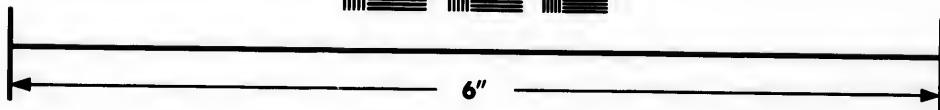
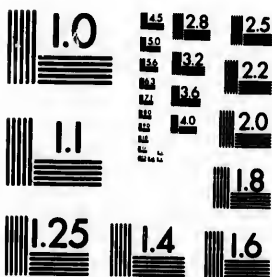


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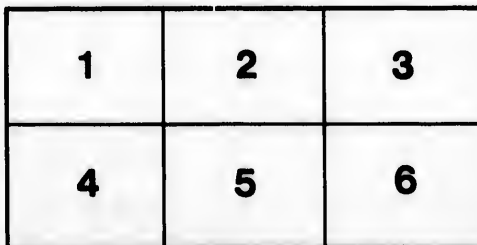
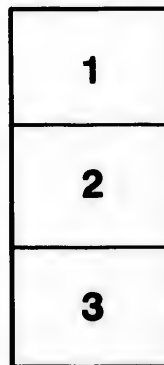
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Mr. JOHN NIEUHOFF's *Voyage to, and Account of BRASIL, in SOUTH AMERICA.*

**M**R. John Nieuhoff, born at Ufen in the earldom of Benthem, and descended from a reputable family, engaged in the Dutch West India company's service as supercargo, on the 24th of October, 1640, and sailed the same day out of the Texel, in a ship called the Roebuck, of twenty-eight guns, and one hundred and thirty men. Nothing remarkable occurred till the 6th of November, when they were attacked by two Turkish pirates, whom, after a very warm engagement, they obliged to sheer off.

After a voyage of seven weeks and one day, without any other material incident, they made the coast of Brasil, having in their course touched at an island called Fernando, fifty leagues from thence; which island, about the year 1630, was inhabited by the Dutch, but deserted by them a few years after, on account of rats that swarmed there, and plundered the earth of its produce. After the Dutch had forsaken this land of vermin, the council of Brasil appointed it the receptacle of malefactors; who, on

Vol. II. B being

being exiled there, were furnished with instruments necessary to work a subsistence out of the bowels of the earth

About the latter end of August, 1643, Mr. Nieuhoff was ordered on a trading voyage to the island of St. Thomas; for which purpose he was furnished with a ship, and a cargo of fullers earth, to be there exchanged for black ginger and sugar, the principal commodities of the place.

St. Thomas is thirty-six leagues in compass, of a circular form, and very fertile in sugar and black ginger: in the midst of this island there are mountains constantly covered with snow, though the adjacent vallies, as may be expected under the line, are scorched with excessive heat. The air is unhealthy, especially to foreigners.

After a voyage of three months, Mr. Nieuhoff arrived safe at Brasil, having fulfilled the purpose for which he had embarked.

Brasil, so called by the Portuguese from the wood of that name which abounds there, was originally discovered in the year 1500 by Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, who gave it the name of Santa Cruz: as to its extent, geographers materially disagree; but, according to the most authentic calculation, it measures from the river Para to the river Capibari, situated north and south, three hundred and seventy-five leagues; the extent from east to west is more doubtful, but computed at seven hundred and forty-two leagues.

The Portuguese have divided Brasil into fourteen districts, which they call Kapitanas or captainships, each of which is watered by some considerable river, with other streams of lesser note. The river named St. Francis, claims precedence of all others in this country in point of size; yet, though it is broad and deep, ships of burden are prevented from entering it by sands which check up its mouth. In the lake

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whence this river takes its rise, there is a large quantity of gold dust found, supposed to be washed down by the rivulets which glide through the caverns of the Peruvian mountains. It is worthy of observation, that the river St. Francis rolls the largest stream at that season of the year when rains seldom fall; which is attributed to the vast quantity of snow dissolved by the summer sun upon the mountain tops.

Six of the captainships already mentioned, were under the government of the Dutch West India company, during their possession of this place; and were distinguished from the other eight by being stiled the Northern Brasil; those belonging to the Portuguese were called the Southern.

The Dutch captainships extended along the sea-coast from north to south, one hundred and sixty or one hundred and eighty leagues; each of them being divided into several smaller districts, called by the Portuguese *Fregesias*, and by the Dutch *Fregesien*.

The captainship of *Seregippe del Rey*, likewise called *Carigi* from a lake of that name, lies in the southern part of Brasil, upon the river of St. Francis near the sea-coast; in extent thirty-two leagues, and has in it a *Fregesia* called *Porto Calvo*, in which there is a village named *Villa de Bon Successo de Porto Calvo*, situated upon a rising ground, near four leagues from the sea-shore, and fortified with two forts built by the Dutch: the village contains two streets, and is supplied with a good air by the sea breezes that fan it:

This captainship was subjected to the Spaniards or Portuguese, by *Christovan Barros*, who was rewarded for his service with a considerable tract of land, and a power to settle colonies on it; many persons repaired thither from the Bay of All Saints, and shortly built a small town, which was, on the 24th of December, 1637, laid waste by the Dutch.

*Parnambuko*, one of the largest Dutch captainships, which derives its name from the hidden rocks

and shelves that lurk in the entrance of the harbour, stretches above sixty leagues along the sea-coast, and is subdivided into eleven smaller districts; among which those called Olinda and Garazu are the principal.

At a small distance from the Receif or Maurice town, on the north side, lie the remains of that once celebrated city Olinda; from whence formerly the whole trade from Brasil to Europe was carried on.

This city, which stood upon divers hills of easy ascent toward the sea, but steep and craggy toward the land, contained two thousand inhabitants, beside the clergymen and slaves; on the land side it was defended by several bastions, which, from the unevenness of the ground they stood upon, were not strictly uniform; however, their situation gave them additional force.

The whole district of Parnambuko is well stocked with various kinds of fruit and cattle; the vallies afford excellent pasturage, and the mountains teem with richer minerals than are to be found in any other of the captainships.

Garazu, properly stiled a village, lies about five leagues from Olinda, upon the shore opposite to the Isle of Tamarika, and upon a river of the same name; it was formerly inhabited by Portuguese mechanics, but being subjected to the Dutch in 1633, several rich families of that people settled there.

The Receif, from the Latin word *recipere*, to receive, in point of situation, is the strongest place in Brasil, beside that it has the advantage of several contiguous forts; but to give as clear an idea as possible both of this place and Maurice Town, it will be necessary to observe, that the whole coast of Brasil is bordered by a thick and flat ridge of rocks, which in some places is twenty, and in others thirty paces broad; however, there are passages through which the ships approach the shore, and one of these passages is about a quarter of a mile to the north of Receif.

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Between the rocky ridge and the shore, there is a small island of a league in length; and two hundred paces in breadth, which the Dutch call the Sandy Receif, to distinguish it from the other named the Stony Receif. On the extreme point of the Stony Receif, to the left as we enter the harbour, there is a large strong castle, well supplied with artillery; which, from the complicated strength of art and nature, is deemed impregnable.

To the south of the Receif, and opposite to it, lies the isle of Anthony Vaez, a title derived from its original possessor; which in circumference measures about half a league on the east side. Count Maurice laid the foundation of a city, which he honoured with his own name; and the decayed churches and monasteries of deserted Olinda furnished materials for building on this more favourite spot: on the west side it is environed with a morass, on the east bounded by the sea, and to the north and south secured by bulwarks.

Maurice town was defended by two forts, called Frederic Henry, and fort Ernestus.

The isle of Anthony Vaes being joined to the continent by a bridge; it was also thought necessary to connect the Receif to the said island by another bridge, to facilitate the carriage of sugar chests, which could not be transported but with extreme hazard, except at low water. The necessity of such a bridge being admitted, the great council and governor count Maurice, at a very considerable expence, effected the work in about two months, and imposed a toll on all passengers to reimburse the public funds.

The river Kapiviribi, so called from a kind of sea hogs often found in it, skirts Maurice Town; upon a branch of this river, which runs into one called Affogadoes, stand two forts, named Fort William and Fort Baretta. In the middle of the island count Maurice erected for himself a most magnificent palace, that cost him, as is reported, six hundred thousand

florins. Beside this, count Maurice had another seat, chiefly appropriated to the summer season, at the foot of the bridge over the river Kapiviribi, which the Portuguese called Baa-vista, i. e. Fair Prospect. Upon the Sandy Receif stand two other forts, one the Sand, another Bucin Fort; and a third, called Wardenburgh, stands between the continent and the Sandy Receif.

In the district of Parnambuko are two woods, called by the Portuguese the Great and Lesser Palmairas, or Palm-tree Woods. The lesser Palmaira is inhabited by negroes, who dwell in a village composed of three streets, each half a league in length; they live in huts made of straw twisted together, and plunder the Portuguese of their slaves: and such as they steal from the Portuguese must remain in slavery till they purchase liberty by stealing each of them another slave; but such as voluntarily quit the Portuguese are rewarded with immediate freedom, and the common privileges of that people. Dates, beans, meal, barley, sugar-canes, tame fowl, (which are very plenty) and fish compose their general sustenance: they have two harvests in a year, after each of which they have a week's rejoicing.

In the great Palmaira, the main body of inhabitants number eight thousand; besides which, there are several smaller parties of one hundred or fifty each, scattered up and down: their habitations lie straggling; they sow and reap in the woods, and retire to caves, in case of necessity. Among these people it is customary to count their numbers every night; after which muster, if none are wanting, they conclude the evening with dancing and beat of drum: these also send strong parties to steal or force slaves from the Portuguese. During the government of count Maurice, these people were very troublesome, till he sent a body of eleven hundred men to suppress them.

The

The captainship of Parnambuko contains several other subdivisions, which have nothing worthy of particular observation.

To the north of Parnambuko lies the district of Tamarika, so called from an island of that name which composes the chief part of this district, though it extends thirty-five leagues along the sea-coast upon the continent.

The island of Tamarika lies in the sea, two leagues north of Pomorello; it is eight leagues in length, and near seven in circumference; tolerably fertile, and productive of cocoa-nuts, cotton, sugar, reeds, melons, Brasil-wood, and large quantities of timber for shipping. It was looked upon by the Dutch as of great consequence, and was proposed as a place of trade to the Receif: which proposition was rejected for several reasons; such as its being less convenient than the Receif in many respects, and having no advantage over it but in regard of fresh water, where-with this island abounds.

There were some pieces of fortification at the mouth of the harbour, such as a quadrangular fort called Orange, and a hornwork; the latter much decayed.

In the island there was a small town near a morass and the entrance of the river. The town, which was mostly inhabited by soldiers, with the whole island, was taken from the Portuguese by general Schoppe, who commanded the Dutch, and called from him Schoppe's Town. Somewhat higher up the river Tamarika lies an island called Magioppe, where is found abundance of mandihoka roots.

Between Pomorello and Tamarika, rolls a river from the continent, called Marafarinha; and half a league within the river Tamarika falls another, called Garrassore: beside these, there are in the district we now view, three others, distinguished by the names of Goyana, Auyay, and Gramane. Three leagues within the river Goyana, stands a town of the same name, where the judicial court of the captainship is



held; to which place it was transferred from the island Tamarika.

The captainship of Parayba borrows its name from its capital city, or more properly from a river so called, on which the city stands. This is deemed one of the most northerly districts, lying about five leagues from the sea.

The captainship of Parayba is divided and watered by two large rivers, the Parayba and Mongopoa, or St. Domingo. Parayba lies under the sixth degree twenty four minutes, four leagues to the north of Cabo Blanco; and discharges itself by two branches into the sea. In the winter this river frequently overflows the adjacent country, at such times often destroying men and cattle: in the mouth of this river are three considerable forts, named Gatarina, St. Antonio, and Restinoa. Two leagues farther to the north there is a large and commodious bay, where ships of burden may be safely stationed, which the Portuguese call Porto Licena, and the Dutch the Red Land, from the colour of the soil hereabout. Half a league farther north is the river Mongopoa, which has the peculiarity of being wider at the source than at the mouth; before which latter there are two sand banks: and at Receif, two leagues more north, there is another bay, called by the Portuguese Bahaiã de Treycano, or Treason: several more there are, which being immaterial we shall not particularize.

There are seven villages in Parayba; the principal of which is called Pinda Una, wherein were, in the year 1634, fifteen hundred inhabitants, no other village containing above three hundred: the buildings are very long, with many small doors.

The principal commodities of Parayba are sugar, Brasil-wood, tobacco, hides, cotton, &c. Near the river side a low plain country presents itself to view; however, the sight is relieved by gradual and agreeable risings, which appear at a moderate distance, and serve to vary the prospect.

The

The captainship of Porcigi, called by the Portuguese Rio Grande, from a river of that name; and by the Dutch, North Brasil; borders to the South upon Parayba, and to the north upon Saira. It is marked out into four divisions, called after four rivers which run through them, viz. Kunhoa, Goyano, Mumpobu, and Potegy.

The river Rio Grande, called by the Brasilians Potegy, lies at the mouth in  $5^{\circ} 42'$  southern latitude: it empties itself four leagues above the Fort Theulen, and is navigable to ships of considerable burden.

Siara, one of the most northerly captainships, is situated upon a river of the same name, bordering to the north upon Maranhon: the extent of this district is not above ten or twelve leagues: the river Siara empties itself about seven leagues and a half to the north of the bay Mangorypa, under three degrees and forty minutes southern latitude.

The inhabitants of this captainship are of large stature; their features disagreeable, and their ears so large, that they hang down on their shoulders. The produce of the country is sugar, reeds, crystal, cotton, &c.

Brasil is remarkably fertile in every natural production that can flourish in such a climate, and claims the precedence of all other places in the West Indies, for conveniency of harbours to transport sugars; the whole coast being full of small rivers, which conduce greatly to the carriage of sugars at a light expence. It is also happily situated for East India ships to call at, and to take in fresh provisions: in short, its great extent and vast commercial advantages, were it sufficiently peopled, must soon render it a flourishing empire, great in itself, and terrible to neighbouring nations.

Being situated between the equinoctial line and the tropic of Capricorn, this country is subject to violent heat, which, however, is so well tempered by easterly winds off the sea, that the climate is deemed very wholesome;

wholesome; putrid fevers sometimes prevail, and are attributed to the complicated heat and moisture of the air, also to the excessive use of raw fruit.

There is a peculiarity in the winds and tides on the coast of Brasil, which those who are bound thither ought carefully to observe. From February to August the stream runs northerly, during which time there is no possibility of sailing from north to south: from the beginning of September to the end of November the stream reverses its course; consequently there is no sailing from south to north: the wind always blows with the stream.

The inhabitants of Brasil, properly divided, were formed into two classes, viz. free-born subjects, and slaves: the free inhabitants were made up of Dutch, Portuguese, and Brasilians; of these the Portuguese were much the most numerous, and the richest: the Dutch merchants, selling their goods at a vast profit, would no doubt have acquired large fortunes, had they not sold upon credit to the Portuguese, who were resolved never to pay them.

Among those free inhabitants of the Dutch Brasil, who were not in the company's service, certain Jews claimed the foremost place, as they carried on a more extensive trade than any other set of people; inso-much that they purchased several sugar-mills, and raised stately edifices for their own habitations in the Receif: these people would no doubt have been a great strengthening to Dutch Brasil, had they kept their traffic within reasonable bounds.

The slaves were partly negroes, and partly natives; the latter being either prisoners of war bought in Maranhoan, or in the country of the Tapoyers, where the custom was either to sell the captives as slaves, or put them to death; all other Brasilians enjoying under the Dutch government the sweets of perfect liberty.

In the time of Nieuhoff there were near forty thousand negroes employed in the sugar-mills, between

tween Rio Grande and St. Francisco, most of which were brought from the kingdoms of Congo, Angola, and Guinea: they had a black shining skin, flat noses, thick lips, and short curled hair, those being their marks of beauty. The price of these negroes rose and fell according to the circumstance of things: when trade flourished, one of them would sell for seventy, eighty, or a hundred pieces of eight; sometimes the price stretched to fourteen or fifteen hundred guilders, for such as appeared to be more intelligent, and more capable of service than the general run: but, when trade fell into decay, forty pieces of eight was esteemed a considerable price.

These negroes are very dextrous at swimming and diving; the latter of which they are so amazingly expert at, that they will bring up a piece of eight from the bottom in deep water: they are also good fishermen, and earn a considerable deal of money in that way.

The natives of Brasil were divided into four several nations; three of which spoke the same language, differing only in dialect: but the fourth, named the Tapoyers, were subdivided into several districts, all which differed both in language and manners.

Those Brasilians who resided among the Dutch and Portuguese, were middle-sized, of a strong robust make, with black eyes, wide mouths, black curled hair, and flat noses; which latter circumstance is here deemed so great a beauty, that parents squeeze their childrens noses flat while they are young. They paint their bodies with various colours. Their women are likewise of a middle stature, well-proportioned, and not ill-featured; they have black hair, but are not born black; however, the excessive heat of the sun gives them a tawny colour. The Brasilians arrive early at maturity, and live to great ages; which must be in some measure owing to the climate, as several Europeans who dwell there live to an hundred or an hundred and twenty years. There are very few cripples

ples or deformed people to be met with among the Brasilians; a circumstance which can only be accounted for, from their never swathing any part of their children but the feet.

Before the Dutch got footing in Brasil, the natives were absolutely enslaved by the Portuguese, who looked upon the extirpation of them as a master-piece of policy; a design they put so effectually in execution, that the captainship of Rio Grande, which in the year 1545, could have turned out one hundred thousand fighting men, in 1645 could hardly produce more than three hundred. The cruelty of these task-masters occasioned mortal hatred between the Portuguese and them; though it is to be observed, that this extraordinary decrease of the latter was in part owing to war, and some epidemical distempers that broke out among them. The small remainder of them live in villages assigned them, where they had their plantations; their dwelling places being made of wood-work, covered with palm-tree leaves. The Brasilians in general had among them a great spirit of liberty, especially the Tapoyers: they live among each other in tolerable harmony, except when drunkenness, their chief vice, occasions some irregularities. They are very fond of dancing, naturally very indolent, and will sleep twenty-four hours together; nor would they stir then, if different calls of nature did not rouse them. They keep fires in their huts night and day; by day to prepare their victuals, and by night to fend off the cold air, which is keener among them than in most parts of Europe; because the days and nights are here of an equal length, almost through the whole year.

The inland Brasilians of both sexes go quite naked; but nearer the sea shore they wear different sorts of covering: some wear only shirts of linen or callico; others, being more polite, chuse to dress in the European manner. The wives always follow their husband, even to war: the man carries nothing but

but his arms, the woman supplying the place of a sumpter-horse; for she carries not only provisions, but such furniture as is judged necessary; a child, or children; also a parrot or an ape in one hand, and a dog with a string in the other. The hedges or open fields are their only places of accommodation, and friendly streams their only supply of drink, except what they get sometimes in the hollow of a tree, called karrageata. Toward night they always hang their hammocks on trees, or else fasten them to poles, and make a sort of defence from the rain, with palm-tree leaves. When at home, the husband generally goes abroad in the morning with his bow and arrows to kill some birds or beasts, or goes to fish, while the wife either employs her time in working at the plantation, or attends her husband to carry what game he may kill. The wild beasts are caught and killed in various manners, some by arrows, others by pit-falls, and other devices.

The Brasilians are not much burdened with furniture; their hammocks are the chief part of it; these are made of cotton, like net-work, six or seven feet long, and four broad: the Tapoyers make their hammocks twelve or fourteen feet long, so as to contain four or six persons: their cans, cups and mugs are made of calabashes, one of which holds thirty or thirty-five quarts, but they generally divide them. The poorer sort make stones in the shape of knives; but the better sort purchase knives from the Europeans.

The arms of the Brasilians were only bows, arrows, and clubs: their bows are made of a very hard wood, called virapariba; the strings are made of twisted cotton, and their darts are made of wild cane, with their points hardened, or armed with fish-teeth, called jacru: some have several points, others but one.

They reckon up their age by laying by a chestnut for every year; and they begin the computation of their years with the rise of a certain star called Taku,

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or the Rain Star, which appears in the month of May: they also call the year by the same name. Some of the inland Brasilians scarce know any thing of religion: they have a slight knowlege of the general deluge, and believe that the whole race of mankind were extirpated thereby, except one man and his sister; which latter was pregnant before the deluge, and these by degrees repeopled the world. That they have no notion of a God is evinced by their not having any term for such a being, unless the word Tuba, which signifies somewhat most excellent. The thunder they stile Tubakununga, which may be interpreted, a noise made by the Supreme Excellency. They are unacquainted with any particular state of futurity, but have a tradition among them that the souls do not die with the bodies, but are translated to pleasant regions and vales, placed, as they say, behind mountains; where they are to enjoy great pleasure, as dancing, singing, &c. This state of felicity is however confined to such brave men and women as have, during their lives, done meritorious actions; such as killing and devouring many of their enemies: but such as have been idle, are supposed to be tortured by devils, whom they distinguish by various names.

Though so ignorant of any form of religion, or particular object of worship, they have persons among them whom they call paye, or priests; who are used as prophetic instructors, and carefully consulted in all material transactions, especially those of war. They are so afraid of spirits, to which they give many different names, that some have been killed by the shock of an imaginary apparition: however, they do not pay any devotion to the supposed spirits, except now and then that particular persons pretend to appease their wrath by certain presents fastened to stakes set in the ground for that purpose.

Those Brasilians who lived among the Dutch and Portuguese, did in some measure follow the dictates

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of Christianity, but seldom shewed any zeal for them, unless such as were instructed in their tender years : some Dutch ministers and Portuguese priests were tolerably successful in making converts, and several of the natives were brought to read and write by the Dutch schoolmasters.

Many distempers common in Europe are entirely unknown in Brasil : such as are natural to their climate, and arise from their manner of living, they cure with simple medicines ; holding all compounds in utter contempt : they take great pains to cure sickness ; but if, after a certain process, the patient continues ill, he is to be knocked on the head : for they deem it better to die at once, than linger in pain to the last gasp of natural decay.

Brasilian women are vastly fruitful, and have very easy labours, in so much, that a woman, immediately after delivery, goes to the next river and there purifies herself ; while the husband goes to bed, and, for the first twenty-four hours, is nursed with all the care and ceremony used with a lying-in woman among Europeans. Mothers lament the death of their children in excessive howling for three or four days ; and when friends have been long parted, they meet with open arms, tears, and all possible marks of affection. The Brasilians, though said to be hereditary murderers, yet by mingling with the Dutch and Portuguese, they have for the most part laid aside that barbarity ; becoming as affable and humane as some European nations.

The Tapoyers are of much larger stature, and greater strength of body than the other Brasilians : they are of a dark brown colour, with black hair, which hangs down over their shoulders, being only shaved on the forehead parallel to the ears : the rest of their bodies they keep clear of hair, even their eye-brows being plucked. Their kings and chiefs are distinguished from the vulgar by their hair and quality ; they are great admirers of long nails.

Royalty



Royalty is distinguished by hair cut into the form of a crown, and long thumb-nails, which latter is an ornament entirely appropriated to kings; the princes of the blood and grandes being allowed long nails on their fingers, but none on their thumbs.

These people having great strength and agility, prince Maurice ordered two of them to attack a wild bull, which they did accordingly; and, after having gauled him a good deal with arrows, one of them leaping on his back, seized him by the horns, and threw him down; upon which, being seconded by his comrade, the beast was killed. They then roasted him under ground, with a fire above him, as their custom is, and then feasted not only themselves, but several other Tapoyers, who were present at the combat as spectators.

The Tapoyers of both sexes, and all ranks from the king to the peasant, go quite naked to the loins, which they very carefully conceal. The men wear a kind of ornament on their heads, made of the feathers of a bird called guara, from which some long tail feathers of the bird arara hang down on their shoulders behind: sometimes they only tie a string of cotton round their heads, in which they stick party-coloured feathers. They have also cloaks made of cotton thread, framed like a net, and ornamented with feathers of different birds and colours, which lie together almost like fish scales: on the inside of these cloaks, there is a kind of cap or hood to cover the head; so that all together, they cloath the wearer almost from the knees upward: but these may properly be called holiday suits; though sometimes they wear them to fend off rain, which purpose they answer tolerably well.

They have holes in their ears, lips, and cheeks, from which are hung pieces of wood, or certain ornamental stones: their bodies are painted all over with brown coloured juice, squeezed from the apple janipapa; beside which, with mastic or wild honey, they

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they stick feathers of all colours upon their bodies ; so that at some distance, they resemble large birds : they wear round their legs also certain bracelets made of the fruit of aguay, and shoes made of the bark kuragua. The Tapoyers are not esteemed so good soldiers as the other Brasilians, as, in the time of danger, they are much more inclined to exert agility than strength ; and indeed they run with such astonishing swiftness, that 'tis hard to overtake them ; yet they are peculiarly indolent, for rather than take any trouble of cultivation, they live upon the wild products of nature. They have been reported to eat human flesh ; and, that if a woman miscarries, she immediately eats the child, alleging it cannot have a better grave than the belly from whence it came : but these tales are greatly to be doubted.

The Tapoyers, like the Arabians, lead a vagrant life ; with this difference, that they keep within particular bounds, changing their habitations according to the different seasons of the year : they are great sportsmen, and use their arrows so expertly as to bring down birds flying whenever they please.

When a woman has conceived, she abstains from her husband till after her delivery ; nor is it usual to cohabit while she gives suck. If a married woman is known to have unlawful commerce with another man, her husband may turn her away ; but if he catches them in the act of adultery he may kill them both.

In Brasil, there is a kind of batts, the size of a crow, which are very fierce and bite violently, with very sharp teeth ; they build in hollow trees and old walls.

Brasil produces many sorts of wild fowl, which vary but little from those in Europe, one small bird excepted, namely the humming bird ; which, though but as big as one joint of a finger, makes a very loud noise, and has feathers of so variable a hue, that turn the bird which way you please, it shews of a different

colour : wherefore the Brasilian women make one at each ear supply the place of pendants.

The rivers and lakes, as well as the sea-coast of Brasil, are extremely well stocked with variety of fish : there are also in this country several sorts of serpents, among the number of which we find one called gekko, from its constant cry : the sting of this creature proves mortal, unless the part wounded is cut away, or burned with a red hot iron. The blood is of so poisonous a nature, that the Javanese, for gekkos are plenty in the isle of Java, dip their arrows in it to render them more mortal ; and frequently tie one of these animals by a string to the ceiling, that, by irritation, they may cause it to vomit forth a yellowish liquor, which they catch in pots, and then coagulate in the sun. The poisonous quality of this creature is particularly evinced by the dreadful effects from an outward application of its urine, which, upon touching the skin, causes a blackness and a gangrene : the curcuma-root, which we call turmeric, is deemed by the Brasilians the most powerful remedy for this poison.

The rattle-snake, so named from a noise which its tail makes, moves with swiftness almost equal to flight : the middle of its body is about the thickness of a man's arm at the elbow, and tapers both towards the head and tail : it is of a very poisonous nature ; however, as it may be heard at a considerable distance, there is no great danger. The chief remedy used by the Brasilians against the venom of this and most other serpents, is a plaister made from serpents heads bruised and mixed with fasting spittle.

The guaku or liboya is a serpent of monstrous size, some of them being eighteen, twenty-four, nay thirty feet long, and about the thickness of a man : by the Portuguese it is called the roe-buck serpent, because they frequently swallow deer of that kind, or indeed of any other that come in their way ; it is not so ve-

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nomous as other serpents, and the flesh is by some deemed eatable: it is a very voracious serpent, and will leap out of the hedges upon men or beasts. Beside those which we have already mentioned, there are many other kinds of serpents mostly venomous, and differing only in point of size or colour.

The *fenembi*, or land crocodile, is a creature frequently met in Brasil, seldom exceeding five feet in length; it can live two or three months without food, and affords flesh as eatable and as white as a rabbit: in its head are said to be found certain stones, which, given by two drams at a time, prove an infallible remedy for the gravel.

There are lizards and scorpions in Brasil, the former of which are sometimes four feet in length; these, the negroes eat with safety, though when alive their sting is venomous; as is also that of the scorpions, which in this country grow to a very large size. There are many sorts of pismires here, for the most part of a very different nature and construction from those in Europe, being vastly larger and more destructive to the fruits of the earth.

Brasil produces plenty of wild beasts, among the rest leopards and tygers; the latter extremely fierce, in so much that they frequently devour men as well as beasts: there is also another savage creature, called Jack over Sea, amazingly nimble, and peculiarly furious, tearing, without distinction, every thing weaker than itself, to pieces.

Having thus had a general view of Brasil, we shall return to Mr. Nieuhoff, who on July the 23d, 1649, embarked on board the *Union*, captain Albert Jantz, for Holland, and reached, without any material intervening occurrence, the island of Corfu, which is one of the nine islands called by the Dutch, *Fleming Islands*, now called the *Azores*.

From the isle Corfu, Mr. Nieuhoff proceeded forward on his voyage, and reached *Flussingen* safely, September the 19th, where he passed five days of re-

freshment, and then continued his journey to his native country, where he had, to recompence the dangers and fatigues of his voyage to Brasil, the unspeakable comfort of meeting his parents and many friends in good health.

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**S**INCE the expulsion of the Dutch from Brasil, which happened in the time of Mr. Nieuhoff, and where their irruptions had given the Portuguese great trouble; they have remained in quiet possession of all this vast country; which is the reason that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to give any distinct account of what has passed there since that time: for the Portuguese are, in the first place, not much addicted to writing; and in the next, they are not willing that the world should be acquainted, farther than they must be from facts, with the state of their colonies in Brasil. It is for this reason, that they suffer no ships to trade thither but their own; a point in which they are extremely precise, insomuch that they have made it a kind of capital maxim in their policy. But nevertheless, English interlopers, and now and then French and Dutch, sell their cargoes in Brazil, especially in time of war; and in time of peace, when there is not an opportunity of carrying on a clandestine trade in this manner, they find out another, which is, sending thither goods, under the name of some Portuguese merchant, in the very same manner that the goods are sent to the Spanish colonies, under the name of Spanish merchants.

In both cases they are no more than brokers; but, to their immortal credit, the fairest and the most honourable in the world; for they are never known to break their faith, or injure those who trust them. As to the trade which the Portuguese themselves carry on to this colony of theirs, it has for these last hundred

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years been so great, that it is thought to have been the principal cause why they have slighted that of the Indies, though formerly it consisted principally in sugar, tobacco, Brasil wood, and other commodities of great value; yet within these last forty years they have received from thence commodities of still greater value, such as diamonds and gold; and of this precious metal we have been thought to have a large share.

All the trade of the five northern captainships of Brazil, viz. Paria, Maragnan, Siara, Rio Grande, and Paraiba, is carried on in the last-mentioned port, which lies on a river of the same name, at the distance of about five leagues from the sea; it is a fair and populous town for that country; and there are annually about seven or eight ships sent hither from Lisbon and Oporto, of the burden of two hundred and fifty tons each. Their lading consists chiefly in sugar, of which they make more in these northern captainships, than in the south; especially since the discovery of the gold mines, which has made the inhabitants of those parts of the country negligent. There was a time when the trade of Brasil, in this commodity, was superior to any in the world; for the sugar of Brasil was the first that was known in Europe; and the Portuguese are said to have set up their works in this country, about the year 1580. Their being so long in possession of this country, has made them more careful and exact in it, than any other nation; so that even now the clayed sugars from Brasil, are whiter and finer than ours; and yet the method they take of doing this, is neither a secret, nor difficult to be attained.

When their sugar is put into their pots, and, by the draining out of the molasses, they are sunk two or three inches below the brim; they scrape off that thin hard crust that is found on the top of the sugar; and then they pour in their mixture for refining it: it is nothing more than a fine soft clay, beat and mix-

ed with water, till of the consistency of cream, with which they fill up the pan. The white water in ten or twelve days passes quite through, and whitens the sugar as it passes; the thick body of the clay lodges on the top of the sugar, and is easily taken off with a knife. Beside sugar in this state, they bring likewise dying-woods, several sorts of drugs, and other valuable commodities from Paraiba; which, however, is the least frequented port in Brazil. Though it is generally allowed that these northern captainships are the best peopled; and that the inhabitants are very easy in their circumstances, though there have not as yet been any mines found, or at least wrought, in these parts.

Tamarca, which lies next to Paraiba and the captainship of Pernambuco, carry on their trade from the city of Olinda. It is seated on a hill not far from the sea; and this situation renders the streets very uneven and incommodious. The port too is but narrow, and the entrance exceeding difficult; yet there is a considerable resort thither of ships from the other parts of Brasil, and from the Canaries; and the annual fleet from Lisbon consists generally of about thirty sail, escorted by a man of war. These merchantmen are generally about the same size with those sent to Paraiba, and their cargoes are composed chiefly of Brasil-wood; which last is supposed to be the best of its kind in the world: and therefore we shall speak of it somewhat more particularly.

There are different sorts of this wood known in commerce; such as Brasil of Japan, Brasil of Lamon, Brasil of St. Martha, and Brasiletto from Jamaica and the Leeward Islands: but the very best comes from this country, and the best in this country from Pernambuco. The Brasil-tree grows generally in dry barren places, and amongst rocks; it is very thick and large, and the timber usually crooked and knotty; the flowers it bears are of a most beautiful bright red, have a very fragrant smell, and, in-

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stead of hurting, as most perfumes do, they cherish and strengthen the brain: though the tree is very large, it is covered with so thick a bark, that when the Brasilians have taken it off, a tree as big as a man's body is left no thicker than the calf of his leg. The wood is very heavy, dry, and hard; it crackles much in the fire, and scarce raises any smoak when it is burning, because it has so little moisture; there is no pith in it, except what comes from Japan; and therefore it may be doubted whether this be really the same kind of wood or not.

That is held to be the best that is thickest, soundest, hardest, and without any bark sticking on it: it ought likewise upon splitting to turn from a pale to a deep red; and lastly, upon chewing the chips of it, the best sort yields a sweet sugary flavour. This wood is put to various uses by the turners, and takes a very good polish; but it is principally employed in dying, in which it yields a very fine bright red. It is from the Brasil-wood that one kind of carmine is made, by beating it in a mortar with leaf-gold, and steeping it in white-wine-vinegar, and afterwards boiling it; when it yields a thick scum, which, carefully taken off and dried, becomes, when reduced to a powder, carmine; but very far inferior to what is made by another method, from cochineal.

The bay Bahia, as the Portuguese call it, or bay of All Saints, is about twelve leagues over, but in several places is scarce navigable, on account of sand banks and shoals: there are in it several small islands, on which the Portuguese have tobacco and sugar plantations; and they have likewise very good fisheries on the coast of these islands, and on the banks. There is an account of a modern voyage to Brasil by a French gentleman, in the year 1717, which is very curious, and from which the reader may learn some entertaining particulars, not to be met with any where else, or at least not in our language.



“ There is not a place in the world, says our anonymous voyager, China only excepted, where there is so much trouble to get on shore, or to know how to act when one is on shore, as in Brasil. We came into this bay on the 16th of November; and when we were within a league of the city of St. Salvador, we were restrained from proceeding any farther, by a gun fired from a little fort; upon which we came to an anchor, and sent our supercargo ashore in our boat. He was conducted to an audience of the viceroy, who received him with great state; and yet with much civility. He told his excellency that he came in behalf of some French ships homeward bound from the East Indies, that were in many respects greatly distressed, and had no hope of performing their voyage, but from his affording them protection and relief.

“ The viceroy continued for some minutes silent, and then gave him his answer to this effect: That he was very sorry for their misfortune, because his master's orders were very precise against admitting any foreign vessels into the port; and that he was the more concerned to hear they were French, because it was chiefly on their account that these orders were given: several vessels of their nation, that had been admitted into the ports of that country upon the very same pretences, having carried on an illegal trade, directly contrary to the king's orders, and had shipped great quantities of tobacco. He told them farther, that the king's orders were to seize and confiscate without distinction, whatever foreign vessels entered that port, unless it plainly appeared they were in such a condition as not to be able to keep at sea; that therefore they were to have twenty-four hours given them to consider whether they would come and anchor under the guns of the fort in order to be examined, or to put to sea without receiving any relief at all. He added, that if the case was such as our agent represented it, he might very freely enter the port;

port; and, upon examination, all the care should be taken to assist and supply him, that he could desire; but that he would do well to remember that the Portuguese were not to be imposed upon.

“As our ship was really in such a condition that we had no reason to fear any examination, we made sail immediately on the return of our supercargo, and came to an anchor under the fort. The next day the judge came on board, attended by several secretaries and other officers, all of them very grave sober-looking people, who examined every thing with all the nicety and strictness of an inquisition. They called for our journals, questioned our pilots, mariners, and even the cabin-boys, particularly as to this point, Whether we had not formed a design of touching at Brasil before we were in such distress? They all answered in the negative; but still we had so little hopes, that every one in the ship, who had it in his power, made them some present or other, which they took indeed, but scarce gave us thanks. At last they took their leaves, and sent some carpenters on board, to whom our captains made such an application, that they reported our leaks to be so dangerous, that the crew were very much alarmed, and were afraid of sinking before they got out of the ship.

“As soon as this report was made, we had leave to go on shore, which was refused us before; and we had also leave given us to take lodgings where we thought fit in the city, but with strict caution not to attempt any kind of trade on pain of forfeiting both ship and cargo. The officers put on board the vessel talked the same language at first, but seeing the impression it made, and that our people were very exact in that particular, they were so kind as to explain themselves the third day, telling us that this was all a farce; that the judges themselves knew it; that they understood by our presents, we were a good sort of people, and, that we should have, every night, boats come off with all sorts of merchandise; and that

that they would take care we should run no sort of risk, either in buying or selling. The boats came accordingly, and though at first we were a little suspicious, yet in one week's time their language was perfectly understood, and trade went on briskly every evening, as soon as it was dark.

“ We imagined there would be no difficulty in procuring carpenters and other workmen, if we gave them good wages, but we were mistaken; for none of these people durst take our money till they had leave, and that leave was not to be had but by dint of presents; which being properly bestowed, the carpenters came on board and went to work. It is literally true in Brasil, that money will do all things; and that nothing is to be done without money. We staid there four months, and found few honest men, except the viceroy.

“ He was the first that ever had that title, all the former governors being called captains-general; and his title was not only higher, but his power much greater than theirs; which was intended to redress the many corruptions and iniquities that had crept into the government. The nobleman graced with these honours, was the count de Villaverda, one of the greatest families in Portugal, and was in every respect a man of as much worth and honour as his own, or any other country, could boast. He found it very difficult to execute his instructions, but he certainly set all his people a good example; for in the corruptest country in the world he behaved with the greatest probity man could do, and laboured all that was in his power to prevent the bad effects of a contrary conduct in others. St. Salvador is situated at the entrance of the bay of All Saints, and has a very fine port, which might be made still more commodious than it is, if art and industry gave a little assistance to nature.

“ The city is divided into the upper and the lower: we will begin with the second, in which live all the  
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merchants and people of business; and perhaps there is not in the world a place, for its size, of greater hurry and trade: it lies at the foot of a hill which is not very high, but excessively steep. There is in it a royal arsenal, beside the king's warehouses and magazines; which are large, well filled, and kept in excellent order. There is likewise a very fine yard for building ships; and it is very wonderful, that the policy of the Portuguese, in this respect, is not imitated by other nations that have colonies in America; for ships are not only built here, at a much easier rate than in Europe, but are likewise better, and more serviceable; because the timber is excellent in its kind, and incorruptible in its nature; so that the worms, which in the Mediterranean and the West Indies, make a swift and certain destruction in all our vessels, how well soever they may be sheathed, are not able to penetrate these.

“ The upper town is seated on the summit of the mountain; the houses are large enough, and some are pretty convenient; but the inequality of the ground on which they stand spoils their appearance, and renders the streets very disagreeable: the grand place, or great square, is in the middle of the town; and the viceroy's palace, the town-house, the mint, and other public buildings, occupy four sides, which are handsome enough, but have only this singularity in them, that they are built of stone brought from Portugal, for in all this country they have none fit for the purpose. The city of St. Salvador is an archbishopric, which is usually filled by some ecclesiastic of the best family in Portugal.

“ The viceroy has two councils, one of criminal, the other of civil affairs, in which he presides; but justice goes on very slowly, and there is not a country in the world where so much paper is blotted by the lawyers as here, before any final judgment is obtained. In former times it was here as in the Spanish governments, the captain-general durst not punish,

much less put to death, any native of his master's dominions in Europe; but the present viceroy has broke through this, and ventures to condemn murderers and such like criminals, to suffer the punishments they deserve; but the proceedings are still so slow, and the precautions taken so many, that there is no sort of danger of any man's being sent to the gallows there, before he very richly deserves it.

“ The commerce of Brasil is very considerable, and the luxury of the inhabitants as great as can well be imagined. There is an annual fleet which comes from Portugal with European goods, consigned by the merchants of Lisbon to their factors here, where they never wait long for their cargoes, which consist of sugar; tobacco, and gold-dust; all of which are commonly laid up in their magazines ready against the arrival of the fleet, with the contents of which they are also perfectly well acquainted; so that to land the commodities of Europe, and to ship those of the country, is almost all they have to do.

“ The Guinea trade is very considerable; those employed in it from this city or bay, bringing over usually twenty, or five and twenty thousand negroes every year; and of these, fifteen thousand, at least, are disposed of amongst the inhabitants of St. Salvador. There is not a Portuguese there, who has not, at least, a dozen blacks in his service, and they very often employ them in such offices as are equally contrary to the interest of religion, and of the state. They arm, for instance, such of them as are cleanlimbed well-made fellows, each with his sword and dagger; and as they have a sort of brutal fierceness, which some miscall courage, they are capable of doing any thing they are commanded, of what kind soever; and, by this means, they acquire such a habit of doing mischief, that they very frequently do it without any commands at all. There are also abundance of these fellows that are free; that is to say, have either obtained their liberty, as a reward of their services,

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or have purchased it with money. It is really astonishing, all things considered, that some dreadful revolution has not happened to the Portuguese in this country, from their weak and ill-judged indulgence for these negroes, who are much more numerous, as well armed, and, if possible, more wicked than themselves. In short, the far greater part of the Portuguese settled here are hypocrites in point of religion, and totally destitute of morals: thieves and sharpers by profession; and very frequently murderers from resentment. There is no order, no decency, no obedience known amongst them; every barber, shoemaker, and taylor, struts with his sword and dagger, and looks upon himself as equal to any officer in the colony, because his face is of the same complexion. The present viceroy is sensible of, and detests, this conduct. When he first came over he laboured to reform it; but custom has so strongly established it, that hitherto his labours have proved in vain.

“Of late years, and since the discovery of the mines, they have formed a kind of new system in living, which some time or other will prove fatal to them; for, instead of cultivating their plantations, they now send most of their slaves to the mines, upon these conditions: their master finds them a pound of meal a day, and if they eat any thing else they buy it themselves; in return, the slave is bound to pay his master daily such a quantity of gold: if he happens to get more, he lays it by, to make up for deficiencies, or, by living hard, to purchase his freedom. Thus the masters are at a kind of certainty, with respect to the estates; for so many slaves produce so much money certain: but, in the mean time, their sugar and tobacco is decaying; and, which is much worse, they are in danger of wanting necessary subsistence; for which they now depend chiefly upon the fleets from Portugal.

“The truth of the matter is, that the people of Brasil love shew and magnificence, fine cloaths, jewels, and

and a large train of servants, better than what we call good-living. Yet some feasts they have, but feasts that bring after them a long train of fasts; for every man has his guardian saint, upon whose anniversary, perhaps, he spends his whole year's revenue, or, at least, the best part of it, and never has a good dinner afterwards, except at his neighbours, upon the like occasion.

“ They seem to be still under great apprehensions of being, some time or other, attacked in this country; against which they are provided pretty effectually, since there are very few colonies better fortified, in all respects than this, as appears from their works. The garrison consists of two regiments of foot, three regiments of militia, and a regiment of free negroes, beside some cavalry, which the viceroy keeps up to restrain the banditti, who are very troublesome, and do a great deal of mischief in the distant parts of the colony.

“ The better sort of people in St. Salvador very much resemble the Chinese; that is to say, they are excessively civil and complaisant to strangers, with a view to obtain from them presents and gratifications of much higher value than the trifles they bestow: and, if their expectations on this head are not answered, they never fail to give strangers as strong proofs of resentment, at the end of their acquaintance, as they did of their politeness at the beginning.

“ There is nothing of the old spirit and bravery of the Portuguese nation now to be seen here; on the contrary, the people are all lazy, indolent, and quite given up to their pleasures: this appears to be owing to their being served with negroe slaves; for the servility of these poor creatures makes their masters insolent; and most of them keeping seraglios of black women, become enervate in their bodies, and lose all firmness and grandeur of mind.

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“ Upon the whole, therefore, unless by a constant succession of wise and good governors, the manners of the inhabitants are changed, and their ill-customs abolished, there will, some time or other, either from their want of provisions, the insolence of the negroes, or some such like cause, happen an insurrection or revolution, which will change the face of affairs here: for that a country, where the inhabitants are plunged into luxury and corruption, should enjoy, for a long series of years, uninterrupted tranquillity, is contrary to all maxims of policy; and, indeed, that private crimes and public peace should constantly dwell together, is not very reconcileable to common sense.”

To this account we shall add a few particulars collected elsewhere.

The city of St. Salvador lies in the latitude of  $14^{\circ}$  south, and is at present the centre of the Portuguese trade in this part of the world. Authors differ very much in the accounts they give us of the fleets sent hither annually from Lisbon; but the reason is, that the one speak of the whole Brasil fleet, which generally assemble in the bay of All Saints, in order to return together to Europe; and the other of the fleet from Lisbon, expressly destined for the bay, which may be about thirty sail, escorted by two men of war, and which usually sail about March.

