel Wood* Commander.

These Trustees had their anniversary Meeting *March* the 21st, 1733-4, and the Accounts being laid before them, it appeared that they had received, since the Date of their Charter,

	l.	s.	d.
For establishing their Colony —	144	14	6
For the religious Use thereof —	202	15	8
And for encouraging and improving } Botany and Agriculture in <i>Georgia</i> }	205	10	0
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	14822	12	3

That they had applied towards establishing and settling in the said Colony 376 <i>British</i> , and 115 <i>Foreigners</i> , in all 491 Persons. }	8013	4	3
For the religious Use of the said Colony, the Society for propagating the Gospel maintaining the Minister, until <i>Glebe Land</i> is cultivated for him. }	2	2	0
And for encouraging and improving } Botany and Agriculture in <i>Georgia</i> }	187	10	0
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	8202	16	6

Besides the Persons sent by the Charity, there are 21 Masters, and 106 Servants gone at their own Expence. Thus the whole Number of Persons, at this time embark'd to settle there, amounts to 618, whereof Men 320, Women 113, Boys 102, and Girls 83.

1734.

At the End of this Summer, 1734, Mr. *Oglethorpe* brought over to *England* with him *Tomochichi*, *Mico* or King of the *Yamacraws Senawki* his Queen, and *Toonakowi* the Prince his Nephew, as also *Hillispilli*, a War Captain, and *Apakowtski*, *Stimalechi*, *Sintouchi*, *Stinguitki* and *Umpychi*, five other *Indian* Chiefs, with their Interpreter. They were lodged at the *Georgia* Office, *Old Palace Yard*, where they were handsomly entertained, and being suitably dress'd, were introduced to the Court, then at *Kensington*. *Tomochichi* presented to the King several *Eagles Feathers*, which, according to their Custom, is the most respectful Gift he could offer

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and made the following Speech to his Majesty: "This Day
" I see the Majesty of your Face, and Greatness of your
" House, and the Number of your People. I am come
" for the Good of the whole Nation call'd the *Creeks*, to
" renew the Peace they had long ago with the *English*. I
" am come over in my old Days; though I cannot live to
" see any Advantage to myself, I am come for the Good
" of the Children of all the Nations of the *Upper* and
" *Lower Creeks*, that they may be instructed in the Know-
" ledge of the *English*.

" These are the Feathers of the Eagle, which is the swift-
" est of Birds, and who flyeth all round our Nations: These
" Feathers are a Sign of Peace in our Land, and we have
" brought them over to leave them with you, O great King,
" as a Sign of everlasting Peace.

" O great King! whatsoever Words you shall say unto
" me, I will tell them faithfully to all the Kings of the
" *Creek Nations*." To which his Majesty made a gracious
Answer, assuring those Nations of Protection and Regard.

The next Day one of the *Creek Train* dying of the Small-
Pox, was buried after the Manner of his Country in *St. John's*
Burial-Ground, *Westminster*; the Corpse being sew'd
up in two Blankets, with one Deal Board under, and another
over him, and tied down with a Cord, was carried to the
Place of Interment on a Bier. There were only present
King *Tomo*, two or three of the Chiefs, the upper Church-
warden and the Grave-Digger. When the Corpse was
laid in the Earth, the Clothes of the Deceased were thrown
into the Grave; after this a Quantity of Glass Beads, and
then some Pieces of Silver; the Custom of those *Indians*
being to bury all the Deceased's Effects with them. They
staid some time in *England*, and saw all the usual Sight,
with which they were surprized and pleased.

Before Mr. *Oglethorpe* came to *England*, he sent Mr. *ChaStaw*
Thomas Jones to endeavour to bring the *ChaStaw* Nation
into the Alliance, and settle Commerce with them. Indians at
Georgia.

Six Months after Mr. *Jones* returned to *Savanah* with five of
the chief Men of that Nation, and six of their chief Warriors,
and with them several of the *Upper Creeks*, who had assisted Mr.
Jones in his Negotiation. This *ChaStaw* Nation lies next
beyond the *Creeks*, stretching beyond the Gulph of *Mexico*,
and consequently in the way to the Mouth of the *Mississippi*,
and reckon'd by the *Indians* a powerful Nation, being able
to bring 5000 Men into the Field. They have abundance
of Deer-skins, Wax, Furs, and Peltry; but could never be
prevailed on to trade with *Carolina*.

The Magistrates of the Town of *Savannah* received them in the best Manner they could, and made them such Presents as they thought would be most agreeable to them. Col. *Bull* happen'd to be there at that time, and assisted the Magistrates with his Advice; and the *Chattaws* returned home extremely pleas'd with their Reception, and carried with them Proposals of Peace and Commerce for Ratification.

Tomochichi and the other *Indian* Chiefs re-embark'd on board the *Prince of Wales*, commanded by Capt. *George Dunbar*, who was bound for *Georgia* with a Transport of *Saltzburghers*, *German* Protestant Refugees, and arriv'd at *Savannah* December the 27th, from whence Capt. *Dunbar* wrote, "That soon after his Arrival, there was a Rumour of the *Spanish* Indians having pass'd the *Ogeeche* River; upon which, with other *Englishmen*, I sail'd from *Savannah* to the Coast for Intelligence. If *Tomochichi's* Affairs at home had not required his Presence, he assur'd me he would go with us in Person; and if he was certain any Enemies were in our Neighbourhood, nothing should then detain him; but 3 of his *Indian* Chiefs insist'd on going, and they went with us.

Thunder-
boat.

"The 8th we arriv'd at *Thunderbolt*, where the Persons who are settled have cleared and fenced so much Land, that they cannot fail this ensuing Season of selling great Quantities of Provisions. They have made a very great Advance in the Pot-Ash Manufacture, have three Houses finish'd within a good Fortification, and have loaded a Sloop for the *Madeiras* with Pipe-staves since my being here.

Skidaway.

"We were at *Skidaway* all Night, where they have made a much greater Progress, both in Houses and Land, than I expected. They are so regular in their Watch, that no Boat can pass by, Night or Day, without being oblig'd to bring to, of which I had the Proof on my Return; their Battery consisting of three Carriage and four Swivel Guns, is in very good Order. Two Miles South of this Settlement the Scout-boat lies, when at home, where they have a very commanding Prospect, and can put to Sea at any time of Tide.

"We search'd the several Islands as far as *Jekyll* Island, and the Mouth of the River *Alatamaha*, but found none but our friendly *Indians*. We return'd back to *Savannah* the 19th of *January*.

"I shall load here, and am in contract for 800 Barrels of Rice, Pitch and Tar on freight for *London*, and hope to complete my Lading with the Products of *Georgia*.

In

In *May*, 1735, the Inhabitants of *Savanah* had pretty near finish'd their Fort, there being now a good Number of Houses, some of Brick. In the Beginning of *January* following, about 150 *Scotch* Highlanders arrived at *Savanah*, designed to settle on the Frontiers of that Colony next the *Spaniards*. They staid there a short time, in Expectation of Mr. *Oglethorpe*; but he not coming so soon as expected, the Highlanders conveyed themselves in *Periaguas* to the Southward, and settled by the Side of the River *Alatamaha*, about 12 Miles from the Sea, where they raised a little Fort, upon which they mounted the four Pieces of Canon they brought with them, and built a Guard-house, a Store-house, a Chapel and several Huts, and gave the Name of *Darien* Darien. to their new Settlement.

On the 5th of *February*, the Ship *Symonds*, Capt. *Cornish*, Greater Im-
b. vocation. and the *London Merchant*, Capt. *Thomas*, with Mr. *Oglethorpe*, and about 300 Passengers on board, pass'd the Bar of *Tybee*, and anchor'd in the Road of *Savanah*. Mr. *Oglethorpe* went immediately to see what Progress was made in raising the Beacon of *Tybee*, and sent Advice of his Arrival to the Governor of *South Carolina*, and also Orders to the Independent Company to prepare for their marching to the Island of *St. Simon*. On the 6th he arrived at *Savanah*, and was received with the Discharge of the Artillery, and by the Freeholders under Arms, with the Constables and Tything Men at their Head. He immediately gave Orders to provide Materials for building a Church, and to run out the Wharf for landing of Goods, and also for raising 100 Men for clearing the Roads and finishing the Fortifications; 30 presently offer'd themselves voluntarily for this Work at *Savanah*, and 20 more from *Purrysburgh*.

On the 7th, the Honourable *Heñtor Beringer de Beau-sain*, Esq; Capt. *Holzindorff*, Mr. *Fisley Deehillon*, a Patrician of *Bern*, and several other of the *Swiss* Gentlemen from *Purrysburgh* waited upon Mr. *Oglethorpe*, and acquainted him with the Condition of their Town.

The next Day, the Baron *Von Reek*, and the two *Saltzburgh* Ministers came down from *Ebenezer*, with the Request of the People to be removed from the Fords where they were, down to the Mouth of the River, and that these *Saltzburghers* just come over might not go to the Southward, but join them. Mr. *Oglethorpe* set out for *Ebenezer* in the Scout-boat, to see if the Reason they gave for being removed was true. He came first to Sir *Francis Bathurst's* House, six Miles above *Savanah*, where he took Horse, and passed by a Saw-mill, set up by Mr. *Augustine*, and ar-

Old Ebenezer.

rived the same Night at *Ebenezer*, where the *Saltzburghers* had built a good Wooden Bridge over the River 10 Foot broad and 10 Foot long. There were in the Town 4 good frame Timber Houses, built at the Contribution Charge, one for each of the Ministers, for a School-master, and a publick Store. There were also a Chapel and a Guard-house built by the People, and a great Number of split Board Houses, all which the People were resolv'd to forsake, and make a new Settlement downwards. Mr. *Oglethorpe* endeavoured to persuade them against it on several Accounts; but their own Reasons having more Weight with them, their Prayers and Tears prevail'd with him to consent to their Request, and he order'd a Town to be mark'd out for them in the Place they desired. That Night he lay at Col. *Purry's* House, and the next Day returned to *Savanah*, and on the 12th he set out to take Possession of the Island of *St. Simon*, where arriving in about two Days, he set People to work, and they soon got up a House, thatch'd it with Palmetto-Leaves, dug a Cellar, built a Store-house, and mark'd out a Fort with four Bastions.

New Ebenezer.

From thence he visited the Highlanders at *Darien*, whom he found under Arms, with their Plads, broad Swords, Targets and Muskets; and in Compliment to them, Mr. *Oglethorpe*, all the while he was there, dress'd in their Habit; and in a few Days he returned to the Isle of *St. Simon*, where, by his Presence and Direction, the Works were carried on with such Expedition, that by *April* the Fort was near finish'd, and 37 Palmetto Houses built. The Fort was called *Frederica*, and was a regular Square with four Bastions, and surrounded by a Ditch, with some Out-works, which were set round with Cedar Palisadoes, and the Ramparts were faced with Green-sward. Behind the Fort a Town was laid out, and the Ground being properly divided, the People were put in Possession of their respective Lots, in order that each might begin to build and improve for himself; all that was already raised, manured, or sown, had been in common for the publick Benefit.

1736.

Frederica.

Soon after Mr. *Oglethorpe's* Arrival on the Island of *St. Simon*, *Tomochichi*, his Nephew, and a large Party of *Indians* came down to him, and brought him as many Deer as fed the Colony for some Days. They told him they would hunt the *Buffalo* as far as the *Spanish* Frontiers; but he being apprehensive, from some Words, that they design'd to fall on the *Spanish* Out-guards, told them, he would go along with them. They said then they would shew him (as they promised to the King of *England*) what Lands belonged

to

to their Nation. The first Day they carried him to an Island at the Mouth of *Jekyl* Sound, where, on a high Ground, commanding the Passes of the River, he left a Party of *Highlanders*, under the Command of Mr. *Hugh Mackay*, mark'd out a Fort, which, at their Desire, he call'd *St. Andrew's*; and *Toonakowi* pulling out a Watch, the Gift of his Royal Highness the Duke, he gave the Name *Cumberland* to the Island.

St. Andrew's Fort
on *Cumberland Island*.

The next Day they pass'd the *Clotbogotheo*, another Branch of the *Alatamaha*, and discovered another very fine Island, about 16 Miles long, with Oranges, Mirtles and Vines growing wild; to which was given the Name of *Amelia*. And the third Day, arriving near the *Spanish* Look-out, the *Indians* shew'd their Desire of falling upon the *Spaniards*; to prevent which, Mr. *Oglethorpe* left them on an Island, and falling down the River *St. Wans*, doubled Point *St. George*, being the North Part of *St. John's* River, and the most Southerly Point of the *British* Dominions upon the Sea-Coast of the *North America*, the *Spaniards* having a Guard on the other Side of the said River.

Amelia Island.

Mr. *Mackay*, before mentioned, with a Party, was order'd to travel by Land from *Savanah* to *Darien*, which they accordingly did, and computed the Distance between the two Places to be 70 Miles in a straight Line, and 90 by the Places where the Swamps are passable.

The Town of *Savanah* is now increased to about 140 Houses, besides Warehouses and Cottages. Here is also a Court of Record, consisting of three Bailiffs and a Recorder, who holds a Court every six Weeks. Above *Ebenexer* was laid out, in the same Year, the Town of *Augusta*. It lies in a pleasant and fruitful Country, insomuch, that an Acre of Ground produces near 30 Bushels of *Indian* Corn, which is most generally used here among the lower Sort of People, and perhaps will be always so, as it is in our other Continent Colonies. It has already a good Part of the *Indian* Trade, and by its Neighbourhood with the *Indian* Nations, is in a way of increasing it so much, that, in all Probability, 'twill soon become the most thriving *English* Settlement. It is 236 Miles by Water, from the Mouth of *Savanah* River, and large Boats are navigated from hence to the Town of *Savanah*, and last Year 100000 Weight of Skins was brought from thence. Hither the *Indian* Traders from *Carolina* and *Georgia* resort in the Spring. In *June*, 1739, the Traders, Packhorse-men, Servants, Townsmen, and others depending on that Business, made 600 Whites. Here the Trustees have hitherto main-

Augusta.

tained a little Garrison, and the Security which the Traders receive from the Fort is their Inducement to go there. The Town stands upon a high Ground on the Side of the River; a Road has been mark'd out from thence to *Old Ebenezer*, so that Horsemen can ride from *Savanah* to *Augusta*, as likewise to the *Cherokee Indians*, who are situated above *Augusta* to the N. W. and on the *Georgia* Side of the River, in the Valley of the *Appalachean* Mountains. Westward of *Augusta* live the *Creek Indians*; their chief Town is the *Cowetas*. At 200 Miles Distance, upon the Edge of whose Country the Fort of *Albamas* lies. Beyond the *Creeks* lie the *Chickesaws*. They inhabit near the *Mississippi* River, and possess the Banks of it. I was the better pleased to find this Account of the *Mississippians* publish'd in the most authentick Manner, because it confirms what I have, in several preceding Places, mentioned of the Situation of the *English* to carry on a Trade with the *Mississippians*, from very near the Mouth of the River so as far as it is navigable; and these *Chickesaws*, as well as the other *Indian* Nations, being in strict Friendship with the *English*, and having a better Opinion of their Market than they have of that of the *French*, I can yet see no Reason why we would despair of coming in for such a Share of that Trade, as our Neighbourhood to the *Mississippi Indians*, and their Disposition to deal with us, may procure.

There are several Plantations to the Southward of *Savanah*, and two little Villages, call'd *Highgate* and *Hampstead*, about four Miles distant from it, and many other Villages throughout the Province.

There are now several Villages on the Island of *St. Simon*, and the Town of *Frederica* is very much improved. In its Neighbourhood is a fine Meadow of 320 Acres ditch'd in, on which a Number of Cattle are fed, and good Hay made from it. At some Distance is the Camp for General *Oglethorpe's* Regiment, and small Lots of Land have been granted to the Soldiers, many of whom are married, and 55 Children were born there last Year. The People of *Frederica* have begun to malt and to brew. The Soldiers Wives spin Cotton of the Cotton of the Country, which they knit into Stockings. At the Town is a Court of Justice for the Southern Part of the Province, and has the same Number of Magistrates as at *Savanah*.

The Matters that have happen'd here since *James Oglethorpe*, Esq; was Commander in Chief of all the Forces in the Provinces of *Carolina* and *Georgia*, are so recent and variously reported, that it would be of little Use to enlarge upon them,

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The unhappy Expedition against *St. Augustino* lies under the same Disadvantage to Writers and Readers, and the truest Part of the Account being the Retreat of the *English* with Loss, the *English* Reader will not be at all sorry that we say no more of it, nor that we have not enter'd into a Narration of Mr. *Whitfield's* Mission into those Parts, and his great Pains and Success in collecting Contributions from charitable Persons at home and abroad, for raising and endowing an Orphan-house, which we hear is near finish'd.

This Province was a Part of *Carolina*, and, as such, the Proprietaries of *Carolina* had some Consideration for it, when (if not before) they sold their Proprietary to the Crown. This is a plain Proof that the *Spaniards*, who have recognized the Right of the *English* to the whole Province of *Carolina*, with all its Dependances, in all Treaties with *England*, ever since it was a Province, have not the least Pretence for the Demands they have of late insolently dared to make of it, and for which we trust they will have due Chastisement before the Close of the present War.

The Latitude of *Georgia* being between 29 and 32 Degrees shews the Happiness of the Climate and Soil for Habitation and Planting. The Soil consists of four different Sorts, Pine-barren, which is a sandy Soil; Oak and Hickory, which is good Land, fit for most Sorts of Grain; Swamps, which lying low, are Clay, or fat Mud, and is the richest and best; *Savanna's*, where grow Cane and wild Grass, and also Plenty of Grass in many Places for feeding Cattle, which are already much increased there. There is a good Proportion of all these Sorts of Lands, and the higher in the Country the better; and the Soil has also been found proper for all Sorts of *English* Grain, as well as most of the *English* Fruit-trees.

The Progress this infant Colony has made towards Settlements, which we have related at large, will be equally surprizing and pleasing to an *English* Reader, especially if he has any right Notion of the great Advantage such Settlements may be to the Security of our other Continent *American* Colonies, and the Trade of the Nation. Its Situation shews what a Guard it may be made against the *Spaniards*; and its Capital *Savannah*, is distant from *Charles-Town* S. W. in a direct Course 77 Miles only, and N. E. by E. about 150 from *St. Augustino*, the Capital of the *Spanish Florida*, and the greatest Bar to the *English* Trade, between this Province and the Bay of *Mexico*.

This shews that the *English* cannot be at too much Pains or Expence in fortifying their Frontier here, which indeed

is

is the Frontier of all their Colonies in *North America*, and therefore deserves the Care and Purse of the Publick, not by way of Charity only, but for the Commerce, Strength and Glory of the Kingdom, more than any other; for all others are secured in securing this: And if any where, within the Limits of this Province, a Dock might be made for Shipping, and such a thing done with proper Security, we need no more be in Pain for our *American* Settlements and Trade. And they are, at this time, so well furnish'd with Commodities for Ship-building, that several Ships have been built there already, and no doubt that Work will more and more increase with the People and Trade. What a Check it would be to the *Spanish* Navigation, and what to the *French* Attempts for incroaching the *Mississippi* Trade, is so obvious to all that are acquainted with these Matters, that it is needless to enlarge upon it, at least in this Place. We shall now enquire into the particular Benefits that may accrue by it to our Trade from its Products. We have already seen that Capt. *Dunbar* freighted his Ship here for *London* with Rice, Pitch and Tar, the Commodities of *Carolina*, which may be here produced in as great Plenty as there, with an equal Proportion of Hands. This Country already produces Hemp and Flax in good Quantities, and may soon be in a Condition to supply us therewith. Potashes are now imported from thence, the Necessity of which is well known to all that know any thing of Manufactures. The stately Pine-trees we have spoken of here, so many hundred Foot high, proves how serviceable this Province may be to us for Masts, as well as other Naval Stores. The Deer brought in by the *Indians* to the *English* for feeding them, is a Proof that the Traffick of Furs may here be very considerable, other Merchantable Skins being certainly as plenty as Deer's, and the *Indians* carry on this Trade as well by Water as by Land; for Mr. *Oglethorpe* wrote home, that 12 trading Boats pass'd by during his Stay at *Savanah*; also Bees-wax, Mirtle-wax, Bears-oil, Leather, Drugs, Simples, and Dyers Wares of several Sorts.