The commodities they carry are wine, brandies, meal, or flour; oil, cheese, cloths, stuffs, linen, iron rough and wrought, paper, all kinds of kitchen utensils, laces, and most kinds of apparel. On the other hand, they bring from thence the best tobacco in Brasil, which is so much esteemed in Europe; sugar, indigo, balsam copaiba, or capiva, ipecacuanha, Pareira brava, cinnamon, long pepper, ginger, woods for dying, and some for inlaying; ambergris, and other rich drugs and perfumes: beside these, they also export from hence raw hides, train-oil, and whale-fins, abundance of these creatures being taken upon this coast; and, for these forty years last past, gold, amethysts,



amethysts, and diamonds. There are likewise some silver mines in Brasil, which, though not wrought to such profit as to allow the exporting much of this metal to Portugal, yet furnish sufficient for home circulation: and of this silver, money is coined at St. Salvador, which is current through the whole colony; and which bears on one side the arms of Portugal, and on the other a cross charged with a sphere, with the following motto: "Under this sign will I stand."

The captainships which lie farther to the south, carry on their trade by the Rio Janeiro, so called for its having been discovered in the month of January, 1515; and which is at present become one of the most famous rivers in the world. The banks of it are as beautiful and pleasant as can be imagined; the climate fine, the soil extremely fertile, producing sugar, indigo, tobacco, and cotton, all in very great perfection. It has been likewise found, that European corn will grow here with very little trouble, and to great perfection; but for the reasons already assigned, this and all other improvements have been disregarded; though independent of the gold mines which have been discovered in this and the neighbouring captainship of St. Vincent, this might be considered as the very richest part of Brasil. The Portuguese that are settled here are quite a different sort of people from those in the bay of All Saints; for they are active, industrious, well inclined to foreigners, and suffer the Indians who live among them to enjoy as much freedom as themselves, which renders the country a perfect paradise: and it is not easy to imagine what vast cargoes were brought from the Rio Janeiro, before the gold mines in that country were discovered.

The city of St. Sebastian, which is the capital of this country, stands very commodiously in 23 degrees of south latitude, on the west-side of the river, about two leagues from the sea. This city, which is very well fortified, is the seat of a Portuguese governor, and

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and a bishop's see, suffragan to the archbishop of St. Salvador; there are likewise several other considerable towns on the Rio Janeiro, all of which have a large share of trade, as may appear from the number of ships which compose the fleet sent hither annually from Portugal, which consists of between twenty and thirty sail of vessels, of 500 tons burthen, and are usually escorted by two men of war. The commodities brought from hence are, generally speaking, the same with those brought from the bay of All Saints, diamonds only excepted. After saying this, it may be naturally expected that we should give the reader some account of the diamond mines here; which, however, is a thing very difficult to do, there being very little known of them, with any degree of certainty; but the few circumstances that we have been able to draw together, in relation to this important article, are these.

It is about forty years ago, that some precious stones were brought to the city of St. Sebastian, taken out of a small river lying westward of that city, which were, at first, judged to be very fine pebbles; but it was not so soon that they were brought over to Europe. These fine pebbles have been lately found in great quantities; and we are told, that some rich planters began to employ their slaves in digging the black heavy earth on the sides of the mountain, from whence this river descended, and then these stones were found in plenty; some were very large, but most of them of a black or yellowish cast, which hurt their lustre, and sunk their value; yet, notwithstanding this, many of the yellow stones were brought to Lisbon, and sold for topazes.

Afterward the crown of Portugal interposed, and the working of these mines was forbidden; which, however, did not hinder their coming in considerable quantities; for sometimes it was said, they were found in this or that river, and not dug out of any mine; sometimes they had other names given them, and

many of them were sent to St. Salvador, and from thence exported to Europe, under a notion of their coming by the Goa fleet from the East Indies. This involuntary fraud raised their value; and, at last, the crown of Portugal became convinced, that such as pretended to great skill in stones had deceived them; and that some of these Brasil diamonds were scarcely to be distinguished from oriental stones: Upon this they altered their measures, and it was permitted to send over rough diamonds in the Rio Janeiro fleet, under certain restrictions; which licence making the value of these jewels still more and more apparent, the king of Portugal resolved to put this trade under a new regulation; which, in all likelihood, has subsisted ever since. This new order took place in the year 1740, when his Portugueze majesty lett these mines to a company at Rio Janeiro, for an annual rent of one hundred thirty-eight thousand crusades, which is twenty-six thousand pounds of our money, upon condition, that they employed no more than six hundred slaves at these mines; which condition plainly proves, that they are far greater and more considerable than they have generally been esteemed to be.

It is very probable, that the coming of these stones into Europe may sink the price of diamonds considerably; but it must, at the same time, be allowed, that it cannot but prove highly advantageous to the Portugueze, since it will operate very effectually in their favour, in regard to the balance of trade; for if they dispose of these stones to any nation, upon whom they have already a balance, they must bring money into the kingdom; and if, on the other hand, they can find a way to sell them, either to us, or to the Dutch, this will lessen the balance in our favour, and prevent the exportation of gold, which must have been otherwise sent abroad, to pay that balance; so that, take it either way, the discovery of these diamond mines is of very high consequence, and, if wisely managed,

naged, may prove of prodigious advantage to this nation.

Southward from the captainship of Rio Janeiro lies the captainship of St. Vincent, the richest country in Brasil, perhaps in all South America. It is bounded on the north by the captainship of Rio Janeiro; on the east by the ocean; on the south by the new captainship, or that stiled Del Rey; and on the west by the mountains of La Plata, and countries inhabited by various savage nations: It extends from the latitude of 22 degrees to 27 degrees south; and is in length, from north to south, about three hundred miles; and in breadth, from east to west, in some places, near one hundred and eighty miles; but the greatest part of it is not above half so broad.

The town of St. Vincent is situated on a very fine bay of the Atlantic ocean; or, as some of the best maps represent it, on a kind of Peninsula, very well fortified. A little to the north-west lies the town of Santos, which some look upon to be the capital of the province; and which has as fine a port as any in the West Indies, capable of holding the largest ships, and which might be fortified in such a manner, as to be able to resist any strength, that, either in this part of the world, or from Europe, could be brought against it.

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MEMOIR concerning the SETTLEMENTS  
of the JESUITS in PARAGUAY.

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**T**HE following memoir seems so curious in itself, that it was thought there could be nothing more agreeable to the reader, or more consonant to the design of this work. The author of it was a French officer, who, in the year 1708, was wrecked in the entrance of the river of Plate, and who remained for some time in the country which he describes. He drew up this memoir at the instance of a French statesman, who intended to have transmitted it to the court of Spain, but dying soon after, this, with some other papers relative to the Spanish West Indies, came into private hands.

\* A. S. E. M. L. C. D. B.

**I**T is a liberty generally taken by, as well as ascribed to travellers, that they paint pretty strongly, and take a pleasure in representing things a little beyond the truth, as if thereby they meant to indemnify themselves for the dangers run, and the fatigues by them endured. It is very probable that I might have fallen into this error myself, if I had written for the view of the public; but, addressing myself to a person of so illustrious a rank, and at the same time of such distinguished abilities, I shall be very careful to advance nothing, of the truth of which I am not tho-

\* This is the address in the original.

roughly

roughly convinced; neither shall I presume to add any reflections, but content myself with barely stating matters of fact with as great exactness as I am able; being thoroughly sensible that you want to be informed as to such things only as you have not seen, without needing any helps in discovering the lights that may be drawn from them.

It has been the misfortune of the Christian church in America for this last century, and perhaps longer, that except the Jesuits, neither priests nor monks have taken any pains either to convert the Indians by their preaching, or to influence them by the regularity of their conduct. The natural consequence of this hath been, the throwing intirely into the hands of the Jesuits an affair of the last importance, viz. the propagating the faith amongst the Indians; for which it must be allowed, that they have shewn themselves extremely well qualified; of which more convincing evidence cannot be had, than the progress they have made in these their missions. This of Paraguay, concerning which I have undertaken to write, is by far the most considerable, and, if attentively considered, will appear almost as remarkable an event as Pizarro's conquest of Peru, or Mendoza's subduing Chili.

The country under the government of the fathers, lies about two hundred leagues south of Brasil, about the same distance from the province of Buenos Ayres, one hundred and fourscore leagues from Tucuman, and about a hundred leagues from the province of Paraguay. The country, which is of vast extent, is as pleasant and as fruitful as can be desired, watered with variety of rivers, and pleasant streams, abounding with timber and with fruit-trees, producing abundance of cotton, indigo, sugar, pimento, ipecacuana, and other drugs of great value. The plains are full of horses, mules, black cattle, and herds of sheep; the mountains contain vast treasures of gold and silver; of which, however, the fathers seem to have no desire,

since, for ought the world knows, not one of these mines hath ever been opened or wrought.

Originally some forty or fifty families of Indians, having shewn a propensity to be instructed in the Christian religion, some Jesuits went amongst them, accomplished that desirable work; and the peace and happiness in which these people lived after their conversion, had such an effect upon their neighbours, that by degrees the mission spread, till it attained its present extent, which comprehends at least three hundred thousand families, who are in all things subject to the fathers, and who revere them as much as it is possible to reverence mortals.

These Indians are divided into forty-two parishes, all on the banks of the river Paraguay, and none above ten leagues distance from another. In each parish there is a Jesuit, who is supreme in all causes, as well civil as ecclesiastic, and from whose decision there lies no appeal. By him their caciques, or chief officers, are nominated, as also are the inferior ones; and even their military commanders receive their orders from him. Nothing can be better contrived than the regulations under which they live; every family hath its proportion of land and labour, of plenty and of rest. Industry is common to all, yet wealth is attained by none; the product of their harvest is carried into the magazines of the society, whence the fathers dispense whatever to them appears necessary, to every family according to its degree. The surplus, which must be very considerable, the most judicious Spaniards at Buenos Ayres conceive it little short of four millions of pieces of eight *per annum*, is sent either to Cordova, or Santa Fè, there being at each place a procurator-general, who takes care of what belongs to the society, and, as occasion offers, transports their wealth into Europe. It is impossible to imagine any thing in the Indies more regular or more magnificent than their parish-churches. They are capacious, well built, and most magnificently furnished; gilding and  
paintings

paintings strike the eye on every side, and all the sacred utensils are gold and silver; nay, in many of them they are adorned with emeralds and other precious stones. Divine service is celebrated with the most solemn splendour. On one side of the high altar are tribunals for the civil magistrates, on the other side are like conveniences for military officers: as to the father himself, his business is to officiate, which he does twice a-day with the utmost gravity. Their music, both vocal and instrumental, is far from being contemptible; the people having naturally a genius for that science, which the fathers have taken care to cultivate.

The dwelling, or rather palace of this spiritual prince, is like the church, a thing extremely grand for the country in which we find it. It consists of various apartments, suited to the various functions performed by its master. In the morning, after having performed his private devotions, he gives audience to such as have any public business with him. About noon he hears confessions, in which he is very exact, that being the principal pillar on which his sovereignty rests. In the afternoon he walks abroad, gives directions, inspects the public and private affairs of his parish; in the evening he catechises, explains the principles of the Christian religion, and discourses on moral subjects to such as attend him, by rotation. In some part of his conduct he is extremely modest and praise-worthy, in others not a little lofty and assuming. To the first I refer his simple manner of living, faring coarsely, sleeping moderately, and using few or no diversions, if we except such recreations as he allows to his people, and especially to the youth. I am led to accuse him of the latter, by observing the mighty distance at which he keeps his people, causing even their magistrates to be corrected before him with stripes, and allowing the best man in the parish to kiss his sleeve, as the very highest honour he is ever to hope for. I might add, destroying all notions of property; for, excepting the father him-



self, there is nobody possesses any thing which he can call his own, nor dares he so much as to kill a duck or a chicken who has bred them in his yard.

There is an annual meeting of all the fathers, who then confer on the methods necessary to be taken for promoting the common concerns of the mission, for making new laws, or abolishing old ones, as the necessity of affairs may require. This is the supreme council, over which, for ought that appears, neither his catholic majesty nor the pope himself has any power. The first they have persuaded, that all intercourse between the Indians and the Spaniards is dangerous to the salvation of the former, and on this pretence have obtained a prohibition to the latter. As for the holy father, he is either so thoroughly satisfied with the conduct of the Jesuits, or is else so little acquainted with it, that he never interferes therewith, but leaves all things to be guided by the order. To this council, or congregation, the caciques are accountable, and from them they receive such orders as concern the mission in general; whereas, in matters relating to their particular parishes, they are intirely directed by the presiding priest. One great point under consideration at each of these assemblies, is preventing strangers from having any intelligence of the state of the mission; another, the restraining the Indians from learning the Spanish tongue, or applying themselves to any studies, save such as may render them serviceable to the society; amongst which they reckon architecture, painting, and music; all which they are taught in every parish.

The military establishment is very formidable; each parish hath a considerable body of horse and foot, exercised duly, as the Swiss are, every Sunday evening. These troops are divided into regiments, consisting each of six companies, and every company of fifty men. The regiments of cavalry consist of the same number of troops, that is, of six; but every troop contains but forty men. These regiments are regularly officered, and the whole establishment is

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## SETTLEMENTS in PARAGUAY. 41

said to consist of about sixty thousand men, under the command of several general officers; but whenever any body of these forces takes the field, one of the holy fathers always commands in chief; for it is a maxim which they never depart from, not to permit their Indians, either in peace or war, to acknowledge any authority but their own. This Indian army is surprizingly well disciplined, and know not only how to handle their musket and bayonet, like European troops; but also how to use their slings, out of which they throw stones or bullets of between four and five pound weight with prodigious force and wonderful dexterity. These forces, the fathers pretend, are kept up to secure their subjects against the Portuguese, who were formerly wont to make inroads upon them: but there is another use the fathers make of their troops, which seems to be at least as much their concern, and that is, scowering the country, to prevent either Spaniards or strangers from coming privately into the quarters of the mission.

If, in spite of all these precautions, a stranger insinuates himself into their territories, the father, into whose parish he happens to come, sends for him immediately, takes him into his own house, assigns him a handsome apartment, uses him with all imaginable respect, but affords him no sort of liberty. If, at his request, the father permits him to see the town, it is altogether in his company; and the Indians, having previous notice, shut up their gates and their windows, and keep as close as if they were afraid the sight of a stranger would give them the plague. As soon as an occasion offers for his embarking at Buenos Ayres, he is sent thither under the guard of a detachment of Indians, not one of whom can speak a syllable of any European language. Thus it is simply impossible he should carry over with him any more than a superficial account of the state of the mission, such as this is; nor is every traveller able to carry over so much, since his lights must depend upon the humour of the father, in whose territory,

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or rather under whose custody he lives; some being much more austere than others. The Jesuit, with whom I sojourned, was a native of Toledo, a man seemingly of a frank disposition in all things of which he accounted it lawful to speak freely; yet, in all matters relating to the mission, he was silent as the grave; and, except himself, I saw no person during my stay in the country, with whom I could exchange so much as a single word. The Indians, though of themselves gentle and courteous, yet, in consequence of the father's instructions, are shy of so much as looking on an European, though they know not a syllable that he says.

It is certain that in these countries there are many, and those very rich mines, both of gold and silver; that there are besides abundance of valuable commodities, especially the herb of Paraguay: so that if this was as much under the king of Spain's dominion as the rest of his provinces in America, it would yield him a very fair revenue. As it is, he draws very little, if any thing, from it; nor are things like to be in a better condition. The fathers ought, indeed, to pay him a piece of eight for every head under their jurisdiction; which capitation-tax, though small in itself, would, however, produce a very large sum. But they have found two ways to elude this; first, by making a very considerable present to the governor of Buenos Ayres, they hinder him from visiting the mission as he ought to do, once in five years, which affords them an opportunity of fixing the tax at a third of what it ought to be; and even this they take care not to pay; for, being obliged sometimes to furnish detachments for the king's service, during which time they receive pay, they prevail on the governors to certify these detachments to be thrice as numerous as they are, and so balance the account. Alas! what can be expected in a country where the king can neither rely on the honour of his officers, nor on the faith of his priests!

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MR. WAFER'S DESCRIPTION  
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ISTHMUS of DARIEN.

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**M**Y first going abroad was in the Great Anne of London, captain Zachary Browne commander, bound for Bantam in the isle of Java, in the East Indies, in the year 1677. I was in the service of the surgeon of the ship; but being then very young, I made no great observations, in that voyage.

I arrived in England in the year 1679, and after about a month's stay, I entered myself on a second voyage, in a vessel commanded by captain Buckingham, bound for the West Indies. I was there also in the service of the surgeon of the ship: but when we came to Jamaica, the season of sugars being not yet come, the captain was willing to make a short voyage in the mean while to the bay of Campeachy, to fetch logwood; but having no mind to go farther with him, I staid in Jamaica. It proved well for me that I did so; for in that expedition, the captain was taken by the Spaniards, and carried prisoner to Mexico.

I had a brother in Jamaica, who was employed under Sir Thomas Muddiford, in his plantation at the Angels: and my chief inducement in undertaking this voyage was to see him. I staid some time with him, and he settled me in a house at Port Royal, where I followed my business of surgery for some months. But in a while I met with captain Cook, and captain Linch, two privateers who were going  
out

44 MR. WAFER'S DESCRIPTION of

out from Port Royal, toward the coast of Carthage, and who took me along with them. We met other privateers on that coast; but being parted from them by stress of weather about Golden-Island, in the Samballóes, we stood away to the Bastimentos, where we met them again, and several others, who had been at the taking of Portobello, and were rendezvoused there. Here I first met with Mr. Dampier, and was with him in the expedition in the South Seas.

Mr. Dampier has told, in what manner the company divided with reference to captain Sharp. I was of Mr. Dampier's side in that matter, and of the number of those who chose rather to return in boats to the isthmus, and go back again a toilsome journey over land, than stay under a captain in whom we experienced neither courage nor conduct.

On the 5th day of our journey the following accident befel me; being also the 5th of May, in the year 1681. I was sitting on the ground near one of our men, who was drying of gun-powder, in a silver plate; but not managing it as he should, it blew up and scorched my knee to that degree, that the bone was left bare, the flesh being torn away, and my thigh burnt for a great way above it. I applied to it immediately such remedies as I had in my knapsack; and being unwilling to be left behind my companions, I made hard shift to jog on, and bear them company for a few days; during which our slaves ran away from us, and among them a negroe whom the company had allowed me for my particular attendant, to carry my medicines. He took them away with him, together with the rest of my things, and thereby left me deprived of wherewithal to dress my sore; inso-much that my pain increasing upon me, and being not able to travel farther through rivers and woods, I took leave of my company, and set up my rest among the Darien Indians.

This was on the 10th day, and there staid with me Mr. Richard Gopson, who was an ingenious man, and  
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a good scholar : he had with him a Greek Testament which he frequently read, and would translate extempore into English to such of the company as were disposed to hear him. Another who staid behind with me was John Hingson, mariner : they were so fatigued with the journey, that they also could go no farther. There had been an order made among us at our first landing to kill any who should flag in their journey : but this was made only to terrify any from loitering, and being taken by the Spaniards ; who, by tortures, might extort from them a discovery of our march. But this rigorous order was not executed ; for the company took a very kind leave, both of these, and of me. Before this we had lost the company of two more of our men, Robert Spratlin and William Bowman, who parted with us at the river Congo, the day after my being scorched with gun-powder. The passage of that river was very deep, and the stream violent ; by which means I was borne down the current, for several paces, to an eddy in the bending of the river. Yet I got over ; but these two being the hindmost, and seeing with what difficulty I crossed the river, which was still rising, were discouraged from attempting it, and chose rather to stay where they were. These two came to me ; and the other two soon after the company's departure for the North Sea, as I shall have occasion to mention : so that there were five of us in all who were left behind among the Indians.

Being now forced to stay among them, and having no means to alleviate the anguish of my wound, the Indians undertook to cure me ; and applied to my knee some herbs, which they first chewed in their mouths to the consistency of a paste, and putting it on a plantain-leaf, laid it upon the sore. This proved so effectual, that in about twenty days use of this poultice, which they applied fresh every day, I was perfectly cured ; excepting only a weakness in that knee, which remained long after, and a benumbedness which I sometimes find in it to this day. Yet they were

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not altogether so kind in other respects; for some of them looked on us very contemptuously, throwing green plantains to us, as you would bones to a dog. This was but sorry food; yet we were forced to be contented with it: but to mend our commons, the young Indian, at whose house we were left, would often give us some ripe plantains, unknown to his neighbours, which were a great refreshment to us. This Indian, in his childhood, had been taken prisoner by the Spaniards; and having lived some time among them, he had learned a pretty deal of their language, under the bishop of Panama, whom he served there; till finding means to escape, he got again among his own countrymen. This was of good use to us; for we having a smattering of Spanish, and a little of the Indian's tongue also, by passing their country before, between both these, and the additional use of signs, we found it no very difficult matter to understand one another. He was truly generous and hospitable, and so careful of us, that if in the day-time we had no other provision than a few sorry green plantains, he would rise in the night, and go out by stealth to the neighbouring plantain-walk, and fetch a bundle of ripe ones from thence, which he would distribute among us unknown to his countrymen. Not that they were naturally inclined to use us thus roughly, for they are generally a kind and free-hearted people; but they had taken some particular offence, upon the account of our friends who left us, who had in a manner awed the Indian guides they took with them for the remainder of their journey, and made them go with them very much against their wills: the severity of the rainy season being then so great, that even the Indians themselves had no mind for travelling, though they are little curious either as to the weather or ways.

When Gopson, Hingson, and I had lived three or four days in this manner, the other two, Spratlin and Bowman, whom we left behind at the river Congo, on the sixth day of our journey, found their way

to us ; being exceedingly fatigued with rambling so long among the wild woods and rivers without guides, and having no other sustenance but a few plantains they found here and there. These, after their coming up to us, continued with us for about a fortnight longer, at the same plantation where the main body of our company had left us ; and our provision was still at the same rate, and the countenances of the Indians as stern toward us as ever, having yet no news of their friends whom our men had taken as their guides. Yet notwithstanding their disgust, they took care of my wound ; which by this time was pretty well healed, and I was enabled to walk about. But at length not finding their men return again as they expected, they were out of patience, and seemed resolved to revenge on us the injuries which they supposed our friends had done to theirs.

The time was now almost expired, and having no news of the guides, the Indians began to suspect that our men had either murdered them, or carried them away with them ; and seemed resolved therefore to destroy us. To this end they prepared a great pile of wood to burn us, on the 10th day ; and told us what we must trust to when the sun went down : for they would not execute us till then.

But it so happened that Lacenta, their chief, passing that way, dissuaded them from that cruelty, and proposed to them to send us down towards the north-side, and two Indians with us, who might inform themselves from the Indians near the coast, what was become of the guides. They readily hearkened to this proposal, and immediately chose two men to conduct us to the north-side. One of these had been all along an inveterate enemy to us ; but the other was the kind Indian, who was so much our friend as to rise in the night and get us ripe plantains.

The next day therefore we were dismissed with our two guides, and marched joyfully for three days. The third night we lodged on a small hill, which by



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the next morning was become an island; for those great rains had made such a flood, that all the low land about it was covered deep with water. All this while we had no provision, except a handful of dry maize our Indian guides gave us the first two days; but this being spent, they returned home again, and left us to shift for ourselves.

At this hill we remained the 4th day; and on the 5th, the waters being abated, we set forward, steering north by a pocket compass, and marched till six a clock at night: at which time we arrived at a river about forty feet wide, and very deep. Here we found a tree fallen cross the river, and so we believed our men had past that way; therefore here we sat down, and consulted what course we should take.

We went over the river by the help of the tree; but the rain had made it so slippery, that 'twas with great difficulty that we could get over it astride, for there was no walking on it: and though four of us got pretty well over, yet Bowman, who was the last, slipped off, and the stream hurried him out of sight in a moment. To add to our affliction for the loss of our comfort, we sought about for a path, but found none; for the late flood had filled all the land with mud and ooze; and therefore since we could not find a path, we returned again, and repassed the river on the same tree by which we crossed it at first; intending to pass down the side of this river, which we still thought discharged itself into the North Sea. But when we were over, and had gone down the stream a quarter of a mile, we espied our companion sitting on the bank of the river; who, when we came to him, told us that the violence of the stream hurried him thither, and there, being in an eddy, he had time to consider where he was; and that by the help of some boughs that hung in the water, he got out. This man had at this time 400 pieces of eight at his back: he was a weakly man, and a taylor by trade.

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Here we lay all night; and the next day, being the 5th of our present journey; we marched further down by the side of the river, through thickets of hollow bamboes and brambles, being also very weak for want of food: but Providence suffered us not to perish; for we found a maccaw-tree, which afforded us berries, of which we eat greedily; and having therewith somewhat satisfied our hunger, we carried a bundle of them away with us; and continued our march till night.

The next day, being the 6th, we marched till four in the afternoon, when we arrived at another river, which joined with that we had hitherto coasted; and we were now enclosed between them, on a little hill at the conflux of them. This last river was as wide and deep as the former; so that here we were put to a non-plus, not being able to find means to ford either of them, and they being here too wide for a tree to go across. This last river also we set by the compass, and found it run due north: which confirmed us in our mistake, that we were on the north-side of the main ridge of mountains; and therefore we resolved upon making two bark-logs, to float us down the river, which we unanimously considered would bring us to the North Sea coast. The woods afforded us hollow bamboes fit for our purpose; and we cut them into proper lengths, and tied them together with twigs of a shrub like a vine, a great many on the top of one another.

By that time we had finished our bark-logs, it was night, and we took up our lodging on a small hill, where we gathered about a cartload of wood, and made a fire, intending to set out with our bark-logs the next morning. But not long after sun-set, it fell a raining as if heaven and earth would meet, accompanied with horrid claps of thunder, and such flashes of lightning, of a sulphurous smell, that we were almost stifled in the open air.

Thus it continued till twelve o'clock at night; when to our great terror, we could hear the rivers.

roaring on both sides us; but it was so dark, that we could see nothing but the fire we had made, except when a flash of lightning came. Then we could see all over the hill, and perceive the water approaching us; which in less than half an hour carried away our fire. This drove us all to seek some security.

For my own part, I very opportunely met with a large cotton tree, which through age, was become rotten, and hollow on one side; having a hole in it at about the height of four feet from the ground. I immediately got up in it as well as I could: and in the cavity I found a knob, which served me for a stool; and there I sat down almost head and heels together, not having room enough to stand or sit upright. In this condition I sat wishing for day; but being fatigued with travel, though very hungry and cold, I fell asleep: but was soon awakened by the noise of great trees which were brought down by the flood; and came with such force against the tree, that they made it shake.

When I awoke I found my knees in the water, though the lowest part of my hollow trunk was, as I said, four feet above the ground; and the water was running as swift, as if it were in the middle of the river. The night was still very dark, but only when the flashes of lightning came: which made it so dreadful and terrible, that I forgot my hunger, and was wholly taken up with praying to God to spare my life. In less than half an hour the day began to dawn, the rain and lightning ceased, and the waters abated, insomuch that by that time the sun was up the water was gone off from my tree.

Then I ventured out of my cold lodging; but being stiff, and the ground slippery, I could scarce stand: yet I made a shift to ramble to the place where we had made our fire, but found no body there. Then I called out aloud, but was answered only with my own eccho; which struck such terror into

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me, that I fell down as dead, being oppressed both with grief and hunger; this being the seventh day of our fast, save only the maccaw-berries before related.

Being in this condition, despairing of comfort for want of my comforts, I lay some time on the wet ground, till at last I heard a voice hard by me which in some sort relieved me; but especially when I saw Mr. Hingson one of my companions, and the rest found us presently after; having all saved themselves by climbing small trees. We greeted each other with tears in our eyes, and returned thanks to God for our deliverance.

The first thing we did in the morning was to look after our bark-logs or rafts, which we had left tied to a tree, in order to prosecute our voyage down the river; but coming to the place where we left them, we found them sunk and full of water, which had got into the hollow of the bamboes; but Providence still directed all for the better: for if we had gone down this river, which we afterward understood to be a river that runs into the river Cheapo, and so toward the bay of Panama and the South Sea, it would have carried us into the midst of our enemies, the Spaniards, from whom we could expect no mercy.

The neighbourhood of the mountains, and the steepness of the descent, is the cause that the rivers rise thus suddenly after these violent rains; but for the same reason they as suddenly fall again.

Being thus frustrated of our design of going down the stream, or of crossing either of these rivers, by reason of the sinking of our bark-logs, we were glad to think of returning back to the Indian settlement, and coasted up the river side in the same track we came home by. As our hunger was ready to carry our eyes to any object that might afford us some relief, it happened that we espied a deer fast asleep: but one of our men putting the muzzle of his gun close to him, and the shot not being wadded, tumbled out,

just before the gun went off, and did the deer no hurt; but starting up at the noise, he took the river and swam over. As long as our way lay by the river-side, we made a shift to keep it well enough; but being now to take leave of the river, in order to seek for the Indian habitations, we were much at a loss.

After a little consideration what course to steer next, we concluded it best to follow the track of a peccary or wild-hog, hoping it might bring us to some old plantain-walk or potato-piece, which these creatures often resort to, to look for food: this brought us, according to our expectation, to an old plantation, and in sight of a new one. But here again fear overwhelmed us, being between two straits, either to starve, or venture up to the Indian houses; whom being so near, we were now afraid of again, not knowing how they would receive us. In conclusion I went to the plantation, and it proved the same that we came from. The Indians were all amazed to see me, and began to ask many questions: but I prevented them by falling into a swoon, occasioned by the heat of the house, and the scent of the meat that was boiling over the fire. The Indians were very officious to help me in this extremity, and when I revived they gave me a little to eat. Then they enquired of me for the other four men; for whom they presently sent, and treated us all very kindly: for our long-expected guides were now returned from the north-side, and gave large commendations of the kindness and generosity of our men; by which means all the Indians were become now again our very good friends.

Here we stayed seven days to refresh ourselves, and then took our march again: for we were desirous to get to the north-seas as soon as we could, and they were now more willing to guide us than ever before; since the guides our party took with them, had not only been dismissed civilly, but with presents also of axes, beads, &c. The Indians therefore of the village where we now were, ordered four lusty young

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men to conduct us; and in six days time after this, they brought us to Lacenta's house, who had before saved our lives.

This house is situated on a fine little hill, on which grows the stateliest grove of cotton trees that ever I saw. The bodies of these trees were generally six feet in diameter, nay four Indians and myself took hand in hand round a tree, and could not fathom it by three feet. Here was likewise a stately plantain-walk, and a grove of other small trees, that would make a pleasant artificial wilderness, if industry and art were bestowed on it.

This pleasant little hill, containing at least 100 acres of land, is a peninsula of an oval form, almost surrounded with two great rivers, one coming from the east, and the other from the west; which approaching within forty feet of each other, at the front of the peninsula, separate again, embracing the hill, and meet on the other side, making there one pretty large river which runs very swift. There is therefore but one way to come in toward this seat; which, as before observed, is not above forty feet wide between the rivers on each side; and fenced with hollow bamboes, popes-heads and prickle-pears, so thick set from one side the neck of land to the other, that it is impossible for an enemy to approach it.

On this hill live fifty principal men of the country, all under Lacenta's command, who is a prince over all the south-part of the isthmus of Darien; the Indians both there and on the north-side also, paying him great respect: but the south-side is his country, and this hill his seat or palace. There is only one canoe belonging to it, which serves to ferry over Lacenta and his subjects.

When we were arrived at this place, Lacenta discharged our guides, and sent them back again, telling us, that it was not possible for us to travel to the north-side at this season; for the rainy season was now in its height, and travelling very bad; but told us

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we should stay with him, and he would take care of us : and we were forced to comply with him.

We had not been long here before an occurrence happened, which tended much to the increasing the good opinion Lacenta and his people had conceived of us, and brought me into particular esteem with them.

It so happened, that one of Lacenta's wives being indisposed, was to be let blood ; which the Indians perform in this manner : the patient is seated on a stone in the river, and one with a small bow shoots little arrows into the naked body of the patient, up and down ; shooting them as fast as he can, and not missing any part. But the arrows are gaged, so that they penetrate no farther than we generally thrust our lancers : and if by chance they hit a vein, and the blood spurts out a little, they will leap and skip about, shewing many antic gestures, by way of rejoicing and triumph.

I was by while this was performing on Lacenta's lady : and perceiving their ignorance, told Lacenta, that if he pleased, I would shew him a better way, without putting the patient to so much torment. Let me see, says he ; and at his command I bound up her arm with a piece of bark, and with my lancet breathed a vein : but this rash attempt had like to have cost me my life. For Lacenta seeing the blood issue out in a stream, which used to come drop by drop, got hold of his lance, and swore by his tooth, that if she did any otherwise than well, he would have my heart's blood. I was not moved, but desired him to be patient, and I drew off about twelve ounces, bound up her arm, and desired she might rest till the next day : by which means the fever abated, and she had not another fit. This gained me so much reputation, that Lacenta came to me, and before all his attendants, bowed and kissed my hand. Then the rest came thick about me, and some kissed my hand, others my knee, and some my foot : after which



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*The Indians Manner of Bleeding.*

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which I was taken up in a hammoc, and carried on men's shoulders, Lacentia himself making a speech in my praise, and commending me as much superior to any of their doctors. Thus I was carried about from plantation to plantation, and lived in great splendor and repute, administering both physick and phlebotomy to those that wanted. For though I lost my salves and plaisters, when the negroe ran away with my knapsack, yet I preserved a box of instruments, and a few medicines wrapt up in an oil-cloth, by having them in my pocket, where I generally carried them.

During my abode with Lacentia, I often accompanied him a hunting, wherein he took great delight, here being good game. I was one time about the beginning of the dry season, accompanying him toward the south-east part of the country; and we passed by a river where the Spaniards were gathering gold. I took this river to be one of those which comes from the gulph of St. Michael. When we came near the place where they wrought, we stole softly through the woods, and placing ourselves behind the great trees, looked on them a good while, they not seeing us. The manner of their getting gold is as follows. They have little wooden dishes which they dip softly into the water, and take it up half full of sand, which they draw gently out of the water; and every dipping they take up gold mixed with the sand water, more or less. This they shake, and the sand riseth, and goes over the brims of the dish with the water; but the gold settles to the bottom. This done, they bring it out and dry it in the sun, and then pound it in a mortar. Then they take it out and spread it on paper, and having a load-stone they move that over it, which draws all the iron, &c. from it, and then leaves the gold clean from ore or filth; and this they bottle up in gourds or calabashes. In this manner they work during the dry season, which is three months; for in the wet time the gold is wash-

ed from the mountains by violent rains, and then commonly the rivers are very deep: but now in the gathering season, when they are fallen again, they are not above a foot deep. Having spent the dry season in gathering, they embark in small vessels for Santa Maria town.

During these progresses I made with Lacenta, my four companions staid behind at his seat; but I had by this time so far ingratiated myself with Lacenta, that he would never go any where without me, and I plainly perceived he intended to keep me in this country all the days of my life; which raised some anxious thoughts in me.

Pursuing our sport one day, it happened we started a pecary, or wild hog, which held the Indians and their dogs in play the greatest part of the day; till Lacenta was almost spent for want of victuals, and so troubled at his ill success, that he impatiently wished for some better way of managing this sort of game.

I now understood their language pretty well, and finding what troubled him, I took this opportunity to attempt the getting my liberty to depart, by commending to him our English dogs, and making an offer of bringing a few of them from England, if he would suffer me to go thither for a short time. He demurred at this motion a while; but at length he swore by his tooth, laying his fingers on it, that I should have my liberty, and for my sake the other four with me, provided I would promise and swear by my tooth, that I would return and marry among them: for he had made me a promise of his daughter in marriage, but she was not then marriageable. I accepted of the conditions: and he further promised, that at my return he would do for me beyond my expectation.

I returned him thanks, and was the next day dismissed under the convoy of seven lusty fellows; and we had four women to carry our provisions, and my cloaths, which were only a linen frock and a pair of breeches. These I saved to cover my nakedness, if

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ever I should come among Christians again : for at this time I went naked as the savages, and was painted by their women ; but I would not suffer them to prick my skin, to rub the paint in, as they use to do, but only to lay it on in little specks.

Thus we departed from the neighbourhood of the South Seas, where Lacenta was hunting, to his seat or palace, where I arrived in about fifteen days, to the great joy of my consorts ; who had staid there during this expedition I had made to the south-east.

After many salutations on both sides, and some joyful tears, I told them how I got my liberty of Lacenta, and what I promised at my return ; and they were very glad at the hopes of getting away, after so long a stay in a savage country.

I staid here some few days till I was refreshed, and then with my companions marched away for the North Seas, having a strong convoy of armed Indians for our guides.

We travelled over many very high mountains ; at last we came to one surpassing the rest in height, to which we were four days gradually ascending, though now and then with some descent between while. Being on the top, I perceived a strange giddiness in my head ; and enquiring both of my companions and the Indians, they all assured me they were in the like condition : which I can only impute to the height of the mountains, and the clearness of the air.

I desired two men to lie on my legs, while I laid my head over that side of the mountain which was most perpendicular ; but could see no ground for the clouds that were between. The Indians carried us over a ridge so narrow that we were forced to straddle over on our breeches ; and the Indians took the same care of themselves, handing their bows, arrows, and luggage, from one to another. As we descended, we were all cured of our giddiness.

When we came to the foot of the mountain we found a river that run into the North Seas ; and near

the side of it were a few Indian houses, which afforded us indifferent good entertainment. Here we lay one night, it being the first house I had seen for six days; my lodging by the way being in a hammock made fast to two trees, and my covering a plantain-leaf.

The next morning we set forward, and in two days time arrived at the sea-side; and were met by forty of the best sort of Indians in the country, who congratulated our coming and welcomed us to their houses. They were all in their finest robes, which are long white gowns, reaching to their ancles, with fringes at the bottom, and in their hands they had half pikes.

We presently enquired of these Indians when they expected any ships? They told us they knew not, but would enquire; and therefore they sent for one of their conjurers, who immediately went to work to raise the devil, to enquire of him at what time a ship would arrive here. We were in the house with them; and they first began to work with making a partition with hammocks, that the Pawawers, for so they called these conjurers, might be by themselves. They continued some time at their exercise, and we could hear them make most hideous yellings and shrieks, imitating the voices of all their kind of birds and beasts. With their own noise, they joined that of several stones struck together, and of conch-shells, and of a sorry sort of drums made of hollow bamboes, which they beat upon; making a jarring noise also with strings fastened to the larger bones of beasts. And every now and then they would make a dreadful exclamation, and clattering all of a sudden, would as suddenly make a pause and a profound silence. But finding that after a considerable time no answer was made them, they concluded that it was because we were in the house; so turning us out, they went to work again. But still finding no return, after an hour or more, they made a new search in our apartment;

ment; and finding some of our cloaths hanging up in a basket against the wall, they threw them out of doors in great disdain. Then they fell once more to their pawawing; and after a little time they came out with their answer, but all in a muck-sweat; so that they first went down to the river and washed themselves, and then came and delivered the oracle to us, which was to this effect: that the 10th day from that time there would arrive two ships; and that in the morning of the 10th day we should hear first one gun, and some time after that another; that one of us should die soon after; and that going on board we should lose one of our guns; all which fell out according to the prediction.

For on the 10th day in the morning we heard the guns, first one, and then another, in that manner that was told us; and one of our guns or fuses was lost in going aboard the ships: for we five, and three of the Indians went off to the ships in a canoe; but as we crossed the bar of the river it overfet, where Mr. Gopson, one of my consorts, was like to be drowned; and though we recovered him out of the water, yet he lost his gun according to the prediction. I know not how this happened as to his gun; but ours were all lashed down to the side of the canoe: and in the West Indies we never go into a canoe but a little matter oversets it; but we make fast our guns to the sides or seats: and I suppose Mr. Gopson, who was a very careful and sensible man, had lashed down his also, though not fast enough.

Being over-set, and our canoe turned upside down, we got to shore as well as we could, and dragged Mr. Gopson with us, though with difficulty. Then we put off again, and kept more along the shore; and at length stood over to La Sound's Key, where the two ships lay, an English sloop and a Spanish tartan, which the English had taken but two or three days before. We knew by the make of this last that it

was a Spanish vessel, before we came up with it; but seeing it in company with an English one, we thought they must be consorts: and whether the Spanish vessel should prove to be under the English one, or the English under that, we were resolved to put it to the venture, and get aboard, being quite tired with our stay among the wild Indians. The Indians were more afraid of its being a vessel of Spaniards, their enemies as well as ours.

We went aboard the English sloop, and our Indian friends with us, and were received with a very hearty welcome. The four Englishmen with me were presently known and caressed by the ship's crew; but I sat a while cringing upon my hams among the Indians, after their fashion, painted as they were, and all naked but only about the waist, and with my nose-piece hanging over my mouth. I was willing to try if they knew me in this disguise; and it was the better part of an hour before one of the crew, looking more narrowly upon me, cried out, "Here's our doctor;" and immediately they all congratulated my arrival among them. I did what I could presently to wash off my paint; but it was near a month before I could get tolerably rid of it, having had my skin so long stained with it, and the pigment dried on in the sun: and when it did come off, it was usually with the peeling off of skin and all. As for Mr. Gopson, we brought him alive to the ship, yet he did not recover his fatigues, and his drenching in the water; but having languished aboard about three days, he died there at La Sound's Key: and his death verified the Pawawers prediction. Our Indians having been kindly entertained aboard for about six or seven days; and many others of them, who went to and fro with their wives and children, and Lacenta among them, visiting us about a fortnight or three weeks, we at length took leave of them, except two or three of them who would needs go with us to windward; and we set sail,  
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with the Tartan in company, first to the more eastern isles of the Sambaloes, and then toward the coast of Cartagena.

I shall now go on with a particular description of the isthmus of America, which was the main thing I intended in publishing these relations.

This country is the narrowest part of the isthmus of America, which is more peculiarly called the Isthmus of Darien; probably from the great river of that name, wherewith its northern coast is bounded to the east: for beyond this river the land spreads so to the east and north-east, as that on the other coast does to the south and south-east, that it can no further be called an isthmus. It is mostly comprehended between the latitudes of 8 and 10 N. but its breadth in the narrowest part is much about one degree. How far it reaches in length westward, under the name of the Isthmus of Darien, whether as far as Honduras, or Nicaragua, or no further than the river Chagre, or the towns of Portobello and Panama, I cannot say.

This last is the boundary of what I mean to describe; and I shall be most particular as to the middle part even of this, as being the scene of my abode and ramble in that country: though what I shall have occasion to say as to this part of the isthmus, will be in some measure applicable to the country even beyond Panama.

The land of this continent is almost every where distinguished with hills and valleys, of great variety for height, depth, and extent. The valleys are generally watered with rivers, brooks, and perennial springs; with which the country very much abounds. They fall some into the north, and others into the south; and do most of them take their rise from a ridge or chain of higher hills than the rest, running the length of the isthmus, and in a manner parallel to the shore; which, for distinction's sake, I shall call the Main Ridge.

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This ridge is of an unequal breadth, bending as the isthmus itself doth. It is in most part nearest the edge of the North Sea, seldom above ten or fifteen miles distant. We had always a fair and clear view of the North Sea from thence, and the various makings of the shore, together with the adjacent islands, rendered it a very agreeable prospect; but the South Sea I could not see from any part of the ridge. Not that the distance of it from the South Sea is so great, as that the eye could not reach so far, especially from such an eminence, were the country between a level and a champain: but though there are here and there plains and valleys of a considerable extent, and some open places, yet do they lie intermixed with considerable hills; and those too so cloathed with tall woods, that they much hinder the prospect which would otherwise be. Neither on the other side is the main ridge discerned from that side, by reason of those hills that lie between it and the South Sea: upon ascending each of which in our return from the South Sea, we expected to have been upon the main ridge, and to have seen the North Sea. And though still the further we went that way, the hills we crossed seemed the larger; yet, by this means, we were less sensible of the height of the main ridge, than if we had climbed up to it next way out of a low country.

The rivers that water this country are some of them indifferent large; though but few navigable, as having bars and shoals at the mouths. On the North Sea-coast the rivers are for the most part very small; for rising generally from the main ridge, which lies near that shore, their course is very short. The river of Darien is indeed a very large one; but the depth at the entrance is not answerable to the wideness of its mouth, though it is deep enough farther in: but from thence to Chagre, the whole length of this coast, they are little better than brooks. The river of Chagre is pretty considerable; for it has a long bending coast,

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rising as it does from the south and east part of the isthmus, and at such a distance from its out-let. But in general, the north-coast is plentifully watered; yet it is chiefly with springs and rivulets, trickling down from the neighbouring hills.

The soil on this north-coast is various: generally it is good land, rising in hills; but to the sea there are here and there swamps, yet seldom above half a mile broad.

To the westward of the cape, at the entrance of the river Darien, is another fine sandy bay. In the head of it lies a little, low, swampy island; about which it is shoal water and dirty ground, not fit for shipping; and the shore of the isthmus behind and about it, is swampy land overgrown with mangroves, till after three or four miles the land ascends to the main ridge. But though the head of this bay be so bad, yet the entrance of it is deep water, and hard sandy bottom, excellent for anchorage; and has three islands lying before it, which make it an extraordinary good harbour.

From these islands, and the low swampy point opposite to them, the shore runs north-westerly to point Samballas; and for the first three leagues, it is guarded with a riff of rocks, some above, and some under water, where a boat cannot go ashore. At the north-west end of these rocks, is a fine little sandy bay, with good anchoring and landing, as is reported by several privateers.

All along from hence to point Samballas, lie the Samballoes islands, a great multitude of them scattering in a row, and collaterally too, at very unequal distances, some of one, some two, or two miles and a half from the shore, and from one another; which, with the adjacent shore, its hills and perpetual woods, make a lovely landscape off at sea. In this long channel, on the inside of some or other of those little keys or islands, be the winds how they will, you never fail of a good place for any number of ships to ride

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at; so that this was the greatest rendezvous of the privateers on this coast: but chiefly La Sound's key, or Springer's key, especially if they staid any time here.