One may imagine that this Country, so ill inhabited as the *English* found it, was overgrown with Trees, which probably might at first incommode new Comers as to the Air; but as fast as it is cleared of Trees, and that will be as fast as the Ground is wanted for Culture, those Woods that now are a little burdensom to them will turn to a very good Account. The chief of those Trees are white Oaks, Beach, Elm, Cedar, Chesnut, Walnut, Cypress, Mirtle-trees, Vines, and Mulberries; the latter is the most talk'd of, on Account

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of the Silk-worms that they feed, and the Expectation that those that went thither, and we that staid at home, have had from it. Two or three *Piemontese* went with the first Imbarcation to put the People in a way for the Management of the Worms, the Eggs of which were sent for from *Italy*; and they began very soon here to have some small Parcels of Silk fit to send home for Experiment, where Sir *Thomas Lombe*, who was best versed in that Commodity, tried the Goodness of it by his Engine at *Derby*, and said of it, *The Georgia Silk is the best working Silk I ever saw, even better than our best superfine Piedmont, and it proves exceeding good through all its Operations.* So that being sure of the Goodness of the Quality, we have nothing more to hope for but the Quantity, which cannot be very great as long as Hands are wanting for raising Food and the Commodities of Life.

The Wages of common Servants is at 1 l. 5 s. per Month; and the Price of Provisions is as follows:

	s.	d.		d.
Beef, from	0	1 ½	to	2 ½ per lb.
Pork,	0	2		2 ½
Veal,	0	2 ½		3
Mutton,	0	4 ½		5
Strong Beer, from		2 ½	to	3 per Quart.
Cyder,	5	4		
Madeira Wine,	1	0		
Tea, at	6	0	per lb.	
Coffee, at	1	6		
Wheat Flower, at	0	1		
Rice, at	4	6	a Hundred.	

THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
H U D S O N'S-B A Y.
CONTAINING

An Account of its Discovery and Settlement, the Progress of it, and the present State; of the *Indians*, Trade, and every thing else relating to it.

T WAS in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* that all the *English* Dominions on the Continent of *America* were discover'd, except *Hudson's* Streights, which being the most Northerly, should have been treated of first, and put at the Head of the other Settlements; but the *French* have a large Dominion between the *English* at *Hudson's-Bay* and those at *New-England*: And besides there being no Towns nor Plantations in this Country, but two or three poor Forts to defend the Factories, we thought we were at Liberty to place it where we pleas'd, and were loth to let our History open with the History of so miserable a Wilderness, and so wretched a Colony. For as rich as the Trade to these Parts have been, or may be, the way of Living is such, that we cannot reckon any Man happy, whose Lot is cast upon this Bay.

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The History of Hudson's-Bay.

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In the Year 1576, Capt. *Martin Frobisher* made his first Voyage for the Discovery of a Passage to *China* and *Cathay* by the North-West, and on the 12th of *June* he discover'd *Terra de Labrador*, in 63 Degrees, 8 Minutes, and enter'd a Streight, which is called by his Name. On the 1st of *October* he returned to *England*. In the following Year he went a second Time on the same Discovery, came to the same Streight, and used all possible Means to bring the Natives to Trade, or give him some Account of themselves; but they were so wild, that they only studied to destroy the *English*. Capt. *Frobisher* staid here till Winter drew on, and then he returned to *England*. He made the same Voyage the following Year, and with the like Success.

Six Years afterwards, *A. D.* 1585, *John David* sailed from *Dartmouth* on the same Adventure, came into the Latitude of 64 Degrees 15 Minutes, and proceeded to 66 Degrees 40 Minutes. In the Year ensuing, he ran to 66 Degrees 20 Minutes, and coasted Southward again to 56 Degrees. Sailing thence in 54 Degrees, he found an open Sea, tending Westward, which he hoped might be the Passage so long sought for; but the Weather proving tempestuous, he returned to *England*. In *October*, the next Year, he did the same.

After which there were no more Adventures this Way till the Year 1607, when Capt. *Henry Hudson* discover'd as far as 80 Degrees 23 Minutes; at the Mention of which, the Reader will almost freeze as the Writer does; for that Country is so prodigiously cold, that Nature is never impregnated by the Sun; or rather, her barren Womb produces nothing for the Subsistence of Man. In 1608, he set out again, and having added little to his former Discoveries, returned. Two Years after which, *A. D.* 1610, he again undertook a Voyage to find out the North-West Passage, proceeded 100 Leagues farther than any Man had done before him, till he could not go forward for Ice and Shoal Water; and finding himself imbay'd, he resolv'd to winter there. In the Spring, *A. D.* 1611, pursuing a farther Discovery, he and seven more of his Company were seized, the rest of his Men put into an open Boat, and committed to the Mercy of the Waves and Savages. By one or the other of which he perish'd, dearly purchasing the Honour of having this large Streight and Bay call'd after his Name.

We know'tis pretended, that a *Dane* made the Discovery of this Streight, and that he called it *Christiana*, from the King of *Denmark*, *Christiern* the IVth then reigning. But Capt. *Hudson* was the Man who discover'd it to the

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English, and who indeed first failed so near the Bottom of the Bay, as he did within a Degree or two.

The same Year that he died, Sir *Thomas Button*, at the Intigation of Prince *Henry*, pursued the same Discovery. He pass'd *Hudson's Streights*, and leaving *Hudson's-Bay* to the South, settled above 200 Leagues to the South-West, and discover'd a great Continent, by him call'd *New-Wales*. He winter'd at the Place afterwards called *Port Nelson*, carefully search'd all the Bay, from him called *Button's-Bay*, and returned to *Digg's Island*.

In 1616, Mr. *Baffin* enter'd Sir *Thomas Smith's Bay*, in 78 Degrees, and returned, despairing to find any Passage that way.

Thus we see all the Adventures made to the North-West, were in hopes of passing to *China*; but that is a Discovery as latent as the Philosopher's Stone, the perpetual Motion, or the Longitude.

In 1631, Capt. *James* failed to the North-West, and roving up and down in those Seas, arrived at *Charlton Island*, where he winter'd in 52 Degrees, much beyond *Hudson, Button* and *Baffin*. Capt. *Fox* went out this Year on the same Account; but proceeded no farther than *Port-Nelson*.

The Civil Wars in *England* put Discoveries out of Mens Heads; the bold had other Work cut out for them, and we hear of no more such Adventures till the Year 1667, when *Zachariah Gillam*, in the *Nonsuch Ketch*, pass'd through *Hudson's Streights*, and then into *Baffin's Bay* to 75 Degrees, and thence Southward into 51 Degrees, where in a River, afterwards call'd Prince *Ruperts River*, he had a friendly Correspondence with the Natives, built a Fort, named it *Charles Fort*, and returned with Success.

The Occasion of *Gillam's* going was this: Monsieur *Radi-son* and Monsieur *Goefelie*, two *Frenchmen*, meeting with some Savages in the Lake of *Assimponals*, in *Canada*, they learnt of them that they might go by Land to the Bottom of the Bay, where the *English* had not yet been; upon which they desired them to conduct them thither, and the Savages accordingly did it. The two *Frenchmen* returned to the upper Lake the same way they came, and thence to *Quebec*, the Capital of *Canada*, where they offer'd the principal Merchants to carry Ships to *Hudson's-Bay*; but their Project was rejected. Thence they went to *France*, in hopes of a more favourable Hearing at Court; but after presenting several Memorials, and spending a great deal of Time and Money, they were answer'd as they had been at *Quebec*, and their Project look'd upon as chimerical. The King of
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England's Ambassador at Paris hearing what Proposals they had made, imagined he should do his Country good Service in engaging them to serve the English, who had already Pretences to the Bay; so he persuaded them to go for London, where they met with a favourable Reception from some Men of Quality, Merchants and others, who employed Gillam before-mentioned, a New-England Captain, in the Voyage; and Radison and Gooselier accompanying them; they arrived at the Bottom of the Bay, and succeeded as we have hinted already.

When Gillam returned, the Adventurers concerned in fitting them out apply'd themselves to King Charles II. for a Patent, who granted one to them, and their Successors, for the Bay called Hudson's-Streights. The Patent bears Date the 2d of May, in the 22d Year of that King's Reign, A. D. 1670.

The first Proprietors, or Company, call'd Hudson's-Bay Company, were,

Prince Rupert,	Mr. Richard Cradock,
Sir James Hayes,	Mr. John Letton,
Mr. William Young.	Christopher Wrenn, Esq;
Mr. Gerard Weymans,	Mr. Nicholas Hayward.

The Bay lies from 64 Degrees North Latitude, to 51 Degrees, and is 10 Degrees, or 600 Miles in Length.

Before we proceed any farther in the History, it will not be improper to give an Account of the Country, Climate; Product, Trade and Inhabitants.

The Mouth of the Streights, which is in about 61 Degrees North Latitude, is 6 Leagues over. At the Mouth is an Island, call'd Resolution. Charles Island, Salisbury Island, and Nottingham are in the Streights; and Mansfield Island in the Mouth of the Bay.

Hudson's Streights, which lead to the Bay, are about 120 Leagues in Length; the Land on both Sides inhabited by Savages, of whom we have little or no Knowledge. The South Coast is known by the Name of the Terra Labarador; the North by as many Names as Men of several Nations have been there, and pretended to the Discovery of it. On the West-side of the Bay the English made a Settlement, built a Fort at Port Nelson, and all that Country goes by the Name of New South Wales. The Bay here is call'd Button's; and Hudson's-Bay, which is broadest in this Place, may be near 130 Leagues broad.

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The History of Hudson's-Bay.

On the other Shore, or the Coast of *Labrador*, lie several Islands, call'd the *Sleeper's Isles*, and the *Baker's Dozen*. The Bottom of the Bay, by which we understand all that Part of it from Cape *Henrietta Maria*, in *New South Wales*, to *Redonda*, below Prince *Rupert's* River, is about 80 Leagues long, and much of one Breadth all the way, being between 40 and 50 Leagues over.

Here are several Islands, to which the first Adventurers gave the Names of some great Men in *England*, or some that employ'd them, as Lord *Wesley's* Island, Sir *Thomas Roe's* Island, *Charlton* Island, and others. The two opposite Shores are called the *East Main* and *West Main*. The former is *Labrador*, and the latter *New South Wales*. The Continent at the Bottom of the Bay is by the *French* pretended to be Part of *New-France*; and indeed, to cross the Country from *St. Margaret's* River, which runs into the River of *Canada*, to *Rupert's* River, at the Bottom of *Hudson's-Bay*, is not above 150 Miles.

At *Rupert's* River the *English* built their first Fort, which they call'd *Charles* Fort. They never had any Towns or Plantations here, and probably never will. They live within their Forts, in little Houses, or Huts, wherein the Builders consider nothing but to defend them from the Cold and Rains; though they are not so much disturb'd by the latter as by the former.

There's an Island about 5 or 6 Leagues from the *West Main*, call'd the *Little Rocky Isle*, it being a mere Heap of Rocks and Stones, with some small Brush-wood growing upon it. 'Tis suppos'd to overflow with great North-West Winds, which make a high Tide all over the Bay. In this Isle is plenty of Gulls and Sea-Swallows. About three Miles from the South South-East Part of the Island, lies a dangerous Reaf of Sand, which is dry at Low-water.

Charlton Island is a light white Sand, cover'd over with a white Moss, full of Trees, Juniper and Spruce, though not very large. This Isle affords a beautiful Prospect to such as make it in the Spring, after a long Voyage of three or four Months, in the most dangerous Seas in the World, occasioned by the vast Mountains of Ice which drive in the Bay and Streights; against which, if Ships happen to strike, they are dash'd in Pieces as certainly as if they ran against Rocks; for indeed they are Rocks congeal'd, or rather petrified, by the Violence of the continual Frosts.

To see one Day the Shore on the *West Main* bare, the Mountains cover'd with Snow, and Nature looking like a Carcass frozen to Death; and the next, to behold *Charlton* Island

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Island spread with Trees, and the Branches making as it were a green Tuft of the whole, is a Surprize that must give the greatest Pleasure after the Fatigues of an intolerable Winter Voyage.

The Air even at the Bottom of the Bay, though by the Latitude 'tis nearer the Sun than London, being but in 51 Degrees, is excessive cold for nine Months, the other three Months very hot, but on a North-West Wind.

The Soil on the *East Main*, as well as the West, bears no manner of Grain. Some Fruits, Gooseberries, Strawberries, and Dew Otter-berries, grow about Prince *Rupert's* River.

The Commodities for Trade here are Guns, Powder, Shot, Cloth, Hatchets, Kettles, Tobacco, &c. which the *English* exchange with the *Indians*-for Furs, Beavers, Martin, Fox, Moose, and other Peltry; and the Curious, who have any Taste of Commerce, will not think it a Digression to insert a Standard of Trade, which the *Hudson's-Bay Company* fix'd several Years ago; and by which may be seen what Advantage they made of this Traffick. This Paper being put into my Hands, among others relating to the Affairs of the Company, is as follows.

The STANDARD how the *Company's* Goods must be barter'd in the *Southern Part* of the *Bay*.

Guns.	<i>One with the other 10 good Skins, that is, Winter Beaver; 12 Skins for the biggest Sort, 10 for the mean, and 8 for the smallest.</i>
Powder.	<i>A Beaver for half a Pound.</i>
Shot.	<i>A Beaver for four Pounds.</i>
Hatchets.	<i>A Beaver for a great and little Hatchet.</i>
Knives.	<i>A Beaver for six great Knives, or eight Jack Knives.</i>
Beads.	<i>A Beaver for half a Pound of Beads.</i>
Laced Coats.	<i>Six Beavers for one good Laced Coat.</i>
Plain Coats.	<i>Five Beaver-Skins for one Red Plain Coat.</i>
Coats.	<i>For Women, Laced, 2 Yards, 6 Beavers.</i>
Coats.	<i>For Women, Plain, 5 Beavers.</i>
Tobacco.	<i>A Beaver for one Pound.</i>
Powder- Horns. }	<i>A Beaver for a large Powder-Horn, and two small ones.</i>
Kettles.	<i>A Beaver for one Pound of Kettle.</i>
Looking-Glasses and Combs.	<i>Two Skins.</i>

'Tis plain, by this Standard, the Company got prodigiouſly, and had they traded much, their Auctions might have been now 300 *per Cent.* as they were once; but their Returns were ſmall, and their Charges great: Ten thouſand Beavers, in all their Factories, was one of the beſt Years of Trade they ever had, beſides other Peltry.

As to the *Indians*, their Manners, Cuſtoms, Language, Government and Religion, are the ſame with the *Canadians*; and *La Hontan* has deſcribed them very naturally, excepting that he has raiſed Nature, and made her too polite in this barbarous Clime, where Barbarity herſelf is in the Height of her Empire,

The *Indians* about *Rupert's River*, and other Places in the Bay, are more ſimple than the *Canadians*, who have had longer Commerce with the *Europeans*. They are generally peaceable, and not given to quarrel either with themſelves or others, except the *Nodways*, a wild barbarous People, on the Borders of *Hudson's-Streights*, who ſometimes, in ſlight Parties, make Incurſions on the other *Indians*, and having knock'd 8 or 10 on the Head, return in Triumph.

The *Indians* of certain Diſtricts, which are bounded by ſuch and ſuch Rivers, have each an *Okimab*, as they call him, or Captain over them, who is an old Man, conſidered only for his Prudence and Experience. He has no Authority but what they think fit to give him upon certain Occaſions. He is their Speech-maker to the *Engliſh*; as alſo in their own grave Debates, when they meet every Spring and Fall, to ſettle the Diſpoſition of their Quarters for Hunting, Fowling, and Fiſhing. Every Family have their Boundaries adjusted, which they ſeldom quit, unleſs they have not Succeſs there in their Hunting, and then they join in with ſome Family who have ſucceeded.

Their Notions of Religion are but very ſlender. They ſay, there are two *Manetoes* or Spirits, the one ſends all the good things they have, and the other all the bad. Their Worſhip conſiſts in Songs and Dances at their Feaſts, in Honour of the *Manetoes* that have favoured them: But if they are ſick or famiſh'd, they hang ſome little Bawble, which they ſet a Value upon, on the Top of a Pole near their Tent, to pacify the Spirit offended, as they conceive.

Let the Learned ſay all the fine things that Wit, Eloquence and Art can inſpire them with, of the Simplicity of pure Nature, the Beauty and Innocence, theſe Wretches are an Inſtance, that this Innocence is downright Stupidity, and this pretended Beauty a Deformity, which puts Man, the Lord of the Creation, on an equal Foot with the Beaſts of the Foreſt.

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The History of *Hudson's-Bay* will not afford us much Matter. The Settlements are too inconsiderable to deserve much Pains to be taken about them. What we know of them is as follows.

In the Year 1670, the Company sent over *Charles Baily*, Charles Baily, Esq; Governor. with whom went Mr. *Radison*, the *Frenchman* before-mentioned, and 10 or 20 Men, who were to stay on the Place; his Residence being at *Rupert River*, where a mean Fort has been built.

Mr. *Baily* appointed Mr. *Thomas Gorst* to be his Secretary, and order'd him to keep a Journal of their Proceedings there, which is now in my Custody; but the Events it contains are too trivial to be remember'd: What are most curious I shall report; and the Reader must excuse me, if they are of no more Importance, they serve to give him an Idea of an Infant Colony in one of the rudest Parts of the World.

The chief *Indian* near the Fort had the Name of Prince given him. Two other *Indians* were called *Peter* and the *Chancellor*, who, with their Wives and Families, came to the Governor, to beg Subsistence, declaring they could kill nothing, and were almost starved; for if these Barbarians could meet with no Game, they had no Meat.

Thus we see in what a miserable Condition these *English* there were like to be, if Supplies did not come regularly from *England*. Mr. *Baily* having fed the Prince, the Chancellor, his *Cocamish*, or Wife, and the rest of them, sent them up to the Falls a fishing, and follow'd them in his Canoo, to hunt up in the Country; but could meet with no Game, except 2 Moose, and no People to trade with. These Moose are but indifferent Meat; however the Air was sharp, to make it relish as well as Venison, and 'twas accordingly very welcome.

Some Days afterwards the *Indians* returned. The Prince brought a young Deer, the Chancellor and his Wife some Fish and Moose. The greatest Part of the Autumn Fowl here are Geese, of which there's then plenty, and they begin to come about the Beginning of *September*; a sure time that the People must take their Leave of Summer, and prepare for a long Winter of near forty Weeks.

The *English* had now worse Huts than afterwards, and no Covering for them but Moose-skins. There was at this time a Factory at *Port-Nelson*, where Capt. *Gooselier* arrived in *August*, 1673. He searched the River for *Indians*, but met with none. He saw several *Wigwams*, where they had lately been, and supposed them to be gone up the Country. He

saw also the Reliçts of Sir *Thomas Button's* Ship; and one of his Company, Mr. *Cole*, brought home a Piece of Shot, a Piece of her Bulk-head, and a small Piece of Cable, which had lain there about 60 Years.

This Captain was order'd to search for *Severn* River, but could not find it, though it was in the old Draughts of this Bay.

About the Beginning of *October* the Geese fly away to the Southward; a terrible Sight to the poor *Europeans* in the Bay! for by that they know the hard Weather is approaching, and begin to provide Wood for Winter before the Snow falls.