The long channel between the Sambaloes and the isthmus is of two, three, and four miles breadth; and the shore of the isthmus is partly sandy bays, and partly mangrove land, quite to point Samballas. The mountains are much at the same distance of six or seven miles from the shore; but about the river of Conception, which comes out about a mile or two to the eastward of La Sound's Key, the main ridge is somewhat farther distant. Many little brooks fall into the sea on either side of that river, and the outlets are some of them in the sandy bay, and some of them among the mangrove-land: the swamps of which are (on this coast) made by the salt water, so that the brooks which come out there are brackish; but those in the sandy bay yield very sweet water.

Point Samballas is a rocky point, pretty long and low; and is also guarded with rocks for a mile off at sea, that it is dangerous coming near it. From hence the shore runs west, and a little northerly quite to Portobello. About three leagues westward from this point lies Port Scrivan. The coast between them is all rocky, and the country within land all woody, as in other parts.

Port Scrivan is a good harbour, when you are got into it; but the entrance of it, which is scarce a furlong over, is so beset with rocks on each side, but especially to the east, that it is very dangerous going in: nor doth there seem to be a depth of water sufficient to admit vessels of any bulk, there being in most places but eight or nine feet water. The inside of the harbour goes pretty deep within the land; and as there is good riding in a sandy bottom, especially at the cod of it, which is also fruitful land; and has good fresh water, so there is good landing too on the

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east and south, where the country is low for two or three miles, and very firm land : but the west-side is a swamp of red mangroves.

From Port Scrivan to the place where stood formerly the city of Nombre de Dios, it is further westward about seven or eight leagues. The land between is very uneven, with small hills steep against the sea. The situation of it seems to have been but very indifferent, the bay before it lying open to the sea, and affording little shelter for shipping; which I have heard was one reason why the Spaniards forsook it: and another, probably, was the unhealthiness of the country itself, it being such low swampy land, and very sickly; so that the Spaniards were certainly much in the right, for quitting this place to settle at Portobello: which though it be also an unhealthy place, yet has it the advantage of a very good and defensible harbour.

About a mile or two to the westward of these islands, at the mouth of the bay of Nombre de Dios, and about half a mile or more from the shore, lie a few islands called the Bastimentos; for the most part pretty high, and one peaked, and all cloathed with woods. The bottom affords a good anchorage; and there is a good coming in with the sea-wind between the easternmost island and the next to it, and going out with the land-wind the same way; this being the chief passage. Further west, before you come to Portobello, are two small islands, flat, and without wood or water. They are pretty close together; and they are environed with rocks toward the sea: they lie so near the isthmus that there is but a narrow channel between, not fit for ships to come into.

The shore of the isthmus hereabout consists mostly of sandy bays, after you are past a ridge of rocks that run out from the bay of Nombre de Dios, pointing toward the Bastimentos. Beyond the Bastimentos to Portobello, the coast is generally rocky. Within the land the country is full of high and steep hills,

very good land; most woody, unless where cleared for plantations by Spanish Indians, tributary to Portobello, whither they go to church. And these are the first settlements on this coast under the Spanish government. In all the rest of the north-side of the isthmus, which I have described hitherto, the Spaniards had neither command over the Indians, nor commerce with them while I was there, though there are Indians inhabiting all along the continent; yet one has told me since, that the Spaniards have won them over to them.

Portobello is a very fair, large and commodious harbour, affording good anchoring and good shelter for ships, having a narrow mouth, and spreading wider within. The galleons from Spain find good riding here during the time of their business at Portobello; for from hence they take in such of the treasures of Peru as are brought thither over land from Panama.

The country beyond this westward, to the mouth of the river Chagre, I have seen off at sea: but not having been ashore there, I can give no other account of it, but only that it is partly hilly, and near the sea very swampy: and I have heard by several that there is no communication between Portobello and the mouth of that river.

Having thus surveyed the north-coast of the isthmus, I shall take a light view of the south also: but I shall the less need to be particular in it, because Mr. Dampier hath in some measure described this part of it in his voyage round the world.

To begin therefore from Point Garachina, which makes the west-side of the mouth of the river of Sambo, this point is pretty high fast land; but within toward the river, it is low, drowned mangrove, and so are all the points of land to Cape St. Lorenzo.

The river of Sambo I have not seen: but it is said to be a pretty large river. Its mouth opens to the north; and from thence to the coast bears north-east

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to the gulph of St. Michael. This gulph is made by the out-lets of several rivers; the most noted of which are the river of Santa Maria, and the river of Congo: though there are others of a considerable bigness.

The next to the gold river is that of Santa Maria, so called from the town of that name seated on the south-side of it, at a good distance from the sea. This is but a new town, being built by the Spaniards of Panama, partly for a garrison and magazine of provision, and partly for quarters of refreshment, and a retiring-place for their workmen in the gold river. The country all about here is woody and low, and very unhealthy; the rivers being so oozy, that the stinking mud infects the air: the little village of Scuchadero lies on the right-side of the river of Santa Maria, near the mouth of it.

Between Scuchadero and Cape St. Lorenzo, which makes the north-side of the gulph of St. Michael, the river of Congo falls into the gulph; which river is made up of many rivulets, that fall from the neighbouring hills, and join into one stream. The mouth of it is muddy, and bare for a great way at low-water, unless just the depth of the channel; and it affords little entertainment for shipping. But further in, the river is deep enough; so that ships coming in at high water might find it a very good harbour, if they had any business here. The gulph itself hath several islands in it; and up and down in and about them, there is in many places very good riding; for the most part in oozy ground.

North of this gulph is a small creek; and the land between these is partly such mangrove-land as the other, and partly sandy bays. From thence the land runs further on north, but gently bending to the west: and this coast also is much such a mixture of mangrove-land and sandy bay quite to the river Cheapo; and in many places there are shoals, for a mile, or half a mile off at sea. In several parts of

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this coast, at about five or six miles distance from the shore there are small hills; and the whole country is covered with woods. I know but one river worth observing between Congo and Cheapo. Cheapo is a considerable river, but has no good entering into it for shoals. Its course is long, rising near the North Sea, and pretty far from toward the east. About this river the country something changes its face, being savannah on the west-side; though the east-side is wood-land, as the other. Cheapo town stands on the west-side, at some distance from the sea; but is small, and of no great consequence. Its chief support is from the pasturage of black cattle in the savannahs.

Between the river of Cheapo and Panama, further west, are three rivers, of no great consequence, lying open to the sea. The land between is low even land, and most of it dry, and covered here and there by the sea, with short bushes. Near the most westerly of these old Panama was seated, once a large city; but nothing now remains of it besides rubbish, and a few houses of poor people.

About a league to the west of Panama is another river, which is pretty large, and is called by some Rio Grande. It is shoal at the entrance, and runs very swift; and so is not fit for shipping. On the west-banks of it are plantations of sugar; but the shore from hence beginning to trend away to the southward again, I shall here fix my western boundary to the South Sea coast of the isthmus, and go no farther in the description of it.

The shore between Point Garachina and this river, and so on further to Punta Mala, makes a very regular, and more than semicircular bay, called by the name of the bay of Panama. In this are several as fine islands, as are any where to be found: the Kings or Pearl Islands, Pacheque, Chepelio, Perica, &c. with great variety of good riding for ships. It is a very noble delightful bay; and as it affords good anchor-

ing and shelter; so the islands also yield plenty of wood, water, fruits, fowls, and hogs, for the accommodation of shipping.

The woods of this country are not the same on the tops or sides of the hills in the inland country, as they are near the sea: for in the drier and more rising inland country, the woods are rather a large forest of timber-trees, or a delightful grove of trees of several kinds, very large and tall, with little or no under-wood; and the trees are placed at such a distance from each other, as that a horse might gallop among them for a great way, and decline them with ease. The tops of these trees are generally very large and spreading; and, I presume, it is the shade and dropping of these which hinder any thing else from growing in the rich ground among them.

The weather is much the same here as in other places of the Torrid Zone in this latitude, but inclining rather to the wet extreme. The season of rains begins in April or May; and during the months of June, July and August. About September the rains begin to abate; but it is November or December, and, it may be, part of January ere they are quite gone: so that it is a very wet country, and has rains for two-thirds, if not three quarters of the year. Yet at certain intervals, even in the wettest of the season, there will be several fair days intermixed, with only tornados or thunder-showers; and that sometimes for a week together. These thunder-showers cause usually a sensible wind, by the clouds pressing the atmosphere, which is very refreshing, and moderates the heat: but then this wind shaking the trees of this continued forest, their dropping is as troublesome as the rain itself. When the shower is over, you shall hear a great way together the croaking of frogs and toads, the humming of moschitoes or gnats, and the hissing or shriekings of snakes and other insects, loud and unpleasant. When the rains fall among the woods, they make a hollow or rattling sound: but



the floods caused by them often bear down trees; as I observed in relating my passage over land. These will often barricade and dam up the river, till it is cleared by another flood that will set the trees all afloat again. Sometimes also the floods run over a broad plain; and for the time make it all like one great lake. The coolest time here is about our Christmas, when the fair weather is coming on.

The Indian inhabitants of the isthmus are not very numerous, but they live thickest on the north-side, especially along the sides of the rivers. The wild Indians of the south-side live most toward Peru: but there are Indians scattered up and down all parts of the isthmus.

Both men and women pride themselves much in the length of the hair of the head; and they frequently part it with their fingers, to keep it disentangled; or comb it out with a sort of combs they make of macaw-wood. This comb is made of several small sticks, of about five or six inches long, and tapering to a point at each end like our glovers sticks. These being tied ten or twelve of them together about the middle where they are thick, the extremities of them both ways open from each other, and serve at either end for a comb; which does well enough to part the hair, but they are forced to use their fingers to fetch the lice out of their heads. They take great delight in combing their hair, and will do it for an hour together. All other hair, except that of their eye-brows and eye-lids, they eradicate: for though the men have beards, if they would let them grow, yet they always have them rooted out; and the women are the operators for all this work, using two little sticks for that purpose, between which they pinch the hair, and pluck it up. But the men upon some occasions cut off the hair even of their heads; it being a custom they have to do so by way of triumph, and as a distinguishing mark of honour to him who has killed a Spaniard, or other enemy.

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my. He also then paints himself black (which is not usual upon any other occasion) continuing painted of this colour till the first new moon (as I remember) after the fact is done.

Their natural complexion is a copper-colour, or orange-tawney; and their eye-brows are naturally black as jet. They use no art to deepen the colour either of their eye-brows or the hair of their head; but they daub it with oil to make it shine: for, like other Indians, they anoint themselves all over.

There is one complexion so singular among a sort of people of this country, that I never saw nor heard of any like them in any part of the world. The account will seem strange; but any privateers who have gone over the isthmus must have seen them, and can attest the main of what I am going to relate, though few have had the opportunity of so particular an information about these people as I have had. They are white, and there are of them of both sexes; yet there are but few of them in comparison of the copper-coloured, possibly but one to two or three hundred. They differ from the other Indians chiefly in respect of colour, though not in that only. Their skins are not of such a white as fair people among Europeans, with some tincture of a blush or sanguine complexion; neither yet is their complexion like that of our paler people, but 'tis rather a milk white, lighter than the colour of any Europeans, and much like that of a white horse.

There is this further remarkable in them, that their bodies are beset all over, more or less, with a fine short milk-white down, which adds to the whiteness of their skins. Their eye-brows are milk-white also, and so is the hair of their heads, and very fine withal, about the length of six or eight inches, and inclining to a curl.

They are not so big as the other Indians; and what is yet more strange, their eye-lids bend and open in an oblong figure, pointing downward at the corners, and forming an arch or figure of a crescent with the

points downward. From hence, and from their seeing so clear as they do in a moon-shiny night, we used to call them Moon-eyed. For they see not very well in the sun, poring in the clearest day; their eyes being but weak, and running with water if the sun shine toward them: so that in the day-time they care not to go abroad, unless it be a cloudy dark day. Beside, they are but a weak people in comparison of the other; and not fit for hunting or other laborious exercise, nor do they delight in any such. But notwithstanding their being thus sluggish, and dull, in the day-time, yet when moon-shiny nights come, they are all life and activity, running abroad into the woods, skipping about like wild-bucks; and running as fast by moon-light, even in the gloom and shade of the woods, as the other Indians by day; being as nimble as they, though not so strong and lusty.

The copper-coloured Indians seem not to respect these so much as those of their own complexion, looking on them as somewhat monstrous. They are not a distinct race by themselves, but now and then one is bred of a copper-coloured father and mother; and I have seen a child of less than a year old of this sort. Some would be apt to suspect they might be the offspring of some European father: but beside that the Europeans come little here, and have little commerce with the Indian women when they do come, these white people are as different from the Europeans in some respects, as from the copper-coloured Indians in others. And beside, where an European lies with an Indian woman, the child is always a Mostese, or Tawney, as is well known to all who have been in the West Indies. But neither is the child of a man and woman of these white Indians, white like the parents, but copper-coloured as their grand parents were. For so Lacenta told me; and gave me this as his conjecture how these came to be white, that it was through the force of the mother's imagination, looking on the moon at the time of the conception: but  
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this I leave others to judge. He told me withal, that they were but short-lived.

Both these and the copper-coloured Indians use painting their bodies, even of the sucking children sometimes. They make figures of birds, beasts, men, trees, or the like, up and down in every part of the body, more especially the face: but the figures are not extraordinary like what they represent, and are of differing dimensions, as their fancies lead them.

But finer figures, especially by their greater artists, are imprinted deeper, after this manner. They first with the brush and colour make a rough draught of the figure they design; then they prick all over with a sharp thorn till the blood gushes out; then they rub the place with their hands, first dipped in their colour they design; and the picture so made is indelible: but scarce one in forty of them is painted this way.

They wear no cloaths ordinarily; but only the women have a clout or piece of cloth about their middle, tied behind with a thread and hanging down to their knees or ancles, if they can get one large enough. They make these of cotton; but sometimes they meet with some old cloaths got by trucking with their neighbouring Indians subject to the Spaniards; and of these they are very proud.

Yet the men also have a value for cloaths, and if any of them had an old shirt given him by any of us, he would be sure to wear it, and strut about at no ordinary rate. Beside this they have a sort of long cotton garments of their own, some white, others of a rusty black, shaped like our carters frocks, hanging down to their heels, with a fringe of the same of cotton about a span long, and short, wide, open sleeves, reaching but to the middle of their arms. These garments they put on over their heads; but they are worn only on some great occasions, as attending the king or chief, either at a feast, a wedding especially; or sitting in council, or the like. They don't march in them: but the women carry these and their other

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other ornaments in baskets after them; which they put on when they come to the place of assembly, and there make themselves as fine as they can. When they are thus assembled, they will sometimes walk about the place or plantation where they are, with these their robes on: and I once saw Lacenta thus walking about with two or three hundred of these attending him, as if he was mustering them; and I took notice that those in the black gowns walked before him, and the white after him, each having their lances of the same colour with their robes.

For an ornament to the face, beside their general painting and daubing their cheeks with red when they go to war, the men wear at all times a piece of plate hanging over their mouths, generally of silver, but the principal men have it of gold. It is of an oval figure, covering the mouth from corner to corner; and this is the length of it: it reaches so low as to lie upon the under-lip with its lowest side; and there is a piece cut out of the upper-side, near the extremity of it; which edge being cut asunder, the whole plate is like the figure of a half-moon, only inclining more to an oval; and gently pinching the bridle of the nose with its points, it hangs dangling from thence. It is in the middle of about the thickness of a guinea; but grows thinner gradually toward the edge. The plates of this size are such as they use when they go to a feast or council: but that which they wear abroad upon a long march, hunting, or at ordinary times, is of the same shape, but much smaller, and does not cover their lips. Such an one I wore among them of gold.

Instead of this plate, the women wear a ring hanging down in the same manner; and the metal and size also differing according to their rank, and the occasion. The larger sort is of the thickness of a goose-quill; and not oval as the men's plate, but circular. It goes through the bridle of the nose; which many times, by its weight and long use, especially in elder women, it brings down to the mouth.

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Both men and women, at solemn meals or feasts, when they wear their larger plates or rings, take them out and lay them aside till they have done eating; when rubbing them very clean and bright, they put them in again.

The king or chief, and some few of the great ones, at extraordinary times, wear in each ear, fastened to a ring there, two large gold plates, one hanging before to the breast, and the other behind on the shoulder. They are about a span long, of an heart-fashion (as that is commonly painted) with the point downward; having on the upper part a narrow plate or label, about three or four inches long, by a hole which it hangs to the ring in the ear. It wears great holes in the ears by frequent use.

I once saw Lacenta in a great council, wear a diadem of gold-plate, like a band about his head, eight or nine inches broad, jagged at the top like the teeth of a saw, and lined on the inside with a net-work of small canes. And all the armed men, who then attended him in council, wore on their heads such a band; but like a basket of canes, and so jagged, wrought fine, and painted very handsomely, for the most part red, but not covered over with a gold-plate as Lacenta's was. The top of these was set round with long feathers, of several of the most beautiful birds, stuck upright in a ring or crown: but Lacenta had no feathers on his diadem.

Beside these particular ornaments, there are yet other general ones which they all wear, men, women, and children of seven or eight years old, in proportion to their age. These are several strings or chains of teeth, shells, beads, or the like, hanging from the neck down upon the breast, and to the pit of the stomach.

But for the rest of them, both men and women, they wear not any teeth, but only a few scattering sometimes here and there in the chains among the rest of the baubles. Each of them has, it may be,

about

Both

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about the neck, three or four hundred strings of beads, shells, or the like; but these divided into seven or eight ranks, and the strings of each, by being a little about one another, make, as it were, so many ropes of them.

Several houses in a village or neighbourhood, have one war-house or fort in common to them; which is generally at least 120 or 130 foot long, about 25 broad, the wall about nine or ten feet high; and in all to the top of the ridge about twenty feet, and covered with leaves as their other houses. The sides and ends of these war-houses are full of holes, each about as wide as one's fist; but made here and there at random in no regular figure or order. Out of these they view an approaching enemy, and shoot their arrows. They have no way of flanking an enemy. These houses are always seated on a level, on the nap or edge of a gentle hill; and they clear the coast of woods and shrubs, for a bow-shot quite round it. There is a door-way at each end; and to barricade it, a sort of door made of macaw-wood and bamboes, both split and bound together with withs; it is about a foot thick: this they have ready to set up against an enemy's entrance, and two or three posts in the ground to support it. It is a great inconvenience of these forts that they are easily set on fire; and the Spaniards shoot into the thatch, arrows with long shanks, made red hot, for that purpose. There is usually a family of Indians living in the war-house, as a guard to it, and to keep it clean: and they are always kept pretty neat, as their private houses also are. The war-houses serve them also to hold their councils, or other general meetings.

These Indians have tobacco among them. It grows as the tobacco in Virginia, but is not so strong: perhaps for want of transplanting and manuring, which the Indians do not well understand; for they only raise it from the seed in their plantations. When it is dried and cured, they strip it from the stalks, and  
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laying two or three leaves upon one another, they roll up all together sideways into a long roll, yet leaving a little hollow. Round this they roll other leaves one after another, in the same manner, but close and hard, till the roll be as big as one's wrist, and two or three feet in length. Their way of smoaking when they are in company together, is thus: a boy lights one end of a roll and burns it to a coal, wetting the part next it to keep it from wasting too fast. The other end he puts into his mouth, and blows the smoak of the roll into the face of every one of the company or council, though there be 2 or 300 of them. Then they, sitting in their usual posture upon forms, make, with their hands held hollow together, a kind of funnel round their mouths and noses. Into this they receive the smoak as it blows upon them, snuffing it up greedily and strongly, as long as ever they are able to hold their breath; and seeming to bless themselves, as it were, with the refreshment it gives them.

The men clear the plantations, and bring them into order, but the women have all the trouble of them afterwards: the digging, houghing, planting, piucking the maize, and setting yams, and every thing of husbandry, is left to them, but only the cutting down trees, or such work that requires greater strength. The women also have the managing of affairs within doors; for they are in general the drudges of the family, especially the old women, for such works as they are able to do, as cooking, washing, or the like. And abroad also the women are to attend their husbands, and do all their servile work. Nay, they are little better than their pack-horses, carrying all the luggage of their household utensils, victuals, &c. and when they come to the place where they are to lodge, the wife dresses supper, while the man hangs up the hammocks; for each of them lies in their own hammock.

But



But notwithstanding the women are put thus to all manner of drudgery about the house and plantations; and travelling abroad, and are little better than slaves to their husbands; yet they do their work so readily and chearfully, that it appears to be rather their own choice than any necessity laid upon them. They are in general very good conditioned, pitiful and courteous to one another, but especially to strangers; ready to give any just attendance or assistance they can. They observe their husbands with a very profound respect and duty upon all occasions; and on the other side, their husbands are very kind and loving to them. I never knew an Indian beat his wife, or give her any hard words: nor even in the quarrels; which they are wont to have in their cups, do they shew any roughness toward their women who attend them.

Beside these cares, the women have that which more immediately belongs to them, the care of their children. When a woman is delivered of a child, another woman takes it into her arms within half an hour or less after it is born, and takes the lying-in woman upon her back, and goes with both of them into the river and washes them there. The child for the first month is tied upon a board, or piece of macaw-wood split (for that serves them usually for boards, having no saws) and this piece of wood is swathed to the back of the child; and their children generally grow very straight. When there is occasion to clean the child, they take it off from the board, and wash it with cold water; and then swathe it on again. The mother takes up the child to give it suck, board and all, and lays it down again in a little hammock made for that purpose; the upper part of which is kept open with short sticks.

As the children grow up, the boys are bred to their fathers exercises; especially at shooting with the bow and arrow, and throwing the lance: at both which

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they are very expert. I have seen things performed by them with a dexterity almost incredible: for instance, a little boy of about eight years old, would set a cane up on end, and going about twenty paces from it, would split it with a bow and arrow, and not miss once in several essays. This I have seen, and this is the chief of their exercise: and as they generally accompany their fathers on hunting, (especially when about ten or twelve years old, and big enough to carry their own provision, and a calabash of corn-drink) so they will shoot little birds they meet with, and strike in with the hunt. Their young children they never carry abroad with them on a journey, or on hunting or fighting expeditions. The boys, when grown somewhat big, always go abroad with the father and mother, and do what little services they can; but the girls stay at home with the old women.

They seem very fond of their children, both fathers and mothers; and I have scarce seen them use any severity toward them. And the children are suffered to divert themselves which way they will. Swimming in the rivers and catching fish, is a great exercise even for the small boys and girls; and the parents also use that refreshment. They go quite naked, both boys and girls, till the age of puberty.

The girls are bred up by their mothers to their domestic employments. They make them help to dress the victuals, and set them to draw strings out of mahobark, and to beat silk-grass, for thread, cordage, and nets. They pick the cotton also, and spin it for their mothers weaving. For weaving, the women make a roller of wood, about three feet long, turning easily about between two posts. About this they place strings of cotton, of three or four yards long, at most, but oftener less, according to the use the cloth is to be put to, whether for a hammock, or to tie about the waists; or for gowns, or blankets to cover them in their hammocks, as they lie in them in their

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their houses; which are all the uses they have for cloth: and they never weave a piece of cotton with a design to cut it, but of a size that shall just serve for a particular use. The threads thus coming from the roller are the warp; and for the woof, they twist cotton-yarn about a small piece of macaw-wood, notched at each end; and taking up every other thread of the warp with the fingers of one hand, they put the woof through with the other hand, and receive it out on the other side: and to make the threads of the woof lie close in the cloth, they strike them at every turn with a long and thin piece of macaw-wood like a ruler, which lies a-cross between the threads of the warp for that purpose.

The girls also twist cotton-yarn for fringes, and prepare canes, reeds, or palmeto-leaves, as the boys also do, for basket-making. But the making up the baskets is the men's work; who first dye the materials of several curious lively colours, and then mix and weave them very prettily. They weave little baskets like cups also very neat; with the twigs wrought so very fine and close, as to hold any liquor, without any more to do, having no lacker or varnish: and they as ordinarily drink out of these woven cups, as out of their calabashes, which they paint very curiously. They make baskets of several sizes, for carrying their cloaths, or other uses, with great variety of work; and so firm, that you may crush them or throw them about, how you will almost, with little or no damage to them.

Adultery is punished among them with the death of both parties. Yet if the woman confesses the fact to her husband, and swears she was forced, she finds favour: but if she conceals it, and it be proved against her, she is burnt. Their laws are severe also in other respects; for a thief dies without mercy. If a man debauches a virgin, they thrust a sort of briar up the passage of his penis, and then turn it round ten or a dozen times: which is not only a great torment, but

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commonly mortifies the part, and the person dies of it; but he has liberty to cure himself if he can. These facts must be proved by oath; which is by their tooth.

When they marry, the father of the bride, or the next man of kin, keeps her privately in the same apartment with himself the first seven nights; whether to express an unwillingness to part with her, or for what other reason I know not; and she is then delivered to her husband.

When a man disposes of his daughter, he invites all the Indians within twenty miles round, to a great feast, which he provides for them. The men who come to the wedding bring their axes along with them, to work with: the women bring about half a bushel of maize: the boys bring fruit and roots: the girls fowls and eggs; for none come empty-handed. They set their presents at the door of the house, and go away again, till all the rest of the guests have brought theirs; which are all received in, and disposed of by the people of the house.

Then the men return first to the wedding, and the bridegroom presents each man with a calabash of strong drink, and conducts them through the house one by one, into some open place behind it. The women come next, who likewise receive a calabash of liquor, and march through the house. Then come the boys, and last of all the girls; who all drink at the door, and go after the rest.

Then come the fathers of the young couple; with their son and daughter: the father of the bridegroom leads his son, and the father of the bride leads his daughter. The former makes a speech to the company; and then dances about with many antic gestures, till he is all on a sweat. Then kneeling down he gives his son to the bride; whose father is kneeling also and holds her, having danced himself into a sweat, as the other. Then the young couple take

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each other by the hand, and the bridegroom returns the bride to her father; and thus ends the ceremony.

Then all the men take up their axes, and run shouting and hollowing to a tract of woodland, which before is laid out for a plantation for the young couple. There they fall to work, cutting down the woods, and clearing the ground as fast as they can. Thus they continue about seven days, working with the greatest vigour imaginable: and all the ground which they clear, the women and children plant with maize, or whatever else is agreeable to the season. They also build a house for the new-married couple to live in.

The seven days being ended, and the young man settled with his wife in his new house, the company make merry there with chichah-co-pah, the corn-drink before described, of which they are sure to provide good store. They also make provision for feasting; and the guests fall too very heartily.

When their eating is over, the men fall to hard drinking: but before they begin, the bridegroom takes all their arms, and hangs them to the ridge-pole of the house, where none can get at them but himself; for they are very quarrelsome in their drink. They continue night and day, till the liquor is spent; which lasts usually three or four days. During which some are always drinking, while others are drunk and sleeping: and when all the drink is out, and they have recovered their senses, they all return to their own homes.

They have a feasting on other occasions also: as after a great council held, or any other meeting; which they have sometimes only for merriment. The men constantly drink to one another at meals, speaking some word, and reaching out the cup toward the person they drink to. They never drink to their women: but these constantly stand by and attend them while they are eating; take the cup of any who

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has drank, throw out the remainder of the liquor, rinse it, and give it full to another. The women at all feasts, and in their own houses, wait on their husbands till they have done; and then go and eat by themselves, or with one another.

The men when they are at home, trouble themselves little with any business; but that they may not be quite idle, they will be often making them cups and baskets, arrows and heads for them, lances, nets, and the like.

The men make also a sort of pipes of small hollow bamboes, and sometimes of a single reed. They cut notches in it, and blow it strongly, making a whining noise, but without any distinct notes: and they frequently entertain themselves with such instruments, as they used in their pawawing. They will do any thing to make a noise, which they love much; and they keep every one a humming at the same time to themselves.

They hum also when they dance; which they do many times thirty or forty in a ring, men only together. They stretch out their hands, laying them on another's shoulders. Then they move gently sideways round in the same circle; and shake all the joints of their bodies with a wriggling antic gesture, as they move along the ring.

They pipe and drum often, even at working times; but their dancing they use chiefly when they get together to make merry. When they have danced some time, one or other of the company goes out of the ring, jumps about, and plays antic tricks, throwing and catching his lance, bending back toward the ground, and springing forward again, with many other motions, like our tumblers, but with more activity than art: and when one is tired with his tricks, another steps out; and sometimes two or three together. As soon as ever it is over, they jump into the river, all in a violent sweat as they are, and there wash themselves clean; and when they come out of

the water, they stroke it off from their hair and bodies with their hands. A dancing-bout, if the meeting be large, lasts sometimes a whole day, seldom less than five or six hours; and it is usually after having a short drinking-bout: but they don't dance after they have drank very hard.

These, and the huntings and shooting at a mark, are their chief divertisements; for both men and boys will be letting fly at any thing they see, though for nothing but exercise or trial of skill. The women have dancings and merriments by themselves, when their husbands pastimes are over; for they never feast or play together with the men: but they will drink by themselves till they are fuddled.

The women take great care of their husbands when they have made themselves drunk. For when they perceive him in such a condition that he can bear up no longer, they get one or two more women to assist them to take him up, and put him into his hammock; where, as he lies snoring, they stand by and sprinkle water on his body to cool him; washing his hands, feet and face; stroking off that water with their hands as it grows warm, and throwing on fresh. I have seen ten or twelve or more, lying thus in their hammocks after a feast, and the women standing by to look after them.

The men never stir abroad upon the most ordinary occasion, if it be but just without the door to make water, but they take with them some or other of their weapons; their bow and arrow, lance, hatchet, or maceat or long-knife. Their most frequent expeditions in time of peace, are to go a hunting. For this is their way of supplying themselves with flesh; and they go out as often as it fails at home. They sometimes go out a family or two by themselves; but they have often larger and more solemn huntings, of a great many in company together: and there is seldom a council held, or feast, but there is some hunting-match concluded on before they part; and a time

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set for every one to appear, with their several necessities, at the general rendezvous.

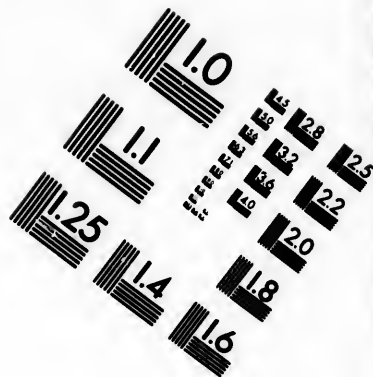
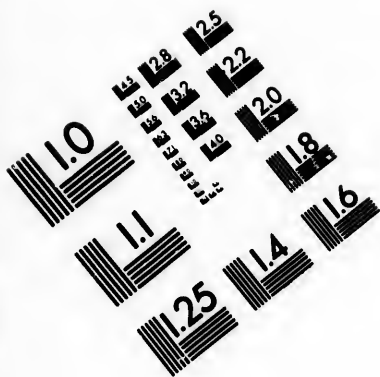
A hunting expedition lasts sometimes three or four, sometimes ten, twelve, seventeen or eighteen days, according as they meet with the game, and as the course is which they steer to find it: for sometimes they will range to the borders, to visit or traffic with their neighbouring Indians; and they will hunt all the way as they go and return. They hunt more or less at all seasons of the year; never regarding whether their venison be in season or not. They take with them one or two dogs a-piece, to beat about; and there go as well women as men. When I went with them a hunting, a young woman was appointed me to wait on me, and carry my basket of provisions.

When they take a beast or bird, they pierce it with the lances, or shoot arrows into it, to let out the blood. Then they quarter it (first cutting off the head;) and if it be a pecary they scald off the hair with hot water; if a warree, they flea it. From some of the birds they strip the feathers only, from others the skin also: and this not regularly, while the carcase is whole, but piece-meal, after they have dismembered it; especially in their journies.

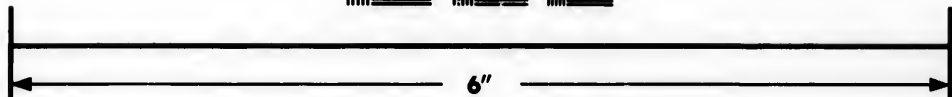
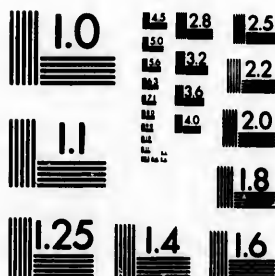
If they intend to preserve any, having little salt, they erect four forked sticks, eight or nine feet asunder, on which they lay two parallel staves that shall be above a foot from the ground, and so make a barbecue. Across these staves they lay the pieces of the beasts or birds, and spread underneath a few live coals; to make which they burn a parcel of wood on purpose; and turn the same pieces, and renew this small fire for three or four days, or a week, till the meat be as dry as a chip, or like our smoaked beef. This they do abroad if they kill a great many pecary, birds, &c. and bring the pieces home ready dried; and if there be much of it, the men help the women to carry home the venison. These pieces will keep a great while; and when the stock is almost out,







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they go again a hunting. They make a barbecue at home also, heaping up these dried pieces across, and often putting some embers underneath, to keep them from giving, or growing musty in that moist country. From these pieces they cut off bits for use as they want them.

The Indians, when they travel, guide themselves either by the sun, when it shines, or by steering toward such a determinate point, observing the bending of the trees, according as the wind is. If they are at a loss this way, they notch the bark of trees, to see which side is thickest; which is always the south, or funny-side: and their way lies generally through woods. They go also through swamps, boggs, rivers, &c. where there is no sign of a path, and are often forced to turn aside; yet will keep their way pretty direct for several days together; clearing their way through thickets with their macheats, especially if hollow bamboes: for there is no getting through without it. They swim over rivers, men, women and children, without felling trees, as we did there. But down the river they use either their canoes, or bark-logs made of light wood.

I observed among them no distinction of weeks, or particular days; no parting the day into hours, or any portions, otherwise than by this pointing: and when they use this, or any other sign, yet they speak at the same time, and express their meaning in their own language, though to Europeans who understand it not. They reckon times past by no revolutions of the heavenly bodies, but the moons: for Lacenta, speaking of the havock the Spaniards had made to the westward, intimated it was a great many moons ago.

Their computation is by units and tens, and scores, to an hundred; beyond which I have not heard them reckon. To express a number above this, they take a lock of their hair, little or great (in proportion to the number they would intimate) and hold it up in  
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their hands, sorting it gradually with their fingers, and shaking it. To express a thing innumerable, they take up all the hair on one side of the head, and shake it.

When we went into the South Seas under captain Sharp, we were in number about 336, as I remember; and a pretty many of the Indians of the Isthmus bore us company in our march. They were willing to take account of our number as we marched; so one of the Indians sat in the path, and having a little heap of maiz-grains by him, for every man of ours that passed by him he put one grain into his basket. When he had thus taken a great part of our number, one of our men passing by, gave his basket purposely a toss, and threw out his corn, and so spoiled his account. This seemed to displease them: yet one of them got a little before, and sitting close in the wood, at a small distance from the narrow path, which we were to pass one by one, he there took our number in grains of maize. But when he had taken his account, they were put to it to cast it up: for two or three days after, in the progress of our march, coming among some of the southern Indians, we saw some twenty or thirty of the graver men got together, and trying their skill to compute the grains in the basket; which when they had laid upon a plaintain-leaf, several of them endeavoured to tell one after another: but when they could tell no farther, (the number probably exceeding their arithmetic) and seemed to grow very hot, and earnest in their debates about it, one of them started up, and sorting out a lock of his hair with his fingers and shaking it, seemed to intimate the number to be great and unknown; and so put an end to the dispute. But one of them came after us, and enquired our number in broken Spanish.

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AN ABSTRACT OF  
 MAJOR ROGERS'S ACCOUNT  
 OF NORTH AMERICA,

DESCRIBING

The several BRITISH COLONIES on that Continent;  
 and the INTERIOR PARTS of that extensive Country:  
 With many curious Particulars relating to the  
 INDIAN NATIVES.

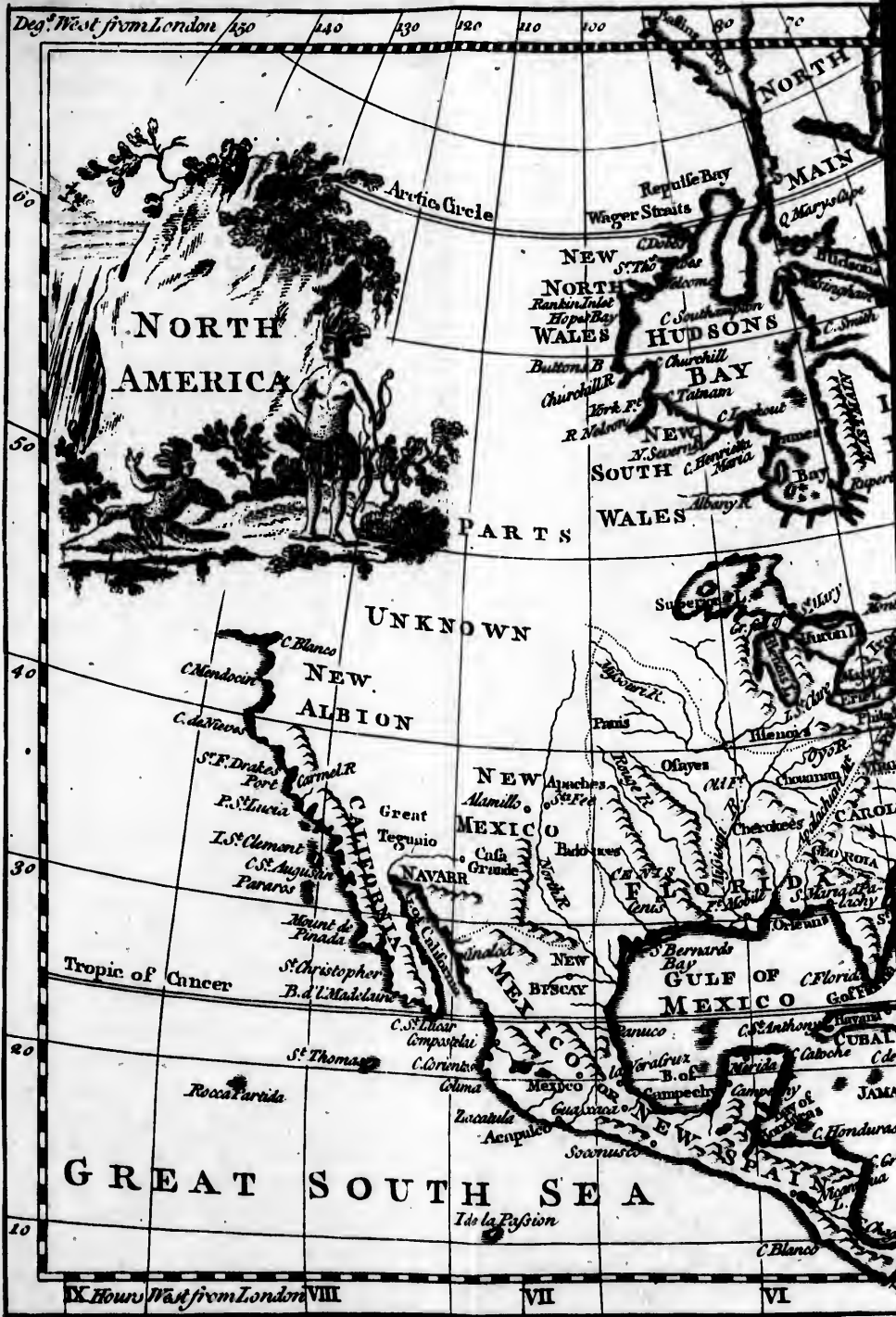
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**T**HE successful discoveries and acquisitions of the Spaniards on the rich continent of South America, soon excited the attention of other nations, in like manner to fit out vessels for discoveries, beyond the territories claimed by the Spanish monarchs. The details of these expeditions would however have led us beyond the limits we can allow: it is sufficiently known what flourishing colonies now exist, which were planted along that very extensive coast reaching from the mouth of the river St. Laurence in North America, to the Rio de la Plata in South America; some of which spread themselves very far within land: beside the islands in the gulph of Mexico and elsewhere. The discoveries to the northward, however, were not rendered so memorable as those of the Spaniards; no such powerful regular empires having been found there, as were those of Peru and Mexico. The Indians of North America live in detached tribes and independent nations, whose jarring interests and hereditary antipathies, have kept them from uniting, and even from increasing: add to which, that though they

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they have not in general been well used by the new intruders on their antient lands, who seldom consulted the inclinations of the natives in their first settlements and subsequent claims; yet no such unprincipled inhuman transactions have stained the records of the English and other settlers, as have distinguished those of the first Spanish adventurers.

Not but that these American settlements have been the theatres of many signal engagements, since their first planting, in the contests between European powers for the possession of them: these have not only spent much of their own blood, but have seduced the natives to turn their hands, furnished with new weapons of swift destruction, against each other, in their respective interests and quarrels: hence many of these places have frequently changed their masters.

The continent of North America, the extension of which westward, is astonishing, was almost entirely claimed and possessed by the English and French; the English settling along the coast, from the river St. Laurence to Florida, and the French settling behind them up the rivers St. Laurence and the Mississippi. These rival powers, soon after the peace of Aix la Chapelle, differing about some lands situated on the boundaries between them, encroached on by the artful and restless French; entered into a fresh war, in which the bravery of the English, under the influence of a minister of spirit and integrity, exerted itself so gloriously; that the contest was decided, not by maintaining the possession of the lands first in question, but by clearing the country entirely of such troublesome neighbours: the whole province of Canada, after being conquered by the British arms, being ceded to us, together with all the country eastward of the Mississippi, at the treaty of Versailles, in 1762. By the cession of Florida, also resigned to us by the Spaniards, who imprudently at the close of the war, joined our exhausted and wearied enemy, in the quarrel against us; we now enjoy an uninterrupted  
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line of sea-coast from the gulph of Mexico northward; and in the northern parts, a country of unknown inland extension.

These matters however are foreign to the main purpose of our plan to enter minutely into; but that our accounts of this new found world of America may be as compleat as possible, it is hoped, that, after Ulloa's voyage to Peru, and Nieuhoff's to Brasil, a brief view of North America in its present state, as given by a brave countryman who was personally concerned in many of the military transactions under the several generals who commanded there; and who is well acquainted with the inland parts of that vast continent; will, with some farther materials of a like nature, though not in the direct forms of voyages, prove acceptable by furnishing many articles of information curious and entertaining to the English reader.

The principal object Major Rogers professes to have had in view, was to describe the interior parts of North America; of which, as he observes, no one has travelled over, or seen, so much as himself. He proceeds to inform us in his introduction, that what is comprehended under the appellation of the *interior* country of America, is of itself a larger territory than all the continent of Europe, and at present mostly a desert, uninhabited, except by savages: it cannot therefore be reasonably expected that any one man has it in his power to give a just and minute account of its several parts, but that he must pass over large tracks of country in very general terms, and in many things depend upon the reports of others, or proceed upon his own uncertain conjectures.

This wide extended country may naturally enough be considered under three general divisions, occasioned by the three great rivers that take their rise near the centre of it, namely, St. Laurence, the Christino, and the Mississippi. The first of these Mr. Rogers says he has traced, and that he is tolerably well acquainted with the country adjacent to it, as

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far up as Lake Superior; from the Green Bay westward to the Mississippi; and from thence down to the mouth of the Mississippi in the gulph of Mexico. He also travelled the country adjacent to the Ohio and its principal branches, and between the Ohio and the Lakes Erie and Meshigan, and the countries of the southern Indians. But as to the country above Lake Superior, his intelligence was chiefly obtained from Indians, or from prisoners that have travelled with them into it. The same is the case as to the country at the head of the Mississippi, and that adjacent to the river Misauris. The Chiriktino is taken wholly from the Indians: and though the accounts they have given of these countries are large, and in some particulars very inviting, yet we shall do little more than mention their names, unless there had been better authority to go upon.

In the account subjoined of the customs and manners of the Indians, many things related by others are purposely omitted; some, because they are false, and others, because they are trite and trifling; those only being mentioned which appeared most distinguishing and absolutely necessary to give a just idea of the genius and policy of that people, and of the method in which they are to be treated, in order to our having any safe and advantageous commerce with them. And, the long and particular acquaintance Major Rogers had with several tribes and nations, both in peace and war, has furnished him with ample materials to treat the subject with propriety.

NORTH AMERICA, as Major Rogers informs us, lies between the latitudes of 10 and 80 degrees north, and chiefly between the longitudes of 48 and 130 degrees west from the meridian of London, and is about four thousand two hundred miles from north to south, and about five thousand from east to west: being bounded on the east by the Atlantic ocean; by the gulph of Mexico, on the south; on the west, by the Pacific ocean; and by the northern continent and  
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ocean to the northward, through which, some suppose, there is a passage into the Pacific or Western ocean. A great part of this vast extent of territory is at present possessed by the subjects of his Britannic majesty, and the original natives, or Indians; the number of which far exceeds that of the English. In treating of this extensive continent, it is proposed,

First, To describe the several British governments and colonies on the continent (including also the islands of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and St. John's) separately; beginning with the northernmost, and travelling to the southward. And, secondly, to give some account of the interior or western parts of the country, so far as discoveries have been made; and of such Indian nations and tribes that are known by us to inhabit it.

NEWFOUNDLAND is the most considerable island in North America; it is situated east of the gulf of St. Lawrence, between  $46^{\circ} 40'$  and  $42^{\circ} 7'$  north latitude, and  $41^{\circ} 52'$  and  $57^{\circ} 40'$  west longitude, is bounded easterly and southerly by the Atlantic ocean, northerly by the streights of Bellisle, and on the west by the gulf of St. Lawrence.

This island was discovered by the Cabots, in 1497, who took possession of it in the name of King Henry VII.; but no colony was planted here till some considerable time after. The soil being not the most fertile, and the cold extremely severe, were circumstances, no doubt, which prevented the English from attempting a settlement, till they were at length allured to it, for the sake of fishing on the banks which lie off the south-easterly parts of it.

The right of fishing on these banks has given rise to many disputes between the French and English; but by the peace of 1762, the liberty of fishing there by the French is subjected to very particular restrictions.