Now Mr. *Baily* and his little Colony fell to patching up their Cabins, and prepare for the Enemy, and they had nothing to fear but the Season. He sent a Sloop to *Point Comfort*, between *Rupert* River and *Charlton* Island, to kill Seals, to make Oil for their Lamps, they having no Candles, and the Nights being long.

About the 10th of *October*, the Ice begins to congeal on the Shores; but often warm Weather comes after that, and thaws it. The 23d of *October* several *Indians* came to the Fort to trade, and, among others, one from *Quebec*. In one Night the Snow was a Foot deep, and by the 6th of *November* the River was frozen over.

About the Middle of the Month, Partridges come, of which they kill'd five, as white as Snow. The *English* that were there diverted themselves, while the Weather permitted, with killing Partridges; but truly there seems not to have been much Plenty of them; for four Men, in a Week's time, kill'd but 36. They fowl'd for them about *Peter's* River, and *Frenchman's* River, the one above, and the other below *Rupert's*; but in *December* and *January*, the Frosts were so severe, they could not stay out. The Governor's Boys Feet and Face were spoiled by the Frost, in catching of Partridges.

The Snows in the Woods, when at the deepest, are seven or eight Foot; sometimes they do not exceed four Foot, as in the Year 1673.

The 25th of *January* three *Indians* brought Beaver to the Fort, and a little fresh Meat. They reported, that as they pass'd *Moose* River, about ten Days Journey from *Rupert's*, they saw some dead Bodies of *Indians*, which they supposed to be *Onachancees*, most of that Nation being destroyed by the *Nodwajyes*, who were then about *Moose* River, and, as they threatned, intended to visit the *English* in the Spring; they were accordingly as good as their Words. The 1st of

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February there was such a Change of Weather, that it rather thawed than froze. The *English* with living on Salt-Meats, were all down with the Scurvy in this Month: For though they continued to catch Partridges, there were so few caught, that they went but a very little Way among them.

Several *Indians* came in *March*, and built their *Wigwams* at the East End of the Fort, intending to stay there all Winter, that they might be ready for Trade in the Spring. The Nation that took up their Quarters near the Fort were the *Cuscudidah's*, and the King sent Mr. *Baily* word, he would come to him speedily. The Governor on the 23^d of *March*, accompanied by *John Abraham* and others, travelled on the Ice to *Point Comfort*, where were some *Indian* Tents, to buy what fresh dried Meat he could, the Store at the Fort being almost spent.

About the 20th of *March* it began to thaw, and the *Nodways* still threatenng the *English* with War, the Governor prepared every Thing necessary in the Fort for his Defence. On the 25th of *March*, six Men as Ambassadors came from King *Cuscudidah* to notify his Approach, and that he would be at the Fort next Day; which he made good, and was troubled that the Governor was absent. He brought a *Rettine* with him, but little *Beaver*, the *Indians* having sent their best to *Canada*.

The *English* at the Fort stood on their Guard, and Mr. *Cole* commanded them in the Governor's Absence, for whom the King sent two *Indians*. And the 31st of *March* the Governor returned, with a small Supply of *Moose* Flesh. On the 1st of *April* the *Geese*, the Promise of the Spring, begin to return again, and prodigious Quantities were caught.

All this while the *Indian* King staid at the *Wigwams* near the Fort, and the Reason of it was, They were apprehensive of being attacked by some *Indians*, whom the *French* Jesuits had animated against the *English*, and all that dealt with them. The *French* used many Artifices to hinder the Natives trading with the *English*, they gave them great Rates for their Goods, and obliged Mr. *Baily* to lower the Price of his to oblige the *Indians* who dwelt about *Moose* River, with whom they drove the greatest Trade.

The *French*, to ruin their Commerce with the Natives, came and made a Settlement not above 8 Days Journey up that River, from the Place where the *English* traded. 'Twas therefore debated, whether the Company's Agents should not remove from *Rupert's* to *Moose* River to prevent their Traffick being intercepted by the *French*.

On the 3d of *April* 1674, a Council of the principal Persons in the Fort was held, where Mr. *Baily* the Governor, Capt. *Gooselier* and Capt. *Cole* were present, and gave their several Opinions. The Governor inclined to remove. Capt. *Cole* was against it as dangerous, and Capt. *Gooselier* for going thither in their Bark to trade, when the *Indians* belonging to King *Cuscudidah* were gone a hunting, and there was no Fear of the Fort's being surprized.

The *Indians* went to building their *Wigwams* near the Fort, and raised their *Wauscobeigin* or Fort so near the *English*, that the Palifadoes joined. One of those Barbarians being jealous of his Wife, and finding her in the Fort, pulled out a Hatchet which he had hidden under his Coat, and gave her a desperate Wound in the Head, but she did not die of it. The *Indian* fearing the Governor would punish him for striking in the Fort, fled to the Woods. Upon which Mr. *Baily* ordered that no *Indian* but King *Cuscudidah*, and his chief Courtiers, should be admitted into the Fort, and a Watch was set upon the Gate.

As the Ice grew rotten and melted, the *Indians* who ventured fell frequently in, but they all swam like Ducks, and seldom or never were any of them drowned. The great Thaw began about the 20th of *April*, and then all the *English* having spent their Beer and Winter-Liquor, returned to drinking of Water.

Geese and Swans were now to be had, and that supplied in some Measure their Want of Provision. The Governor having been cheated by the *Indians* at *Point Comfort* in his *Moose Flesh*, went thither and obliged them to make Satisfaction.

On the 20th of *May* 12 *Indians*, Subjects to King *Cuscudidah* came in seven Canoes, and the King meeting them conducted them to the Fort, where they told him there would be few or no *Upland Indians* come to trade that Season, the *French* having persuaded them to come to *Canada*: However Mr. *Baily* ordered the Sloop to be got ready, and resolved to go up the River.

Upon the Arrival of this new Company, among whom was the King's Brother, a Feast was made, the Manner of which was this: They all sat down together, and one Man, a Kinsman of the King's, broke the Meat and Fat in small Pieces according to the Number of Men there. After a short Speech made by the King, the Substance of which was, for them to take Courage against their Enemies and other Stories, the Company shouted, and then the Man who broke distributed the Meat about to them, they crying,

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Ob! Ho! as much as to say, *I thank you.* 'Tis incredible to tell the Abundance of fat Beaver, Moose Flesh and Fat they eat, together with the Broth and Fat as black as Ink which they drink. Then every Man had a small Piece of Tobacco distributed to him, and they all fell to smoking. Some afterwards danced, some sung, and a Man beat a Drum, which was a Skin put over a Kettle and laced a-thwart. They continue this commonly all Night, and when they go Home carry what Meat is left to their Sqwaws, it being very rare for them to admit the Women to their Feasts.

On the 22d of *May*, the *Indians* at their *Wigwams* near the Fort, had a *Powwaw*, or Sort of Conjuring, which is thus: There's a small Tower built with *Wiyb* Stick about 3 Foot high, the Top being open, but the rest covered very close with Skins that none may see into it. In the Night, the Man that *Powwaws* goes into the Tower, the rest sit nigh it, and in their Places ask him several Questions, which in a Manner they know already; as, When any Strangers will be here? The *Powwower* guesses at the Time, and answers accordingly. The *Maneto* or their God told them, the *Nodways* would come down upon them e're long, and advised them to be upon their Guard, as also against the *Misigooses* or *English*.

They *Powwaw* often, and upon several Occasions. If it happens not as they expected it would, then the *Maneto* is *Muchocauwan* or very bad, and if it falls out to their Desires, then *Maneto* is *Moruchfice* or good. When they kill a Moose their *Maneto* is *White* and *Good*. When they kill none then he is *Black* and *Naught*. They *Powwaw* very much when they celebrate any Marriages. Every Man has commonly two Wives whom they keep in great Subjection, and make them do all Slavery; as draw *Sledds*, cut Wood, make Fires, and dress Moose Hides. The Men only hunt, and kill the Game: The Women fetch the Beast that is killed, and take Care to preserve the Flesh.

The next Day the Governor and some *English* and *Indians* armed, went down to the Bottom of the Bay to *Frenchmens* River to seek for the *Nodways*, but could met with none.

At the latter End of *May* the Geese go to the Northward to breed. On the 27th, about 50 Men, Women and Children came in 22 Canoes to trade, but brought little or no Beaver with them. They were of the Nation called *Pishhapacanoes*, near a-kin to the *Ejkeimoes*, and both alike a poor beggarly People: By which we may perceive the *French* ran away with the best of the Trade.

The Governor having got every Thing ready for a Voyage to *Moose River*, sent Capt. *Gooselier*, Capt. *Cole*, Mr. *Gorft* my Author, and other *English Indians* to trade there. They got about 250 Skins, and the Captain of the *Tabittee Indians* informed them, the *French Jesuits* had bribed the *Indians* not to deal with the *English*, but to live in Friendship with the *Indian Nations* in League with the *French*. He blamed the *English* for trading with such pitiful Nations as the *Cuscudidabs* and *Pishhapocanoes*, advising them to settle at *Moose Sebee*, and the *Upland Indians* would come down, and trade with them. The Reason they got no more Peltry now was, because the *Indians* thought *Gooselier* was too hard for them, and few would come down to deal with him.

My Author in this Voyage pass'd by *Robinson Island*, *Willow Island*, and saw several *white Whales*. The *Musketoes* are extremely troublefom in *May* and *June*, especially after *Rains*. The *Nodways* coming down within a *Quarter* of a *Mile* of the *Fort*, the *Alarm* was given the *English* and *Indians*, but the *Enemy* were afraid to come farther; and Mr. *Baily* with a *Party* of both pursued them in their *Retreat*, but could not come near enough to do any *Execution*.

This *Fright* being over, Mr. *Baily* sail'd himself for *Moose Sebee*, and brought Home 1500 Skins; the *Shechittawams*, 50 *Leagues* from that *River*, having come to trade with him. By the 24th of *June* all the *Indians* had left their *Wigwams* near the *Fort*, and were gone abroad to hunt and trade, some with the *English* and some by themselves.