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There are in this island many fine rivers, lakes, and rivulets, which abound with beaver, otters, and the like, with plenty of salmon, and other kinds of fish. There is also great plenty of wild fowl, and the forests are stored with deer, moose, bears, and wolves, in great plenty. But the great and staple commodity of this island is cod-fish, which are here larger and in greater abundance than in any part of the world yet discovered; and great part of the world is at present supplied with this article chiefly from hence. The number of English inhabitants on this island is fluctuating, there being nearly double the number in summer to what there is in the winter.

St. John's, situated on the southerly part of the island, is the capital town, containing between three and fourscore houses.

These coasts are extremely subject to fogs, occasioned by the vapours, which are exhaled from the lakes, swamps, and bogs, with which the island abounds. The winters are severe, attended with almost continual storms of snow, sleet, &c. the sky being generally overcast.

Here are few cattle, sheep, or horses; instead of the latter, the inhabitants make use of dogs for drawing of wood and other conveyances, which they manage with great dexterity, fixing them in leather collars, to any number they please.

The government of this island is at present vested in the crown of Great Britain, including with it the islands of Anticosti and Madelaine, and others of smaller note, and the coasts of Labrador, from the river St. John's to Hudson's streights.

CAPE BRETON, is an island situated to the southwest of Newfoundland, in 46 deg. north latitude, and 58 deg. 30 min. west longitude; distant from Newfoundland about 15 leagues, and separated from the continent by a narrow passage on the west. Its length is about 110 miles from north-east to south-west, and about 66 wide.

The

The soil and climate here are much the same as in Newfoundland, and consequently its produce is not greatly different.

There are several harbours and bays round the island; and, by its situation in the gulf of St. Lawrence, may be looked upon as the key of Canada, being a safe retreat for ships bound either to or from thence.

This, together with its conveniency for fishing, induced the French, when they were excluded from Newfoundland and Acadia, to begin a settlement here in 1714, which they continued to increase; but were, however, dispossessed in 1745 by the New-Englanders. It was ceded by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and again taken in 1758; but since the conquest of all Canada, the fortifications have been blown up, and the town dismantled.

The port of Louisburg is a league in length, and a quarter of a league broad, with good anchoring-ground, from six to ten fathom water. The harbour is generally froze from November till May. This island is at present under the jurisdiction of the governor of Nova Scotia.

ST. JOHN'S ISLAND is situated in the neighbourhood of Cape Breton, being partly between that and the continent, and consequently has no great difference of climate, yet varies widely from it as to the pleasantness and fertility of its soil. It is computed to be about sixty miles in length, has a commodious harbour, and great conveniencies for carrying on the fishery. It abounds with a variety of useful timber, and most kinds of wild game common to the country.—In short, so fertile is this island, and so well improved while possessed by the French, that it was justly stiled the granary of Canada, furnishing them in great abundance with most kinds of grain, as well as great quantities of cattle.

This island, at present, is under the governor of Nova Scotia, as are the lesser islands adjacent.

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ACADIA, or NOVA SCOTIA, on the continent of North America, is situated between 44 and 49 degrees north latitude, and is bounded southerly by the Atlantic ocean; westerly by the bay of Fundy, and the province of Main, belonging to the Massachusetts's bay; northerly by Canada, or the province of Quebec; and easterly by the gulf of St. Lawrence.

Though this country was discovered by Sebastian Cabot in 1497, yet it lay neglected many years, and underwent several changes and revolutions before any considerable settlement was made in it; being sometimes in the hands of the French, and at other times in those of the English; until the treaty of Utrecht, when it was absolutely yielded to Great Britain by an express article.

On the sea-coasts of this province are many safe and convenient harbours; but none equal to that of Chebucta, or Halifax, which is allowed to be the finest in America, and capable of being made equal to any in Europe, both for safety and conveniency, having good anchoring-ground, and water sufficient for any ship that swims. It is the place of rendezvous for the royal navy in America, having a royal dock, and conveniencies for a ship of any rate, to heave down and careen.

Situated on the west-side of this harbour, is the town of Halifax, which, though its foundations were laid in 1747, is now a considerable town, consisting of upwards of a thousand houses, and is the capital of the whole province; and, indeed, from the same æra we may date the origin of this province, there being no government properly established in it till then. There are also several other towns laid out round this bay, and partly inhabited; but the most considerable settlements are upon the bay of Fundy, and upon the rivers which fall into it.

The inhabitants in this province may be computed at about twenty thousand. Its northerly situation exposes

poses it to severe cold and deep snows in winter; but is generally very healthy, and agreeable to English constitutions, as are all the northern provinces.

The soil is various, being in some parts very rough and barren; in others exceeding pleasant and fertile. The commodities exported from this province to other parts are chiefly lumber, such as plank, staves, hoops, joists, &c. and fish.

The king is sovereign of the soil, and appoints the governor, who is his captain-general; the lieutenant-governor and council are likewise appointed by his majesty, which form the upper house; and the lower house is formed of the representatives, who are chosen by the freeholders; but the governor can oppose his negative to their choice.

As fish is the staple commodity, and almost the only article of trade in the provinces of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, with their dependant islands; it will not, perhaps, be disagreeable to the reader to give some account in this place of the method which they take to cure and manufacture the cod-fish fit for market.

The fish caught near the shore are observed to be by far the best; the vessels employed in this business are generally small shallops, which come to shore every day, where the fishermen throw the cod upon a stage prepared for that purpose. One of them, who is called the beheader, opens the fish with a two-edged knife, and cuts off the head; a second, hands the fish on to the carver, who stands opposite to him at a table erected upon the stage; the carver, with a single-edged knife, six or eight inches long, and very thick on the back to increase its weight, splits the fish open; then it is conveyed to the salter, who places it with the skin undermost in a barrel, and very slightly covers it with salt, laying the fish regularly upon one another. — After leaving the cod in salt for a few days, they wash it well, make it up in piles, and in fair weather spread it out, with the skin undermost, on a kind

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kind of stage raised with wattles, about two feet from the ground, or upon stones; before night they turn the skin uppermost, which they also do whenever it rains: when the fish has been dried a little, it is raised into larger piles, where it rests a day or two; after which it is again exposed to the air, and turned according as there is occasion, before they raise it into larger piles in the same form; where, after this operation, it sometimes remains fifteen days without being moved at all; at the end of which it is once more exposed to the air, and, when almost dry, gathered together again, in order to sweat; which operation takes twenty-four hours or more, according to the season; then it is opened the last time to the air, and, when thoroughly dry, housed.

Fish manufactured in this manner are not only more fair to the eye, but more grateful to the taste, than those which are partly prepared at sea; as is the case with larger vessels which go out, and are loaded, before they return; opening, salting and packing their fish in the hold of the vessel: by which means it is forty or fifty days, and often much longer, before they return to shore, when they proceed with it as before mentioned.

The fish cured in the spring, before the great heats, is generally the best, if properly prepared; which depends upon the skill and diligence of those employed about it, and also upon the quality of the salt made use of: on which last account the English caught fish is generally inferior to the American, the salt they make use of often having a mineral quality, or perhaps owing to their not having the like opportunity to prepare it seasonably, by reason of the length of the voyage.

The fish caught in October or November may continue in salt till March, or the beginning of April, without any sensible damage; when it is washed and undergoes the process above described.

The PROVINCE of QUEBEC is much the largest of any upon the continent. Quebec, which is the metropolis, and near the centre of it, is situated in 46 deg. 55 min. north latitude, and 69 deg. 48 min. west longitude. It is bounded north-easterly by the gulf of St. Lawrence, and the river St. John's; north-westerly, by wild uninhabited lands; south-westerly, by the same; and southerly, by the province of New York, the New-England provinces, and the province of Nova Scotia; extending from north-east to south-west about five hundred miles, and upward of two hundred miles wide. This country was first settled by the French, who kept the possession and government of it till September 13, 1759, when Quebec was surrendered to the Generals Monkton and Townshend, commanding the British troops that had been destined for the expedition against it the preceding spring, under the command of General Wolf; and September 8, 1760, all Canada was given up to the English; and has since been confirmed to the British crown by the treaty of peace. The French comprehended under the name of Canada a much larger territory than the above-mentioned; taking into their claim great part of the New-England provinces, and of the provinces of New-York and Nova Scotia, northerly to Hudson's Bay, westerly to the Pacific ocean, southerly to the gulf of Mexico: and had erected a chain of forts, from the mouth of the river St. Lawrence to their settlements at Louisiana, to support their claim.

There are many settlements upon the banks of the river St. Lawrence, and of those rivers which empty into it, as well as on the islands surrounded by it; but none deserving of particular notice in this place, except Quebec and Montreal. The former, situated on the north side of the river, about 300 miles from the mouth, contains upwards of 1,500 dwelling-houses, well-built, beside several public buildings, which are stately and splendid. This town, beside the natural

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safety of its situation, is now well fortified. Montreal is near as large and populous as Quebec, and is much more pleasantly situated: being on an island of the same name, in the river St. Lawrence, about 200 miles above Quebec. The streets are regular, the houses well-built, commodious, and agreeable; and every house may be seen at one view from the harbour, or from the southermost side of the river; as the hill, on the side of which the town stands, falls gradually to the water. The public buildings here exceed those of Quebec for beauty. The number of inhabitants in Canada is upward of 100,000. The island of Montreal is exceedingly fertile, and well-improved, producing great plenty of greens, and some fruit. There are several other islands to the north of Montreal, which are formed by the Attawawas river, and which are improved. In the lake St. Francis, south-west of Montreal, are several islands that are inhabited and well-improved; St. Pierre is the most considerable of them.

The rivers, branching through this extensive country, are very numerous, and many of them navigable a considerable way into the country: but they are all swallowed up in the river St. Lawrence. This river is eighty miles wide at its entrance into the sea at Cape Rosiers, on the side of Nova Scotia; something to the eastward of which is the island of Anticosta, of not much account. The course of the river is nearly through the middle of the province, from the south-west to the north-east, receiving the waters of a great many navigable rivers, and forming a great variety of bays, harbours, and islands; the most pleasant and fruitful of which is the island of Orleans, a little below Quebec.—The soil of this island is excellent, and, being well improved, is a garden for the city of Quebec, producing in great abundance all kinds of grain and vegetables common to the climate. This island is twenty-one miles in length, and three or four wide.

The French, while they had possession of this province, very industriously represented the navigation of the river St. Lawrence to be difficult and dangerous; but we have since found the contrary to be the case, ships of the line meeting with no difficulty in going to Quebec. The land in general, on both sides of the river, is low and level; indeed opposite to Quebec are two considerable mountains, called the Lady Mountains, which from this place run south-west through the continent to the country of the Creek Indians, at the north-part of the Two Floridas, in one continual ridge; and wherever rivers have forced their way through them, they rise on each side very steep to their common height. This ridge of mountains is called the Apalachian Hills; and again at Montreal some hills appear to the north-west of it.

The climate here is cold, the winters long and tedious, especially in the north-easterly parts of the province; notwithstanding which the soil is none of the worst, being productive of most kinds of English grain and vegetables, common to the climate, in great abundance. The summers are exceeding pleasant, and so prolific, that the farmer expects to reap his crop in sixteen weeks from the sowing of his seed. There is in some parts of this province very excellent timber. In short, notwithstanding its northwardly situation, it may be justly denominated a healthy, fruitful, and pleasant country, affording most of the necessaries and conveniencies of life; having (though mostly situate within land) all the advantages of an extended sea-coast, by means of the river St. Lawrence, which affords an easy conveyance from one part of the province to another.

The chief commodities exported from this province are timber, furs, deer, elk, and moose skins, &c.

The government is the same as that of Nova Scotia: and the religion of the French inhabitants is that of the church of Rome; being tolerated in the free exercise

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exercise of it by the capitulation, which was confirmed to them by the subsequent treaty; his Britannic majesty has the appointment of their bishop.

NEW ENGLAND is situated between 41 and 43 degrees 50 min. north latitude, and 64 deg. 40 min. and 73 deg. west longitude, is bounded north-easterly and easterly by Nova Scotia and the bay of Fundy, north-westerly by Canada, westerly by the province of New-York, southerly by the Sound, and south-easterly by the Atlantic ocean, having its sea-coasts very irregular and broken by a variety of bays and inlets.

This territory is divided into five distinct districts or governments; the most northerly is the province of Main, which now is called the county of York, being under the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Bay. Next to this county, and between it and the Massachusetts Bay, is the province of New Hampshire: next to the bay-government is the colony of Rhode island: and to the south and west of both of them, is the colony of Connecticut. These several districts, in effect, took their rise from the first settlement made by the English in this country, which was the colony of Plymouth, situated near Cape Cod, and which now, as well as the province of Main, is incorporated into that of the MASSACHUSET'S Bay.

The province of MAIN is separated from the others by the province of New Hampshire, running in between them about thirty miles wide upon the sea. Indeed for several years the province of New Hampshire, as well as the scattering settlements of Nova Scotia, were under the jurisdiction of this province. That part of it called the province of Main, or county of York, is bounded westerly by New Hampshire, northerly by Canada, north-easterly by Nova Scotia, or the river St. John's, south-easterly and southwardly by the sea for near 200 miles. The other part of this province has New Hampshire for its northern boundary, easterly and southerly it is bounded

by the sea, south-west and westerly by the colonies of Rhode island and Connecticut, and the province of New York.

The town of Boston is situated upon a peninsula at the bottom of the Massachuset's Bay, and contains between 4 and 5000 houses, which in general are well-built; and several of the public buildings are very spacious and elegant. The number of inhabitants in the whole province is computed to be upward of 200,000.

That part of the province called the county of York has a very cold soil; great part of it toward the province of Quebec being mountainous, is entirely unfit for agriculture; and that toward the sea-coasts is low, and covered with woods, excepting near the banks of rivers, which fall from the mountains (of which there is a great number) on which multitudes of saw-mills are erected. Here may be found plenty of oak, ash, and maple; and on several of these rivers, for many miles together, the land is pretty good; and doubtless would have been better improved, had not the inhabitants for many years past been kept in almost continual alarms, and sometimes been driven from their plantations by the savages.

There are several safe and convenient harbours along the sea-coasts, the principal of which is Casco Bay, the most considerable town in the country, where great part of the masts for the royal navy are taken in.

The other part of the province has a variety of soil, it being in some places very barren, in others fertile, and abundantly productive of Indian corn, rye, oats, barley, flax, pease, &c. wheat being raised only in the westerly parts of it. The surface is generally rocky and uneven, excepting near the rivers, where are some pleasant inter-vales.

The chief commodities exported from this province are ships ready-built, timber, furs, fish, pot-ash, cast iron-ware, oil, tallow, &c.

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His Britannic Majesty appoints the governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary, and the officers of the admiralty, in this province; and the freeholders chuse a house of representatives, who chuse a speaker and council, or upper house. The governor, however, has a negative on their choice; but he and all the officers in the province (except the comptroller of his majesty's customs) receive their salaries by a vote of the two houses, who have never yet been brought to settle a salary not even upon the governor; who generally has it in his instructions from his majesty to insist upon their doing it. They however commonly grant him 1000 l. sterling per annum.

The PROVINCE of NEW HAMPSHIRE is bounded on the south by Massachuset's Bay, on the west by the province of New York, on the north by Canada, and north-easterly by the county of York, having only thirty miles of sea-coast.

The town of Portsmouth, which is the metropolis of this province, contains about 700 dwelling houses, and four meeting-houses and a chapel. It is very pleasantly situated on Piscataqua Bay, having a safe and convenient harbour, where the largest ships may ride securely. From this port annually sail about 200 vessels, loaded chiefly with timber, fish, &c. for the West Indies, which having disposed of, they reload, and proceed from thence to Europe, where both vessels and cargoes are sold, and the mariners return passengers.

The other considerable towns for trade in this province, are Hampton, Cochecha, and Exeter. Londonderry, an inland town about thirty-five miles from Portsmouth, is considerable for manufacturing of linen, being peopled chiefly with the natives of Ireland. The number of inhabitants in this province is about 70,000, which have greatly increased since the reduction of Canada.

The soil of this province is various, much resembling that of the county of York already described,

especially the northerly parts of it, being mountainous and broken.

The most considerable mountains in this province, and indeed in New England, are those called the White Mountains, so called from their appearance, which is like snow, consisting, as is generally supposed, of a white flint, from which the reflection of the sun is very brilliant and dazzling; and by their prodigious height are to be seen at a very great distance, being often discovered by the seamen coasting the eastern shore, when all the intermedjate land is entirely concealed. It is not known that any person was ever on the top of these mountains. The Indians have often attempted it in vain, by reason of the change of the air they met with; which Major Rogers says he is inclined to believe, having ascended them himself till the alteration of air was very perceptible, when he had not advanced half way up. The valleys below were then concealed by the clouds. Indeed there are several other mountains in this country, whose tops are above the ordinary clouds, rarely, if ever, receiving the benefit of rain upon them.

The basis of the White Mountains is a tract of about fifty-five miles square, from which they rise in cragged heads, one above another, in an irregular manner, all the way to the top. For the first four or five miles of ascent, there are found beach, hemlock, and some white pines; higher up the growth is chiefly black spruce for six or seven miles, where the sides are clad with a white moss. Up higher scarce any thing is found growing; for which reason, if there was no other, the ascent would be very difficult, the mountain being extremely steep. There are many streams of water gushing out of the sides, which run down with great rapidity: indeed all the largest and best rivers in New England take their rise from some part of these mountains. By all which streams the riches of these hills, whose tops are inaccessible, are

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are annually carried to and distributed among the neighbouring provinces.

In the province of New Hampshire is a great plenty and variety of timber; its forests abound with all kinds of game common to the climate; and its rivers with salmon, shad, eels, trout, &c. Some fisheries are carried on in the sea-ports, but its scanty limits on the sea forbid its becoming so considerable as its neighbours in that branch. The produce of the soil is chiefly Indian corn, rye, oats, pease, it being too cold for wheat: they also raise some hemp and flax, and breed black cattle, horses, sheep, &c. but in no great abundance.

The chief commodities exported from this province, are masts for the royal navy, staves, boards, shingles, furs, &c.

The governor, lieutenant-governor, council, and secretary, and the officers of the admiralty in this province, are appointed by his Britannic Majesty, who is absolute sovereign of the soil. The several towns and districts chuse their representatives; and all inferior executive officers are appointed by the governor, with the advice of his majesty's council.

This infant province labours under a great inconvenience in judicial matters, there being but one place in the province at which the courts of justice are held, viz. at Portsmouth, one of the extremities: hence many of the inhabitants often have to travel 150 or 200 miles on trifling occasions.

CONNECTICUT comprehends what were originally the colony of Connecticut or Hartford, and that of New Haven; being incorporated into one in 1692, still retaining, by a charter then granted them, all the privileges of their ancient charters; and, indeed, ever since their union, they have kept up two seats of government, viz. Hartford and New Haven, at which places their general court or assembly sits alternately, for transacting the affairs of the colony. This colony is bounded by the Massachuset's on the north,

north, New York on the west, southerly by the Sound, and easterly by Rhode-Island and a part of the Massachuset's Bay. It hath many fine towns, pleasantly situated upon the river Connecticut, and along the Sound; the principal of which, for trade and commerce, are New London, Hartford, and New Haven; the latter of which, situated on New Haven Bay, is elegantly laid out. The number of inhabitants in the whole colony is supposed to be about two hundred and ten thousand.

The soil of this colony is various, much of it being uneven, rocky, cold, and barren; and other parts exceeding pleasant and fertile, especially on Connecticut river already mentioned, whose inter-vales produce all kinds of grain and fruit common to the climate in great abundance, rarely disappointing, and often exceeding the hopes of the husbandman.

The trade of this colony to foreign parts is very inconsiderable, they being chiefly supplied with foreign commodities from Bolton and New York; in exchange for which they send beef, pork, flax-seed, onions, &c.

There are some iron-works in this colony carried on to great advantage; and they ship some lumber and horses to the West Indies, and considerable quantities of saffrafas to Holland, &c.

They have always been exceedingly careful in this colony not to abuse or exceed the rights and privileges granted them by their charter, whereby they might incur a forfeiture of it; but, in conformity to it, continue annually to chuse their own governor, lieutenant-governor, assistants, and deputies, &c. by whom all executive officers are appointed and authorised.

The COLONY of RHODE-ISLAND comprehends what were originally the colonies or plantations of Rhode-Island and Providence, being incorporated into one, by a new charter, about the same time as the colony of Connecticut; and, like that, they still  
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retain the rights and privileges that were at first granted them in their separate state, keeping up likewise two seats of government, viz. Newport and Providence, at which places their general court is held alternately.

This colony has but a small territory, and is bounded north and east by the Massachuset's Bay, southerly by the ocean, and westerly by Connecticut. The principal towns in it are those already mentioned of Newport, situated on the island called Rhode-Island, pleasantly enough, and has a safe and good harbour for ordinary shipping; and Providence, situated not less pleasantly upon Providence river, is a very thriving town, and has a considerable trade. The number of inhabitants in this colony is computed to be about 70,000.

The soil is generally low, and inclined to rocks and stones; however, when properly improved, produces Indian corn, rye, oats, pease, hemp, flax, and some wheat, and most kinds of fruit common to the climate, in great perfection, especially on Rhode-Island itself.

The principal commodities exported from hence, are horses, sheep, cheese, and the produce they procure from the neighbouring provinces, such as fish and lumber from the Massachuset's and New Hampshire; flour, beef, and pork, from Philadelphia, New York, and Connecticut, which they commonly pay for in rum, sugar, and molasses, imported from the West Indies, in tea from Holland, or in slaves from the coasts of Africa.

The form of government here is in all respects the same as in the colony of Connecticut. They are not, however, so scrupulous in keeping up to the terms of their charter, often dispensing with it in some essential points, and taking liberties, not only detrimental to the other provinces, but even to the nation, especially in times of war, by carrying on an illicit trade with the enemy, and supplying them with the most material

rial articles. Nor can it be greatly wondered at that their governor should fall in with so clandestine a method for the procurement of a livelihood, when it is considered that they allow him but fifty or sixty dollars per annum for his maintenance; beside, as he is annually elected, there are always competitors for the government; and generally he who distributes the most cash, and gives the best entertainments, is the man who obtains a majority of votes. These election expences generally run high, and (like the elections in the mother country) must be refunded some way or other during his reign who happens to be elected.

There are in this colony men of almost every religious persuasion in the world. The greatest number are Quakers, and many make no particular profession of any: on which account no questions are here asked, every man being left to think and act for himself. This province is infested with a rascally set of Jews, who fail not to take advantage of the great liberty here given to men of all professions and religions, and are a pest not only to this, but the neighbouring provinces.

There is not one free-school in the whole colony, and the education of children, generally, shamefully neglected.

NEW YORK is situated between 40 and 44 deg. north latitude, and 70 and 76 deg. west longitude, being bounded east by the New England provinces, north by the province of Quebec, north-west and west by the lands of the Five Nations and part of Pennsylvania, south-westerly and southerly, by the province of Jersey and the Atlantic ocean, having a very extensive and valuable territory.

This province (as well as the Jerseys and Pennsylvania) was originally settled by the Swedes, not long after the New England people settled at Plymouth; and after them some Dutch adventurers settled here, who, being reinforced from Holland, quickly became

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the strongest party, and obliged the Swedes to acknowledge them as the sole proprietors of this country, paying no regard to the claim of the English, who had not only discovered, but traded to it before. Their intrusions and usurpations continued during the succeeding troublesome times of England; but King Charles I. having made a grant of what is now the provinces of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, to his brother James, then Duke of York, and High-admiral, a fleet, under the command of Sir Robert Carr, was sent in 1664 with a sufficient number of land-forces, to take possession of the country that had been granted him; who quickly reduced the forts the Dutch had erected there, and obliged them to become British subjects, or leave the country. The people gladly accepted of the former alternative; whence it is that many of the best families in New York, to this day, appear by their names to be of Dutch extraction.

New Amsterdam, situated on an island at the mouth of Hudson's river, was pitched upon for the metropolis, its name being changed to that of New York, in honour of the proprietor's title; and from the name of the city, the county to the east and north, and indeed the whole province, goes under the same appellation; as does likewise the county of Albany, where the Dutch had erected a fort, named Orange Fort, receive the name of Albany, from the Duke's other title.

The country being thus subdued, became, by prudent management, a very flourishing colony; Mr. Nichols their first governor making it one of his first studies to cultivate a friendship, and enter into a treaty of peace, with the Mohocks, or Five Nations of the Indians, who have ever since continued true and faithful, and been of great service to this province.

In 1673, a war breaking out between England and the States-general, the Dutch sent a fleet to recover  
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this colony, and again reduced it to their obedience; but they kept possession thereof but a very short time, it being ceded to the crown of Great Britain (and the governor replaced) by the treaty which followed in 1674; ever since which time it hath been under the English government.

The city of New York, which is governed by a mayor and aldermen, is situated on an island bounded by Hudson's river on the west, the Bay and Sound on the south and east, and a small creek or channel communicating with the Sound and Hudson's river, about sixteen miles north from the city. In the city are between 2 and 3000 houses, generally well built; but the streets irregular. It hath several spacious public buildings, among which the college and the court-house are the most considerable, and the governor's mansion-house within the fort; the houses for public worship are no ways despicable, especially the two English churches. This city abounds with many wealthy merchants, who carry on a large trade to foreign parts.

The next considerable place in this province is the city of Albany, situated upon the west-side of Hudson's river, 150 miles above New York, containing near 400 houses; others are Shenectady, on the Mohock river, fifteen miles above Albany; Esopus, half-way between Albany and York; and Peckeespy, about ten miles further down the river. The number of inhabitants in the whole province are about 150,000.

The soil of this province is generally very pleasant and fertile, producing in great abundance all sorts of grain and fruit, common to the climate; especially the inter-vales, which are many, and large, upon its extended rivers, of which Hudson's river is the chief. This river is navigable for vessels of an hundred tons as high as Albany, and shallops can go eight or ten miles higher. About eight miles above Albany the Mohock river empties itself at several mouths, called  
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the sprouts, into this. This river takes its rise in the Mohock country, and is navigable (excepting some few falls) for whale-boats and battoes, for upward of one hundred miles; its course is eastwardly, and has adjacent to it many fine inter-vales, particularly that called the German Flats, being settled with Germans, and is extended along the river for fifty miles in length, and about two in width.

In the before-mentioned rivers is great plenty of fish. There are several pleasant and fruitful islands to the south and south-east of the city; and, among these, that called Long Island deserves the first notice.

This island is about 150 miles in length, and in some places twenty miles wide; the middle of the island is somewhat barren, but both ends are most excellent soil, improved perhaps to as great advantage as any lands in America: it produces all kinds of grain and fruit, to be found in this part of the country, to great perfection; and abounds with black cattle, sheep, swine, horses, &c. beyond any other part of the province. The produce of some single acres at the west end, which is handy to New York market, by report annually amounts to near a hundred pounds sterling. And so productive is this island of the human species, that no less than a hundred families annually remove from hence to other places, generally carrying with them an handsome sum to begin with; and a much greater number of women are annually married from hence into the neighbouring plantations.

The situation of New York is extremely happy for trade, having a safe and convenient harbour, accessible three different ways for ships of common burthen; viz. by way of the Sound, between Long island and Streighten island, (which is the most usual and easy entrance); and again between Streighten island and the Jersey-shore. There are easy conveyances to and from it by water, upon its rivers and lakes (except

cept some few carrying-places) to Montreal and Quebec northward, and to the great lakes Erie, Ontario, &c. westward, for 600 miles; and upon the sea it has not only the advantage of its own coasts, but also of Connecticut and the Jerseys, their trade in great measure centering here.

The commodities exported from hence are therefore those of the three governments, such as wheat, flour, beef, pork, furs, and castor, in great abundance; staves, plank, lumber, flax-seed, pig and bar iron, and some copper. Of late, great encouragement is given to several manufactories, especially that of hemp: and in the city a society is formed, who sit at stated times, to consult methods for promoting trade and husbandry in their various branches, and the manufacturing of linen, wool, iron, &c.

His Britannic Majesty is absolute sovereign of the soil of this province, and by him the governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary, council, &c. are appointed; the freeholders of the several counties electing their own representatives, to form a legislative body with them. The cities of New York and Albany have likewise the privilege, by their charters, of making by-laws for themselves.

The religious persuasions here are very numerous; there being Episcopalians, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Moravians, Quakers, and Jews, who not only worship in all their various forms, but in different languages. Learning of late hath been much encouraged in this province, the college being well established, and furnished with a president, professors, and tutors, and a good library.

The PROVINCE of NEW JERSEY, is of a triangular form, and is situated between New York and Pennsylvania: having the province of New York northerly, Pennsylvania westerly and southerly, and the Atlantic ocean easterly; from the mouth of Hudson's river to the mouth of Delaware river. This province, like New York, was originally settled by the

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Swedes, and was deemed a part of what the Dutch had possessed themselves of, by the name of Nova Belgia. It was contained in the grant made by King Charles to his brother James, Duke of York, in 1663, who the year following made a grant of that part called New Jersey to Lord Berkley and Sir George Carteret. These two proprietors sent Philip Carteret, Esq; as governor; and the lands being granted to the settlers for six or seven years, free of quit-rents, induced many, especially dissenters, to come from England, and settle in this country; so that the inhabitants, being a composition of Swedes, Dutch, and English, among whom were some of almost every religious persuasion under heaven; they were like so many jarring elements pent up together, and could not be reduced and reconciled to any settled form of government, but by a military force. The several disturbances which ensued, at length so wearied out the proprietors, that they in the year 1702 surrendered the entire government of both the Jerseys to the crown, reserving only to themselves all their other rights, and stipulating also for some privileges in favour of the people, which were to be given in charge to all future governors appointed by the crown, as part of their instructions. Upon this surrender, the government of East New Jersey and West New Jersey was by the crown annexed to the government of New York, in which state they continued till the year 1736, when the two Jerseys became one government. The number of inhabitants in this province is computed to be about 100,000.

The soil of this province is very uniform, good, and easy, natural to wheat and all kinds of English grain, abounding in every sort of fruit common to the climate; and is said to produce the best cyder of any on the continent. The timber is tall, and their oak is in good esteem for ship-building. This province abounds in streams of water, convenient for mills, furnaces, or any kind of water-works; and having

great quantities of iron ore, there are in it several furnaces and iron works, and one slitting mill, which are carried on to good advantage. It is likewise supposed to be rich in copper and silver ore.

There are no rivers of any note that extend far into this province; that called Passaick, which empties itself into the sea at the northerly part of it, has about twenty miles from its mouth a remarkable fall or cataract, where the whole stream falls seventy foot from a rock whose face is perpendicular.

The lands in this province are chiefly taken up and improved, so that they have but little wild game of any kind: but what greatly obstructs the growth of this province, is the great uncertainty of their titles, and the continual disputes and law-suits which thence arise among the inhabitants; no men growing rich here so fast as the gentlemen of the law. Beside, this province suffers the same fate from Philadelphia and New York, that the colony of Connecticut does from New York and Boston; having no considerable foreign trade of their own, they exchange their commodities at those two places for foreign goods, and consequently leave a profit there, which otherwise they might have themselves.

The chief exports of this province are wheat, flour, timber, pig and bar iron, copper ore, and black cattle, which they drive in great numbers to Philadelphia; on whose rich pastures they are generally grazed for some time, before they are killed for market.

The form of government here is the same as that of New York, and the religious persuasions are no less numerous, and much the same as in that province. Here is likewise a college founded at Princetown, about thirty miles from the city of Philadelphia, which is said to be extremely well furnished and regulated.

The Province of PENNSYLVANIA was by the Dutch esteemed a part of their Nova Belgia, and was,

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as such, supposed to be included in the grant made by King Charles the Second to his brother James the Duke of York, in 1663, though it does not appear to have been particularly described in that grant. It is situated between 39 and 42 degrees of latitude, and 72 and 78 degrees west longitude; being bounded north-easterly by the Jerseys, north by lands of the Five Nations, west by the Apalachian mountains, and southerly by Maryland. In 1681, Mr. Penn obtained a patent from King Charles for the upper or inland part of this province; and afterward, from the Duke of York, he obtained a grant of the sea-coasts from the town of Delaware, now Newcastle, to Cape Henlopen. In the country, contained within this last grant, were many Swedes, Dutch, and English settled, who chose to remain under a distinct jurisdiction of their own, but are under the same governor, and belong to the same proprietor. One of the fundamental regulations of this province is, "that none who believe in God Almighty, and live peaceable, shall be molested on account of their religious persuasion; or be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship contrary to their declared sentiments:" and, "that all persons who profess to believe in Jesus Christ, shall not be incapable of serving the government in any capacity on account of any peculiarities in their religious opinions; they solemnly promising, when required, allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, and fidelity to the proprietor and governor of the province."

Soon after Mr. Penn had obtained his grant, he engaged and embarked with a considerable number of people to settle in this country, most of whom were Quakers, Mr. Penn himself being of that persuasion: but so upright was he in his proceedings, that although he had, by charter from the king, a right to a large extent of country, yet he would not pretend to take possession, or make any division of the lands among his followers, till he had fairly purchased the country

of the native Indians, in whom he judged the original property to be vested. At the same time he engaged the several nations of Indians, inhabiting or claiming this territory, to promise that they would not sell or dispose of any of their lands, but to him, or such as should be authorised by him to purchase the same; giving orders to his agents not to take possession, or suffer any person to take possession of any lands, till they had first made a fair purchase of them from the Indians. This generous procedure of his not only recommended him strongly to the natives, who conceived a very high opinion of his honour and integrity, but laid a foundation for a lasting peace with them. Mr. Penn continued in the country upward of two years, in which time he formed such an excellent plan for the government of the province as hath since engaged more foreigners to reside here than in any other part of America. He likewise laid the foundations of the city of Philadelphia, and formed the plan of it, which, for beauty, not only far excels any other in America, but is, perhaps, exceeded by few in the world. This city is situated between two navigable rivers, Delaware on the north, and the Schuylkill on the south, which join each other a few miles below, and is near 100 miles from the bay where the river empties itself. The streets are wide and spacious, with a dry defended walk on each side, and are exactly straight and parallel to each other: the houses in general are well built, and make a good appearance, especially some of the public buildings, which are not excelled by any in the country: The proprietor's seat, which is the usual place of the governor's residence, and is about a mile above the town, exceeds any private building in America in magnificence and situation. There are in the city about four thousand houses, and about twenty thousand inhabitants.

Other considerable places in this province are, Lancaster, about sixty or seventy miles from Philadelphia;

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phia, on the road to Fort Du Quesne or Pittsburg, which is near as large as the city of New York; and about the same distance from Lancaster. On the same road is Carlisle; and about twenty or twenty-five miles beyond it, is Shippensburg. The number of inhabitants in the whole province of Pennsylvania are upward of three hundred and fifty thousand.

The most remarkable rivers in this province are the Delaware and the Susquahanah; the first of these takes its rise in the country of the Mohocks or Five Nations, and flows into the sea at Delaware bay or Cape Henlopen. This river is navigable for near 150 miles up, after which it hath some falls in it; the settlements upon this river extend 150 miles from the city of Philadelphia. The lands adjacent to it are excellent, and scarce ever fail to reward the toil of the husbandman in a plentiful manner. This river also affords great plenty and variety of such fish as are common to the climate; especially sturgeon, which are here taken and manufactured in greater abundance than in any other part of America. The general course of this river is nearly south-east.

The Susquahanah takes its rise in the same country, at about 90 miles distance from the Apalachian mountains, and runs nearly parallel to it, till it empties itself into Chesepcak bay in Maryland. This river is also navigable in the interior country a great way up, and, if possible, exceeds the other in pleasantness and fertility of the soil adjacent to it; producing in great abundance all sorts of grain common to the climate, especially wheat. This province likewise manufactures the greatest quantity of iron of any province on the continent. Its forests are as well stored with wild game, as its pastures with flocks and herbs; in short, no province on the continent is less dependent on its neighbours, or foreign countries, for either the necessaries or conveniencies and agreeables of life, than this. Its trade is extensive, large, and valuable; no less than three hundred sail annually clearing

clearing out from Philadelphia to Europe, the West Indies, &c. Their trade into the interior country, with the Indians, is likewise very extensive and lucrative. The chief articles exported from this province, are wheat, flour, beer, pig and bar iron, hog-head and pipe staves, hoops, furs, peltry, beef, pork, flax-seed, &c.

This is a proprietary government, the proprietor being invested with a sort of sovereign authority: he appoints the magistrates, and the representatives of the people are summoned in his name, and, by their advice, he enacts laws which are binding, without the approbation of king or parliament at home. But by a late statute, the proprietor must have the king's approbation in appointing a governor, when he does not personally reside in the province himself; and of a deputy governor when he does. And by another statute, all the governors in America are liable to be called to an account for mal-administration before the court of king's bench in England.

MARYLAND is the next province to the southward, being bounded on the north by Pennsylvania and Delaware bay; on the east, by the Atlantic ocean; by Virginia, south; and by the Appalachian mountains, west; and is divided into the eastern and western divisions by the great bay of Chesapeake.

This province was originally included in the grant made by King James the First to the Southern Company, formed by charter, in 1606; but that grant being vacated, and falling to the crown, this territory was granted by King Charles the First to Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic nobleman, who sent out a number of people to begin the settlement of the country, among whom were several of the Romish persuasion: having obtained an indulgence of enjoying the free exercise of their religion in that country. His Lordship's brother embarked in November 1633, and took possession of this country, having with him 200 settlers: the country, in honour to Queen Mary, con-  
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sort to King Charles, was called Maryland. As they prudently took care to cultivate a friendship and good correspondence with the Indians, they thereby avoided the distresses which the neighbouring colony of Virginia had so often been reduced to; and in their infant state they were greatly assisted by them. At present, the property of but a small part of the province is vested in Lord Baltimore, he having conveyed great part to others.

There are no very considerable towns in this province; the reason of which is, that the plantations are almost all situated upon some navigable creek or river, with which the province abounds.

The principal rivers in this province are Potomack, Patuxent, Pokomoata, Chaptank, and Sassafras river, with many others of smaller note, by which the province is cut and carved into various shapes; and has all the advantages of navigation and water-carriage that can be desired. Places of most note in this province are Annapolis, esteemed the capital, St. Mary's, Port Royal, &c.

The number of inhabitants in the province of Maryland is about 85,000 whites, and 25,000 negroes or slaves.

The air, soil, produce, and commerce of this province, being much the same as those of Virginia; a description of those of the latter, will include those of the former.

VIRGINIA was discovered by Sebastian Cabor, and was the first settled of any in America; for Sir Walter Ralieggh, in 1584, obtained a grant from Queen Elizabeth, of all remote barbarous and heathen lands he should discover and settle: when he, with Sir Richard Grenville, and several other gentlemen, at their own expence, fitted out two ships; which departing from London in April 1584, on the July following fell in with that part of America now called North Carolina. They were received and entertained by the natives in a friendly manner, with whom they

traded, and upon their return to Europe carried two of them to England. They at this time made no settlement in the country, but gave it the name of Virginia, in honour of the virgin Queen. Sir Richard Grenville himself embarked for Virginia the spring following, having seven ships under his direction, carrying with him, as an interpreter, one of those Indians that had been brought to England the preceding year. But a dispute arising between an Indian and one of Sir Richard's followers, they imprudently burnt the Indian town, destroyed their corn, and did them other considerable damages. This inconsiderate piece of revenge gave the Virginian Indians such an ill impression of the English, that the colony was continually harassed by them; until these Indians were themselves set upon by the Mohock or Five Nations, who drove them out of the province, from whence they dispersed to different Indian nations for protection; so that the very name of them is now lost.

Virginia has a very extensive territory, being situated between 36 and 39 degrees north latitude, and 74 and 80 degrees west longitude; indeed by their charter they have right to the whole country west and north-west to the South-sea. It lies upon the great bay of Chesapeake, formed by the two promontories called Cape Henry and Cape Charles; and is perhaps as fine an inland bay as any in the world, running up through Virginia and Maryland near due north 130 miles, and is navigable the whole way for large ships, being in most places twenty miles across. This province has also four fine rivers flowing into the west-side of the bay, which take their rise in the Apalachian mountains, running from north-west to south-east; the southernmost of these is James river, (called by the Indians Pawhatan) about two miles broad, and navigable at least for fourscore miles. The next is York river, (called by the Indians Pamunky) which is also navigable a great way up, and in some places comes very near the former. A little further north is the

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the river Rappahanock, navigable a great way, and in some places comes within a few miles of York river. The northernmost is the great river Potomack, which is navigable quite to the falls, being accounted 200 miles, and is in many places nine miles over. These four rivers or creeks, which flow into them, being navigable for small craft, render this country the most commodious for water-carriage of any in America; for as most of the plantations are situated upon or very near these rivers, every planter has the conveniency of shipping his own goods, and receiving in return, such necessaries as they stand in need of: hence it is, that many of the planters live upon their own estates, and have no occasion to apply to merchants in any of the sea-ports; and this is the reason that there are no considerable towns in this province. The town of most note in it is Williamsburg, to which the seat of government hath been transferred from James Town, on account of its being both a more commodious and healthy situation. This town is within land, between two navigable creeks running out of York and James rivers, by which means it hath an easy communication with both; and chiefly consists of one straight street, about a mile long from east to west: at the west-end stands the college, and on the right hand of the street that leads to the college stands the governor's house, an elegant seat, built by the province for his residence; the courthouse likewise, and other public buildings, are very spacious and elegant.

This whole country was called by the natives Savannas, or the Low Country, it being, for a great way from the sea, one entire plain. The trees grow very lofty; nor is the ground incumbered with underwood, so as to hinder their being travelled through on horseback, but afford a commodious shade to those who pass under them.

The heat and cold, both here and in Maryland, are governed by the winds; the north and north-west winds

winds are commonly cold and clear, the south-east moist, hazy, and very hot: in winter, the air is clear and dry; the frosts do not continue long, but are sometimes very severe. The months of May and June are very pleasant, July and August are generally excessive hot; and in September and October the rains fall, when the inhabitants, for the most part, become sickly, being subject to agues, intermitting fevers, &c. The woods abound with great variety of flowers of sweet-scented shrubs; here is the large tulip laurel, the bark of whose roots, in intermitting fevers, has been found to answer all the purposes of the famous Peruvian bark.

The chief exports from these provinces, beside tobacco, are iron, beef, pork, pipe-staves and other lumber. But all other commodities and productions of this country are swallowed up in that of tobacco, the importance of which trade to Great Britain will easily appear from the shipping employed: it being computed, that generally one year with another, 200 large ships are freighted with that commodity; and that 100,000 hogsheads are yearly exported, each weighing 400 weight. Out of this it is supposed, that 40,000 hogsheads are consumed at home, and the other 60,000 exported from Great Britain to foreign markets.

The annual revenue arising to the crown from tobacco only, is very considerable; and several hundred thousands are employed in, and supported by, raising and manufacturing it. There is also a considerable revenue arising to the crown, from a quit-rent paid annually by the owners of all lands granted by patent; from a duty on all passengers who come into the province, from a duty on liquors and slaves, and from fines and forfeitures.

The king of Great Britain has the appointment of the governor in this province, and in him and his council the supreme jurisdiction of civil affairs is lodged,

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ed, who sit twice a year for that purpose with the burgesſes, or representatives of the people.

The number of the inhabitants in this province is about 200,000 whites; and it is supposed there are half that number of negroes and slaves.

Ecclesiastical affairs are under the inspection of a commissary, authorised by the bishop London, who presides over all the colonies in religious matters.

**NORTH, and SOUTH CAROLINA; and GEORGIA:** these are now three distinct governments, though originally but one. They extend from 30 to 36 degrees of north latitude, and from 75 to 86 degrees west longitude, being bounded on the north by Virginia, east by the Atlantic Ocean, south by St. John's River, and west by the Mississippi.

This extensive territory is a part of the discoveries made by the Cabots in 1497; but nothing having been done here in consequence of their discovery, the Spaniards, in 1512, attempted a settlement on that part of the continent which they called Florida: but not succeeding, they abandoned the country, which lay neglected by the Europeans, till 1562, when Coligni, the famous French admiral, sent out two ships, under the command of one monsieur Ribaut, to make a settlement on the coasts of Florida. But the civil war breaking out in France soon after, he was under a necessity, for want of supplies, to abandon the settlement; and had he not met with an English ship, which furnished him with provisions, he and his people would have, in all probability, perished by famine. Coligni, not disheartened by this, fitted out six ships, under the command of monsieur Ribaut and one Laudoner, in 1564 and 1565, to re-establish the settlement, of which the Spaniards having received information, they sent out a force to oppose him, and reduced the fort. The Spaniards left a garrison in the fort, as if they intended to keep and enlarge their acquisition, but being attacked by the French, commanded by one De Gorques, they were  
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drove out of the country. De Gorques demolishing all the forts they had erected, and laid waste their settlements, returned to France, and the civil war still continuing, no further attempts were made towards a settlement in Carolina. This fine country lay unnoticed for almost a whole century, that is, till 1663, when our king Charles II. resolved to assert his right to it; and to encourage the planting of a colony here, he granted it by patent, bearing date March 24, 1663, to eight proprietors. But what greatly contributed to the sudden peopling of this colony, were some severities used at home toward dissenters, who, on that account, flocked here in great numbers; full toleration being here given to people of every profession. By prudent regulations the colony was soon able to provide itself with most necessaries, and having met with no disturbance from the natives, they were enabled to carry on two settlements at the same time, viz. one at the mouth of Ronoack River to the north, and another southward, at the confluence of Ashley and Cowper Rivers. This last town was, in honour to the then reigning king, called Charles-Town, which has since been the metropolis of South Carolina.

The natives gave no interruption to the planters for the first ten years, nor till their avarice and injustice excited them to it; for they set up the shameful trade of purchasing of the Indians such prisoners as they took in their wars with one another, and afterward sold them as slaves, either to the Spaniards, or to our own planters in the West India islands: at which the Indians were so exasperated, that they took up the hatchet against them. However, such was the courage and good conduct of Mr. Joseph West, their governor at that time, that no very ill consequences followed upon this rupture; the Indians being soon reduced to terms of peace, and the colony rested in quiet, till disturbed by their own domestic jars and animo-

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animosities, which first arose on account of the quit-rents they were obliged to pay to the proprietors.

These misfortunes threw the colony into such confusion, that, upon seven of the proprietors consenting to sell out, the crown agreed to give each of them for his eighth share the sum of 2500 l. and a further sum of 5000 l. to be divided among them for the quit-rents that were then due; which agreement was confirmed by act of parliament, in 1728. But Lord Carteret, reserved his eighth-part, both of the property and the quit-rents then in arrear, and all his rights, titles, privileges, as if no such act had passed; and hath since had his eighth-part divided to him, which is about sixty miles on the sea-coasts from north to south, adjoining to Virginia, and from the Atlantic Ocean east, to the South Sea west. As soon as the property and jurisdiction of this colony were thus vested in the crown, it was divided into two distinct provinces, each of which have a governor, council, &c. the form of the government being much the same as is common to all king's governments on the continent. There is however this difference in the two governments, namely, that North Carolina is divided into counties, each of which have a sheriff and court of justice; but in South Carolina, they have an officer, called the Provost-marshal, who acts as sheriff of the whole province: and all courts of justice, excepting those of single justices of the peace, are held at Charles Town. These regulations are attended with inconveniencies greatly complained of, as increasing the expence of law-suits to the parties, and often rendering the attendance of jurymen and witnesses very difficult.

**NORTH CAROLINA** is situated upon the sea-coasts about three hundred miles, and is bounded east by the Atlantic Ocean, north by Virginia, west by the Appalachian Hills, and south by South Carolina. The coasts of this province are extremely broken by bays, creeks and rivers; in the openings of which are many bars

and shoals, which render the navigation difficult to strangers: there are, however, several safe and good harbours, and rivers navigable far into the country. The principal are Ronoak or Albemarle River, Neuse River, and Cape Fear or Clarendon River; upon which are situated the principal towns in the province; viz. Wilmington, on Cape Fear; Neuborn, on the Neuse; and Edenton, on Albemarle: at which three places their general court or assembly for enacting laws sit alternately. The number of the inhabitants in the whole province are computed to be about 70,000 whites, and 20,000 negroes. The country, for near an hundred miles from the sea, is flat, level and sandy; the soil shallow and lean, being covered over with pitch and yellow pines: from which they manufacture prodigious quantities of tar, pitch, and turpentine. In this laborious and dirty business, their droves of negroes are employed round the year. This soil will scarce produce any thing but Indian corn, and not even that to any perfection without some kind of manure. About an hundred miles in the country the land rises gradually to the Apalachian mountains, where the soil in some places is very good, and produces plenty of wheat and other grain; the timber being oak, intermixed with pine: they also here raise hemp and flax, and have some fruit.

The greatest number of inhabitants are in this western part of the province, as the soil here is the most fruitful and pleasant. There still remain some Indian towns in this province: part of the nation called the Tuskararas, in the middle part; and the Catawpees, in the southern, near the bounds of South Carolina. But they have met with very little disturbance from the Indians since they were made a king's government, till the late war with the Cherokees, in which their frontiers have suffered, with those of their neighbours. The principal exports from this province are great quantities of pitch, tar and turpentine, to Europe, and the neighbouring provinces to

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the northward; pork, beef, and corn, to the West Indies; droves of live cattle to Virginia; by which way they generally export their northern produce of tobacco.

The bounds of SOUTH CAROLINA are much reduced from their original extent; Georgia being taken off to the southward, as far as the river Savanna, which runs in a curve round the south and west part of this province, out of North Carolina. The extent of the province upon the Atlantic Ocean to the east is upwards of 100 miles, and west from the sea upward of 200 miles, to where Georgia and North Carolina meet. The face of this country, for sixty or seventy miles from the sea, is like that of North Carolina, low and level; then it gradually rises into hills. But the soil is vastly different, and infinitely better; and may be divided into pine-land, oak-land, swamps, and marshes. The pine-land is by far of the greatest extent; and is a dry whitish soil, naturally producing a great variety of shrubs, and a coarse kind of grass, not very agreeable to cattle, unless in the meadows, or savanna. Peaches grow here in great abundance; and the white mulberry-tree, which is the food of silk-worms. The oak-land commonly lies in narrow slips between pine-land, and swamps, creeks, or rivers. This soil is a blackish sand, producing several kinds of oak, bay, ash, laurel, &c.

This province abounds with cattle and swine, even beyond North Carolina; and its forests are stored with deer, beyond any of its neighbours, and many other kinds of wild game: in short, this is a very rich and fertile province, and is peopled by many wealthy inhabitants, who live in great ease and splendor. The staple commodities are rice and indigo. It is also found that the westerly part of this province produces wheat to great perfection, which no doubt will now be improved in that way, being freed from the fear of those savages who lately infested their frontiers. They also raise flax; which, as their numbers

bers increase, may likewise become a very considerable article to the province. Its navigation is easy and safe upon the rivers Potee, Santee, and Savannah: from its different ports annually sail upward of three hundred vessels laden with the produce of the country; among which may be reckoned deer-skins, as no inconsiderable article; the deer being so plenty, that the back-inhabitants scarce need any other meat: and there is no doubt but that laborious animal the silk-worm may be employed here to great advantage, here being his natural food in great plenty. Some attempts that way have been made with good success. But, notwithstanding these delightful and inviting circumstances of this country, it has also its disagreeables; the air or climate is not so pleasant and healthy as could be wished for. The winters are short, and the spring delightful; but from May to September, and sometimes longer, it is excessively hot, with a thick sultry air in the forepart of the day, which those who are not used to it can scarcely breathe in. When the sun breaks out, it is with the most intense heat. The most sharp and heavy thunder and lightning frequently happen here; and the very sudden alterations in the weather render the summer-season very unhealthy for strangers, and subject the inhabitants and natives themselves to fevers, dysenteries, and various distempers: add to all these the myriads of mosquitoes, which are enough to devour one during the summer-season.

Charles-Town, the metropolis of this province, is situated between two navigable rivers; Ashley on the west and south, and Cowper river on the east. The streets are wide and straight, intersecting each other at right angles; those running east and west extend from one river to the other about a mile. The number of the inhabitants in the whole province is about 60,000 whites, and more than double the number of blacks.

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The Province of GEORGIA, is about a hundred miles wide upon the sea, by which it is bounded eastward; southerly, by East Florida; westerly, by the low-lands of the Creeks, and partly by the south-end of the Apalachian mountains; and northerly, by the river Savanna, which divides it from South Carolina. There are also several small but very fruitful islands included in this province, which lie off at a small distance from the continent.

This country was divided from South Carolina, and a settlement begun here, in 1732, in consequence of a representation made to his late majesty by some generous and compassionate noblemen and gentlemen, in behalf of distressed imprisoned debtors, the number of which at that time was very great in England. A charitable subscription was set on foot for collecting benefactions; which succeeded so well that they were enabled to relieve and send out one hundred persons, provided with all manner of necessaries. Lieutenant colonel Oglethorpe, a truly zealous promoter of the design, was appointed to have the conduct and management of the intended settlement; which he began upon the river Savanna, about ten miles up, laying the foundation of the present town of Savanna.

This gentleman prudently cultivated a friendship with the neighbouring Indians, who not only suffered them peaceably and quietly to go on with their settlement, but often supplied them with provisions.

By the wise, prudent and generous conduct of Mr. Oglethorpe, and others, this province continued to flourish and increase: the friendship of the Indians being secured, nothing material happened till 1752, when the trustees surrendered their charter to the crown; since which the governor is appointed by his Britannic majesty, and the form of government the same that is common to all the king's governments.

The soil, air, and produce of this province much resemble those of South Carolina: rice is said to

grow better here than in Carolina, which with corn and indigo may be esteemed at present its principal commodities. They have made some beginnings toward cultivating vines, and the raising of raw silk; both which branches, if attended to, may hereafter become considerable; the climate and soil being very suitable for them.

What has been said of the heat, unhealthiness, thunder and lightning at Carolina, may with the utmost propriety be said of them here, Georgia lying still more to the southward: and this province, if possible, is more severely infested than South Carolina, with all manner of venomous and poisonous animals; from allegators of twelve feet long, to mites scarcely discernible by the eye; the allegators keep in fresh water rivers, and the Savanna abounds with them.

The principal towns in Georgia are, Savanna and Frederica. The former is the metropolis, and is very pleasantly situated; but is remarkable for nothing so much as the famous orphan-house, founded by Mr. Whitefield: yet neither this house, nor the charity, learning, and regulations of it, are any way equal to the tumult and noise that have been made in the world about them. The number of inhabitants in Georgia is about 8000 whites, and 20,000 blacks.

FLORIDA lies south of Georgia, and between that and the Mississippi river, for an extent of about 600 miles. It is now divided into two provinces, viz. East and West Florida.

EAST FLORIDA is bounded north by Georgia, or St. John's River, which divides them; eastwardly and southwardly, by the gulph of Florida; southwest, by West Florida; and the north-west, by the country of the Creek Indians.

The whole territory of Florida was ceded by the Spaniards to the crown of Great Britain, by the treaty of Versailles, in 1762. His Britannic majesty being

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ing absolute sovereign of the soil, has the appointment of the governors in both of the Floridas.

The soil of East Florida is not so good as that of Georgia in general; but the northerly part of it adjacent to Georgia is much like it, and may be improved to the same purposes.

The center or Cape of Florida is a more sandy soil; however, there are some good settlements begun in this province, under the direction of colonel Grant, the present governor of it: and there is a prospect of its soon becoming a flourishing province, as inhabitants are flocking to it from several countries in Europe.

Their exports at present are but small, the produce of their trade with the Indians being the chief they have to spare. As the country was three years since almost entirely uncultivated, and the number of the inhabitants as yet but small, no great improvements and productions are at present to be expected. The metropolis of the province is St. Augustine; and the number of inhabitants, exclusive of his majesty's troops garrisoned there, is, about 2000.

It may well be supposed, from its southerly situation, that the air and climate of this province is not more agreeable and healthy than that of Georgia; and that it is no less infested with poisonous and troublesome animals of various shapes and sizes.

WEST FLORIDA was seized upon by the French, who began a settlement in it at Pensacola, in 1720, and they enjoyed it till the before mentioned treaty of 1762; when this was ceded to and formed into a government by his Britannic majesty. It is bounded, eastwardly, by East Florida; southwardly, by the Gulph of Mexico; westwardly, by the Mississippi river, and the lake of St. Pier; and northwardly by the country of the Chikitaws.

The principal town is Pensacola; and as many of the French, who inhabited here before the treaty, have chose to become British subjects for the sake of keep-

ing their estates, this will contribute to the speedy peopling this province; especially as the land in this province is vastly preferable to the eastern province, its soil being capable of producing all the valuable commodities of rice, indigo, wine, oil, &c. in the greatest abundance. Its situation for trade is extremely good, having the river Mississippi for its western boundary.

They already carry on a very considerable trade with the Indians, and export great quantities of deer-skins and furs. The French inhabitants here raise considerable quantities of rice, and build some vessels.

There are at present about 6000 inhabitants in this province, which increase very fast, it being much more healthy and inviting than East Florida; especially the western parts upon the banks of the Mississippi, where it is said to be agreeable enough to English constitutions.

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TO what Mr. Rogers has said concerning Florida, may be added the sentiments of another ingenious writer, who appears to be well informed with regard to this country.

“ If, says he, we take a view of America, or even of the globe of the earth, we shall find the northern, even the temperate climates, which are most agreeable to live in, are the least adapted to the purposes of trade with Europe; where the climate being of the same nature, of course yields nearly the same productions. We shall see this illustrated, by comparing the produce of the two small islands of St. Christopher, and Rhode-Island, both of them well settled, and well cultivated; both fertile, and almost of the same size; the principal difference betwixt them consisting in this, that the former is situated in lat. 17°. and the latter in 41°. let an estimate be made of the annual exports of each; and by comparing them together we discover at once the difference that is made by climate only: the exports of the former are of great value, and of the latter of very little.

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“ Upon the continent itself we cannot but be sensible that the southern colonies, though the latest settled, and therefore the farthest from the best state of cultivation, yield more valuable articles of trade than the northern colonies; and (the number of inhabitants considered) greatly surpass them in the amount of their exports.

“ The colony of Georgia, which from being a barrier province, and other circumstances, had, when first settled, many disadvantages to struggle with; yet the rapid increase, which it has lately made in its exports, affords sufficient proofs that its climate is perfectly adapted to the purposes, both for European and American commerce; and fit for rice, silk, and indigo; which, sugar excepted, constitute the most valuable articles of trade. In New England, to say nothing of Canada and Nova Scotia, where the winters are still more severe, the earth is covered with snow at least three months in the year; the rigour of the climate puts an end to all vegetation; the beasts of the field require to be sheltered from the inclemencies of the weather, and to be sustained with fodder, laid by in summer: even the laborious hand of industry is in this season of the year destitute of all useful employment.

“ During the same period, the vegetation in Carolina and Georgia affords sufficient food for cattle; no shelter is required for them; the lakes and rivers are not frozen, and the garden vegetables contribute greatly to make a plenty of sustenance.

“ If we carry the eye along to the eastern coast of North America, from Hudson's bay down to the island of Cuba; which lies a little to the south of the Cape of Florida; as we draw nearer the sun, the southern commercial productions generally become better, and of more intrinsic worth. It is not only in sugar and Indigo, that Cuba surpasses all the English settlements, lying upon the continent, but in all other productions, that depend principally upon the power

of the sun. And in this respect, East Florida hath the advantage of Carolina and Georgia, as much as Cuba has the advantage of East Florida.

“ In order to judge of the produce to be expected from a fresh soil, well supplied with navigable rivers, in the climate of East Florida; let us consider the rest of the globe, lying in the same latitude, and we find Egypt, Arabia Felix, Persia, India, China, and Japan; of which China is the only country, that has a tolerable government: yet it must be acknowledged, that all of them are, or have been, famous for their riches and fertility. When we speak, as it were, proverbially, of the riches of the east, we can allude to no other countries than those that have been mentioned

“ As to the situation of Florida, in respect of the Spanish trade, it need only to be observed, that the Spaniards are too lazy to supply themselves even with necessaries: that the Havannah, one of their richest ports, is only a few days sail from St. Augustine, and of course, is much nearer to the capes of Florida, which lie directly opposite to that celebrated harbour. The trade winds, which perpetually blow within the tropics, from east to west, render the communication betwixt the Havannah and St. Augustine always easy, as they lie, in respect to each other, north and south.

“ As to the situation of Florida, with a view to surprize the Spanish ships in the time of war, the trade winds oblige the register ships and galleons from Carthagena, Porto Bello, and Vera Cruz, the rich cargoes whereof are very well known, to return to Europe through the gulph of Florida, and to call at the port of the Havannah, in their way to Old Spain. The strong current that constantly runs from the east, between the Bahama islands and Cuba, right into the gulph of Mexico, as well as the trade winds, which blow from the same quarter, greatly embarass ships coming from the westward to the port of the Havannah; and expose them very much to the designs of an enemy,

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enemy. When vessels, in their way to Europe, double the capes of Florida, they are under a necessity of keeping near to the shore, in order to take the benefit of the eddies and land breezes. When they have got round the capes, and fall in the stream of the gulph of Florida, they are carried forcibly to the northward by the strength of that noted current. A few ships of force may easily take every loaded vessel on its way through this confined strait, which is about 50 miles wide, and somewhat more than 200 miles long; and affords to ships passing through it but little choice in the line of their navigation.

“ It is easy to discern the utility of a fortified harbour near the capes; it would contribute not a little to secure the command of the gulph of Mexico, as well as Florida: the importance whereof, need not be enlarged upon.

“ Its climate and produce, as well as its situation, which, with respect to the Spanish dominions, is of great moment, will one day render it a very important colony to Great Britain; yet, the town of St. Augustine excepted, this country is at present, for want of inhabitants, little better than a desert.”

We return now to Mr. Rogers.

#### The INTERIOR COUNTRY.

The Indians on the continent of North America are mostly retired from the sea-coasts into the interior or westerly parts of the country, few of them being to be found within less than two or three hundred miles of the sea: for though many of them have been in some measure civilised, and parcels of lands have been allotted them in several of the British colonies, where they have been formed into societies; yet it is observable, that, in proportion as they conform to our methods of living, they dwindle away; either because these methods are disagreeable and noxious to their constitutions, or else, that when settled among the English, they have greater opportunities of procuring spirituous liquors, of which they

are generally inordinately fond. Those who still remain have mostly joined themselves to other nations in the interior country, who have generally erected their towns upon the banks of lakes and rivers, where they enjoy coasts of their own; to all their purposes, as effectually as if they possessed the eastern shore of the continent.

The principal rivers in North America are, St. Lawrence, communicating with the sea at the gulph of St. Lawrence; the Mississippi, which flows into the Gulph of Mexico; and the Christino, which discharges itself into Hudson's Bay. There are great numbers of smaller note, that join these in their course from the heights of the country to the sea.

The River St. LAWRENCE takes its rise upward of two thousand miles from its mouth, at a lake called by the Indians Nippissong, (which in their language signifies a large body of water) situate north-west from Lake Superior, in latitude of 52 degrees north. The northerly bank of this lake is a bog, or morafs, near four hundred miles long from north-east to south-west, and about one hundred and fifty miles broad. North of this bog is a ridge of mountains, extending from north-east to south-west, the whole length of the marshy country, and beyond it to the westward. These mountains are very high and steep, and are called by the Indians the Head of the Country, meaning thereby that they are situated in the centre, and are the highest land on the continent of North America; which indeed seems to be the case: for, south-east of these rises the river St. Lawrence, having its course from thence north-easterly; north-east rises the river Christino, and runs north-easterly; and from the south, and south-west of these mountains, rises the Mississippi, which runs southerly; so that by these rivers the continent is divided into so many departments, as it were, from a center, which is the before-mentioned mountains,

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The Indians who inhabit round Lake Nippissong, the head of the river St. Lawrence, are called Lake Indians or Nippissongs, and are in number about five or six thousand men. Their country is of considerable extent, but of very difficult access; on which account they have but very little commerce with the English or French. They have no fire-arms, but hunt with bows and arrows. They have little or no war or connections with any other tribe of Indians, but live almost as independent as if they had a whole world to themselves. They sometimes go through the Christinaux country to Hudson's Bay, and purchase some cloathing from the company; but their chief cloathing is the produce of their country, the skins of beasts. They never shave or cut the hair from their heads or any part of their bodies; on which account the other Indians esteem them a very savage and unpolite herd, and do not chuse any correspondence or connections with a people so rude and uncultivated. They never pretend to plant or improve the land by labour.

From hence the river St. Lawrence runs through a rough, broken, uninhabited country, to Lake Superior; having in its course several falls or cataracts. Below these falls is great plenty of fish, especially trout, which is very large and good. At the entrance of the river into the lake is a town of Indians, called the Souties or Attawawas; which nation inhabit all along at the mouths of the rivers that fall into Lake Superior, and on the north of the Lakes Michigan and Huron. They can raise about 12,000 fighting men. These Indians are more improved than the Nippissongs, having had considerable commerce with the French. They live in huts, built in the form of cones; and generally change their habitations in spring and autumn, spending the summer-season upon the banks of the rivers and lakes, where they fish and raise corn; and the winter among the mountains, sometimes two or three hundred miles distant,

distant, for the sake of better hunting : and the food you meet with among them, is according to the season in which you visit them. They, as yet, make but very little use of spirituous liquors, nor do they manufacture any kind of drink, except the juice of the maple-tree, of which they likewise make sugar. And although there is private property among them, which they transfer to one another, by way of bargain and exchange ; yet no individual or family is allowed to suffer by poverty, sickness, or any misfortunes, while their neighbours can supply their wants : and all this from the simple natural consideration, that they and their families are liable to the same unhappy circumstances they see their friends in.

At the north of Lake Superior there is another tribe or division of these Indians, who call themselves the Bulls : these inhabit round the bay, called by the French Merduouft, or the North Bay. They differ not much from the Souties in their manners ; and can raise about four thousand fighting men. The chief trade of these northern Indians is to Hudson's Bay, where they carry fur and ermine in great abundance.

LAKE SUPERIOR, is upward of two thousand miles in circumference, and very deep, excepting near the west end, where are several islands ; and near where the river joins it is a large island, separated from the main by a strait of not more than five or six miles wide. The soil of this island is very good, and on it are several Indian towns. The banks to the north, south, and east are very high and steep in some places, being more than two hundred feet above the surface of the water, and almost perpendicular ; so that it is very difficult landing at any place, except where the river falls in. There are some good islands in the north-bay of this lake, of forty or fifty miles in length from north to south ; but not near so wide.

The Indians in this territory certainly enjoy in the greatest plenty what they look upon to be the necessaries, and even the luxuries of life. Here are  
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fish, fowl, and beasts of every size and kind, common to the climate, in the greatest abundance. It has rivers, it has a sea of its own, which make great amends for its inland situation, by facilitating trade and commerce from one part of the country to another, by a cheap and easy conveyance; nor do the Indians entirely neglect this advantage, but make great use of canoes on the rivers and lakes: which vessels they make of the bark of birch, spruce, or elm.

The river St. Lawrence flows from Lake Superior to Lake Huron, upwards of one hundred and fifty miles, and joins it about twenty miles east of the Straits of Michlimakana. The stream here is generally very rapid, and has one considerable fall, round which the Indians are obliged to carry their canoes when they pass this way. The land adjacent to the river between the two lakes is broken and hilly; but much of it is capable of being improved to good advantage. The timber is thick and lofty; iron ore is here found in the greatest plenty, and is said to be the best in America; and here are streams sufficient for any kind of water-works.

LAKE HURON is of a triangular form; one of the extremities pointing to the north-east, where a considerable stream flows into it, called the Souties River; from which there is but a short carrying-place to the Attawawas River, that joins St. Lawrence River near Montreal. Another extremity points to the north-west, at the Straits of Michlimakana; the other to the south, where the river St. Lawrence issues out as from the point of a heart.

This Lake is about 900 miles in circumference: the country on the north and north-west of it is rocky and mountainous; on the south-east the land is low, and covered with tall timber, such as white-pine, oak, walnut, ash, maple, &c. On the south-west, between Lake Huron and the Lake Mechigan, the country is level

level and plain, having very few trees upon it of any kind; the soil is tolerably good.

This wide extended plain is covered with tall grass, among which are deer, elks, bears, rackoons, &c. in great plenty; and indeed every thing in general is to be found in this part of the country that is necessary to supply the natural wants of the human species. The number of Indians that inhabit round Lake Huron is about 3000; 600 of which are warriors, or fighting men.

LAKE MECHIGAN is situated west from Lake Huron, and is much of the same form, excepting that it is longer, extending farther to the south. There is a communication between the two lakes, by a streight called the Streight of Michlimakana; which is fifteen miles wide, and forty in length, running nearly east from the north of Lake Mechigan.

On the north end of Lake Mechigan are several towns of Indians. At the south extremity the river St. Joseph flows into it, about 300 miles west of Detroit. The country between the two lakes is level, and generally of an excellent soil; the timber lofty and fair. It is well watered by a variety of streams, running some into one lake, and some into the other. At the point adjoining Lake Mechigan, and for five or six miles from it, south, the land is sandy. Here stands our fort Michlimakana, a good stockade, near twenty feet high. There are, at this place, some French inhabitants, who come here for the sake of trading with the Indians, and for the trout-fishery, which is here very valuable: the trout in these streights being very plentiful, and of an extraordinary size.

The Indians round Lake Mechigan amount to about 4000 fighting men.

On the north-west part of Lake Mechigan enters another streight from the Green Bay. This streight is about 40 miles wide, and 100 long, and in it are many islands variously situated; some of which are inhabited

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inhabited by the Pottawatamies, and others by the Attawawas.

The GREEN BAY is of considerable extent. Into the north end of it flows a large river, that rises between Lake Superior and the Mississippi, which is called the river of Foxes; on which live a nation of Indians, called the Fox Indians, whose number is not less than 4 or 5000 men: and farther southward, the country is inhabited by the Kekabouze, whose number is about 500 men.

The wide extended country upon this river, the Green Bay, and the straits from thence to Lake Michigan, is uniformly pleasant; the soil good and fertile, and wants nothing but civilised industrious inhabitants to render it truly delightful. The winters are never severe; and great part of the year the country wears a verdure. Here likewise grow spontaneously a great variety of grapes, which are agreeable enough to the palate, and doubtless might be manufactured to great advantage. The Indians, who have learned, that the juice of these grapes will make glad the heart of man, make from them a kind of rough claret: but their want of knowledge how to manage it properly, no doubt, renders it vastly inferior to what it might be made. They deposite this liquor in their empty rum-kegs.

From this short account of the Lakes Huron and Michigan, the Green Bay, and the adjacent country, which is no ways exaggerated, nor even up to what will be found true of its beauty and fertility; it must appear to be a very valuable territory, capable of rich improvements; and that the promoting a speedy settlement in it, and securing its advantageous posts, are even of national importance. The French were so sensible of this, that they had advanced posts at the river St. Joseph, at the Green Bay, and at the Falls of St. Marie, at the time when Canada was ceded to the crown of Great Britain; all which have been since destroyed by the Indians: and the only post we now

have in this part of the country, is at Michlimakana, which is garrisoned with 100 men.

From the south point of Lake Huron, the river St. Lawrence runs easterly, inclining to the south for about eighty miles; where it flows into Lake Erie in its passing through Lake Sinclair, which is about twenty-five miles above Lake Erie. The river at Lake Huron is about 500 yards wide; but much wider before it reaches the other lake, there being several streams which join it on each side. Where it enters Lake Sinclair, it is divided into several branches, by which are formed five or six islands of various dimensions.

LAKE SINCLAIR is nearly circular, and is about eighteen miles across. On the east-side are large marshes of eight or ten miles extent from the water; and near the lower end, on the east-side, a river enters it of a considerable bigness; from which, by a short carrying-place, is an easy conveyance to Lake Ontario, used by the Indians who inhabit the banks of this river, who are a branch of the Souties or Attawawas. The land on the west side of the lake is also tolerably good, the timber chiefly beech and maple.

At the south-side of the lake, where the river St. Lawrence leaves it, it suddenly divides into two branches, forming thereby an island of considerable extent, situated near the center of it, and from thence keeps southwardly to Lake Erie; the land on each side of the river is level, good and fertile. On the eastward side of the river, a little below Lake Sinclair, is the town of the Attawawas; and farther down toward Lake Erie, on the same side, is a town of Hurons; the river between these two lakes is near 800 yards wide: on the west-side, below the before-mentioned bay, is the fort of Detroit. The French inhabitants here are settled on both sides of the river for about eight miles. Soon after the surrender of Canada, they were about 2500 in number; there being near 500 that bore arms, and near 300 dwelling-houses.

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houses. Our fort here, built of Stockadoes, is about twenty-five feet high, and 1200 yards in circumference: the situation of this place is pleasant, and the land very good.

LAKE ERIE is 300 miles in length, from the south-west to the north-east, eighty or ninety miles wide at the westerly end, and about forty at the lower end, where it tapers off to seven or eight miles, before the river leaves it. At the south-west corner of Lake Erie, the Lake Sandusky communicates with it, by a strait of half a mile wide.

LAKE SANDUSKY is thirty miles in length, and eight or ten miles wide. Into the south-west corner of this lake the river Sandusky, or Huron, flows. Upon the banks of this river, and round the Lake Sandusky, the Huron Indians are settled in several different towns, in a very pleasant fertile country. This nation of Indians can raise about 6 or 700 fighting men. They differ something in their manners from any yet mentioned. They build regular framed houses, and cover them with bark; these are esteemed the richest Indians upon the whole continent, having not only horses in great abundance, but some black cattle and swine. They raise great quantities of corn, not only for their own use, but supply several other tribes, who purchase this article from them.

The country on the south-side of Lake Erie is claimed by the Five-Nation Indians, but not inhabited by them; they keep it for the sake of hunting. This also is a fine level country toward the south, from the lake, for several miles; having many streams flowing through it into the lake, from the high lands between this and the Ohio. Our fort at Preique Isle is upon this side of the lake, about 100 miles from the east-end. From this fort is a carrying-place of about twelve or fourteen miles to the French Creek, a branch of the Ohio.

From the east-end of Lake Erie, the river St. Lawrence runs north-easterly, inclining to the north, about fifty miles, to Lake Ontario. Nearly opposite to where it issues out of the lake, is a new fort, erected on the northerly side, called Fort Erie. Soon after the river forms itself, the current is rapid, on account of the rocks and falls in it, for about a mile; over which, notwithstanding, we work up vessels by the help of windlasses. A little below these ripples are several small islands, and at about six or seven miles distance the river is divided into two branches, by the south-west end of the Great Island, which extends almost down to Little Niagara Fort, and contains no less than 40,000 acres of land, which is very good. The country on both sides of the river to Little Niagara appears to be good and fruitful, and is wholly uninhabited.

Little Niagara Fort is nothing more than a stockade, and is about two miles distant from the easterly end of the Great Island, on the east-side of the river.

Near this fort is a remarkable fall, or cataract, in the river, which deserves a particular description. This cataract is called the Falls of Niagara, which, in the language of the Five Nations, signifies a fall of water. The course of the river here is south-south-east, and about half a mile wide, where the rock crosses it, not in a direct line, but in the form of an half-moon. Above the fall is an island of about half a mile in length; the lower end of which comes to the edge of the fall. The current of the river above the island is quite slow; but as it approaches the island, and is divided by it, it runs more swiftly; and, before it comes to the fall, with such violence, as often throws the water to a considerable height, especially on the west-side of the island, the whole stream appearing in a foam; for even here the descent is equal to the side of a pretty steep hill. When it comes

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comes to the perpendicular fall, which is an hundred and fifty feet, no words can express the consternation of travellers at first view, seeing so great a body of water falling, or rather violently thrown, from so great an height, upon the rocks below; from which it again rebounds to a very great height, appearing white as snow, being all converted into foam, through those repeated violent agitations. The noise of this fall is often heard at the distance of fifteen miles, and sometimes much farther. The vapour arising from the fall may sometimes be seen at a great distance, appearing like a cloud, or pillar of smoke; and in it the appearance of a rainbow, whenever the sun and the position of the traveller favours. Many beasts and fowls here lose their lives, by attempting to swim or cross the stream in the rapids, and are found dashed in pieces below; and sometimes the Indians have met with the like fate, through carelessness or drunkenness. There are smaller falls in the river for several miles below, which renders it unnavigable. The bank of the river, on the east-side from the fall downward, is 300 feet high, till you come to another fort of ours, distant from Little Niagara nine miles; and this length they are obliged to carry by land, on account of the rapidity above and below the cataract. The land on the other side rises gradually; and perhaps no place in the world is frequented by such a number of eagles as this, invited hither by the carnage before mentioned, that is here made of deer, elks, bears, &c. on which they feed. The land on the west-side of the river St. Lawrence, from this fort, or landing place, to Lake Ontario, is owned by the Mississaugas, and is tolerably good. The timber is chiefly chestnut. The easterly side is owned by the Five Nations, and is thinly timbered with lofty oaks; which, at first view, one would be apt to think, were artificially transposed. The river enters Lake Ontario at the south-west corner, at which place

is Niagara Fort ; an handsome well-built fortification, of considerable strength. A large bay shoots up from the entrance of the river westward.

LAKE ONTARIO is of an oval form, about 260 miles in length, and 150 wide in the middle. The country on the west and north of the lake, down to the river Toronto, which is about fifty miles, is very good. At the west-end a river runs in, from which are carrying-places, both to the Lake Sinclair and Lake Erie, or to rivers that flow into them.

The country upon the lake, between St. Lawrence and Toronto, is inhabited or owned by the Mississaugus ; and, by the fair and lofty timber upon it, is a good soil.

At the easterly corner of the lake flows in the River Oswego, where we have another fort erected, and a garrison kept up of a considerable force : this is about 200 miles from Niagara. The river Oswego rises from the Oneida Lake, which is about thirty miles in length. At the east-end of this lake stands a royal blockhouse, which is garrisoned to keep up a communication with the lakes ; and on the west-end of this lake is Fort Brewerton, another post, built for the same purpose : and about half-way between this and Oswego is another blockhouse, to command a ferry over the Seneca River.

This country is owned by the Five Nations. There are several rivers flowing through it to the lake ; the most considerable is the river Sable, which joins the lake eighty or ninety miles east of Niagara, and rises near a branch of the Ohio. There are several falls upon, and one higher than, the falls of Niagara. The stream is about 200 feet wide for a great way up. It is very much concealed from the traveller, as he passes it on the lake, by an island situated before the mouth of it. About 150 miles up the river, are those remarkable springs, greatly esteemed by the Indians as a remedy for almost every disease : they are

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called the Oil-springs, on account of an oleous substance that issues forth with the water, and rises upon the surface of it.

In the rivers round Lake Ontario are salmon in great plenty during the summer-season; and at the entrance of the river St. Lawrence are, during the winter-season, an abundance of a kind of fish, called white-fish, which seem to be peculiar to this place, there being none such any where else in America, excepting some few at Long Point. They are about the size of shads, and very agreeable to the palate. Here is great plenty of water-fowl, and game of all kinds common to the climate. In a word, the country round this lake is pleasant, apparently fertile, and capable of valuable improvements.

The Five Nations have their towns, not adjacent to the lake, but at some distance from it, and mostly upon the rivers that flow into it.

The river St. Lawrence takes its leave of Lake Ontario at the north-east corner of it. Near the lake it is ten or twelve miles wide, having several islands in it; on one of which, the most northerly, at the head of the rifts, is a small fortrefs, erected by the French; and now kept by us.

From Lake Ontario to the Cedars, the present western boundary of the province of Quebec, is about eighty miles; and from thence to Lake St. Francis, which may be called the next stage of St. Lawrence, is nearly the same distance.

There are several settlements of the St. John's, Cape Sable, and several other tribes of Indians, upon the streams falling into St. Lawrence from the south, between that and Nova Scotia; and round the Gulph of St. Lawrence, between that and the Bay of Fundy; and the coasts of the province of Main: whose chief subsistence is the wild game of the country; for they raise but little corn, and keep no cattle. There are also some Indians upon the north-side of St. Lawrence, near Quebec, called Hurons; but none of any great account. All the Indians on the lakes, ex-

cepting the Hurons and Five Nations, have an affinity in their language, and appear to be originally from the same nation.

From this account of the country upon the river St. Lawrence, above what is now called the province of Quebec, there seems a prospect in future, not only of a flourishing province, but a rich and great kingdom, exceeding in extent of territory most of the kingdoms in Europe: and though it has no open communication with the sea, yet great amends are made for this defect by its numerous lakes and streams running to and from them, by which there is an easy communication from one part of the country to another, almost through the whole.

The RIVER CHRISTINO, is so called from the Indians, the Christinaux, who possess the country adjacent to it. Its highest source is, as hath been mentioned, at the north-east of the central mountains, called by the Indians the Head of the Country. It rises in several streams, all which bend their course toward Hudson's Bay, and fall in with each other at different places, till, in the course of about 150 miles from their source, they all unite, by which confluence a very large bay is formed, round which a tribe or division of Christinaux live.

Farther down the river, there are some few lakes; but none deserving particular description. There are several small streams which flow in on each side of the river, from a low boggy country, by which its waters are increased, till finally it discharges itself into Hudson's Bay; near 200 miles north of York Fort, and about 500 miles from the before mentioned mountains.

The country adjacent to this river is vastly inferior to that on the lakes and the river St. Lawrence, as may well be supposed from its northerly situation; it lying between 55 and 60 degrees of north latitude. The winters are long and severe; the snow deep, and continues on the earth great part of the year.

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The number of Indian warriors in this country is supposed to be about 2000. They generally cover their houses, or huts, with the skins of wild beasts; and not only make them warm and secure, but, according to their taste, very neat and elegant. These Indians have very near the same language with those on the lakes, and north of the river St. Lawrence; and according to their own traditions, they all come round from the north into this country: and certain it is, that though they neglect the education of their children in almost every other respect, they are extremely solicitous to acquaint them with the story of their ancestors.

Farther northward still, are some other rivers that flow into Hudson's Bay; but the country adjacent to them being still more northerly, is inferior, if possible, to that of the Christinaux: and it seems observable in general, that the further north you travel on the American continent, the more savage and unimproved the nations appear to be.

From James's Bay, and along the coasts of Labrador, the country is inhabited, or rather frequented, by a nation called the Eskimaux\*, who are a wandering unsettled generation, roving in large parties during the summer-season, and come quite from Hudson's Bay northward to the Straits of Belle Isle, which they sometimes cross over to Newfoundland. Notwithstanding this prodigious extent of country over which they ramble, they are not very numerous, being but about 4000 men. They subsist upon animals which they take out of these northern seas, such as whales, seals, and the like; and cloathe themselves with the furs and skins of such animals as they take. During the winter-season they abide in caverns underground, and feed chiefly on whale-oil and blubber, unless raw flesh chance to be thrown in their way.

\* See Ellis's voyage for the discovery of a north-west passage, at the close of this volume.

They travel chiefly by water, in a kind of canoes peculiar to themselves, which are so contrived as to ride through almost any storm that can happen; for in case of bad weather, they can lace and inclose themselves in and keep dry, while the canoe is rolled over and over without damage. They sometimes venture several leagues to sea in those canoes in pursuit of whales, seals, &c.

Their chief trade is to our fort on James's Bay, and with such vessels as frequent their coast for the sake of trading with them.

The Indians on the island of Newfoundland appear to be much the same sort with those last mentioned: they are called Micmacks; and are considered and hated as a barbarous and beastly people by all the other Indians in the neighbourhood, who maintain but little correspondence with them.

The MISSISSIPPI takes its rise at the southerly part of the central mountains, upward of 3000 miles, following the course of the river from its mouth at the Gulph of Mexico. Its highest source is a lake of considerable bigness, opposite to, or north-west of which, is a notch or opening in the mountain, from which a large stream flows to the lake, carrying with it a red sulphureous substance, by which the water is discoloured; on which account this is called the Red Lake. It has a fine fertile country on the south and south-east parts of it.

The course of the Mississippi from the Red Lake is nearly south-west for upward of 200 miles, where it is joined by a smaller stream from the westward, and its course is turned nearly south-east for more than 300 miles, where it is joined by the Muddy River, and before that by another not so large, and flowing to it from the north-east. The Muddy River rises from the south of the central mountains, out of the large bog before mentioned, and runs south, inclining to the west, till it meets the Mississippi coming from the north-west, after which junction the river is

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near two miles wide. The country on both sides of the river, and of the branches that flow into it, is exceeding fine and good. The timber lofty, but thin; the plains large, and fertile. The air and climate, even quite to the head, moderate and agreeable. This fruitful country is at present inhabited by a nation of Indians, called by others the White Indians, on account of their complexion; they being much the fairest Indians on the continent. This nation is very numerous, being able to raise 20 and 30,000 fighting men.

They use no weapons but bows and arrows, tomahawks, and a kind of wooden pikes; for which reason they often suffer greatly from the eastern Indians, who have the use of fire-arms, and frequently visit the White Indians on the banks of the easterly branch, and kill or captivate them in great numbers. These Indians live in large towns, and have commodious houses; they raise Indian corn, tame the wild cows, and use both their milk and flesh; they keep great numbers of dogs, and are very dexterous in hunting. They have little or no commerce with any nation that we at present are acquainted with.

From the confluence of the Muddy River the course of the Mississippi is nearly south for two hundred miles; where it is joined by a large stream from the west, which rises four hundred miles from the central mountains; and its waters chiefly spring from the north and north-easterly part of the Misauri Ridge, a chain, or rather a double chain of mountains, so called, which reach over toward the isthmus of Darien. This is called by the Indians the Bloody River, on account of the long and bloody wars which have happened between the Indians here and those to the eastward.

Four hundred miles farther down, another river flows in from the north-west, which rises near the Bloody River. The two last mentioned rivers are both inhabited by the Illinois Indians, who likewise

possess the western banks of the Mississippi for several hundred miles.

The French had begun a settlement, which extended for fifty miles along the eastern side of the Mississippi, and a considerable way up the river Illinois; but, since this place was ceded to the crown of Great Britain, the French have erected a garrison on the other side of the river, whither the greatest part of the inhabitants have retired. But those of them who were Germans, chose to tarry on this side, and become British subjects.

The Indians in this part of the country live very well, have commodious houses, make great use of horses: their country abounds with deer, elks, buffaloes, &c.

About an hundred and fifty, or two hundred miles below, where the Illinois flows into the Mississippi on the east-side, the Misauris joins it on the west. This river takes its rise from the east and south-east of the before mentioned Misauris ridge of mountains, in many different streams, for near 1000 miles on this side, which unite with each other at different places; and, after an easterly and southerly course of near 2000 miles, as the river runs, it flows into the Mississippi.

The inhabitants on this river are called the Misauri Indians, who are able to raise great numbers of fighting men; and have much the same customs and manners as the Illinois, who are likewise very numerous. The goodness of the country which they both inhabit, must render life agreeable and easy to persons who, like them, are content with having the demands of nature answered, without endeavouring to increase these demands by any studied refinements.

The river Mississippi, after being joined by the Misauris, is about six miles wide, and continuing its course southerly, is joined by no considerable stream after this for between two or three hundred miles; where the Ohio flows into it, and makes a large ad-

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dition to its waters. The country on each side the Mississippi to this place, is much the same as that already described; but the climate is something warmer, and is owned by the Tweeghtwees, or Yeah-tanees, on the east-side down to the Ohio, and eastwardly from the Mississippi as far as the Wabach.

The OHIO rises in several branches; one of which is near Presque Isle, on the Lake Ontario, and within six miles of the lake: about ten miles down this branch stands Fort Du Beauf, from which place it is navigable for canoes and small boats quite to the mouth. The course of this branch is southerly for seventy or eighty miles below Fort Du Beauf, where we had another fort, called Venango. About twenty miles above this last fort, on the banks of the stream, are several little towns of the Mingo Indians, who removed hither from Hudson's River, and now belong to those called the Five Nation Indians. This river is joined by two or three other streams before it arrives at Fort Pitt.

Fort Pitt is a regular well-built fortress, kept in good order, and well garrisoned: it stands upon the point of land between the rivers Monongahela and Ohio.

From this the general course of the river is west, inclining to the south for near a thousand miles, as the river runs, where it joins the Mississippi. At Fort Pitt it is a mile wide, but grows much wider before its junction with the Mississippi, being joined by several streams in its course thither.

As far down the Ohio as the river Wabach, the country on each side is claimed by the Five Nations: the Shawanees at present inhabit it, who can raise about three hundred fighting men; and further eastward, toward Lake Erie, live the Delawares, who can raise about five hundred fighting men. These are in league with the Five Nations, and hold their lands under them, and are sometimes called the Six Nations; and all together, since this alliance,  
which

which is of some years standing, have the general appellation of the Six Nation Indians.

West of the Wabach, as far as the Mississippi south, to where the Ohio joins it, and north to the heads of the Wabach and Yeahrtanees Rivers, the country is owned by the Tweeghtwees or Yeahrtanees Indians, who can furnish out about two thousand fighting men. Their chief settlements are at the heads of the before-mentioned rivers.

The country between the lakes and the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi, for several hundred miles, and the country between Fort St. Joseph and the Green Bay, and between Detroit and the Illinois, and even much farther north than Detroit, is level; the soil excellent, the climate healthy and agreeable, and the winters moderate and short. Its natural productions are numerous and valuable. It is sufficiently timbered with trees tall and fair, and fit for any common use.

There is a good coal-mine near Fort Pitt, made use of by the garrison for fuel; and what is still more in commendation of this country, is that it is well watered by springs and rivulets, and has an easy communication with the whole world from the mouth of the Mississippi, and with great part of the interior country of North America, by its several branches. Indeed such is the situation of this country, that, at or near the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi, within a century or two, may possibly arise the largest city in the world.

Below the river Ohio, on the east-side of the Mississippi, down to its mouth, the country is owned and inhabited by the Chicketaus for near two hundred miles to the eastward. This nation can raise 10,000 fighting men. The soil of their country is sandy, and not so good as that above described; however it produces rice and indigo to good perfection, of which the French have made sufficient proof.

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The Chicketaus generally live in large towns; their chief settlements are not far from the banks of the Ohio, on the streams that flow into it from the east. Their houses are not very elegant; however they have the art of making them tight, which necessity obliges them to do, to secure themselves against the flies, which are here very troublesome at some seasons of the year. They keep cows, hogs and horses; the latter in great abundance. They raise plenty of corn, beans, potatoes, &c. but have very little game, except deer.

The Cherokees inhabit the south-west end of the Apalachian mountains, from the head of the Tanessee River, which flows into the Ohio, about a hundred miles before its junction with the Mississippi. The extent of their country from north-east to south-west is about four hundred miles, and about two hundred miles wide. It is very mountainous and broken, and difficult of access any way. They live in as good order as any savages on the continent; have great plenty of horses, some black cattle, and many swine. They raise corn in abundance, and fence in their fields, which no other Indians do; they also keep poultry, and have orchards of peach-trees. They likewise attend to gardening, are very famous for hunting, and their country abounds with deer, bears, and some elks and turkeys in great plenty in the fertile vallies between the mountains. The Cherokees can raise about 2000 fighting men. The Tanessee is wholly uninhabited below the mountains to where it joins the Ohio; but the country upon it is claimed by the Chickesaws, a brave warlike people, who have but one town, situated on a plain by a small creek that rises about thirty miles south of the Tanessee. Their town is picquetted in, and fortified with a fort. They build their houses much in the same form as the Chicketaus. They raise corn in great abundance, and have large droves of horses, some black cattle

cattle and swine. They can raise about five hundred fighting men.

The Creek Indians live south-west of the Cherokees, partly between them and the Chicktaws, St. Augustin and Georgia, and have a level country. They live in the same manner, and have the same commodities as the Chicktaws and Cherokees, and can raise about 2000 fighting men. All the country of the Creeks is infested with allegators and snakes of a very large size; and flies, that at certain seasons are a very great torment to them.