The Governor undertook a *Voyage* to discover *Shechittawam River*, and thence intended to coast along to *Port Nelson*, where as yet there was no *Fort*. In the mean Time Mr. *Gorft* who was left *Deputy* at the *Fort*, sent a *Yaul* and four *Men* well armed, up the *Nodways River*, which as high as they could go for the *Falls* was 5 *Miles* broad, full of small *Islands* and *Rocks*, in which *Geese* breed.

By the Beginning of *August*, the *English* that remained at the *Fort* had almost spent all their *Provisions*, their *Powder* and *Shot*, and began to bein mortal dread of *starving*. They killed *Ducks*, *Teal* and *Plover*, and some of them were always out, for their *Lives* depended upon it.

After about two *Months* *Voyage* Mr. *Baily* returned, and gave this *Account* of his *Voyage* in the *Sloop*. On the 16th of *July* he sail'd from *Moose River*, and arriv'd at *Shechittawam River* on the 18th, where no *Englishman* had been before. He staid there till the 21st, but could meet with little or no *Beaver*.

'Tis a fine River, and a good Channel to the N. W. in 52 Deg. N. L. He treated with the King, and his Son made them a Promise to come with a Ship and trade with them the next Year. In return, they assured him they would provide Store of Beaver, and bring the *Upland Indians* down.

The 21st he set sail towards *Cape Henrietta Maria*, and saw a great Island stretching N. N. W. and S. S. E. distant about 14 Leagues from the Mouth of *Shechittawam* River. The Island being two Days Journey in Circumference *Indian* Padling, which they account to be 30 Leagues, it was named *Viner's Island*.

The 23^d upon a Point, as he and his Crew were sailing along Shore, they spied a great Smoke; they stood in for it, and found seven distressed *Indians* there. This Point lay in 52 Deg. 40 Min. The Governor took them in, and gave them Passage to a small River called *Equon*, 100 Leagues to the Southward of it, where they saw the Bodies of some *Indians* dead on the Ground. There had been a great Mortality among them, and several were starved to Death for Want of Food; this Country being such a miserable Wilderness, that it affords not sufficient Sustenance for the wretched Inhabitants.

On the 27th of *July*, the Sloop ran upon Ice and like to have foundered. Their Pilot was a *Washahoe* or *New Severn Indian*, and it was reported, that he had two Rows of Teeth; but he hated so much to see the Compass, that he was very troublesome to the Crew, so the Governor ordered him to be put ashore.

The *Indians* on *New Severn* River are as poor as the *Eskeimoes*, and indeed all the Northward *Indians* are more beggarly and brutal than the Southward. The Governor understanding by some *Washahoe Indians* there was no Beaver to be had, and that the Sea beyond the Cape was full of Ice, resolved to return, neither he nor his Company having eaten any Thing in two Days, but a few sodden Pease and Oat-Meal.

In their Return they were forced ashore upon *Charlton* Island, where they lay two or three Days in Distress, and at last got off with the Loss of several Necessaries. After he had returned to the Fort on the 30th of *August*, a Canoo arrived at *Rupert's* River with a Missionary Jesuit, a *Frenchman* born of *English* Parents, attended by one of *Cuscudab's* Family, a young *Indian*. The Frier brought a Letter to Mr. *Baily* from the Governor of *Quebec*, dated the 5th of *October* 1673. For the Priest should have been at *Rupert's* River several Months before, but that he was stopped by

by the *Indians*. The Governor of *Quebec* desired Mr. *Baily* to treat the *Jesuit* civilly, on Account of the great Amity between the two Crowns; and Mr. *Baily* resolved to keep the *Jesuit* till Ships came from *England*.

He brought a Letter also for Capt. *Gooselier*, which gave Jealousy to the *English* of his corresponding with the *French*; his Son-in-law lived at *Quebec*, and had accompanied the Priest part of his Way with three other *Frenchmen*, who being afraid to venture among strange *Indians* returned.

The *Tabitte Indians* being within the *Hudson's Bay* Company Patent, it was an Encroachment for the *French* to trade with them; the *Jesuit* confessed they did. Mr. *Baily* clothed him, the *Indians* having robbed him, and entertained him with great Kindness. The Priest resolving to return to *Europe* in an *English* Ship, did not like another Journey of 400 Miles Length, through many barbarous Nations over Land, and a Country almost impassable.

The *English* were frequently alarmed with Reports of Incursions from the *Nodways* and *Moose River Indians*, whose Quarrel with him was their selling too dear. The Governor to prevent being surprized, ordered all their Merchandize to be put aboard a Bark that was left with them, and went to fish and fowl at *Peter's River*; but got little Fowl, and their fishing Tackle began to want Supplies. 'Twas now the 11th of *September*, and so long had these poor Men lived in this Desert, holding a precarious Being by their Guns and fishing Tackle. Their Patience was at last spent, and the Governor declared if he did not hear from *England* in three Days Time, he would return Home aboard the before-mentioned Bark.

On the 17th they were all to depart for *Point Comfort*, to stay there till the 22d, and then make the best of their Way for *England*. For later than the 22d of *September*, no Ships had ever arrived: All the Flower and Bread they had left, did not make above 300 Pound. They had but two Barrels of good Pease and 30 Geese in Pickle, to victual their Bark with for their Voyage; and having but a very little Powder in the Store-house, they despaired of killing much more Game.

In this deplorable Condition were they, when the *Jesuit*, Capt. *Gooselier*, and another *Papist*, walking downwards to the Sea-side at their Devotion, heard seven great Guns fire distinctly. They came Home in a Transport of Joy, told their Companions the News, and assured them it was true. Upon which they fired three great Guns from the Fort to return the Salute, though they could ill spare the Powder upon such an Uncertainty.

The

The next Day an *Indian* came, and gave them Notice that he had heard great Guns last Night at *Attisawyem*, or *Point Comfort*. Their Sloop was then at the Point, and they expected every Minute to have the News confirmed.

One may imagine with what Impatience they waited. The Day was well nigh spent and no Sloop come, which threw them all into Despair. In the Evening the Sloop appeared in the River, but having no Ensign out, they concluded they were all lost Men, and in this Extremity of Sorrow they were soon revived by the Sight of five *Englishmen*, whom they had not seen before, and from whom they understood the *Prince Rupert*, Capt. *Gillam* Commander, was arrived, with the new Governor *William Lyddal*, Esq;

William
Lyddal Esq;
Governor.

The next Day the old Governor and Mr. *Gorst* failed for *Point Comfort*, where the *Shafisbury*, Capt. *Shepherd* Commander, arrived also from *England*. And the new Governor's Commission and Instructions being read, all Hands set to work to refit and load the Ships Home as soon as possible.

On the 18th of *September* Mr. *Lyddal* landed, and took Possession of the Fort, the Colours flying, and Guns firing to salute him. Mr. *Baily* delivered him the Patent, and after that he was no more called Governor. Mr. *Lyddal* finding the Season would be so far spent before the Ships could be unloaden and loaden again, that it would be impracticable to return; after several Councils it was resolved, they should winter at *Rupert's River*, and Capt. *Gillam* and Capt. *Shepherd's* Ships Crews were employed to cut Timber to build Houses for them, as also a Brew-house and Bake-house in the Fort.

The Provisions they brought, fell very short of the Complement of Men that were to be fed by them. They had 30 Men to feed in the Fort and in the Houses, and but ten Months Bread for them of five Pound of Flower a Head weekly, which was not enough to last them all the Winter at Land, and victual their Ships too. Mr. *Gorst*, who was their Store-keeper, soon brought them to short Allowance to husband their Store, and Mr. *Lyddal* ordered they should have full Allowance, saying, *If we starve we will starve all together.*

By this Means they were reduced to great Straits, and forced to pinch harder than they needed have done, had they been good Husbands of their Bread at first.

Such was the State of this Infant Settlement, and it has not mended much since, for Want and Cold have every Year endangered the Lives of all that have been there.

Before we proceed in our History, we shall communicate to the Reader a small Dictionary of the Language of the *Indians* at the Bottom of the Bay, which is like the rest distinguished by several Dialects, but this is the *Cuscudidah's*.

<i>Arakana</i> , Bread.	<i>Pishbish</i> , a little Thing.
<i>Astam</i> , Come hither.	<i>Pastofigon</i> , a Gun.
<i>Affinne</i> , Shot.	<i>Pistofigon a hish</i> , a Pistol.
<i>Apit</i> , a Fire-steel.	<i>Pibickeman</i> , a Jack-Knife.
<i>Arremitogisy</i> , to speak.	<i>Petta a shum. e.</i> give me a Piece.
<i>A Notch</i> , presently.	<i>Pe quish a con Gau Mawon</i> , I eat some Pudding.
<i>Chickahigon</i> , a Hatchet.	<i>Spog. m.</i> , a Pipe.
<i>Eskon</i> , a Chissel.	<i>Stenna, i.</i> Tobacco.
<i>Manitowbigin</i> , a Red-Coat.	<i>Soth. im. m.</i> Red-Lead.
<i>Metus</i> , Stockings.	<i>Shakaboon</i> , a Comb.
<i>Mokeman</i> , Knives.	<i>Taney</i> , Where.
<i>Mickedy</i> , or } Powder.	<i>Tinesonec. iso</i> , what do you call this?
<i>Pickaw</i> , }	<i>Tequan</i> , What do you say?
<i>Mekish</i> , Beads.	<i>Tapoy</i> , that true.
<i>Moustodawbish</i> , a Flint.	
<i>Ne mun-nifs e to ta</i> , I do not understand you.	
<i>Owma</i> , this.	

Though with this I must leave my Journal, from other good Memoirs I shall continue the History.

Mr. *Baily* who had very well discharged his Trust, returning to *England*, informed the Company fully of their Affairs; and now as they advanced in Reputation, so they were industrious to encrease their Trade and Settlements. They appointed a *Trader* to act under the Governor and Chiefs of the Factories at other Rivers, according as they were settled.