From the Misauris down to the west-side of the Mississippi the soil is good, till you come near the mouth of it. The French have a settlement (a little above where the Ohio flows in) on the west-side; about an hundred miles farther down, another scattered settlement of theirs begins, and is continued for near an hundred miles, from whence to New Orleans the country is better settled. The produce of this country is rice, Indian corn, and some wheat. The island of Orleans is a very beautiful and fertile spot of ground, on which the French have a considerable town. The number of French in this province is about a hundred thousand. The negroes are very numerous. The soil toward the south is well adapted to rice and indigo, and toward the north to wheat. The number of inhabitants increases very fast, and will in a short time become a large colony; and, if possessed by those ambitious neighbours the French, will be capable of creating fresh troubles to the British subjects in America. On the west-side of the Mississippi, adjoining to the French settlement, are the Chataw Indians: whose country is much like that already described; and their manners and methods of living the same with the Chicktaws and Cherokees.

Major Rogers, after the foregoing description of the interior parts of North America, of which, before the late war carried the English forces so much through

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through it, we had but very imperfect information, or what could be relied on; proceeds to give us the following entertaining particulars of the connections, manners and customs of the Indian inhabitants.

Those of them who have any concerns or commerce with the English, are such as inhabit from the east-side of the Mississippi to the south-side of the river Christino: and among all the nations and tribes in this vast extent of country, those called the Five Nation Indians are deserving of the first notice. They are dreaded and revered by all the others for their superior understanding, and valour in war; in which constant practice renders them expert, they being in almost continual wars with one nation or other, and sometimes with several together. Their customs, manners, and modes of dress, are adopted by many of the other tribes as nearly as possible. In short, those Indians are generally among the other nations esteemed the politest and best bred, who the nearest resemble these. They claim all the country south of the river St. Lawrence to the Ohio, and down the Ohio to the Wabach, from the mouth of the Wabach to the bounds of Virginia; westerly, to the Lakes Ontario and Erie, and the river Miamee; their eastern boundaries are Lake Champlain, and the British colonies. When the English first settled in America, they could raise 15,000 fighting men; but now, including the Delawares and Shawanees, they do not amount to more than between three or four thousand, having been thus reduced by their intestine quarrels and frequent engagements with the French.

The Mohocks were formerly the most numerous tribe amongst them, but now they are the smallest; however, they still preserve a superiority and authority over the rest, as the most honourable nation. They have been inveterate enemies to the French ever since their first settling in Canada; and are almost the only Indians within many hundred miles, that have been proof against the solicitations of the French to

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turn against us. They now maintain a constant war with the Cherokees, Creeks, and Chickesaws; and many of their young men are annually employed that way: in short, they sometimes carry their hostilities almost as far south as the isthmus of Darien; but they have long lived in peace with the Indians on the lakes, and with the Tweeghtwees; those two nations being too near, and too able to retaliate any affront they may offer them.

The Indians do not want for natural good sense and ingenuity, many of them discovering a great capacity for any art or science, liberal or mechanical. Their imaginations are so strong, and their memories so retentive, that when they have once been at a place, let it be ever so distant, or obscure, they will readily find it again. The Indians about Nova Scotia and the Gulph of St. Lawrence have frequently passed over to the Labrador, which is thirty or forty leagues, without a compass, and have landed at the very spot they at first intended; and even in dark cloudy weather they will direct their course by land with great exactness; which they do by observing the bark and boughs of trees; the north-side, in this country, being always mossy, and the boughs on the south-side the largest.

It is observable, that you will rarely find among the Indians a person that is in any way deformed in their limbs, or defective in their intellects; notwithstanding the little care taken about the mother in the time of her pregnancy, the neglect the infant is treated with when born, and the fatigues the youth is obliged to suffer: but spirituous liquors, of which they are insatiably fond, and the women as well as the men, have already surprisngly lessened their number; and will, in all probability, in time, clear the country of them.

Indeed the mothers, in their way, take great care of their children, and are extremely fond of them. They seldom wean them till they are two years old, or more;

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more; and carry them on their backs till the burden grows quite insupportable to them. When they leave the cradle, they go when and where they please: their parents are however careful to instruct them early in the use of arms, especially the bow; and are often recounting to them the exploits and great achievements of their ancestors, in order to inspire them with great and noble sentiments. They introduce them very young into their public councils, and make them acquainted with the most important affairs and transactions, which accustoms them to secrecy, gives them a composed and manly air, inspires them with emulation, and makes them bold and enterprising. They seldom chastise their children; when they are young, they say, because they are not endued with reason to guide them right, otherwise they would not do wrong: when they are more advanced in life, they say, because they are capable of judging, and ought to be masters of their own actions, and are not accountable to any one. These maxims are carried so far, that parents sometimes suffer themselves to be abused by their children; and in the same way they will excuse any ill-treatment they meet with from a drunken man: should we blame or punish him, say they, when he does not know what he does, or has not his reason? When a mother sees her daughter act amiss, she falls into tears; and upon the other's taking notice of it, and enquiring the cause, she replies, because you do so, and so dishonour me: which kind of admonition seldom fails of the desired effect. The Indians do not always enter into a formal obligation of marriage, but take companions for a longer or shorter time, as they please; and the children which spring from hence lie under no disgrace.

The Indian men are remarkable for their idleness, upon which they seem to value themselves; saying, that to labour would be degrading them, and belongs only to the women: that they are formed only for war, hunting, and fishing.

Most of the Indians are possessed of a surprising patience and equanimity of mind, and a command of every passion, except revenge, beyond what philosophers or Christians usually attain to. You may see them bearing the most sudden and unexpected misfortunes with calmness and composure of mind, without a word, or change of countenance: a prisoner, who knows not where his captivity may end, or whether he may not in a few hours be put to a most cruel death, never loses a moment's sleep on this account; but eats and drinks with as much cheerfulness as those into whose hands he has fallen. Even when under those shocking tortures which prisoners are frequently put to, they will not only make themselves cheerful, but provoke and irritate their tormentors with most cutting reproaches.

Another thing remarkable among these people, who put on at all times a savage, cruel appearance, is, that those of the same nation, or that are in alliance, behave to each other with an high degree of complaisance and good nature. If any quarrels happen, they never make use of oaths, or any indecent expressions, or call one another by hard names; but, at the same time, no duration can put a period to their revenge: it is often a legacy transferred from generation to generation, and left as a bequest from father to son, till an opportunity offers of taking ample satisfaction, perhaps in the third or fourth generation from those who first did the injury. They are not, however, strangers to the utility and pleasures of friendship; for each of them, at a certain age, makes choice of some one near about their own age, to be their most intimate and bosom friend; for whom they will brave any danger, and run any risk to assist and support: and this attachment is carried so far, as even to overcome the fears of death, which they look upon to be only a temporary separation, and that they shall meet and be united in friendship in the other world.

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There is no nation of Indians but seem to have some sense of a Deity, and a kind of religion among them; but this is so various, perplexed and confused, that it is difficult to describe it very minutely. They likewise hold an evil spirit, or demon, who, say they, is always inclined to mischief, and bears a great sway in the creation; and it is this latter that is the principal object of their adorations and devotions: they generally address him by way of deprecation.

The Indians depend much upon their dreams, and really believe that they dream the whole history of their future life, or what it may be collected from in their youth. For this reason they make dreaming a kind of religious ceremony when they come to sufficient years, which is thus performed: they besmear their face all over with black paint, and fast for several days, in which time they expect the good genius, or propitious spirit, will appear, or manifest himself to him in some shape or other in his dreams. The effect which this long fast must naturally occasion in the brain of a young person, must without doubt be considerable; and the parents, and other old people, take care, during the operation, that the dreams they have in the night be faithfully reported next morning. Religious impostors are not less frequent among the Indians in America, than among the Christians of Europe; and some of them are very successful in persuading the multitude that they are filled with a divine enthusiasm, and a kind of inspiration: few knowing better how to act their part in this sacred juggle than they. They not only prescribe laws and rules, and persuade the populace to believe them; but undertake to unfold the mysteries of religion and a future state, to solve and interpret all their dreams and visions, &c. They represent the other world as a place abounding with an inexhaustible plenty of every thing desirable, and that they shall enjoy the most full and exquisite gratification of all their senses: and hence it is, no doubt, that the Indians meet

death with such indifference and composure of mind ; no Indian being in the least dismayed at the news that he has but a few hours or minutes to live, but with spirit and composure harangues those who are round him : and thus a father leaves his dying advice to his children, and takes a formal leave of all his friends.

The Indians generally bury their dead with great decency, and erect monuments over their graves. They deposit in their grave such things as the deceased had made the greatest use of, and been most attached to ; as pipes, tobacco, bows, arrows, &c. that he may not be in want of any thing when he comes to the other country. The mothers mourn for their children a long time, and the neighbours make presents to the bereaved father, which he retaliates by giving them a feast.

The Indian feasts, whether at a funeral, a triumph, a visit, or whatever the occasion be, are very simple and inartful. The savage does not mortify his friend with a splendid appearance, but makes him chearful by dividing his riches with him ; and values not spending the fruits of a whole season's toil, to convince him that he is welcome : nay, thinks himself happy in having such an opportunity to oblige him.

From their revengeful disposition, the Indians are easily induced at any time to make wars, and seldom refuse to engage when solicited by their allies : very often the most trifling provocations rouse them to arms, and prove the occasions of bloodshed and murder. Their petty private quarrels are often decided this way, and expeditions of this kind are undertaken without the knowledge or consent of a general council, or any formal declaration of war. These private excursions are winked at, excused, and encouraged, as a means of keeping their young men alert, and of acquainting them with the discipline and exercises of war. And indeed these petty wars seem necessary, since their laws and penaities are insufficient to restrain them within the bounds of reason and common

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justice; and are a poor security of private property: but when war becomes a national affair, they enter upon it with great deliberation and solemnity; and prosecute it with the utmost secrecy, diligence and attention. Their method of declaring war is very solemn and pompous, attended with many ceremonies of terror. In the first place, they call an assembly of the Sachems and chief warriors, to deliberate upon the affair. In which congress, among the northern Indians and the Five Nations, the women have a voice as well as the men. When they are assembled, the president or chief Sachem proposes the affair they have met to consult upon; and, taking up the hatchet which lies by him says, Who among you will go and fight against such a nation? Who among you will go and bring captives from thence, to replace our deceased friends, that our wrongs may be avenged, and our name and honour maintained as long as rivers flow, grass grows, or the sun and moon endure? He having thus said, one of the principal warriors rises, and harangues the whole assembly; and then addressing himself to the young men, enquires, who among them will go along with him and fight their enemies? when they generally arise, one after another, and fall in behind him, while he walks round the circle or parade, till he is joined by a sufficient number. Generally at such a congress they have a deer or some beast roasted whole; and each of them cuts off a piece and eats, saying, This way will I devour our enemies, naming the nation they are going to attack. All that chuse, having performed this ceremony, and thereby solemnly engaged to behave with fidelity and as a good warrior, the dance begins, and they sing the war-song; the matter of which relates to their intended expedition and conquest: which is expressed in the strongest and most pathetic manner, and with a tone of terror. So great is the eloquence or influence of their women in these consultations, that the final result very much depends upon them. If

any one of these nations, in conjunction with the chiefs, has a mind to excite one, who does not immediately depend upon them, to take part in the war, either to appease the manes of her husband, son, or near relation, or to take prisoners, to supply the place of such as have died in her family, or are in captivity; she presents, by the hands of some trusty young warrior, a string of wampum to the person whose help she solicits: which invitation seldom fails of its desired effect. And when they solicit the alliance, offensive or defensive, of a whole nation, they send an embassy with a large belt of wampum, and a bloody hatchet, inviting them to come and drink the blood of their enemies.

The wampum made use of upon these and other occasions, before their acquaintance with Europeans, was nothing but small shells, which they picked up by the sea-coasts and on the banks of the lakes: and now it is made with a kind of cylindrical beads, made of shells white and black, which are esteemed among them as silver and gold are among us. The black they call the most valuable, and both together are their greatest riches and ornaments; these among them answering all the ends that money does among us. They have the art of stringing, twisting, and interweaving these into their belts, collars, blankets, moccasins, &c. in ten thousand different sizes, forms and figures, so as to be ornaments for every part of dress, and expressive to them of all their important transactions. They dye the wampum of various colours and shades, and mix and dispose them with great ingenuity and order, and so as to be significant among themselves of almost any thing they please: so that by these their records are kept, and their thoughts communicated to one another, as ours are by writing. The belts that pass from one nation to another, in all treaties, declarations, and important transactions, are carefully preserved in the palaces or cabins of their chiefs; and serve, not only as a kind of  
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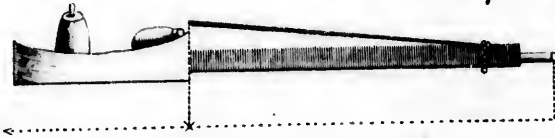
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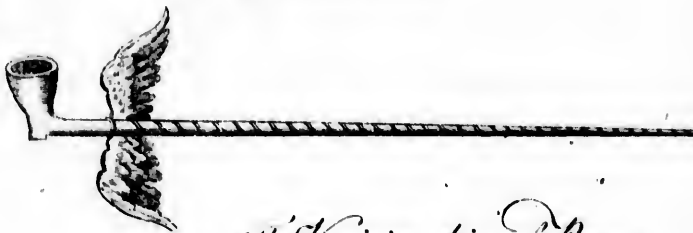
*A Club.*



*The Calumet of Peace.*



*A Tomahawk.*



*The Virginian pipe of Peace.*

*A. W. Hill, Sculp.*

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record or history, but as a public treasure. It must, however, be an affair of national importance in which they use collars or belts: it being looked upon as a very great abuse and absurdity to use them on trifling occasions.

Nor is the calumet or pipe of peace of less importance, or less revered among them in many transactions, relative both to peace and war. The bowl of this pipe is made of a kind of soft red stone, which is easily wrought and hollowed out; the stem is of cane, elder, or some kind of light wood, painted with different colours, and decorated with the heads, tails, and feathers of the most beautiful birds, &c. The use of the calumet is, to smook either tobacco, or some bark-leaf, or herb, which they often use instead of it, when they enter into an alliance, or on any serious occasion, or solemn engagement: and this being among them the most sacred oath that can be taken, the violation of it is esteemed most infamous, and deserving of severe punishment from heaven. When they treat of war, the whole pipe and all its ornaments are red; sometimes it is red only on one side, and by the disposition of the feathers, &c. one acquainted with their customs will know, at first sight, what the nation who presents it intends or desires. Smoaking the calumet is also a religious ceremony upon some occasions, and in all treaties is considered as a witness between the parties; or rather as an instrument by which they invoke the sun and moon to witness their sincerity, and to be, as it were, guarantees of the treaty between them.

The size and decorations of their calumets are commonly proportioned to the quality of the persons they are presented to, and the esteem or regard they have for them; and also to the importance of the occasion.

Another instrument of great esteem and importance among them is the tomahawk. This is an ancient weapon universally used by them in war, before they were taught the use of iron and steel; since which

hatchets have been substituted in lieu of them. But this instrument still retains its use and importance in public transactions; and, like the pipe, is often very significant. This weapon is formed much like an hatchet, having a long stem or handle; the head is a round ball or knob of solid wood, well enough calculated to knock men's brains out, which on the other side of the stem terminates in a point where the edge would be, if made an hatchet, which point is set a little hooking or coming towards the stem; and near the center, where the stem or handle pierces the head, another point projects forward of a considerable length, which serves to thrust with like a spear, or pike-pole.

The tomahawk likewise is ornamented with feathers and paintings, disposed and variegated in many significant forms, according to the occasion and end for which it is used; and on it they keep journals of their marches, and most important and noted occurrences, in a kind of hieroglyphics. When the council is called to deliberate on war, the tomahawk is painted all over red, and when the council sits it is laid down by the chief: and if war is concluded upon, the captain of the young warriors takes it up, and with it in his hands dances and sings the war-song, as before-mentioned. When the council is over, this hatchet, or some other of the kind, is sent by the hands of some warrior to every tribe concerned, and with it he presents a belt of wampum, and delivers his message, throwing the hatchet on the ground; which is taken up by one of their most expert warriors, if they chuse to join: if not, they return it, and with a belt of their wampum suitable to the occasion.

Every nation or tribe have their distinguishing ensigns or coats of arms; which is generally some beast, bird, or fish. Thus among the Five Nations are the bear, otter, wolf, tortoise and eagle; and by these names the tribes are generally distinguished: and they have the shapes of these animals curiously pricked and  
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Painted on several parts of their bodies. When they march through the woods, generally at every encampment they cut the figure of their arms with other matters on trees, especially if it be from a successful campaign; that travellers that way may know they have been there, and the number of scalps or prisoners they have taken.

Their military dress has something in it very romantic and terrible, especially the cut of their hair, and the paintings and decorations they make use of. They cut off, or pull out all their hair, excepting a spot about the size of two English crowns near the top of their heads: their beards and eye-brows they totally destroy. The lock left upon their head is divided into several parcels; each of which is stiffened and adorned with wampum, beads, and feathers of various shapes and hues: and the whole twitted, turned, and connected together, till it takes a form much resembling the modern Pompadour upon the crown of their heads. Their heads are painted red down to the eye-brows, and sprinkled over with white down. The gristles of their ears are split almost quite round, and then distended with wire or splinters, so as to meet and tie together in the nape of their necks: these also are hung with ornaments, and have generally the figure of some bird or beast drawn upon them. Their noses are likewise bored, and hung with trinkets of beads; and their faces painted with divers colours, which are so disposed as to make an awful appearance. Their breasts are adorned with a gorget, or medal of brass, copper, or some other metal; and that horrid weapon the scalping knife hangs by a string which goes round their necks.

Thus attired, and equipped with the other armour they make use of, and warlike stores, they march forth, singing the war-song, till they lose sight of the castle or village from which they marched; and are generally followed by their women for some considerable space, who assist them in carrying their baggage,

whether by land or water, but commonly return before they proceed to any action.

When a small party goes out, they seldom have more than one commander: i. e. if the number does not exceed ten, which is one of their companies; if there be twenty, they have two commanders; if forty, four, &c. and when it comes to an hundred or upward, a general is appointed over the others, not properly to command, but to give his opinion and advice; which they make no scruple to disregard, if it does not happen to tally with their own: however, it is very rare that the directions of the general are disregarded, especially if countenanced and supported by the advice of the old men; which seems to be the highest authority both in the state and army amongst them.

The generalissimo, or commander in chief, as well civil as military, among all the Indians to the northward, who speak the Roundock dialect, is elective; which election is attended with many ceremonies of singing and dancing: and the chief, when chosen, never fails making a panegyric upon the person to whom he succeeds.

The Indians have no stated rules of discipline, or fixed methods of prosecuting a war: they make their attacks in as many different ways as there are occasions on which they make them; but generally in a very secret, skulking, underhand manner, in flying parties that are equipped for the purpose, with a thin light dress, generally consisting of nothing more than a shirt, stockings, and moccasins, and sometimes almost naked.

The weapons used by those who have commerce with the English and French, are commonly a firelock, hatchet, and scalping-knife; the others use bows, tomahawks, pikes, &c.

The chiefs seldom speak much themselves at general meetings, or in public assemblies; counting it beneath their dignity to utter their own sentiments upon these

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these occasions in an audible manner: they therefore intrust them with a person to declare for them, who is called their speaker or orator; there being one of this profession in every tribe and town: and their manner of speaking is generally natural and easy, their words strong and expressive, their stile truly laconic, nothing being said but what is to the purpose, either to inform the judgment, or raise such passions as the subject naturally excites.

Those who profess oratory, make it their business to be thoroughly acquainted with the subject they are to speak upon, and have the whole matter and method well fixed in their memories beforehand, that they may be at no loss what to say, or how to express themselves: and though they hold no regular parliaments, or courts of justice, yet they have frequent opportunities to display their talents this way; they being almost constantly busied in making fresh, or renewing former treaties, in tenders of their services, in solicitations, in addresses on the birth, death, or advancement of some great person, &c.

In their private debates, not only the orators, but every person is heard who chuses to speak in it; and if any one has given a present to the sachem for his vote one way or another, he is generally sure to have it: which renders justice in the redress of private grievances very precarious. This however is not attended with such bad consequences as might be imagined; for their private contentions are few, and are generally compromised by the interposition of friends.

In short, the great and fundamental principles of their policy are, that every man is naturally free and independent; that no one has any right to deprive him of his freedom and independency; and that nothing can be a compensation for the loss of it.

When the Indians return from a successful campaign, they manage their march so as not to approach their village till toward the evening. When night comes

comes on, they send two or three forward to acquaint their chief, and the whole village, with the most material circumstances of their campaign. At day-light next morning they cloathe their prisoners with new cloaths, adorn their heads with feathers, paint their faces with various colours, and put into their hands a white staff or wand, tosseled round with the tails of deer. When this is done, the war-captain or commander in this expedition sets up a cry, and gives as many holloos or yells as he has taken scalps and prisoners; and the whole village assemble at the water-side, if there be one near. As soon as the warriors appear, four or five of their young men, well cloathed, get into a canoe, if they came by water, or otherwise march by land: the two first carry each a calumet, and go singing to search the prisoners, whom they lead in triumph to the cabin where they are to receive their doom. It is the prerogative of the owner of this cabin to determine their fate, though very often it is left to some woman, who has lost her husband, brother, or son, in the war; and, when this is the case, she generally adopts him in the place of the deceased, and saves his life. The prisoner, after having been presented, has victuals immediately given him to eat; and while he is at this repast, a consultation is held: and if it be resolved to save the prisoner's life, two young men untie him; and, taking him by the hands, lead him directly to the cabin of the person into whose family he is to be adopted. But if the sentence be death, the whole village set up the death holloo or cry, and the execution is no longer deferred than till they can make the necessary preparations for it. They first strip the person who is to suffer, from head to foot, and, fixing two posts in the ground, they fasten to them two pieces crossways, one about two feet from the ground, and the other about five or six feet higher; they then oblige the unhappy victim to mount upon the lower cross-piece, to which they tie his legs a little asunder. His hands  
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are extended, and tied to the angles formed by the upper cross piece; and in this posture they burn him all over the body, sometimes first daubing him with pitch. The whole village, men, women, and children, assemble round him, and every one has a right to torture him in what manner they please, and as long as there is life in him. If none of the bystanders are inclined to lengthen out his torments, he is not long kept in pain; but is either shot to death with arrows, or inclosed with dry bark, to which they set fire: they then leave him on the frame, and in the evening run from cabin to cabin, and strike their furniture, the walls and roofs of their cabins, with small twigs, to prevent his spirit from remaining there to take vengeance for the evils committed on his body; the remainder of the day, and the night following, is spent in rejoicings.

The above is their most usual method of executing prisoners: but sometimes they fasten them to a single stake, and build a fire round them; at other times they gash and cut off the fingers, toes, &c. of their prisoners, joint by joint; and at other times they scald them to death. They often kill their prisoners on the spot where they take them, or in their way home, when they have any fear of their escaping, or when they find it inconvenient to carry them farther.

But if they have been unsuccessful, things wear quite a different face: they then return, and enter the village without ceremony by day, with grief and melancholy in their countenances, keeping a profound silence: or if they have sustained any loss, they enter in the evening, giving the death-hoop, and naming those they have lost, either by sickness or by the enemy. The village being assembled, they sit down with their heads covered, and all weep together, without speaking a single word for some considerable time. When this silence is over, they begin to lament aloud for their companions, and every thing wears the face of mourning among them for several days.

Such

Such in general are the manners and customs of the Indians called the Five Nations, which in the main agree to those of all the Indians with whom we have any connexions or commerce, as they all endeavour to imitate these. But all the tribes have some things peculiar to themselves. Among the Hurons (who are called fathers by the Five Nations, and who are doubtless of the same nation) the dignity of chief is hereditary, and the succession is in the female line: so that, on the death of the chief, it is not his son, but his sister's son, that succeeds him, and, in default of him, his nearest relation in the female line; and in case this whole line should be extinct, the most noble matron of the tribe or town makes choice of any one she pleases for a chief. If the person who succeeds is not arrived to years sufficient to take the charge of the government, a regent is appointed, who has the whole authority, but acts in the name of the minor.

The Delawares and Shawanees are remarked for their deceit and perfidy, paying little or no regard to their word and most solemn engagements.

The Tweeghtwees and Yeahtanees are remarkably mild and sedate, and seem to have subdued their passions beyond any other Indians on the continent. They have always been steady friends to the English, and are fond of having them in their country; they might no doubt be made very useful subjects, were proper steps taken to civilize them.

The Cherokees, Creeks, and Chictaws, are governed by several sachems or chiefs (something like the United Provinces or States of Holland) which are elected by their different tribes or villages. The Chickesaws have a king, and a council for his assistance, and are esteemed a brave people; they are generally at war with all the other Indians east of the Mississippi.

It is supposed that the Chickesaws came from South America, and introduced horses into the North. The Creeks and Chictaws punish their women when  
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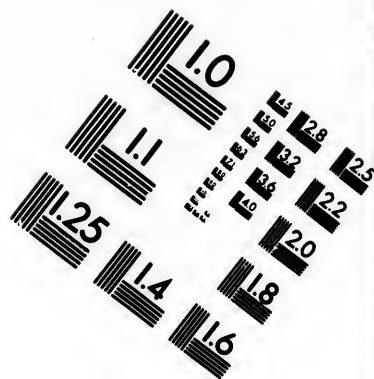
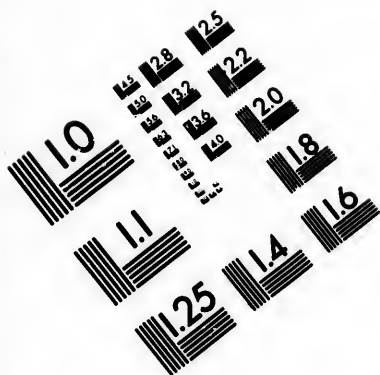
they prove disloyal to their husbands, by cutting off their hair, which they will not suffer to grow again till the corn is ripe the next season. The Chickesaws, their neighbours, are not at all troubled with a spirit of jealousy, and say it demeans a man to suspect a woman's chastity. They are tall, well-shaped, and handsome-featured, especially their women, far exceeding in beauty any other nation to the southward: but even these are exceeded by the Huron women upon Lake Erie, who are allowed to be the best shaped and most beautiful savages on the continent, and are universally esteemed by the other nations. They dress much neater than any others, and curiously adorn their heads, necks, wrists, &c. notwithstanding which you will seldom find a jealous husband, either among the Hurons or the Five Nation Indians.

The men of the Ottawawas, or Souties, are lusty, square, and straight limbed. The women short, thick, and but very indifferent for beauty, yet their husbands are very prone to be jealous of them; and whenever this whim comes in their heads, they cut off the tip of the suspected wife's nose, that she may for ever after be distinguished by a mark of infamy.

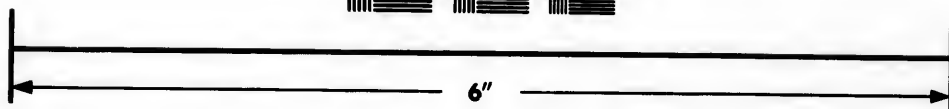
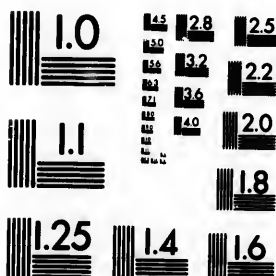
The Indians on the lakes are generally at peace with one another, having a wide extended and fruitful country in their possession. They are formed into a sort of empire, and the emperor is elected from the eldest tribe, which is the Ottawawas, some of whom inhabit near our fort at Detroit, but are mostly farther westward toward the Mississippi. Ponteack is their present king or emperor, who has certainly the largest empire and greatest authority of any Indian chief that has appeared on the continent since our acquaintance with it. He puts on an air of majesty and princely grandeur, and is greatly honoured and revered by his subjects. He not long since formed a design of uniting all the Indian nations together under his authority, but miscarried in the attempt.

Major





**IMAGE EVALUATION  
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Major Rogers informs us, that in the year 1760; when he commanded and marched the first detachment into this country that was ever sent there by the English, he was met on the way by an embassy from Ponteack; the purport of which was, to let the Major know, that Ponteack was at a small distance, coming peaceably, and that he desired him to halt his detachment till such time as he could see him with his own eyes. His ambassadors had also orders to inform the Major that he was Ponteack, the king and lord of the country he was then in.

At first salutation when they met, Ponteack demanded of Major Rogers what brought him into his country, and how he dared to enter it without his leave? The Major informed him that it was not with any design against the Indians that he came, but to remove the French out of his country, who had been an obstacle in our way to mutual peace and commerce; and acquainted him with his instructions for that purpose. He at the same time delivered to his majesty several friendly messages, or belts of wampum, which he received; but gave him no other answer, than that he stood in the path the Major travelled in till next morning; giving him a small string of wampum, as much as to say, he must not march further without his leave. When Ponteack departed for the night, he enquired whether Major Rogers wanted any thing that his country afforded, and he would send his warriors to fetch it? The Major assured him that any provisions brought should be paid for; and the next day they were supplied with several bags of parched corn, and some other necessaries. At their second meeting he gave the Major the pipe of peace, and both by turns smoaked with it; assuring him that he had made peace with him and his detachment; that he might pass through his country unmolested, and that he would protect him from any insults that might be offered or intended by the Indians: as an earnest of his friendship, he sent

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100 warriors to protect the Major, and assist in driving 100 fat cattle, which he had brought for the use of the detachment from Pittsburg, by the way of Presque Isle. His majesty likewise sent to the several Indian towns on the south-side and west-end of Lake Eric, to inform them that Major Rogers had his consent to come into the country. He attended the Major constantly after this interview while he remained in the country, and was the means of preserving the detachment from the fury of the Indians, who had assembled at the mouth of the strait with an intent to cut them off.

Major Rogers had several conferences with Pontack in which he discovered great strength of judgment; and a thirst after knowledge. He endeavoured to inform himself of our military order and discipline. He often intimated, that he could be content to reign in his country in subordination to the king of Great Britain, and was willing to pay him such annual acknowledgment as he was able in furs, and to call him his uncle. He was curious to know the English methods of manufacturing cloth, iron, &c. and expressed a great desire to see England; and offered Major Rogers a part of his country if he would conduct him there. He assured the Major that he was inclined to live peaceably with the English, and to encourage their settling in his country, while they used him as he deserved; but intimated, that, if they treated him with neglect, he should shut up the way, and exclude them from it: in short, his whole conversation sufficiently indicated that he was far from considering himself as a conquered prince, and that he expected to be treated with the respect and honour due to a monarch by all who came into his country, or treated with him.

In 1763, this Indian had the art and address to engage a number of tribes into a confederacy, with a design first to reduce the English forts upon the lakes, and then make a peace to his mind; by which he intended

tended to establish himself in his imperial authority ; and so wisely were his measures taken, that, in fifteen days time, he reduced or took ten of our garrisons, which were all we had in this country, except Detroit ; and had he carried this garrison also, nothing was in the way to compleat his scheme. Some of the Indians left him, and by his consent made a separate peace ; but he would not be active or personally concerned in it, saying, that when he made a peace, it should be such an one as would be useful and honourable to himself, and to the king of Great Britain : but he has not as yet proposed his terms.

In 1763, when Major Rogers went to throw provisions into the garrison at Detroit, he sent this Indian a bottle of brandy by a Frenchman. His counsellors advised him not to taste it, insinuating that it was poisoned, and sent with a design to kill him : but Ponteach, with a nobleness of mind, laughed at their suspicions, saying it was not in the Major's power to kill him, who had so lately saved the Major's life.

In the late war of his, he appointed a commissary, and began to make money, or bills of credit, which he hath since punctually redeemed. His money was the figure of what he wanted in exchange for it, drawn upon bark, and the shape of an otter (his arms) drawn under it. Were proper measures taken, this Indian might be rendered very serviceable to the British trade and settlements in this country, more extensively so than any one that hath ever been in alliance with us on the continent.

The language of almost all the Indians to the northward, is undoubtedly derived either from that of the Five Nations or the Ottawawas ; and any one who is master of these two tongues, may make himself thoroughly understood by upwards of 100 tribes of Indians ; for though each tribe has some peculiarities in their language, no great difficulty arises therefrom in conversation.

The

The Mohock dialect is the most copious, pathetic, and noble. Their lips scarcely move through a whole speech. Their language, it is true, is in many respects very deficient, as they have few words expressive of our abstracted ideas; for before their acquaintance with us they talked about few things that were not present and sensible.

It is very disagreeable travelling with them, on account of their being enemies to conversation; for they not only never speak themselves but when necessity obliges them, but are displeas'd with their company if they talk or converse upon a march by land, or a voyage by water. Among the Chickesaws, Creeks, Cherokees, and others to the southward, you will find a conjuror in almost every village, who pretends to great things, both in politics and physic. The conjuror, to prepare himself for these exploits, takes a sound sweat in a stove, and directly after it plunges into a river or lake, be it ever so cold. But the principal employment of these artists, is the practice of physic and surgery. The Indians have few distempers among them, in comparison of what we have: and they certainly have remedies that seldom fail in many disorders of their desired effect; particularly in the palsy, dropsy, and the venereal disorder. They frequently make use of cupping and phlebotomy; but their most universal remedy is sweating, and the cold bath immediately after it. They very often take a sweat by way of refreshment, to compose their minds, and to enable them to speak with greater fluency in public. Whether the patient lives or dies, the worthy doctor is sure to save his credit; for when he sees all hope of recovery past, he never fails to prescribe something that cannot be procured or performed, pretending it to be indispensibly necessary, and in the present case infallible.

The savages who inhabit, or rather wander upon the coasts of Labrador, about the gulf of St. Lawrence, and the straits of Belleisle, bear very little re-



semblance to any of the other Indians in America. They wander in large parties, are great cowards; their horrid appearance is the chief thing to be feared from them: they muffle themselves up in such manner as almost conceals their faces, their shirts terminating in a kind of hood about their head, and at top comes out a tuft of hair that hangs over their foreheads; their coat hangs behind as low as their thighs, and terminates before in a point a little below their girdle; from their girdle hangs a border of trinkets, shells, bones, &c. Their chief cloathing are skins and furs, which they put on one over another, to a great number; notwithstanding which heavy dress they appear to be supple and active. They are governed by the old men of each tribe, who form a kind of senate. Our acquaintance with the Siaux, Nippifongs, and other northern Indians, is yet but very slender; but, by the accounts we have, they are idle, savage, cruel, and beastly, beyond any other nations on the continent.

The bark-canoes, used by the Indians, seem for their curious workmanship to deserve particular notice. They are made of two kinds of bark, viz. elm and birch. Those made of elm are generally shorter than the others, and not so neatly constructed. The birch-canoes are used by the English as well as the Indians upon the inland lakes and rivers: they distend the bark, which is very thick, upon a frame of cedar or pine; between the bark and the frame they put small splinters, which help to stiffen and strengthen the canoe. The two ends rise gradually, and terminate in sharp points exactly alike. He that sits behind steers, and he that is forward looks out to prevent their running foul of any thing that might damage the vessel. They sit flat on the bottom, or kneel upon it: their paddles are five or six feet in length, and are in general made of maple. When they go against a current, they use setting poles; but in doing this great care must be taken to preserve an equi-

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equilibrium; the canoes being very light, are easily overfet.

The bark ribs and bars are sewed together with spruce or pine roots, split to a suitable size, which are more pliant, and do not dry so quick as the elm-bark. All the seams are besmeared with gum, inside and out, and every day they examine them. A large canoe will carry twelve men, and some of them more. Among all the savages the Ottawawas are the best builders.

The Indians, in the months of February and March, extract the juice from the maple-tree, which is wholesome and delicious to the palate. The way they extract it is by cutting a notch in the body of the tree, and, by means of a piece of wood or quill, convey the juice from the tree to a vessel placed to receive it. The liquor is as clear as spring-water, and is very refreshing. It is accounted a very good pectoral, and was never known to hurt any one, though he drank ever so freely of it. This liquor will not freeze, but, when kept any time, becomes excellent vinegar. The Indians, by boiling it, make from it a kind of sugar, which has a taste very much like honey, but is milder: A manufactory of this kind of sugar is begun in the province of New York, near South Bay, which is said to answer very well; and produces considerable quantities of powder and loaf-sugar.

Major Rogers next proceeds to give an account of some of the animals in North America; among which the Beaver is deserving of the first notice. This animal was not unknown in Europe before the discovery of America. It is an amphibious quadruped, that continues not long at a time in the water, but yet cannot live without frequently bathing in it. A large beaver will weigh 60 or 70 lb. Their colour is different, according to the country they are taken in. To the northward they are quite black, and to the southward they are almost white; and in the country

of the Illinois they are almost the colour of the deer ; but it is observed, that the lighter their colour, the less valuable is their fur.

The beaver lives to a great age : the females generally bring forth four young ones at a time. Its jaws are furnished with two cutters and eight grinders. The upper jaw projects over the lower one ; the head shaped like the head of a rat, and is small in proportion to the body ; its snout long ; its eyes are small and short, and round and shaggy on the outside, but have no hair within. Its fore-feet are not more than five or six inches long, the nails indented, and hollow like a quill ; the hind-feet are flat, and webbed between the toes like those of a duck. They walk very slow, but swim fast ; the tail is shaped like the blade of a paddle, four inches broad where it joins the body, five or six in the middle, and three at the extremity ; about an inch thick, and a foot long : and there is no flesh, fowl, or fish, that is more agreeable to the palate and the stomach than this part of the beaver. It is covered with a scaly skin, the scales being near a quarter of an inch long, and fold over each other like those of a fish.

The musk bags or castor taken from these animals is of great use among druggists, but it is said are not so good in America as in Russia. The Indians use them in many disorders. They dress themselves in mantles made of their skins, which after they have worn for some time grow more valuable, for the long hair drops off, and the fur remains more fit for the hat-makers use than when raw or fresh taken.

The industry, foresight, and good management among these animals is very surprising, and scarcely credible to those who never saw them. When they make a settlement, three, four, or more, assemble together, and first agree upon a place where they may have provisions (which is the bark of trees, lilly-roots, or grass) and every thing necessary for erecting their edifices, which must be surrounded with water ; and

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if there is neither lake nor pond convenient, they make one by stopping the course of some river or brook with a dam. For this end, they cut down trees above the place they are resolved to build at; and they always take their measures so well, as to make the tree fall toward the water, that they may have the less distance to roll it when cut to pieces. This done, they float them down to the place appointed, and these pieces they cut as the case requires. Sometimes they use the trunks of large trees, which they lay flat in the water; at others, they fasten stakes in the bottom of the channel, and then interweave small branches, and fill up the vacancies with clay, mud and moss, in such manner as renders it very tight and secure. The construction of their houses is no less artful and ingenious; they are generally built upon piles in their ponds, at some distance from the shore, but sometimes upon the banks of rivers; their form is round, with a flat roof; the walls two feet or more thick, and built of the same materials as their dams. Every part is so well finished that no air can possibly enter; about two-thirds of the edifice is raised above the water, and in this they lodge, having the floor strewed with splinters, &c. to render the lodging comfortable, and they are very careful to keep it clean. They have generally three or four different avenues to each house, but all their doors are under water. As fast as they peel off the bark from the billets of wood laid up for their subsistence, they convey them to their dam to strengthen that, or else pile them on the tops of their houses, and fasten them there with mud. They lodge several in a house together.

These animals are never found unprovided, by a sudden and unexpected approach of winter; all their business is completed by the end of September, and their stores laid in. They lay up their provisions in piles near their houses in such a manner that it keeps under the water fit for their use, the but-ends being

fastened in the mud or clay at the bottom, so that the current cannot carry it away. When the snows melt and raise the stream, they leave their houses till the season returns for repairing them, or for building new ones, which is the month of July; when they re-assemble, or else form new associations.

The Ground-Beaver, as they are called, conduct their affairs in a different manner; all the care they take is, to make a kind of covered way to the water. They are easily known from the others by their hair, which is much shorter. They are always very poor, the natural consequence of their idleness. The Indians never hunt these but out of mere necessity.

The manner of hunting beaver is very simple and easy, for this animal has not strength enough to defend itself. The Indians hunt them from November to April, in which season their fur is the best. They either decoy them into traps, or shoot them; but the latter is very difficult, by reason of the quickness of their sight and motion; and should they happen to wound them mortally in the water, it is chance if they ever get them out.

They lay their traps in the paths frequented by the beaver, and bait them with fresh cut poplar boughs, of which they are very fond. Sometimes the Indians open the ice near the beaver-houses, at which opening one stands, while another disturbs the house; the beaver hastens upon this to make his escape at the opening, and seldom fails of having his brains beat out the moment he raises his head above water.

The beaver which frequent the lakes, beside their houses in the water, have a kind of country-house; two or three hundred yards from it, and the Indians here hunt them from one to the other. When these animals discover an enemy of any kind, they hasten into the water, and give warning to their companions, by flapping the water with their tails, which may be heard at a considerable distance.

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The Musk-Rat resembles the beaver in every part, except its tail, which is round like a rat's. One of these animals weighs about five or six pounds; during the summer season the male and female keep together, but separate at the approach of winter, and each seek a shelter in some hollow tree, without laying up any provision.

Scarce any thing among the Indians is undertaken with greater solemnity than hunting the bear; and an alliance with a noted bear-hunter, who has killed several in one day, is more eagerly sought after, than that of one who has rendered himself famous in war: the reason is, because the chase supplies the family with both food and raiment. So expert are some of the Indians at passing through the woods and thickets; that they have run down the bears in autumn when they are fat, and then drove them with switches to their towns.

The bears lodge, during the winter, either in hollow trees, or caves; they lay up no provision, and have no nourishment during this season, but what they suck from their own claws; yet they retain both their strength and fat without any sensible diminution.

The bear is not naturally fierce, unless when wounded, or oppressed with hunger. They run themselves very poor in the month of July, and it is then somewhat dangerous to meet them.

The elk is near as large as a horse, but resembles the deer, and, like it, annually renews its horns. The Indians have a great veneration for this animal, and imagine that to dream of it portends good fortune and long life.

The elk delights in cold countries, feeding upon grass in summer, and moss buds, &c. in winter, when they herd together. It is dangerous to approach very near this animal when he is hunted, as he sometimes springs furiously on his pursuers, and tramples them to pieces. To prevent this, the hunter throws his cloaths to him, and while the deluded animal spends

his fury on these, he takes proper measures to dispatch him.

The Catamounts and wild-cats are great enemies to the elk, and often make a prey of him. He has no other way to disengage himself from these, but by plunging into the water.

On the south and west parts of the great lakes, and on both sides of the Mississippi, the most noted hunt is that of the buffalo.

The hunters encompass as large a tract as they can, where they suppose the buffaloes are, and begin by setting fire to the grass and leaves, and so as the fire advances towards the centre, they close up nearer and nearer, by which means they generally slaughter all that happen to be thus inclosed. The buffalo is a large heavy animal, has short, thick, crooked, black horns, and a large beard hanging from his muzzle and head, a part of which falls down by his eyes, and gives him a disagreeable appearance: the back is founding, covered with hair; on the other parts of the body is a kind of wool. Those to the northward about Hudson's bay have the best wool upon them, and in the greatest abundance.

There are in this country some panthers, which prey upon almost every living thing that comes in their way. Their flesh is white like veal, and agreeable to the palate, and their fur is valuable.

Here are likewise foxes of various colours, black, grey, red, and white, who by their craft and cunning make great havock among the water-fowl.

The skunck or pole-cat is very common, and is called by the Indians the stinking beast, on account of its emitting a disagreeable savour to a considerable distance when pursued or disturbed. It is about the size of a small cat, has shining hair of a grey colour, with two white lines, that form an oval, on its back. The fur of this animal, with that of the ermin, otter, and martin, make up what they call the small peltry. The ermin is about the size of the squirrel, its fur is extremely

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extremely white, its tail long, and the tip of it as black as jet.

The martin, or fable, lives principally among the mountains, is as long as a common cat, but very slender; the fur is very fine and valuable.

The opossum is a remarkable animal in this country, having under its belly a bag or false belly, in which they breed their young. And to this false belly they fly for shelter and protection in case of any alarm.

The porcupine is as large as a small dog. Its quills are about two inches and a half long, white, and hollow, and very strong, especially on its back.

The savages make great use of these quills for ornamenting their cloaths, belts, arms, &c.

The moose is larger than a large horse, and is one of the deer-kind, every year changing his horns; the colour of this animal is a dark brown, the hair coarse. He has a mane like a horse, a dewlap like a cow, a very large head, and a short tail. During the summer he frequents bogs and swamps; in the winter, the north sides of hills and mountains, where the sun will not melt the snow. Their common pace of travelling is a trot, but when hunted are very swift.



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An ABSTRACT of the ACCOUNT  
of COL. BOUQUET'S EXPEDITION  
against the OHIO INDIANS, in 1764:

Published at PHILADELPHIA.

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**T**HE general peace, concluded between Great Britain, France and Spain, in the year 1762, although viewed in different lights by persons variously affected in the mother country, was nevertheless universally considered as a most happy event in America. To behold the French, who had so long instigated and supported the Indians, in the most destructive wars and cruel depredations on our frontier settlements, at last compelled to cede all Canada, and restricted to the western side of Mississippi; was what had long been wished, but scarcely hoped for. The precision with which our boundaries were expressed, admitted of no ground for future disputes, and was matter of exultation to every one who understood and regarded the interest of these colonies. We had now the pleasing prospect of entire security from all molestation of the Indians, since French intrigues could no longer be employed to seduce, or French force to support them.

Unhappily, however, this expectation was disappointed. Our danger arose from that very quarter, in which we imagined ourselves in the most perfect security; and just at the time when we concluded the Indians to be entirely awed, and almost subjected by  
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our power, they suddenly fell upon the frontiers of our most valuable settlements, and upon all our outlying forts, with such unanimity in the design, and with such savage fury in the attack, as had not been experienced, even in the hottest times of any former war.

Several reasons have been assigned for this perfidious conduct on their part; but the true reason seems to have been a jealousy of our growing power, heightened by their seeing the French almost wholly driven out of America, and a number of forts now possessed by us, which commanded the great lakes and rivers communicating with them, and awed the whole Indian country.