Port *Nelson* was the next Settlement which they made, and thither they went *John Bridger*, Esq; with the Character of Governor for the *Hudson's-Bay* Company of the *West Main* from *Cape Henrietta Maria*, which was included in the Governor of the *East Main's* Patent.

John Nixon,
Esq;
Governor.

Mr. *Lyddal* was succeeded by *John Nixon*, Esq; in whose Time the Company thought of removing their chief Factory from *Rupert's River* to *Chickewan* River, as the Place most resorted to by the *Indians*.

Charlton Island was now frequented by the Ships bound to *Hudson's-Bay*, and made the Place of Rendezvous for all the Factors to bring their Merchandise to, and load it there aboard the Company's Ship.

In the Year 1682, Mr. *Bridger* embarked for Port *Nelson*, where a Factory was to be established and a Fort built; but before he arrived, Capt. *Benjamin Gillam* Master of a *New-England Ship*, and Son of Capt. *Gillam* Commander of the *Prince Rupert* then in the Company's Service, settled at that Factory; but had not been there above 14 Days, before Mr. *Radisson* and Capt. *Gooselier*, who had deserted the *English*, arrived from *Canada*.

The Company having dismissed them their Service, these two *Frenchmen* in Revenge procured some Merchants of *Canada* to undertake a Settlement there. *Gillam* was not strong enough to repel them, but he remained at Port *Nelson*, where 10 Days after *Radisson* and *Gooselier's* Arrival came Mr. *Bridger*. The *French* no sooner perceived he was come, but they sent aboard his Ship immediately, and commanded him to be gone, for that Mr. *Raddison* and Capt. *Gooselier* had taken Possession of the Place for the *French King* their Master.

Mr. *Bridger* being warranted so to do by the Company's Commission unloaded some of his Goods, and with all Hands went to Work, in order to make a Settlement.

Raddison continued at Port *Nelson*, and Mr. *Bridger* and he became very intimate: Which Intimacy lasted from *October 1682*, to the *February* following, when *Raddison* seized *Bridger* and *Gillam* with all their People and Effects.

Having kept them some Months in a Sort of Imprisonment, about *August* the *French* put several of the Company's and *Gillam's* People aboard a rotten Bark, and they were taken up by an *English Ship* near Cape *Henrietta Maria*. *Bridger* and *Gillam* they carried with them to *Canada*, where *Raddison* and *Gooselier* ran some of their Cargo ashore, intending to defraud their Employers.

After which they made their Escape and got into *France*. The Company having Notice of it writ to him, and he to the Company, promising if they would forgive the Injury he had done them, and employ him again at such a Salary, he would undertake to deliver the *French* whom he had left there till he came again to them, and seize all the Furs they had traded for, which would make them Satisfaction for the Wrongs he had done them. Accordingly they forgave him, employed him again, and he took Port *Nelson* from his Countrymen. But before his Arrival Capt. *John Abraham* had been there with Supplies of Stores; and finding Mr. *Bridger* was gone he staid himself, and was continued Governor by the Company in 1684.

John Abraham, Esq; Governor of Port Nelson.

In the preceding Year, Mr. *Nixon* Governor of *Rupert's* River was recalled, and *Henry Sergeant*, Esq; made Governor. By whose Instructions we find the chief Factory was removed from *Rupert's* to *Moose-Sebee*, or *Chickewan* River, which has ever since been called *Albany* River; where a Fort was built, a Factory settled, and the Governor made it the Place of his Residence. 'Tis at the Bottom of the Bay below *Rupert's* River. He was ordered to come every Spring as soon as the Trade was over to *Charlton* Island, and bring what Goods he had with him, to wait for the Arrival of the Company's Ships: From thence he was to visit the other Factories, and see that their Merchandize was sent in due Time to *Charlton* Island, to attend the Ships Arrival.

Henry Ser-
geant, Esq;
Governor of
Albany Ri-
ver.

The Governor of *Canada* having given the *Hudson's-Bay* Company to understand, the *French* were very much offended at their Discoveries in these Parts, Mr. *Sergeant* was ordered to be careful that he was not surprized by them.

There is an Island in the Bottom of the Bay called *Hay's* Island, where a Factory had been settled. This Isle and *Rupert's* were near the *French*, *Albany* being more to the Southward, and of these Factories the Company were most apprehensive that their Enemies would endeavour to dispossess them.

We perceive by these Instructions, that their Servants in the Bay had been very unfaithful to them, and Interlopers invaded their Privileges. They appointed Mr. *Hugh Verner* to be Chief at *Rupert's* River, and Mr. *George Geyer* and Mr. *Thomas Savage* to be chief Managers at the *Isinglass* River, which had been lately discovered; and there were great Expectations of a mighty Advantage to the Company by that Discovery, but it came to nothing though there was a Factory settled there in order to promote it.

The Company intended to plant a Colony at *Charlton* Island, and ordered Mr. *Sergeant* to build a Fort there, and always keep some Men upon it. Warehouses were also built to receive the Furs that were brought thither from the Factories, and Conveniencies were made for the Reception of such as were obliged to winter there. The Company always enjoined their Governors to endeavour to save the great Charge they were at in sending constant Supplies of Provisions, by planting Corn and other Grain there. But alas! Though the Climate by its Distance from the Sun should be as warm as ours, yet for Reasons which the Naturalists will easily give us, it is so cold and frosty that it kills almost all Sorts of Roots in the Ground which are sown there; and those Plantations so often recommended by the Company, were chimerical and impracticable.

Orders

Orders were also given to dismiss Capt. *Gillam* their Service for his Son's Offences, and Capt. *Sandford* had the same Usage, on Account of his Relation to the *Gillams*; for there's nothing so terrible to a Monopolizer, as an Interloper. Capt. *William Bond*, who had been under Mr. *Baily*, was sent for Home, and other Regulations made in the Management of Affairs: But all could not hinder the Ruin of them all by the Enemy.

The Company, by their Governours and Agents, made such Compacts with the Captains or Kings of the Rivers and Territories where they had Settlements, for the Freedom of Trade there, exclusive of all others, that the *Indians* could not pretend they had encroached upon them. These Compacts were as firm as the *Indians* could make them, by such Ceremonies as were most sacred and obligatory among them.

Now were the Company in Possession of five Settlements, viz. *Albany River*, *Hayes Island*, *Rupert River*, *Port Nelson*, and *New Severn*. Their Trade at each of them was considerable. From *Albany River* they had generally 3500 Beavers a Year, and by Mr. *Sergeant's* great Care and Fidelity, their Commerce encreased so much, that the *French* began to be afraid all the *Upland Indians* might be drawn down to the Bay. They knew they could do any Thing with King *James II.* who then reigned in *England*, and that no Affront would make that Prince break with *Lewis* the XIVth. Wherefore they resolved to drive the *English* out of all their Places in the Bottom of the Bay. First they took *Hayes Island*, and then the Fort on *Rupert's River*. The *French* Company at *Canada* procured a Detachment of Soldiers to be sent under the Chevalier *de Troyes*, who came over Land from *Quebec*, and in a Time of profound Peace committed these Acts of Hostility.

'Tis worth observing that the *French* have so good an Opinion of their *American Colonies*, as to take not only all lawful, but even unlawful Means to preserve and enlarge them, as contemptible as they are in themselves; whereas the *English*, who next the *Spaniards* have the richest Plantations in that Part of the World, have been as negligent of them as if they were not worth keeping.

The 8th of *July* 1686, the Chevalier *de Troyes* came before the Fort at *Albany River*, where the Governour Mr. *Sergeant* then resided. Two *Indians* had informed him of their having surprized the Forts at *Hayes Island* and *Rupert River*, and had brought with them the great Guns from those Places.

Two Hours after, the *English* heard them discharge their Guns, and saw some of them at a Distance. Upon which Part of the Company's Servants declared, they would not venture their Lives, unless they might be assured of Pay, and sent *John Parsons*, and *John Garret*, two of their Number, in all their Names, to the Governor, to tell him their Resolutions. Mr. *Serjeant*, by Promises and giving them Clothes and other Necessaries, prevailed with them to return to their Charge: But in a Day or two they mutinied again, and *Elias Turner*, the Gunner, possess'd the People with an Apprehension, that it was impossible to hold out the Place; declaring, that for his Part he would throw himself on the *French*. Accordingly he went to the Governor, and desired Leave so to do; but being threatn'd to be shot to Death, in case he attempted it, he was at last persuad'd to return to his Post.

The *English* shot at the *French* as long as they appeared in the *Brushes*, and forced them to retire under the Banks, where the Guns from the Fort could not hit them. The *French* shot only at the *English* with small Shot, as any of them appeared upon the *Plankers*. When they had retired under the Banks, they set to Work to entrench themselves, and cast up a great Bank of Earth, which cover'd them so, that the *English* could do no Execution upon them.

The Governor all this while imagined the Enemy was only raising a Bank to secure themselves from the Shot of the Fort; but afterwards he perceiv'd they were preparing a Battery, and then he commanded the Guns of the Fort to fire upon them incessantly, which however did them no Hurt.

Frederic Johnson, who officiated as Gunner, on *Turner's* refusing to act, advis'd Mr. *Sergeant* not to shoot away the Remainder of the great Shot in the Fort, there being not above a Round more; and he suppos'd the *French* must have brought their Guns by Water, if so, he hop'd to sink their Boats, which would have done more Service than firing upon their Entrenchments. But the *French* had found a Way to bring their great Guns through the Woods, and had planted them on their Battery before the *English* saw them.

The Governor sent out *Francis Cave* and *John Michem*, to see if they could observe the Posture of their Enemies, and the Spies brought Word, that they had finish'd their Battery, and mounted their Guns, which they saw them load.

This so dishearten'd the People, that assembling themselves together, they agreed to depute the most considerable among them

them to go to the Governor, and in their Names press him to make the best Terms he could, and surrender the Fort. Accordingly, *Edward Coles, Philip Scovell, Hugh Mitsel, William Arrington, William Holder, John Stephens,* and others, came to Mr. *Sergeant*, and declared they would stand by him no longer; alledging, 'twas in vain to think they should be able to hold out. They added, if any one of them should lose a Leg or an Arm, or be kill'd, they had reason to doubt whether the Company would take Care of them, their Wives, or Children, instancing the Case of one *Coleburn*, wherefore they demanded of him to capitulate.