The Shawanese, Delawares, and other Ohio tribes, took the lead in this war; and seem to have begun it too precipitately, before the other tribes in confederacy with them, were ready for action. Their scheme appears to have been projected with much deliberate mischief in the intention, and more than usual skill in the system of execution. They were to make one general and sudden attack upon our frontier settlements in the time of harvest, to destroy our men, corn, cattle, &c. as far as they could penetrate, and to starve our out-posts, by cutting off their supplies, and all communication with the inhabitants of the provinces.

In pursuance of this bold and bloody project, they fell suddenly upon our traders, whom they had invited into their country, murdered many of them, and made one general plunder of their effects, to an immense value. The frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, were immediately over-run with scalping parties, marking their way with blood and devastation wherever they came; and all those examples of savage cruelty which never fail to accompany an Indian war. All our out forts, even at the remotest distances, were attacked about the same time; and many of them soon fell into the enemies hands.

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The news of their surrender, and the continued ravages of the enemy, struck all America with consternation, and depopulated a great part of our frontiers: most of those posts were suddenly wrested from us, which had been the great object of the late war, and one of the principal advantages acquired by the peace. Only the forts of Niagara, the Detroit, and Fort Pitt, remained in our hands, of all that had been purchased with so much blood and treasure. But these were places of consequence, and we hope it will ever remain an argument of their importance, and of the attention that should be paid to their future support, that they alone continued to awe the whole power of the Indians, and balanced the fate of the war between them and us! These forts, being larger, were better garrisoned and supplied to stand a siege of some length, than the places that fell. Niagara was not attacked, the enemy judging it too strong.

The Indians had early surrounded Fort Pitt, and cut off all communication from it, even by message. Though they had no cannon, nor understood the methods of a regular siege, yet, with an incredible boldness, they posted themselves under the banks of both rivers † by the walls of the fort, and continued as it were buried there, from day to day, with astonishing patience; pouring an incessant storm of musquetry and fire arrows: hoping at length, by famine, by fire, or by harassing out the garrison, to carry their point.

Fort Pitt remained in a most critical situation. No account could be obtained from the garrison, nor any relief sent to it, but by a long and tedious land march of near 200 miles beyond the settlements; and through those dangerous passes where the fate of Braddock and others still rises on the imagination.

Colonel Bouquet was appointed to march to the relief of this fort, with a large quantity of military

† The Ohio and Monongahela, at the junction of which stands Fort Pitt.

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stores and provisions, escorted by the shattered remainder of the 42d and 77th regiments, lately returned in a dismal condition from the West Indies, and far from being recovered of their fatigues at the siege of the Havannah. General Amherst, having at that time no other troops to spare, was obliged to employ them in a service which would have required men of the strongest constitution and vigour.

Those who have only experienced the severities and dangers of a campaign in Europe, can scarcely form an idea of what is to be done and endured in an American war. To act in a country cultivated and inhabited, where roads are made, magazines are established, and hospitals provided; where there are good towns to retreat to in case of misfortune; or, at the worst, a generous enemy to yield to, from whom no consolation, but the honour of victory, can be wanting; this may be considered as the exercise of a spirited and adventurous mind, rather than a rigid contest where all is at stake, and mutual destruction the object: and as a contention between rivals for glory, rather than a real struggle between sanguinary enemies. But in an American campaign every thing is terrible; the face of the country, the climate, the enemy. There is no refreshment for the healthy, nor relief for the sick. A vast unhospitable desert, unsafe and treacherous, surrounds them, where victories are not decisive, but defeats are ruinous; and simple death is the least misfortune which can happen to them. This forms a service truly critical, in which all the firmness of the body and mind is put to the severest trial; and all the exertions of courage and address are called out. If the actions of these rude campaigns are of less dignity, the adventures in them are more interesting to the heart, and more amusing to the imagination, than the events of a regular war.

Early orders had been given to prepare a convoy of provisions on the frontiers of Pennsylvania; but such were the universal terror and consternation of the inhabitants,

habitants, that when Col. Bouquet arrived at Carlisle, nothing had yet been done. A great number of the plantations had been plundered and burnt by the savages; many of the mills destroyed, and full ripe crops stood waving in the field, ready for the sickle, but the reapers were not to be found! The commander found that, instead of expecting such supplies from a miserable people, he himself was called by the voice of humanity to bestow on them some share of his own provisions to relieve their present exigency. However, in 18 days after his arrival at Carlisle, by the prudent and active measures which he pursued, joined to his knowledge of the country, and the diligence of the persons he employed, the convoy and carriages were procured with the assistance of the interior parts of the country, and the army proceeded.

Under so many discouraging circumstances, the Colonel (deprived of all assistance from the provinces, and having none to expect from the General, who had sent him the last man that could be removed from the hospitals) had nothing else to trust to, but about 500 soldiers of approved courage and resolution indeed, but infirm, and entire strangers to the woods, and to this new kind of war. A number of them were even so weak, as not to be able to march; and sixty were carried in waggons, to reinforce the garrisons of the small posts on the communication.

Meanwhile Fort Ligonier, situated beyond the Allegheny Mountains, was in the greatest danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, before the army could reach it. The stockade being very bad, and the garrison extremely weak, they had attacked it vigorously; but had been repulsed by the bravery and good conduct of lieutenant Blane, who commanded there.

Here the distressed families, scattered for 12 or 15 miles round, fled for protection, leaving most of their effects a prey to the savages.

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The want of intelligence is often a very embarrassing circumstance in the conduct of a campaign in America. The Indians had better intelligence; and no sooner were they informed of the march of our army, than they broke up the siege of Fort Pitt, and took the rout by which they knew we were to proceed, resolved to take the first advantageous opportunity of an attack on the march.

When the army came within half a mile of Bushy-Run, about one in the afternoon, (August 5, 1763) after an harrassing march of seventeen miles, and just as they were expecting to relax from their fatigue, they were suddenly attacked by the Indians, on their advanced guard; which being speedily and firmly supported, the enemy was beat off, and even pursued to a considerable distance.

But the flight of these barbarians must often be considered as a part of the engagement, rather than a dereliction of the field. The moment the pursuit ended, they returned with renewed vigour to the attack; and as soon as they were driven from one post, they still appeared on another: till, by constant reinforcements, they were at length able to surround the whole detachment, and attack the convoy which had been left in the rear. But the steady behaviour of the English troops, who were not thrown into the least confusion by the very discouraging nature of this service, in the end prevailed; they repulsed the enemy, and drove them from all their posts with fixed bayonets.

The ground, on which the action ended, was not altogether inconvenient for an encampment. The convoy and the wounded were in the middle, and the troops, disposed in a circle, incompassed the whole. In this manner, and with little repose, they passed an anxious night, obliged to the strictest vigilance by an enterprising enemy who had surrounded them.

At the first dawn of light the savages began to declare themselves, all about the camp, at the distance

of about 500 yards; and by shouting and yelling in the most horrid manner, endeavoured to strike terror by an ostentation of their numbers, and their ferocity.

After this alarming preparative, they attacked our forces; and, under the favour of an incessant fire, made several bold efforts to penetrate into the camp. They were repulsed in every attempt, but by no means discouraged from new ones. Our troops, continually victorious, were continually in danger. They were beside extremely fatigued with a long march, with the equally long action, of the preceding day; and were distressed to the last degree by a total want of water, much more intolerable than the enemy's fire. Tied to their convoy, they could not lose sight of it for a moment, without exposing, not only that interesting object, but their wounded men, to fall a prey to the savages, who pressed them on every side. To move was impracticable. Many of the horses were lost, and many of the drivers, stupified by their fears, hid themselves in the bushes, and were incapable of hearing or obeying orders.

The commander was sensible that every thing depended upon bringing the savages to a close engagement, and to stand their ground when attacked. For that purpose he contrived the following stratagem: Our troops were posted on an eminence, and formed a circle round their convoy from the preceding night, which order they still retained. Col. Bouquet gave directions, that two companies of his troops, who had been posted in the most advanced situations, should fall within the circle; the troops on the right and left immediately opened their files, and filled up the vacant space, that they might seem to cover their retreat. Another company of light infantry, with one of grenadiers, were ordered to lie in ambuscade, to support the two first companies of grenadiers, who moved on the feigned retreat, and were intended to begin the real attack. The savages gave entirely into the snare. The barbarians, who mistook those motions for a retreat, abandoned the woods which covered

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vered them, hurried headlong on, and advancing with the most daring intrepidity, galled the English troops with their heavy fire. But at the very moment when, certain of success, they thought themselves masters of the camp, the two first companies made a sudden turn, and sallying out from a part of the hill, which could not be observed, fell furiously upon their right flank. Then it was the superiority of combined strength and discipline appeared. On the second charge they could no longer sustain the irresistible shock of the regular troops, who rushing upon them, killed many, and put the rest to flight. At the instant, when the savages betook themselves to flight, the other two companies, which had been ordered to support the first, rose from the ambuscade, marched to the enemy, and gave them their full fire. This accomplished their defeat. The four companies now united, did not give them time to look behind them, but pursued the enemy till they were totally dispersed. The other bodies of the savages attempted nothing. They were kept in awe during the engagement by the rest of the British troops, who were so posted as to be ready to fall on them upon the least motion. Having been witnesses to the defeat of their companions, without any effort to support or assist them, they at length followed their example and fled.

This judicious and successful manœuvre rescued the party from the most imminent danger. The victory secured the field, and cleared all the adjacent woods. But still the march was so difficult, and the army had suffered so much, and so many horses were lost, that before they were able to proceed, they were reluctantly obliged to destroy such part of their convoy of provisions as they could not carry with them for want of horses. Being lightened by this sacrifice, they proceeded to Bushy-Run, where finding water, they encamped.

The savages, thus signally defeated in all their attempts to cut off this reinforcement upon its march, began to retreat with the utmost precipitation to their



remote settlements, wholly giving up their designs against Fort Pitt; at which place Col. Bouquet arrived safe with his convoy, four days after the action.

Colonel Bouquet not having a sufficient number of troops to garrison the different posts, under his command, and at the same time to cross the Ohio and take advantage of the dejection into which he had thrown the enemy, by the defeat at Bushy-Run; was obliged to restrain his operations to the supplying the forts with provisions, ammunition and other necessaries.

In the execution of this service, he received no annoyance from the enemy; for they now saw themselves, not only forced to give up their designs against Fort Pitt, but, retreating beyond the Ohio, they deserted their former towns, and abandoned all the country between Presque-Isle and Sanduski; not thinking themselves safe till they arrived at Muskingam. Here they began to form new settlements, and remained quiet during the winter. But, in the mean time, having supplied themselves with powder, &c. from the French traders, (and now flattering themselves that the great distance of their settlements would render them inaccessible to our troops) the ensuing spring, 1764, presented these savage enemies afresh on our frontiers; ravaging and murdering with their usual barbarity.

To chastise them for their perfidy, General Gage resolved to attack them on two different sides, and to force them from our frontiers; by carrying the war into the heart of their own country. With this view, he destined a corps of troops to proceed under Col. Bradstreet, to act against the Wiandots, Ottawas, Chipwas, and other nations, living upon or near the lakes; while another corps, under the command of Colonel Bouquet, should attack the Delawares, Shawanese, Mingoos, Mohickons, and other nations, between the Ohio and the lakes. These two corps were to act in concert; and as that of Colonel Bradstreet could be ready much sooner than the other, he was to proceed to Detroit, Michilimackinac and other places.

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places. On his return, he was to encamp and remain at Sanduski, to awe, by that position, the numerous tribes of western Indians; so as to prevent their sending any assistance to the Ohio Indians, while Colonel Bouquet should execute his plan of attacking them in the heart of their settlements.

Colonel Bouquet assumed the command of the regular and provincial troops; and gave the most express orders to the officers and men to observe strict discipline, and not to commit the least violation of the civil rights or peace of the inhabitants. He; at the same time, made the most prudent regulations for a safe and commodious carriage of the baggage; taking care to rid himself of all unnecessary incumbrances.

Nothing material happened in their march, from Fort Loudoun to Fort Pitt, (formerly Fort Du Quesne) on the Ohio, three hundred and twenty miles west from Philadelphia; at which place Col. Bouquet arrived the 17th of September.

While Col. Bouquet was at Fort Loudoun, he received dispatches by express from Colonel Bradstreet; dated from Presque-Isle, August 14th, acquainting him that he (Colonel Bradstreet) had concluded a peace with the Delawares and Shawanese: but Colonel Bouquet perceiving clearly that they were not sincere in their intentions, as they continued their murders and depredations; he determined to prosecute his plan without remission; till he could receive farther instructions from General Gage; who, upon the same principles refused to ratify the treaty.

About the time of Colonel Bouquet's arrival at Fort Pitt, ten Indians appeared on the north side of the Ohio, desiring a conference; which stratagem the savages had made use of before, to obtain intelligence of our numbers and intentions. Three of the party consented, though with apparent reluctance; to come over to the fort; and as they could give no satisfactory reason for their visit, they were detained as spies, and their associates fled back to their towns.

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On the 20th of September, Colonel Bouquet sent one of the above three Indians after them with a message, in substance as follows—"I have received an account from Colonel Bradstreet, that your nations had begged for peace, which he had consented to grant, upon assurance that you had recalled all your warriors from our frontiers; and in consequence thereof, I would not have proceeded against your towns, if I had not heard that, in open violation of your engagements, you have since murdered several of our people.

"As soon as the rest of the army joins me, which I expect immediately, I was therefore determined to have attacked you, as a people whose promises can no more be relied on. But I will put it once more in your power to save yourselves and your families from total destruction, by giving us satisfaction for the hostilities committed against us. And first, you are to leave the path open for my expresses from hence to Detroit; and as I am now to send two men with dispatches to Colonel Bradstreet, who commands on the lakes, I desire to know whether you will send two of your people with them to bring them safe back with an answer? And if they receive any injury either in going or coming, or if the letters are taken from them, I will immediately put the Indians now in my power to death, and will shew no mercy for the future to any of your nations that shall fall into my hands. I allow you ten days to have my letters delivered at Detroit, and ten days to bring me back an answer."

He added, "that he had lately had it in his power, while they remained on the other side of the river, to have put their whole party to death, which punishment they had deserved by their former treachery; and that if they did not improve the clemency now offered to them, by returning back as soon as possible with all their prisoners, they might expect to feel the full weight of a just vengeance and resentment."—

Colonel Bouquet, having at length, with great dif-

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faculty, collected his troops, formed his magazines, and provided for the safety of the posts he was to leave behind him, was ready on the 2d of October to proceed from Fort Pitt, with about 1500 men, including drivers and other necessary followers of the army. A just idea of the conduct of this expedition, and the great caution taken to prevent surprize, will be best understood from the order of march hereafter explained, with a copper-plate for the illustration of it.

All things being settled, the army decamped from Fort Pitt on Wednesday October 3d, and continued their march through a fine country, meeting only with a few deserted towns by the way, until Sunday 14th, when the army remained in camp; and two men who had been dispatched by Colonel Bouquet from Fort Pitt, with letters for Colonel Bradstreet, returned and reported, that, within a few miles of this place, they had been made prisoners by the Delawares, and carried to one of their towns sixteen miles from hence, where they were kept, till the savages, knowing of the arrival of the army here, set them at liberty, ordering them to acquaint the Colonel, that the head men of the Delawares and Shawanese were coming as soon as possible to treat of peace with him.

On the 16th, six Indians came to inform the Colonel that all their chiefs were assembled about eight miles from the camp, and were ready to treat with him of a peace, which they were earnestly desirous of obtaining. He returned for answer, that he would meet them the next day in a bower at some distance from the camp. In the mean time, he ordered a small stockaded fort to be built, to deposite provisions for the use of the troops on their return; and to lighten the convoy.

As several large bodies of Indians were now within a few miles of the camp, whose former instances of treachery, made it prudent to trust nothing to their

professions; the strictest orders were repeated to prevent a surprise.

Wednesday 17th. The Colonel with most of the regular troops, Virginia volunteers and light horse, marched from the camp to the bower erected for the congress. And soon after the troops were stationed, so as to appear to the best advantage, the Indians arrived, and were conducted to the bower. Being feasted, they began, in a short time, to smoke their pipe or calumet, agreeable to their custom. This ceremony being over, their speakers laid down their pipes, and opened their pouches, wherein were strings and belts of wampum. The Indians present were,

SENECAS. Kiyashuta, chief, with 15 warriors.

DELAWARES. C. Staloga chief of the Wolfe-tribe, Beaver, chief of the Turkey-tribe, with 20 warriors.

SHAWANESE. Keissinautchtha, a chief, and 6 warriors.—Kiyashuta, Turtle-Heart, Cuiltaloga and Beaver, were the speakers.

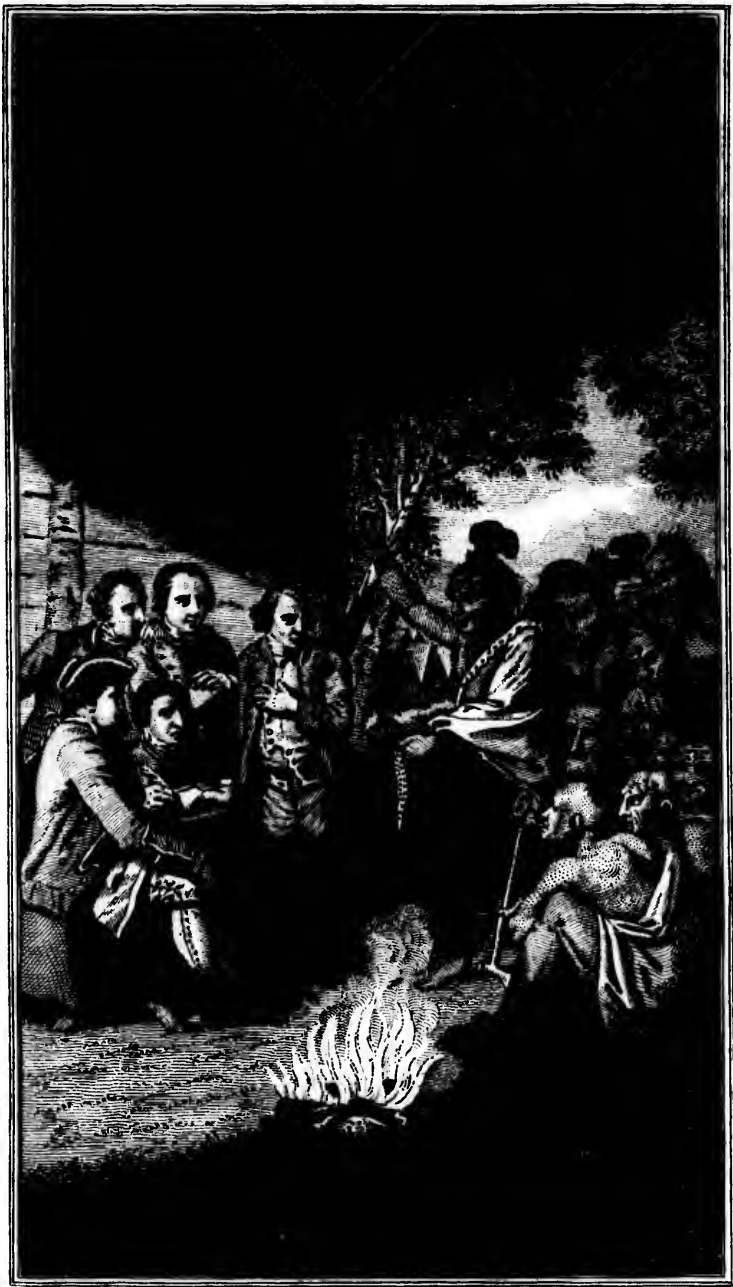
The general substance of what they had to offer, consisted in excuses for their late treachery and misconduct; throwing the blame on the rashness of their young men, and the nations living to the westward of them: suing for peace in the most abject manner, and promising severally to deliver up all their prisoners. After they had concluded, the Colonel promised to give them an answer the next day, and then dismissed them, the army returning to the camp.—The badness of the weather, however, prevented his meeting them again till the 20th, when he spoke to them in substance as follows, viz.

“That their pretences to palliate their guilt by throwing the blame on the western nations, and the rashness of their young men, were weak and frivolous; as it was in our power to have protected them against all these nations, if they had solicited our assistance: and that it was their own duty to have chastised their young men when they did wrong, and not to suffer themselves to be directed by them.”

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*The Indians, giving a Talk to Colonel Bouquet, in a  
Conference at a Council Fire, near his Camp on the  
Banks of Muskingum, in North America, in Oct. 1763.*

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them, that no peace shall ever be concluded till you have given us full satisfaction."—

"Your former allies, the Ottawas, Chipwas, Wyandots, and others, have made their peace with us. The Six Nations have joined us against you. We now surround you, having possession of all the waters of the Ohio, the Mississippi, the Miamis, and the lakes. All the French living in those parts are now subjects to the king of Great Britain, and dare no longer assist you. It is therefore in our power totally to extirpate you from being a people—— But the English are a merciful and generous nation, averse to shed the blood, even of their most cruel enemies; and if it was possible that you could convince us, that you sincerely repent of your past perfidy, and that we could depend on your good behaviour for the future; you might yet hope for mercy and peace—— If I find that you faithfully execute the following preliminary conditions, I will not treat you with the severity you deserve.

"I give you twelve days from this date to deliver into my hands at Wakautamike all the prisoners in your possession, without any exception; Englishmen, Frenchmen, women and children; whether adopted in your tribes, married, or living amongst you under any denomination and pretence whatsoever; together with all negroes. And you are to furnish the said prisoners with cloathing, provisions, and horses, to carry them to Fort Pitt. When you have fully complied with these conditions, you shall then know on what terms you may obtain the peace you sue for."

This speech made an impression on the minds of the savages, which, it is hoped, will not soon be eradicated. The firm and determined spirit with which the Colonel delivered himself, their consciousness of the aggravated injuries they had done us, and the view of the same commander and army that had so severely chastised them at Bushy-Run the preceding year, now advanced

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advanced into the very heart of their remote settlements, after penetrating through wildernesses which they had deemed impassable by regular troops—all these things contributed to bend the haughty temper of the savages to the lowest degree of abasement: so that even their speeches seem to exhibit but few specimens of that strong and ferocious eloquence, which their inflexible spirit of independency has on former occasions inspired. And though it is not to be doubted if an opportunity had offered, they would have fallen upon our army with their usual fierceness; yet when they saw the vigilance and spirit of our troops were such, that they could neither be attacked nor surprized with any prospect of success, their spirits seemed to revolt from the one extreme of insolent boldness, to the other of abject timidity.

The two Delaware chiefs, at the close of their speech on the 17th, delivered eighteen white prisoners, and eighty-three small sticks, expressing the number of other prisoners which they had in their possession; and promised to bring in as soon as possible. None of the Shawanese kings appeared at the congress; and Keissinautchtha their deputy declined speaking until the Colonel had answered the Delawares; and then with a dejected fullness he promised, in behalf of his nation, that they would submit to the terms prescribed to the other tribes.

The Colonel, however, determined to march farther into their country, knowing that the presence of his army would be the best security for the performance of their promises; and required some of each nation to attend him on his march.

Kiyashuta addressed the several nations, before their departure, “desiring them to be strong in complying with their engagements, that they might wipe away the reproach of their former breach of faith, and convince their brothers the English that they could speak the truth; adding that he would conduct the army to the place appointed for receiving the prisoners.”

Monday,

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Monday, October 22d. The army, attended by the Indian deputies, proceeded forward, and on Thursday arrived at a camp situated within a mile of the forks of Muskingham; and this place was fixed upon instead of Wakautamike, as the most central and convenient place to receive the prisoners: for the principal Indian towns now lay round them, distant from seven to twenty miles; excepting only the lower Shawanese town situated on Scioto river, which was about eighty miles. So that from this place the army had it in their power to awe all the enemy's settlements and destroy their towns, if they should not punctually fulfil the engagements they had entered into.—Four redoubts were built here opposite to the four angles of the camp; the ground in the front was cleared, a store-house for the provisions erected; and likewise a house to receive, and treat of peace with, the Indians, when they should return. Three houses with separate apartments were also raised, for the reception of the captives of the respective provinces, and proper officers appointed to take charge of them, with a matron to attend the women and children; so that with the officers mess-houses, ovens, &c. this camp had the appearance of a little town, in which the greatest order and regularity were observed.

From this time to November 9th, was chiefly spent in sending and receiving messages to and from the Indian towns, relative to the prisoners; who were now coming into the camp in small parties, as the different nations arrived in whose possession they had been. The Colonel kept so stedfastly to this article of having every prisoner delivered, that when the Delaware kings, Beaver and Custaloga, had brought in all theirs except twelve, which they promised to bring in a few days, he refused to shake hands or have the least talk with them, while a single captive remained among them.

By the 9th of November, most of the prisoners were arrived that could be expected this season, amounting

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amounting to 206 in the whole ; beside about 100 more in the possession of the Shawanese, which they promised to deliver the following spring : for many of their principal men, to whom they belonged, were gone to trade with the French, and would not return for six weeks ; but every one of their nation who were at home, either brought or sent theirs. On the army's first coming into the country, it had been reported among the Shawanese that our intention was to destroy them all ; on which they had resolved to kill their prisoners and fight us : and a French trader, who was with them, and had many barrels of powder and ball, made them a present of the whole, as soon as they had come to this resolution ; but, happily for the poor captives, just as the Shawanese were preparing to execute this tragedy, they received the Colonel's message, informing them, that his intentions were only to receive the prisoners, and to make peace with them on the same terms he should give to the Delawares.

On this intelligence, they suspended their cruel purpose, and began to collect as many of the prisoners as they had power to deliver ; but hearing immediately afterward, that one of our soldiers had been killed near the camp at Muskingham, and that some of their nation were suspected as guilty of the murder ; they again imagined they would fall under our resentment, and therefore determined once more to stand out against us. For which purpose, after having brought their prisoners as far as Wakautamike, where they heard this news, they collected them all into a field, and were going to kill them : when a second express providentially arrived from Colonel Bouquet, who assured them that their nation was not even suspected of having any concern in the aforesaid murder ; upon which they proceeded to the camp to deliver up the captives, who had thus twice so narrowly escaped becoming the victims of their barbarity.

On

On Friday, November 9th, the Colonel, attended by most of the principal officers, went to the conference-house. The Senecas and Delawares were first treated with. Kiyashuta and ten warriors represented the former: Custaloga and twenty warriors the latter.

Kiyashuta spoke—"With this string of wampum, we wipe the tears from your eyes—we deliver you these three prisoners, which are the last of your flesh and blood that remained among the Senecas and Custaloga's tribe of Delawares; we gather together and bury with this belt † all the bones of the people that have been killed during this unhappy war, which the Evil Spirit occasioned among us. We cover the bones that have been buried, that they may be never more remembered—We again cover their place with leaves, that it may be no more seen.—As we have been long astray, and the path between you and us stopped, we extend this belt that it may be again cleared, and we may travel in peace to see our brethren as our ancestors formerly did. While you hold it fast by one end, and we by the other, we shall always be able to discover any thing that may disturb our friendship."—

The Colonel answered, that he had heard them with pleasure; that he received these three last prisoners they had to deliver, and joined in burying the bones of those who had fallen in the war, so that their place might be no more known. "The peace you ask for, you shall now have. The king, my master and your father, has appointed me only to make war; but he has other servants who are employed in the work of peace. Sir William Johnson is empowered for that purpose. To him you are to apply; but before I give you leave to go, two things are to be settled.

1. "As peace cannot be finally concluded here, you will deliver me two hostages for the Senecas, and

† A belt or string is always delivered when thus mentioned.

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two for Custaloga's tribe, to remain in our hands at Fort Pitt, as a security, that you shall commit no further hostilities or violence against any of his majesty's subjects: and when the peace is concluded, these hostages shall be delivered safe back to you.

2. "The deputies you are to send to Sir William Johnson, must be fully impowered to treat for your tribes, and you shall engage to abide by whatever they stipulate. In that treaty, every thing concerning trade, and other matters, will be settled by Sir William, to render the peace everlasting: and the deputies you are to send to him, as well as the hostages to be delivered to me, are to be named and presented to me for my approbation."——

The Colonel, after promising to deliver back two of their people, captain Pipe, and captain John, whom he had detained at Fort Pitt, took the chiefs by the hand for the first time, which gave them great joy.

The next conference was on November 10th, with the Turkey and Turtle tribes of Delawares, king Beaver their chief and thirty warriors representing the former; and Kelappama, brother to the chief, with twenty warriors, the latter. The Senecas and Custaloga's tribe of Delawares were also present. Their speech, and the answer given, were much the same as above.

November 11th, king Beaver presented six hostages to remain with Colonel Bouquet, and five deputies to treat with Sir William Johnson, who were approved of. This day he acquainted the chiefs present, that as he had great reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of Nettowhatways, the chief of the Turtle tribe, who had not appeared, he therefore deposed him; and that tribe were to chuse and present another for his approbation. This they did a few days afterward——Smile not, reader, at this transaction: for though it may not be attended with so many splendid and flattering circumstances to a commander, as the deposing an East Indian

dian Nabob: yet, to penetrate into the wildernesses where these stern West Indian Chieftains hold their sway, and to frown them from their throne, though but composed of the unhewn log, will be found to require both resolution and firmness; and their submitting to it clearly shews to what degree of humiliation they were reduced. But to proceed—

The Shawanese still remained to be treated with; and though this nation saw themselves under the necessity of yielding to the same conditions with the other tribes, yet there had appeared a dilatoriness and sullen haughtiness in all their conduct, which rendered it very suspicious.

The 12th of November was appointed for the conference with them; which was managed on their part by Keissinautchtha and Nimwha their chiefs, with the Red Hawke, Lavissimo, Bensivafica, Eweecunwee, Keigleighque, and forty warriors: the Caughnawaga, Seneca and Delaware chiefs, with about sixty warriors, being also present. The Red Hawke was their speaker; and as he delivered himself with a strange mixture of fierce pride, and humble submission, we shall add a passage or two from his speech.

“ BROTHER,

“ You will listen to us your younger brothers; and as we discover something in your eyes that looks dissatisfaction with us, we now wipe away every thing bad between us that you may clearly see—You have heard many bad stories of us—We clean your ears that you may hear—We remove every thing bad from your heart, that it may be like the heart of your ancestors, when they thought of nothing but good.”  
[Here he gave a string.]

“ Brother; when we saw you coming this road, you advanced toward us with a tomahawk in your hand; but we your younger brothers take it out of your hands, and throw it up to God † to dispose of

as

† Their usual figure for making peace is burying the hatchet; but a such hatchets may be dug up again, perhaps he thought this

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as he pleases : by which means we hope never to see it more. And now, brother, we beg leave, that you who are a warrior, will take hold of this chain (giving a string) of friendship, and receive it from us, who are also warriors, and let us think no more of war, in pity to our old men, women and children"—Intimating, by this last expression, that it was meer compassion to them, and not inability to fight, that made their nation desire peace.

He then produced a treaty held with the government of Pennsylvania, 1701, and three messages or letters from that government of different dates; and concluded thus—

“ Now, brother, I beg, we who are warriors, may forget our disputes; and renew the friendship which appears by these papers to have subsisted between our fathers.”—He promised, in behalf of the rest of their nation, who were gone to a great distance to hunt, and could not have notice to attend the treaty, that they should certainly come to Fort Pitt in the spring, and bring the remainder of the prisoners with them.

As the season was far advanced, and the Colonel could not stay long in these remote parts, he was obliged to rest satisfied with the prisoners the Shawanese had brought; taking hostages, and laying them under the strongest obligations, for the delivery of the rest: knowing that no other effectual method could at present be pursued.

And here a scene is to be entered upon, reserved on purpose for this place, that the thread of the foregoing narrative might not be interrupted—a scene, which language indeed can but weakly describe; and to which the poet or painter might have repaired to enrich their highest colourings of the variety of human passions: the philosopher, to find ample subject

new expression of “ sending it up to God, or the Good Spirit,” a much stronger emblem of the permanency and steadfastness of the peace now to be made.



for his most serious reflections ; and the man, to exercise all the tender and sympathetic feelings of the soul. This scene was the arrival of the prisoners in the camp : where were to be seen fathers and mothers recognizing and clasping their once-lost babes ; husbands hanging round the necks of their newly-recovered wives ; sisters and brothers unexpectedly meeting together after long separation, scarce able to speak the same language, or, for some time, to be sure that they were children of the same parents ! In all these interviews, joy and rapture inexpressible were seen ; while feelings of a very different nature were painted in the looks of others. The Indians too, as if wholly forgetting their usual savageness, bore a capital part in heightening this affecting scene ; they delivered up their beloved captives with the utmost reluctance, recommending them to the care and protection of the commanding officer. Their regard to them continued all the time they remained in camp. They visited them from day to day ; and brought them wheat, corn, skins, horses and other matters, they had bestowed on them, while in their families ; accompanied with other presents, and all the marks of the most sincere and tender affection. Nay, they did not stop here ; but, when the army marched, some of the Indians solicited and obtained leave to accompany their former captives all the way to Fort Pitt, and employed themselves in hunting and bringing provisions for them on the road. A young Mingo carried this still farther, and gave an instance of love which would make a figure even in romance. A young woman of Virginia was among the captives, to whom he had formed so strong an attachment, as to call her his wife. Against all remonstrances of the imminent danger to which he exposed himself by approaching to the frontiers, he persisted in following her, at the risk of being killed by the surviving relations of many unfortunate persons, who had been captivated or scalped by those of his nation.

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Those qualities in savages challenge our just esteem. They should make us charitably consider their barbarities as the effects of wrong education, and false notions of bravery and heroism; while we should look on their virtues as sure marks that nature has made them fit subjects of cultivation as well as us: and that we are called by our superior advantages to yield them all the helps we can in this way. Cruel and unmerciful as they are, by habit and long example, in war; yet, whenever they come to give way to the native dictates of humanity, they exercise virtues which Christians need not blush to imitate. When they once determine to give life, they give every thing with it, which, in their apprehension, belongs to it. From every enquiry that has been made, it appears — that no woman thus saved is preserved from base motives, or need fear the violation of her honour. No child is otherwise treated by the persons adopting it, than the children of their own body. The perpetual slavery of those captivated in war, is a notion which even their barbarity has not yet suggested to them. Every captive whom their affection, their caprice, or whatever else, leads them to save, is soon incorporated with them, and fares alike with themselves.

Among the children who had been carried off young, and had long lived with the Indians, it is not to be expected that any marks of joy would appear on being restored to their parents or relations. Having been accustomed to look upon the Indians as the only connections they had, having been tenderly treated by them, and speaking their language, it is no wonder that they considered their return in the light of a captivity, and parted from the savages with tears.

But it must not be denied that there were even some grown persons who shewed an unwillingness to return. The Shawanese were obliged to bind several of their prisoners and force them along to the camp; and

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some women, who had been delivered up, afterward found means to escape and run back to the Indian towns. Some, who could not make their escape, clung to their savage acquaintance at parting, and continued many days in bitter lamentations, even refusing sustenance.

For the honour of humanity, we would suppose those persons to have been of the lowest rank, either bred up in ignorance and distressing penury, or who had lived so long with the Indians as to forget all their former connections. For, easy and unconstrained as the savage life is, certainly it could never be put in competition with the blessings of improved life and the light of religion, by any persons who have had the happiness of enjoying, and the capacity of discerning them.

Every thing being now settled with the Indians, the army decamped on Sunday 18th November, and marched for Fort Pitt, where it arrived on the 28th. The regular troops were immediately sent to garrison the different posts on the communication, and the provincial troops, with the captives, to their several provinces. Here ended this expedition, in which it is remarkable that, notwithstanding the many difficulties attending it, the troops were never in want of any necessaries; continuing perfectly healthy during the whole campaign; in which no life was lost, except the man mentioned to have been killed at Mufkingham.

RE-

## REFLECTIONS on the WAR

With the SAVAGES of NORTH-AMERICA.

[Annexed to the Account of Col. BOUQUET's Expedition.]

**T**HE long continued ravages of the Indians on the frontiers of the British colonies in America, and the fatal overthrows which they have sometimes given our best disciplined troops, especially in the beginning of the late war, have rendered them objects of our consideration, even in their military capacity. And as but few officers, who may be employed against them, can have opportunities to observe the true causes of their advantages over European troops in the woods, it is with the utmost pleasure that we now proceed to lay before the public the following valuable papers, which have been communicated by an officer of great abilities and long experience, in our wars with the Indians.

As scarce any thing has yet been published on a subject now become of the highest importance § to our colonies, these papers will undoubtedly be an acceptable present to the reader; and the remarks contained in them may be more and more improved by the future care and attention of able men, till perhaps a compleat system is at length formed for the conduct of this particular species of war.

## Of the Temper and Genius of the Indians.

THE love of liberty is innate in the savage; and seems the ruling passion of the state of nature. His

§ It will appear by the account of Indian tribes and towns, that they are neither contemptible in numbers or strength. See Major Rogers's Account *ant'e*.

desires and wants, being few, are easily gratified, and leave him much time to spare, which he would spend in idleness, if hunger did not force him to hunt. That exercise makes him strong, active and bold; raises his courage, and fits him for war; in which he uses the same stratagems and cruelty as against the wild beasts; making no scruple to employ treachery and perfidy to vanquish his enemy. Jealous of his independency and of his property, he will not suffer the least encroachment on either; and upon the slightest suspicion, fired with resentment, he becomes an implacable enemy, and flies to arms to vindicate his right, or revenge an injury. The advantages of these savages over civilized nations are both natural and acquired. They are all tall and well limbed, remarkable for their activity, and have a piercing eye and quick ear, which are of great service to them in the woods. Like beasts of prey, they are patient, deceitful, and rendered by habit almost insensible to the common feelings of humanity. Their barbarous custom of scalping their enemies, in the heat of action; the exquisite torments often inflicted by them on those reserved for a more deliberate fate; their general ferocity of manners, and the successes wherewith they have often been flushed; have conspired to render their name terrible, and sometimes to strike a panic even into our bravest and best disciplined troops.

Their acquired advantages are, that they have been inured to bear the extremes of heat and cold; and from their infancy, in winter and summer, to plunge themselves into cold streams, and to go almost naked, exposed to the scorching sun or nipping frosts, till they arrive to the state of manhood. Some of them destroy the sensation of the skin by scratching it with the short and sharp teeth of some animal, disposed in the form of a curry-comb, which makes them regardless of briars and thorns in running through thickets. Rivers are no obstacles to them in their wild excursions. They either swim over, or  
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cross them on rafts or canoes, of an easy and ready construction.

In their expeditions they live chiefly by hunting, or on wild fruits and roots, with which the woods supply them almost every where. They can bear hunger and thirst for several days, without slackening, on that account, their perseverance on any proposed enterprize. By constant practice in hunting, they learn to shoot with great skill, either with bows, or fire-arms; and to steal unperceived upon their prey, pursuing the tracks of men and beasts, which would be imperceptible to an European. They can run for a whole day without halting, when flying from an enemy, or when sent on any message. They steer, as if by instinct, through trackless woods; and with astonishing patience can lie whole days motionless in ambush to surprize an enemy; esteeming no labour or perseverance too painful to obtain their ends.

They besmear their bodies with bear's grease, which defends them against rains and damps, as well as against the stings of mosquitoes and gnats. It likewise supples their limbs, and makes them as slippery as the antient gladiators, who could not be held fast when seized in fight.

They fight only when they think to have the advantage; but cannot be forced to it, being sure by their speed to elude the most eager pursuit. Their dress consists of the skin of some wild beast, or a blanket; a shirt, either of linen, or of dressed skins; a breech-clout, leggins, reaching half way up the thigh, and fastened to a belt, with mokawsons on their feet. They use no ligatures that might obstruct the circulation of their blood, or agility of their limbs. They shave their head, reserving only a small tuft of hair on the top; and slit the outer part of their ears, to which, by weights, they give a circular form, extending them down to their shoulders. They adorn themselves with ear and nose-rings, bracelets

of silver and wampum, and paint their faces with various colours. When they prepare for an engagement they paint themselves black, and fight naked.

Their arms are a fusil, or rifle, a powder-horn, a shot-pouch, a tomahawk, and a scalping knife hanging to their neck. When they are in want of fire-arms, they supply them by a bow, a spear, or a death-hammer, which is a short club made of hard wood. Their usual utensils are a kettle, a spoon, a looking-glass, an awl, a steel to strike fire, some paint, a pipe and tobacco-pouch. For want of tobacco, they smoke some particular leaves, or the bark of a willow; which is almost their continual occupation. Thus lightly equipped do the savages lie in wait to attack, at some difficult pass, the European soldiers heavily accoutred, harrassed by a tedious march, and encumbered with an unwieldy convoy.

Experience has convinced us that it is not our interest to be at war with them; but if, after having tried all means to avoid it, they force us to it, (which in all probability will often happen) we should endeavour to fight them upon more equal terms, and regulate our manœuvres upon those of the enemy we are to engage, and the nature of the country we are to act in.

It does not appear from our accounts of Indian wars, that the savages were so brave formerly as we have found them of late; which must be imputed to their unexpected successes against our troops on some occasions, particularly in 1755; and from the little resistance they have since met with from defenceless inhabitants. It is certain, that even at this day, they seldom expose their persons to danger, and depend entirely upon their dexterity in concealing themselves during an engagement; never appearing openly, unless they have struck their enemies with terror, and have thereby rendered them incapable of defence.— From whence it may be inferred that, if they were beat two or three times, they would lose that confidence

dence inspired by success, and be less inclined to engage in wars which might end fatally for them. But this cannot reasonably be expected, till we have troops trained to fight them in their own way, with the additional advantage of European courage and discipline.

Any deviation from our established military system would be needless, if valour, zeal, order and good conduct, were sufficient to subdue this light-footed enemy. These qualities are conspicuous in our troops; but they are too heavy to be employed alone in a destructive service for which they were never intended. They require the assistance of lighter corps, whose dress, arms and exercises, should be adapted to this new kind of war.

The learned jesuit †, who has obliged the world with a treatise on the military affairs of the ancient Romans; tells us, from Sallust, that this wise nation, our masters in the art of war, were never hindered even by the pride of empire, from imitating any foreign maxim or institution, provided it was good: and that they carefully adopted into their own practice, whatever they found useful in that of their allies or enemies. So that by receiving some things from one, and some from another, they greatly improved a system even originally excellent.

But without going back to the ancients, we have seen this maxim adopted in our days. Marshal de Saxe, finding the French army harrassed by the hussars and other Austrian light troops, formed also several corps of them of different kinds: and the king of Prussia, in his first war, introduced them into his army, and has augmented and employed them ever since with success. We have ourselves made use of them in the two last wars in Europe: but the light troops wanted in America must be trained upon different principles. The enemies we have to deal with

† Vid. Joannis Antonii Valtrini, libr. de re milit. Vet. Rom.



are infinitely more active and dangerous than the hussars and pandours. For the American savages, after their rapid incursions, retreat to their towns, at a great distance from our settlements, through woods almost impenetrable to soldiers loaded with cloaths, baggage and provisions; who, when fatigued with a long march, must be a very unequal match to engage the nimble savage in woods, which are his native element.

An European, to be a proper judge of this kind of war, must have lived some time in the vast forests of America; otherwise he will hardly be able to conceive a continuity of woods without end. In spite of his endeavours, his imagination will betray him into an expectation of open and clear grounds, and he will be apt to calculate his manœuvres accordingly, too much upon the principles of war in Europe.

Some remarks here may not be amiss, which are founded upon observations invariable in all engagements with savages.

The first, that their general maxim is to surround their enemy. The second, that they fight scattered, and never in a compact body. The third, that they never stand their ground when attacked, but immediately give way, and return to the charge.

These principles being admitted, it follows—

1. That the troops destined to engage Indians, must be lightly clothed, armed and accoutred. 2. That having no resistance to encounter in the attack or defence, they are not to be drawn up in close order, which would only expose them without necessity to a greater loss. And, lastly, that all their evolutions must be performed with great rapidity; and the men enabled by exercise to pursue the enemy closely, when put to flight, and not give them time to rally.

These remarks will explain the reasons of the alterations proposed in the formation of a corps of troops, for the service of the woods. It is not, however, to be expected that this method will remove all obstacles;

stacles; but, discipline and practice may in a great measure supply the want of other advantages.

General Idea of an Establishment of Light Troops,  
for the Service of the Woods.

In order to be better understood, let us suppose a corps of 500 men to be raised and disciplined for the woods, with two troops of light horse, to which a company of artificers might be added. The fittest men for that service would be the natives in America bred upon the frontiers, and enlisted between the age of 15 and 20 years, to be discharged between 30 and 35.

The cloathing of a soldier for the campaign might consist of a short coat of brown cloth, lappelled, and without plaits; a strong tanned shirt, short trowsers, leggins, mokawsons or shoe packs, a sailor's hat, a blanket, a knapsack for provisions, and an oiled surtout against the rain. This may be made of a large chequed shirt, with the opening of the breast continued down to the bottom, and the wristbands cut off to throw the sleeves open and large: this being carefully oiled, will be very light, and yet securely cover the man, his pack, ammunition and arms; and if the oil be mixed, to be of a greenish cast, the watch-coat will be less conspicuous in the woods. To this might be added, in winter-quarters or time of peace, three white shirts and stocks, with a flannel waist-coat.

Their arms, the best that could be made, should be short fusils and some rifles; with bayonets in the form of a dirk, to serve for a knife; with powder-horns and shot-pouches, small hatchets and leathern bottles for water.

The first thing they are to learn is to walk well, afterward to run; and, in order to excite emulation, small premiums might from time to time be given to those who distinguish themselves. They  
must

must then run in ranks, with open files, and wheel in that order; at first slowly, and by degrees increase their speed: this evolution is difficult, but of the utmost consequence to fall unexpectedly upon the flank of the enemy. They are to disperse and rally at given signals; and particular colours should be given to each company, for them to rally by: the men must be used to leap over logs and ditches, and to carry burthens proportioned to their strength.