In the mean time the *French* fired upon the *Flankers*, and the *English*, whatever the Governor commanded them to the contrary, abandoned their Posts. He refused to beat a Parley, and threaten'd those that would not do their Duty.

The Enemy's Shot had made a Breach in the *Flankers*, and damaged the Houses in the Fort. Upon which, and the repeated Desires of the Men, who said, *The Year would be so far spent, that they could not hope to get home, but must be starved if the Factory should be taken*, the Governor consented to a Parley; Mr. *Bridger* assuring him the Enemy were mining them, and they should certainly be blown up. *Capt. Outlaw* also agreed to capitulate, and the white Flag was hung out. After which a Treaty was concluded, and is as follows.

ARTICLES agreed upon between the Chevalier *de Troyes*, Commander in Chief of the Detachment of the *North-West*, for the *French* Company at *Canada*; and *Henry Serjeant*, Esq; Governor for the *English* Company at *Hudson's-Bay*, July 16, 1686.

Imprimis. *It is agreed upon to deliver up the Fort, together with all the Goods belonging to the said Company, which are to be scheduled for the mutual clearing of us the fore-named; and Satisfaction of all Parties.*

II. *That all the Company's Servants at Albany River shall enjoy all Wearing Apparel belonging to themselves.*

III. *That the aforesaid Henry Serjeant, Esq; Governor, shall enjoy and possess all that belongs to himself; and that his*

The History of Hudson's Bay.

Minister, his three Men-Servants and Maid-Servant, shall constantly be permitted to remain with him, and attend him.

IV. That the Chevalier de Troyes shall convey all the Company's Servants to Charlton Island, there to expect English Ships for their Transportation; and if English Ships should not arrive, then the aforesaid Chevalier de Troyes is to assist them with what Vessels the Country affords, for their Conveyance into England.

V. That the said Chevalier de Troyes shall deliver to the said Henry Serjeant, Esq; Governor, or to his Store-house-keeper, such Provisions as shall be thought fitting and necessary to carry them for England, if no Ships come from thence, and in the mean time give them such Sustenance as shall be sufficient for them.

VI. That all the Store-houses shall be lock'd up, and the Keys deliver'd to the said Chevalier de Troyes's Lieutenant; that nothing may be in the said Store-houses embazzled till the Account be taken, according to the first Article.

Lastly, That the Governor and all the Company's Servants at Albany River shall come out of the Fort, and deliver it up to the said Chevalier de Troyes; all Men, the Governor and his Son excepted, being without Arms, which is to be forthwith.

Accordingly the Fort was surrender'd; but the French made no Scruple to break so much of the Articles as they could get any thing by; for they plunder'd Mr. Serjeant of all his Goods, and sent him and his Family away in a very ordinary Bark, ill supplied with Provisions; such is the Honour of that Nation.

The Company, notwithstanding it appears very plain, by the above-mentioned Account, which was sworn to before Samuel Keck, Esq; a Master in Chancery, that the Governor did all he could to defend the Fort, used him, at his Return to England, as barbarously almost as the French had done; but his Majesty was pleas'd to take him into his Service, which was the best Justification of his Conduct.

At this time, Thomas Phipps, Esq; was Governor of Port-Nelson, which was not then taken by the French; and the Company expected Fort-Albany would have been restored to them in King James's time; but all their Solicitations were in vain, and all the Settlements they had, Port-

Thomas
Phips, Esq;
Governor of
Port Nelson.

Port-
Nelson

Nelson excepted, were abandoned to the French. King William, in his Declaration of War against the French King, takes this particular Notice of *de Troyes's* invading *Hudson's-Bay*, and destroying the English Factories there, as the French had done in other Places. But that the French King should invade our *Charibbee* Islands, and possess himself of our Territories of the Province of *New-York* and *Hudson's-Bay*, in a hostile Manner, seizing our Forts, burning our Subjects Ships, and enriching his People with the Spoil of their Goods and Merchandizes, detaining some of our Subjects under the Hardship of Imprisonment, causing others to be inhumanly kill'd, and driving the rest to Sea in a small Vessel, are Actions not becoming even an Enemy; and yet he was so far from declaring himself so, that at that very time he was negotiating here in England by his Ministers a Treaty of Neutrality and good Correspondence in America. Such was King William's Judgment of his Fraud and Violence, which his Predecessor, with an unparallel'd Complacency, excused.

After a War breaking out, as has been said, between the two Nations, the *Hudson's-Bay* Company solicited for Soldiers to be sent thither to recover their Settlements; and in the Year 1693, they retook all the Forts and Factories, which the French had taken from them in time of Peace.

In which Expedition they met with no more Difficulties than the *Chevalier de Troyes* had met with. Capt. *Grinning* Knight, Esq; Governor of Fort Albany. was the Person employed for this Service, and *John Knight, Esq;* was appointed Governor of *Fort Albany*; but his Government was of no long Continuance; for in a little time the French sent such a Power against the English, that they again drove them from all their Settlements in the Bottom of the Bay.

The French Company made *Monieur de la Fore* Governor of *Fort Albany*, and garrison'd all the Forts they had taken; which made it necessary for the Government to send a stronger Power than the Company could raise to recover them.

The King of England, to protect their Trade, assigned them two Men of War for their Service in the Year 1696, as the *Bonaventure*, Capt. *Allen* Commander, and the *Sea-ford*.

Capt. *Allen* coming into the *River Hayes*, sent to summon all the Forts to surrender; and the French Governor finding he could not defend them against the English, capitulated, and on the 2d of August, 1696, surrender'd *Albany* Fort upon certain Articles, the Chief of which were, That all those in the Fort, as well French as Indians, and one Englishman,

y.
 Servant, shall attend him.
 all the Com-
 expect English
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man, the Governor's Servant, should have their Lives and Liberties, and that no Harm or Violence should be done to their Persons, or any thing that belonged to them; that they should march out with their Arms, Drums beating, Colours flying, Match lighted at both Ends, Ball in Mouth, and carry with them the two Guns they brought from France; that they should all embark with their Clothes and Goods, without being visited or pillaged in any thing; and if they met with any French Vessels, there should be a Truce between the English and them; and the said French Vessels should be permitted to take aboard the Persons that came out of the said Fort, with all that belonged to them. These Conditions were a little too honourable to grant, but not to be comply'd with.

Capt. *Len* took the Governor and some of his Men aboard his own Ship; some he put aboard the *Seaford*, and the rest aboard a Merchant-man, call'd the *Dering*.

In his Return, he fought the *Mary Rose* Frigate, then a French Privateer of 50 Guns, and was kill'd in the Engagement, which gave the Frenchman an Opportunity to bear away.

As to the other two Forts, they follow'd the Fate of *Albany*, and Mr. *Knight* was restored to his Government. At which time *John Geyer*, Esq; was Governor of *Port Nelson*. Mr. *Knight* had served Mr. *Serjeant*, while he was Governor of *Fort Albany*, and was well acquainted with the Trade.

John
Geyer, Esq;
Governor of
Port Nelson.

In the Year 1697, the *Hampshire* Frigate, and Owners *Lowe* Fire-ship, two of the King's Ships, were lost in this Bay, and all the Men drowned. Indeed the Ice renders it so dangerous, that the Commerce seems not to be worth the Risk that is run for it. Whether those two Ships ran against those frozen Mountains that float in that Sea, or founder'd, is not known; but 'tis certain they were lost, and that all the Men perish'd.

The Trade to this Bay has decreased ever since the Use of Beavers has fallen off in *England*. *Peltry* is not now the Commodity it was, and this Company, of Consequence, does not make the Figure they did 13 or 14 Years ago.

In the present War, they lost *Port Nelson* to the French; and have either given up or deserted all their Settlements, except *Fort Albany*, where Mr. *Knight* managed their Affairs till the Year 1796, when he was succeeded by *John Fullerton*, Esq; the present Governor at *Albany River*.

Notwithstanding the pressing Instance I made to the concerned in the *Hudson's-Bay* Trade for Information to continue the Account of it down to this time; it not being yet come to Hand, I am obliged to be short therein; though

though I was very desirous to have enlarged a little upon it, on Account of the present Revival of the Fur-Trade; but must content myself with adding only, that the Company's Factories and Fortifications, which the French had taken, were restored to them by the Peace of *Utrecht* in the following Articles.

Article X. *The said Most Christian King shall restore to the Kingdom and Queen of Great Britain, to be possess'd in full Right for ever, the Bay and Straights of Hudson, together with all Lands, Seas, Sea-Coasts, Rivers and Places situate in the said Bay and Straights, and which belong thereto, no Tracts of Land or Sea being excepted, which are at present possess'd by the Subjects of France. All which, as well as any Buildings there made, in the Condition they now are, and likewise all Fortresses there erected, either before or since the French seized the same, shall, within six Months from the Ratification of the present Treaty, or sooner if possible, be well and truly deliver'd to the British Subjects, having Commission from the Queen of Great Britain to demand and receive the same, intire and undemolished, together with all the Cannon and Cannon-Ball which are therein, as also with a Quantity of Powder, if it be there found, in Proportion to the Cannon-Ball, and with the other Provision of War usually belonging to Cannon. It is however provided, that it may be entirely free for the Company of Quebec, and all other Subjects of the Most Christian King whatsoever, to go by Land or by Sea, whithersoever they please, out of the Lands of the said Bay, together with all their Goods, Merchandizes, Arms and Effects, of what Nature or Condition soever, except such things as above reserved in this Article, &c.*

Article XI. *The above-mentioned Most Christian King shall take Care that Satisfaction be given, according to the Rule of Justice and Equity, to the English Company, Traders to the Bay of Hudson, for all Damage and Spoil done to their Colonies, Ships, Persons and Goods, by the hostile Incursions and Depredations of the French in time of Peace, an Estimate to be made thereof by Commissaries to be named at the Reduction of each Party, &c.*

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