When the young soldiers are perfect in these exercises, they may receive their arms, with which they are to perform the former evolutions in all sorts of grounds. They will next be taught to handle their arms with dexterity. They ought to learn to swim, pushing at the same time their cloaths, arms, and ammunition before them, on a small raft; and to make use of snow-shoes. They must then be set to work, and be taught to throw up an intrenchment, open a trench, make fascines, clays and gabions, &c. By example and practice, the most ingenious among them will soon become tolerable good artists in all these employments.

To compleat this establishment, they should have two troops of light horse, suppose of 50 men each, officers included. The men are to perform the same exercises as the foot, and afterward be taught to ride, particularly to be very alert at mounting and dismounting with their arms in their hands; to gallop through the woods, up and down hills, and leap over logs and ditches.

The horses ought to be bought up on the frontiers, where they are bred and used to feed in the woods, and are strong and hardy. This corps should be equipped as the foot, having only a short rifle in lieu of a fusil, and a battie-axe with a long handle; the only sort of arms they should make use of in the charge.

Every light horseman ought to be provided with a blood-hound, which would be useful to find out the enemies ambushes, and to follow their tracks; they

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would seize the naked savages, or at least give time to the horsemen to come up to them; and would add to the safety of the camp at night.

The company of artificers should be composed of the most useful tradesmen, and ought to be maintained at all times for the instruction of the soldiers, the use of the settlement, or the service of the army, during the campaign. It will now be time to draw forth this military colony and remove them to the ground laid out for that use in the woods, and at a good distance from the inhabitants. The nature of this settlement will hereafter be more particularly described.

Necessity creating industry, our young soldiers will soon provide themselves with the most useful articles, and in a couple of years be able to raise provisions for themselves. While the greatest part will be employed in clearing the ground, fencing, ploughing, sowing, planting, building, and making utensils and household furniture; others might hunt with their officers, and remain a fortnight or a month out of the camp, without other provisions than a little flour, and what they could procure by hunting and fishing: then to be relieved, and the whole trained up in that way. The military exercises must still be kept up and practised, and great care taken to inculcate and preserve purity of manners, obedience, order and decency among the men; which will be found much easier in the woods than in the neighbourhood of towns.

In order to make this military establishment more generally useful, the soldiers should only receive a very small part of their pay; leaving the remainder in the military chest. Their accounts should be settled every year, and when their services should entitle them to their discharge, each of them ought to have 200 acres of land given him, in a district appropriated for that purpose; and receiving then the whole balance of pay, due to them, they would be enabled

to compleat their settlement. This institution appears not only practicable, but easy, if attended to with patience, assiduity and firmness.

Let us suppose a settlement to be formed for one hundred families, composed of five persons each, upon an average. Lay out upon a river, or creek, if it can be found conveniently, a square of one thousand seven hundred and sixty yards, or a mile for each side.

That square will contain	-	-	-	640 acres	
Allowing for streets and public uses	40	}	640 acres		
To half an acre for every house	-			50	
To 100 lots at five and half acres	-			550	

The four sides of the square measure 7040 yards, which gives to each house about 70 yards front to stockade, and the ground allowed for building will be 210 feet front, and about 100 feet deep.

An acre of ground will produce at least 30 bushels of Indian corn. Therefore, two acres are sufficient to supply five persons, at the rate of twelve bushels each person. Two other acres will be a pasture for cows and sheep, another acre for hay, to be sown with red clover. The remaining half acre may be laid out for a garden.

Round the town are the commons, of three miles square, containing, exclusive of the lots abovementioned, 5120 acres. On three sides of the town, five other squares will be laid out of three square miles, containing 5760 acres each, one of which is reserved for wood for the use of the settlement; the other four to be divided into 25 out-lots or plantations, of about 230 acres each; so that in the four squares, there will be one hundred such plantations, for the hundred families.

Another township may be laid out joining to this, upon the same plan, and as many more as might be required, upon the same line, without losing any ground.

When a corps, like that above described, has served the time limited, namely from their 15th to their

35th year, what vast satisfaction would it be to pay over to them their share of savings from the public chest; and, as a reward of their faithful toils, to vest them and their heirs with plantations, which they would now be able to cultivate as their own? This prospect would engage many people to enter their sons, in such corps; and those veterans, when thus discharged, would not only be the means of forming and animating others by their example, but in case of a war, would still bravely maintain the property they had so honourably acquired, and be the greatest security of the frontier where they are settled.

It is not practicable to employ large bodies of troops against Indians; the convoys necessary for their support would be too cumbersome, and could neither be moved with ease, nor protected. It would be better to fit out several small expeditions, than one too unwieldy. A corps intended to act offensively should not exceed the following proportions.

Two regiments of foot	900
One battalion of hunters	500
Two troops of light horse	100
One company of artificers	20
Drivers and necessary followers	280
	1800

The first article to provide is the provisions, and next the carriages.

The daily ration of a soldier in the woods should consist of one pound and a half of meat (which requires no carriage) and one pound of flour, with a gill of salt per week.

Upon that allowance 1800 men	}	327,600 lb. flour.
will require for six months or 182 days		
Allowing one fourth for accident	81,900	
For six months		409,500 lb. flour.
		Meat

Meat for the same time, with a  
fourth-part more for accidents, or } 614,400 lb. meat.  
2048 beeves at 300 lb. each

Salt for 26 weeks - - - 182 bushels.

The above quantity would serve the whole campaign; but one half would be sufficient to penetrate from the last deposit into the heart of the enemy's country: therefore we shall compute the carriages for this last quantity only.

To reduce the exorbitant number of horses, usually required, and the great expence attending them; in such parts of the country as would admit of it, carts, drawn each by four oxen, and carrying about 1300 lb. or six barrels of flour, would be infinitely preferable. The above quantity of 204,750 lb. will then be carried by 160 carts, drawn by - - 640 oxen.  
Spare oxen with the army - - - 384

The number of oxen wanted 1024

This method would not be so expeditious as the carriage by horses, and would require more time and attention in cutting the road, and bridging the swampy places, &c. but, on the other hand, what an expence would be saved! and by killing the oxen in proportion as the flour is used, and abandoning the carts, the convoy is daily reduced: and the grafs near the encampment will not be so soon consumed, which is not the case with horses, which must equally be fed though unloaded. This is an object of consequence, particularly near the end of the campaign, when the scarcity of fodder obliges to move the camps every day, and to place them in low and disadvantageous grounds.

There are few rivers in North America deep in summer, and which these carts with high and broad wheels could not ford; but if the contrary should happen, the carts, provision and baggage, may be rafted over, or a bridge built. In a country full of timber,

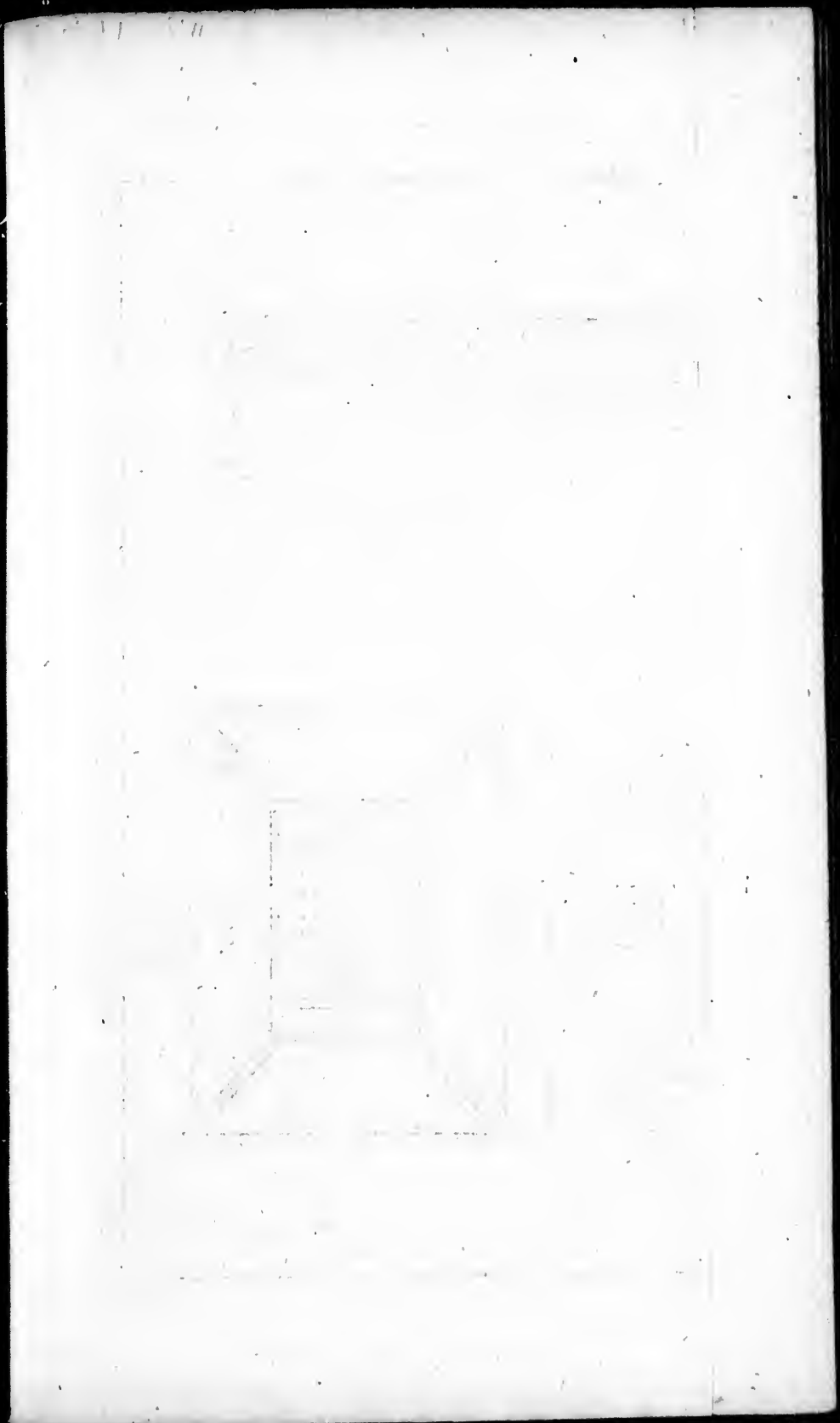
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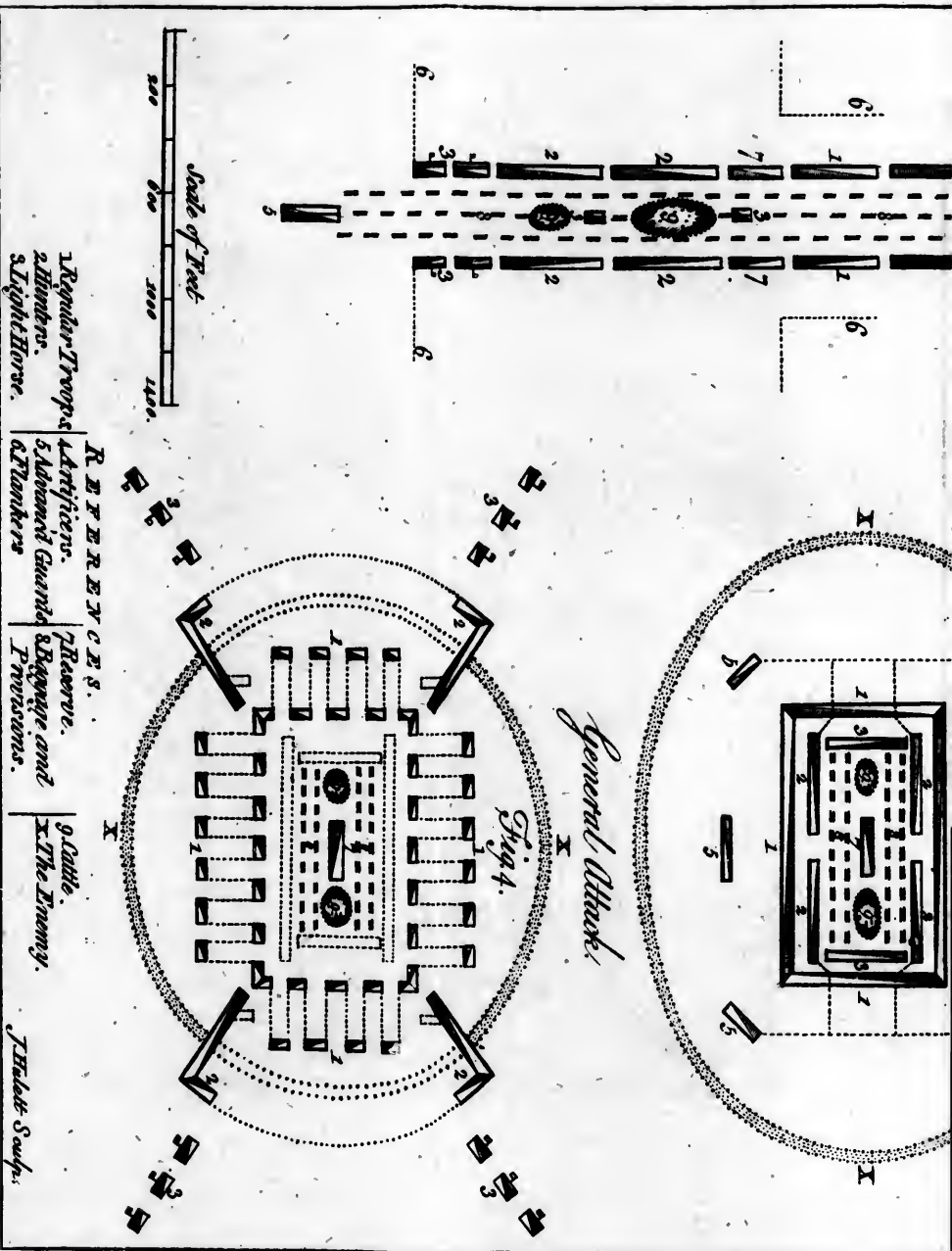
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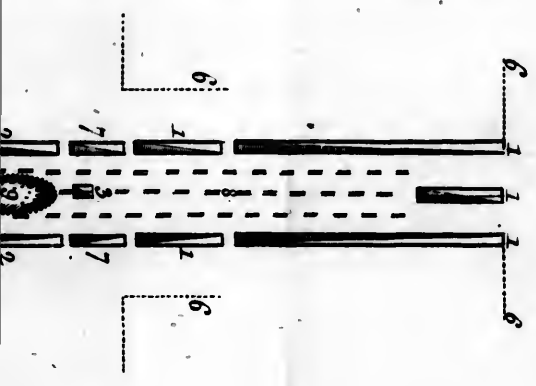
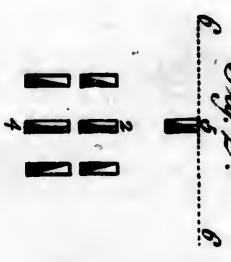






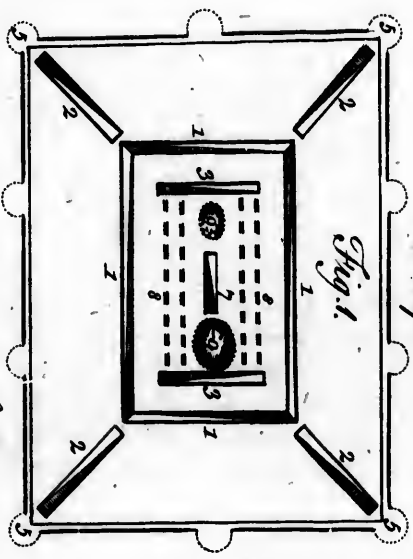
*Line of March.*

*Fig. 2.*



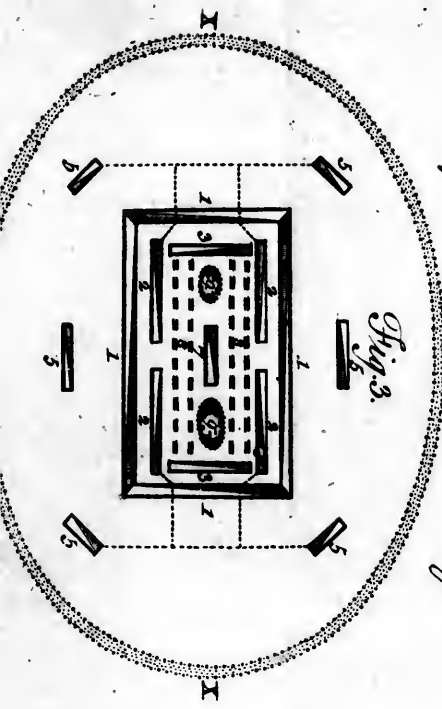
*Camp.*

*Fig. 1.*



*Disposition to receive the Enemy.*

*Fig. 3.*





timber, and with troops accustomed to work, no river will stop an army for a long time.

By the above method, 3 or 400 horses will be sufficient to carry the baggage, ammunition, tents, tools, &c.

EXPLANATION of the four PLANS, representing the different Positions of our Army in the Woods.

#### ENCAMPMENT.

The camp (fig. 1) forms a parallelogram, of one thousand by six hundred feet. Eight hundred men of the regular troops (1) encamp on the four sides, which gives twenty-four feet to each tent, containing six men. The light-horse (3) encamp within the parallelogram. The reserve (7) in the center.

The provisions, ammunition, tools and stores (8) and the cattle (9) are placed between the two troops of light horse and the reserve. The hunters (2) encamp on the outside diagonally at the four angles, being covered by redoubts (5) formed with kegs and bags of flour or fascines. Besides these four redoubts, another is placed to the front, one to the rear, and two before each of the long faces of the camp; making in all ten advanced guards of 22 men each, and 7 sentries, covered if possible by breast-works of fascines or provisions. Before the army lay down their arms, the ground is to be reconnoitred, and the guards posted, who will immediately open a communication from one to the other, to relieve the centinels and facilitate the passage of rounds.

The centinels upon the ammunition, provisions, head quarters, and all others in the inside of the camp, are furnished from the reserve. The officers, except the staff and commanders of corps, encamp on the line with their men.

The fires are made between the guards and camp, and put out in case of an attack in the night.

LINE

## LINE of MARCH, Fig. 2.

Part of the hunters (2) in three divisions detach- ing small parties (5, 6) to their front and to their right and left, to search the woods and discover the enemy.—The artificers and axe-men (4) to cut a road for the convoy, and two paths on the right and left for the troops.—One hundred and fifty of the regular troops (1) in two files, who are to form the front of the square; these march in the center road.—Two hundred and fifty regulars (1) in one file by the right hand path; and 250 (1) by the left hand path, are to form the long faces.—These are fol- lowed by 150 regulars (1) in two files, who are to form the rear of the square.—The reserve (7) composed of 100 regulars in two files.—The rest of the hunters (2) in two files.—The light horse (3.)—The rear-guard (5) composed of hunters, fol- lows the convoy at some distance and closes the march.—The scouting parties (6) who flank the line of march, are taken from the hunters and light horse, and posted as in plan (fig. 2) some orderly light horse- men, attend the General and field-officers who com- mand the grand divisions, to carry their orders.—Two guards of light horse take charge of the cat- tle (9.)

The Convoy (8) proceeds in the following Order.

The tools and ammunition following the front col- umn.—The baggage.—The cattle.—The pro- visions.—The whole divided into brigades, and the horses two a-breast.

In case of a defile, the whole to halt until the ground is reconnoitred, and the hunters have taken possession of the heights. The center column then enters into the defile, followed by the right face; after them the convoy; then the left and rear face, with the reserve, the light horse, and the rear-guard.

The

The whole to form again as soon as the ground permits.

Disposition to receive the Enemy; Fig. 3.

The whole halt to form the square or parallelogram, which is done thus. The first two men of the center column stand fast at two yards distance. The two men following them, step forward and post themselves at two yards on the right and left. The others come to the front in the same manner, till the two files have formed a rank, which is the front of the square.

The rear-face is formed by the two file-leaders turning to the center road, where having placed themselves at two yards distance, they face outward, and are followed by their files, each man posting himself on their right or left, and facing toward the enemy the moment he comes to his post.

As soon as the front and rear are extended and formed, the two long faces, who have in the mean time faced outward, join now the extremities of the two fronts and close the square. These evolutions must be performed with celerity.

To reduce the Square.

The right and left of the front, face to the center, where the two center men stand fast. Upon the word, March, these step forward and are replaced by the two next, who follow them, and so on; by which means, that front becomes again a column. The rear goes to the right about, and each of the center men leads again to the side-paths, followed by the rest.

While the troops form, the light-horse and each division of the convoy take the ground assigned to them within the square, as if they were to encamp; and the horses being unloaded, two parallel lines will be formed, with the bags and kegs of provisions, to

cover the wounded and the men unfit for action. The hunters take post on the most advantageous ground on the out-side, and skirmish with the enemy, till the square is formed; when, upon receiving their orders, they retire within the square, where they take their post as in fig. 3.

The small parties of rangers (5) who have flanked the line of march, remain on the out-side, to keep off the enemy and observe their motions. When the firing begins, the troops will have orders to fall on their knees, to be less exposed, till it is thought proper to attack. The four faces, formed by the regular troops, are divided into platoons chequered. One half, composed of the best and most active soldiers, is called the First Firing, and the other half the Second Firing. The eight platoons at the angles are of the second firing, in order to preserve the form of the square during the attack.

It is evident that, by this disposition, the convoy is well covered, and the light troops, destined for the charge, remain concealed; and as all unexpected events during an engagement are apt to strike terror, and create confusion, among the enemy; it is natural to expect that the savages will be greatly disconcerted at the sudden and unforeseen eruption, that will soon pour upon them from the inside of the square; and that, being vigorously attacked in front and flank at the same time, they will neither be able to resist, nor, when once broke, have time to rally, so as to make another stand.

The sick and wounded, unable to march or ride, are transported in litters made of flour bags, through which two long poles are passed, and kept asunder by two sticks, tied across beyond the head and feet to stretch the bag. Each litter is carried by two horses.

CON-

CONSTRUCTION of FORTS against INDIANS.

AS we have not to guard here against cannon, the system of European fortifications may be laid aside, as expensive, and not answering the purpose. Forts against Indians, being commonly remote from our settlements, require a great deal of room to lodge a sufficient quantity of stores and provisions, and at the same time ought to be defensible with half of their compleat garrisons, in case of detachments or convoys.

A square or pentagon, with a block-house of brick or stone † at every angle, joined by a wall flanked by the block-houses, appear to be the best defence against such enemies. A ditch from seven to eight feet deep might be added, with loop-holes in the cellars of the block-houses six feet from the ground, to defend the ditch.

Along the inside of the curtains the traders might build houses and stores, covered as well as the block-houses with tiles, or slate, to guard against fire-arrows. There will remain a spacious area for free air and use, in which as well as in the ditch, gardens might be made and wells dug.

The powder magazines might be placed in the center of the area, keeping only a small quantity of cartridges in each block-house for present use.

The garrisons of such forts would be free from surprizes, even if they had no centinels; for nothing can get at them, while the doors are well bolted and barred.

† Experience has demonstrated that fortifications made of wood decay very soon, and are on that account of considerable expence.



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## A SHORT ACCOUNT of the AMERICAN ISLANDS.

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**T**HE BERMUDAS ISLANDS were discovered by John Bermudas, a Spaniard, after which they were frequently touched at by his countrymen, in their passage to the West Indies: but were unknown to us till the year 1593, when one Henry May was shipwrecked upon them in a French vessel: but they became much more famous by Sir George Summers and Sir Thomas Gates suffering the like misfortune in their passage to Virginia in 1609. Sir George sent thither a second time to fetch hogs, when he died upon the island, at above 60 years of age; but though he directed his men to return for Virginia with black hogs for the relief of that colony, they having stored their ship with provisions, set sail for England, and arrived at Whitchurch in Dorsetshire, with Sir George Summers's corpse on board, leaving only his heart and bowels at Bermudas, where twelve years after Capt. Butler built a handsome monument over them.

These men gave such an account of the country to the Virginia company, that 120 persons of the same society obtained a charter from King James, and became the proprietors of these islands, whose name was changed to Summers's Islands, from the above gentleman: they are by our mariners called the Summer-Islands, a name they well deserve from their pleasantness and fertility.

These islands lie in  $32^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude, and in  $35^{\circ}$  west longitude, at a vast distance from either continent; since the nearest land, which is Cape Hattaras

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aras in Carolina, lies at least 250 leagues to the west  
 of them, and they are above 1600 leagues from Eng-  
 land. They lie very contiguous to each other, in the  
 form of a shepherd's crook; but authors differ great-  
 ly as to their number, some asserting there are but  
 300 of them, while others affirm there are more than  
 500. However, scarce an eighth part of them are  
 inhabited; and all but St. George's, St. David's, and  
 Cooper's isles, have only a few houses scattered up  
 and down. There are none of them of any consider-  
 able bigness, the main or greatest island, which is  
 called St. George's, is only about 16 miles in length,  
 and not a league over in the broadest place. But it is  
 fortified by nature all round, with rocks every way  
 extending themselves a great way into the sea. To  
 its natural strength, especially to the eastward, where  
 it is most exposed, the inhabitants have added that of  
 forts, batteries, parapets, and lines, so well disposed,  
 that they command the several channels and inlets in-  
 to the sea. There are no more than two places where  
 shipping can safely enter, and the rocks lie so thick,  
 that without a good pilot from the shore, a vessel of  
 ten tons could not find the way into these harbours:  
 but being once known, the biggest ships in the  
 world may enter. Indeed all these islands are so en-  
 vironed with rocks, that they seem to threaten all the  
 ships that venture on the coast with present destruc-  
 tion; and so many have been wrecked upon them,  
 that the Spaniards gave them the name of *Los Diabo-  
 los*, or *the Devil's Islands*.

The air of these islands has been always thought ex-  
 tremely healthful, and the appearance of every thing  
 very delightful and charming; whence people have  
 been accustomed to remove thither from the other co-  
 lonies, in order to recover their broken constitutions.  
 The heat in summer is very supportable; and with  
 respect to winter they really have none. But notwith-  
 standing the fineness of the climate, these islands are  
 subject to storms of thunder and lightning.

There grow here all the plants found in the West Indies; and all kinds of trees, herbs, roots, and flowers, brought from Europe, thrive to perfection. Maize, or Indian corn, which is the principal support of the people, is twice reaped; for what they sow in March, they reap in July; in a fortnight after they sow again, and reap in December. Laurel, olive, mulberry, and date trees, are very common; as are also palmettos, which are a kind of palm-tree, and are extremely useful: for the leaves being eight or ten feet long, and near as broad, they cover their houses with them instead of thatch or tiles. These trees produce a very luscious fruit, in shape, size, and colour, resembling a damascene. Their forests also abound with a variety of odoriferous woods, some black, some yellow, and some of a red colour. The berries of these trees have the styptic quality of a floe, and are much used by the English to cure the flux, which they frequently get by eating the luscious palm-berries too greedily.

But among a multitude of shrubs and trees, peculiar to these islands, and equally valuable for their timber and fruit; there are two, which, though found in other parts of the world, have a peculiar excellence here: the first is their orange-tree, whose fruit in point of size, scent, and flavour, far exceed those either in the West or East Indies: the second is their cedar, which is firmer and more durable than any of its kind we are acquainted with, and answers in every respect to oak timber. It is therefore used in ship-building, and the best sloops, brigantines, and other small vessels, both for service and sailing, in use throughout the West Indies, are built at the Bermudas.

As for animals, there were none in the Bermudas but hogs, insects, and birds, when Sir George Summers was shipwrecked there: these hogs he found by sending out two or three of his own to feed, which rambling home, a huge wild boar followed them, and being killed was found excellent meat. The hogs they

they afterward killed were all black, whence it is concluded, that the Spaniards left them there to breed, because they were of the same kind with those they carried to the continent of America.

These islands abound in more fowl, and in a greater variety, than are to be found in any part of America: and they have as great plenty of fish as of fowl, and so many forts, that authors have not yet found out names for them: in particular, they have great numbers of turtle, which are as good and as large as any in the world.

The insects in these islands are generally the same as in our other plantations, excepting the spider, which is thought to be larger here than in any other country in the world; but the beautiful colours wherewith they are adorned, take off very much from that distaste which otherwise the sight of creatures of this kind, and of so enormous a size, would naturally occasion. One of these spiders, with his legs extended, takes up a space equal to that of a man's hand with his fingers spread out. Their bodies are composed of two parts, one flat and the other round, not unlike, either in shape or size, to a pigeon's egg. Their mouths are covered with a kind of grey hairs, sometimes intermixed with bright red; and on each side of their mouths, they have a crooked tooth of a fine polished substance, extremely hard, and of a bright shining black; and therefore they are often set in silver or gold for tooth-picks. When these creatures grow old they are covered all over with a dark brown or black down, smooth and soft, resembling velvet. Their webs are very large, fastened between trees that grow at some distance, and are so strong, that birds of the size of a thrush, are sometimes caught in them.

The town of St. George stands at the bottom of the haven of the same name, covered by no less than six or seven forts or batteries, mounted with above 70 pieces of cannon; so disposed, that they may be all

brought to bear upon any ship, before she can make her entrance. In this town there is a fine church, with a good library, for which the inhabitants are indebted to Dr. Thomas Bray. It has near 1000 handsome houses, and a town-hall, in which the governor, council, and assembly meet.

Besides the town and division of St. George, there are eight tribes, viz. Hamilton's tribe, Smith's tribe, Devonshire's tribe, Pembroke's tribe, Paget's tribe, Warwick's tribe, Southampton's tribe, and Sandy's tribe: of these Devonshire in the north, and Southampton in the south, are parishes, and have each a church and a particular library. But there are no parish churches in any of the lesser islands; for all the inhabitants are ranged under one or other of these eight tribes. The number of people in all these islands has been computed at 9000.

The government is like that of Virginia, the crown appointing both the governor and council; but the people by their representatives compose the assembly. They have fewer bye-laws than any of our other settlements, which may be imputed to the smallness of their trade: for this colony produces no considerable commodity, whereby the inhabitants may obtain riches. For their commerce chiefly consists in timber and provisions, in building ships and sloops, and sending some tobacco to England. The people of the Summer-Islands seem to content themselves with the plenty and pleasure of their country, and with enjoying a safe and quiet retreat, from the troubles and cares of the rest of the world. In short, the inhabitants have constantly maintained a most excellent reputation, and the Bermudas are equally remarkable for the fineness of the country, and the honesty and integrity of the people.

The beauty of the country, and the amiable character of the inhabitants, induced the learned Dean Berkeley to endeavour to erect an academy at the Bermudas for promoting useful learning and true religion

in

in the West Indies: when the society for the propagation of the gospel assisted him in procuring a patent from King George I. for erecting a seminary there, and contributed to the expence of the undertaking. Dr. Berkley, and three fellows of Trinity College in Dublin, with several of the Doctor's relations, actually embarked on this undertaking; but being driven by a storm to Long-Island, in the province of New York, the Doctor, with his companions, visited Boston, and several other great towns in New England, where they preached: but the design of erecting a college being laid aside, they returned home, and Dr. Berkley was soon after promoted to the see of Cloyne in Ireland.

The LUCAYAN or BAHAMA ISLANDS, were the first parts of the new world discovered by Columbus, who arrived first at Guahani, to which he gave the name of St. Salvador; but the English changed it to that of Cat island. The Spaniards never thought of settling there, but afterward contented themselves with cruelly extirpating the native inhabitants, who were at that time remarkable for being the best people in all America.

It being thought that if these islands were settled, they might not only be of great benefit to this nation, but be a constant check on the French and Spaniards, in case of a breach with either of those nations; King Charles II. made a grant of the Bahama islands to George Duke of Albemarle, Anthony Lord Ashley, John Lord Berkley, William Lord Craven, Sir George Carteret, and Sir Peter Coilliton.

The Bahama islands are situated to the north of Cuba, and stretch to the north-east from the south-west between  $21^{\circ}$  and  $27^{\circ}$  of north latitude, and between  $73^{\circ}$  and  $81^{\circ}$  of west longitude. The island of Bahama, which communicates its name to the rest, is seated in the latitude of  $26^{\circ} 30'$ , at the distance of about 20 or 30 leagues from the continent of Florida. It is about 50 miles in length, but scarce any where

16 miles in breadth, and in many places not half so broad. It is, however, very pleasant and fruitful; the soil is remarkably rich, and the country every where abounds with brooks, and springs of fresh water.

Providence island lies in the centre of some hundreds of islands, some of them many miles in length, and others no bigger than small rocks arising above the water; so that it is extremely dangerous for ships to be forced in among them by a tempest. This island lies in  $25^{\circ}$  north latitude, is 28 miles long, and 11 miles broad, at the greatest breadth. The most considerable profit made by the planters of Providence island, arose from the misfortunes of such as were shipwrecked, or from those who in a winter voyage to the continent of America were driven to the Bahama islands, and put into Providence for provisions, which, it is true, had little or none, but what came from Carolina; however, the traders in the island kept store-houses to supply those who wanted, and these afforded great relief to unfortunate mariners.

The first governor who was sent to Providence island by the proprietors was Mr. Chillingworth, who went there about the year 1672, when several people failed from England, and the other colonies, to settle there: but living a licentious life, they grew impatient under government, and Mr. Chillingworth, endeavouring to bring them to reason, they assembled tumultuously, seized him, and shipped him off for Jamaica; after which they lived as they thought proper. Being afterward harassed by the depredations of the French and Spaniards, the inhabitants at length dispersed to other places.

At length the Bahama islands becoming a receptacle for pirates, and the house of lords considering that it would be of fatal consequence if they fell into the hands of an enemy; they addressed her majesty Queen Anne, that the island of Providence might be  
put

put in a posture of defence: but this advice being neglected, their lordships, four years after, addressed his late majesty King George I. upon which he was pleased to give directions for dislodging these pirates, for making settlements, and erecting a fortification.

Capt. Woodes Rogers was now appointed governor, and sailed for Providence in April 1718; with a naval force for subduing the pirates. In the mean time Colonel Bennett governor of Bermudas, sent a sloop to the island, ordering them to surrender, pursuant to a late proclamation. Those who were then on the island gladly accepted the mercy offered them, and promised to surrender themselves as soon as they could get a passage to the English colonies; adding, that they did not doubt but their companions who were at sea would gladly follow their example.

Mr. Woodes Rogers landed on the 27th of July, when he took possession of the fort, and caused his majesty's commission to be read in the presence of the officers, soldiers, and about 300 people, whom he found there at his arrival; and began to regulate the government, and to reduce it to order.

By these methods the face of affairs in this part of the world was entirely changed. The town of Nassau was rebuilt, a regular force established, and plantations laid out. Soon after the neighbouring island of Eleuthera was also settled; for about 60 families fixing themselves there, erected a small fort for their defence. The like was done in Harbour island, where the plantation soon grew more considerable, and a larger fort was built for the protection of the inhabitants.

At length Mr. Rogers returning to England was succeeded in his government by Capt. Fitz Williams; and ever since this last settlement of these islands, they have been continually improving, though they advance but slowly.



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## A BRIEF VIEW OF THE ANTILLES ISLANDS,

With their PRODUCE, and by what NATION  
possessed.

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**T**HE Antilles lie in form of a bow or semi-circle, stretching almost from the coast of Florida north, to the main continent of South America, south. Some call them the Caribbees from the first inhabitants; though this is a term that most geographers confine to the leeward islands. Sailors distinguish them into Windward islands and Leeward islands, with regard to the usual course of ships from Old Spain or the Canaries, to Carthagená or New Spain and Porto Bello. The geographical tables and maps distinguish them into the Great and Little Antilles. Beside the original natives, they are inhabited by English, Spaniards, French or Dutch: yet all that are inhabited are not cultivated; and some are quite desolate.

The first that we come to from the Bahamas, are Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica, and Porto Rico; which, with some small ones, go by the name of the Great Antilles.

The island of CUBA is the most considerable in size, and, to say the truth, is one of the finest islands in the universe. It lies stretched out from west to east, having Florida and the Lucayos on the north, Hispaniola on the west, Jamaica and the southern continent on the south, and the gulph of Mexico on the

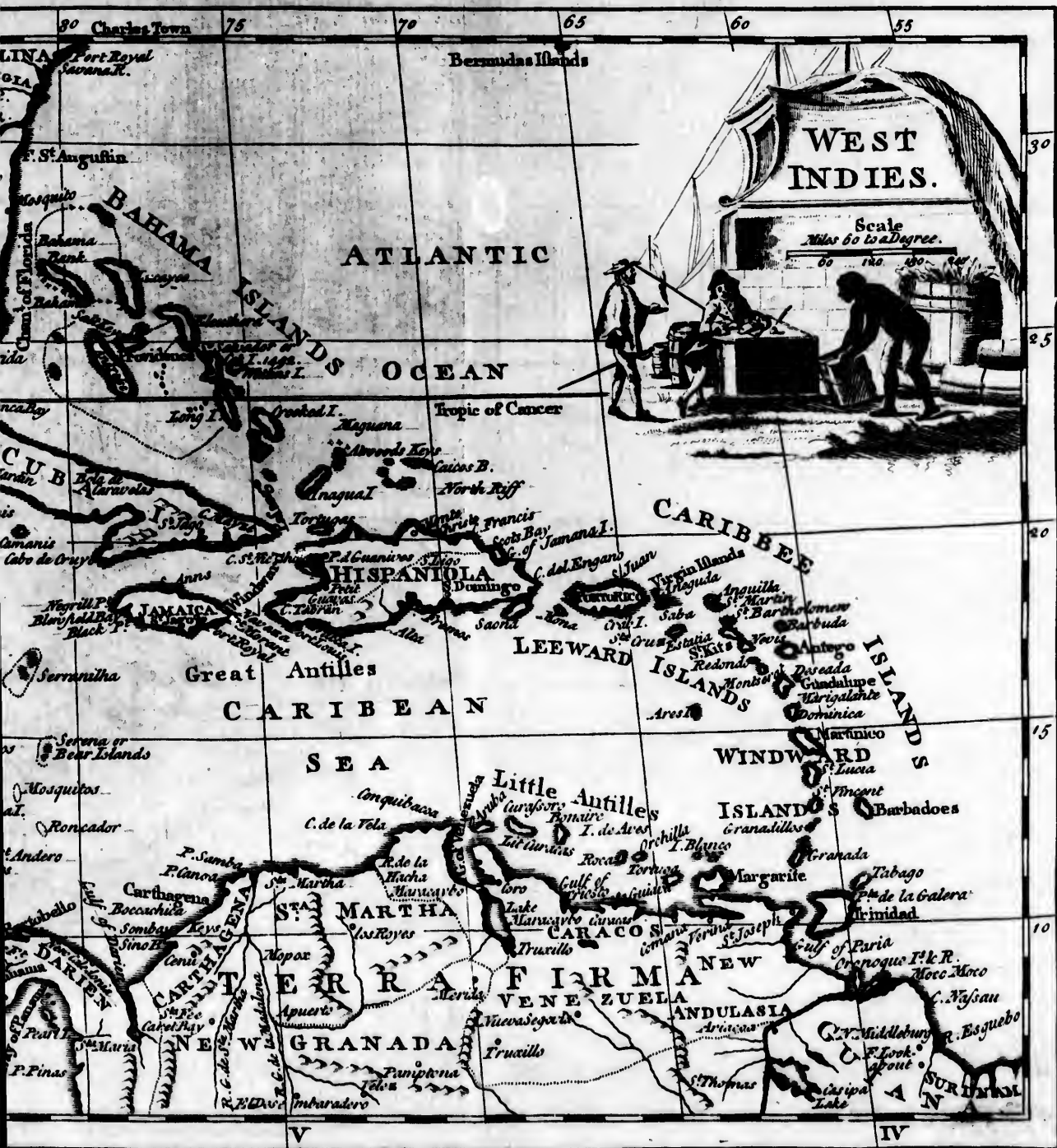




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**WEST INDIES.**

Scale  
Miles 60 to a Degree.

ATLANTIC

OCEAN

Tropic of Cancer

Great Antilles

CARIBBEAN

SEA

MARTHA

NEW

GRANADA

Little Antilles

VENEZUELA

TRUXILLO

CARIBBEE

LEEWARD

WINDWARD

ISLANDS

ANDULASIA

SURINAM



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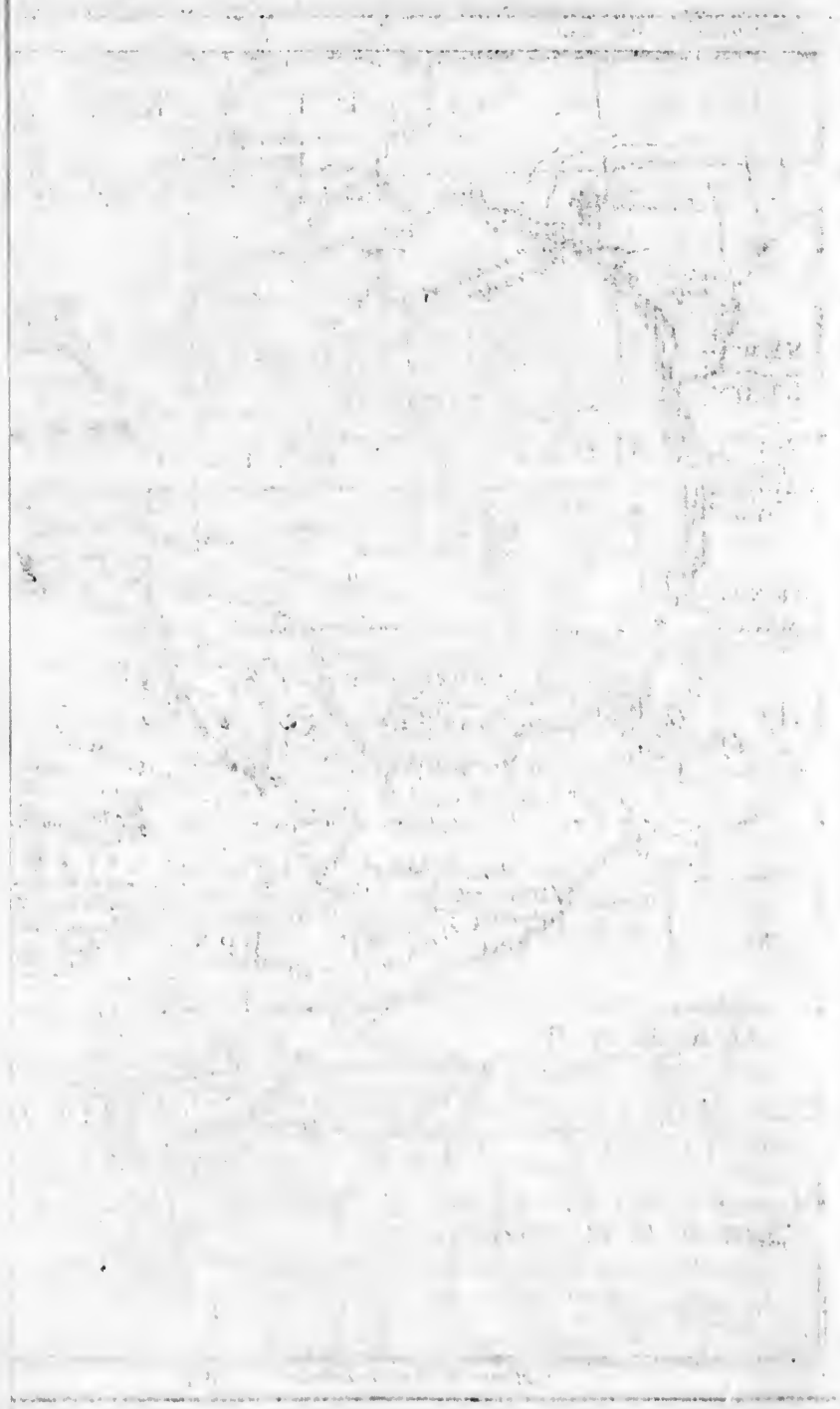
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the east. It lies between  $19^{\circ} 30'$  and  $23^{\circ}$  of north latitude, and from  $74^{\circ}$  to  $85^{\circ} 15'$  of longitude. Herrera says that it is two hundred and thirty leagues in length, and in the broadest part, which is toward the island of Hispaniola, forty leagues, in the narrowest about twelve.

It lies within the tropic of Cancer, and is by far the most temperate and pleasant of all the Antilles. As to the soil, it differs pretty much in the several parts of the island. All the western part of the country is plain, and if it were properly cultivated might be fruitful, though as it is it must be owned that much cannot be said of it on that head. The eastern part is exceedingly mountainous; and from thence there runs a chain of hills almost throughout the island; but the farther west you go they are the less rough and barren. From these hills there run down to the north and south many rivers, and amongst them two pretty considerable, which besides their bestowing verdure and coolness as they pass, are full of fish, and those very large and good. The greatest inconveniency in Cuba, is its being overgrown with woods, which, whatever the Spaniards may pretend, must be owing to their own laziness, and nothing else: for, as they admit, the country was well peopled when first discovered, it must necessarily have been less thick set with trees. Amongst these, however, there are some very valuable, particularly cedars of an enormous size, and other sorts of odoriferous wood. Birds there are of all kinds, more than in any other of the islands; and the Spaniards at their first landing having suffered some black cattle to stray into the woods, they by degrees turned wild, and have furnished the island with such a breed as make now the principal part of its riches. We have before observed that its rivers abound with fish, to which we must now add, that they abound also with a creature terrible alike to fish, beasts, and men, viz. the alligator.

It is thought there are more of this species here than in any other part of the known world. Most writers confound this creature with the crocodile, and indeed the Spaniards have but one name, viz. Caymanes, to express both; yet it is certain that there is a difference, and amongst other particulars, in these: the legs of the crocodile are longer than those of the alligator; his flesh is not musky, as the other's is; the knots on the back are thicker, higher, and firmer. But the plainest and most discernible difference, and which indeed discovers itself at first sight, is this; that the crocodile carries his tail cocked and crooked, with the tip turning back, like a bow, whereas the alligator drags his on the ground.

The city of St. Jago de Cuba is the most ancient in the island, and is, generally speaking, esteemed its capital, though now the governor resides at the Havanna, and only such of the Spaniards as have estates on the island, and are contented with their possessions, without meddling much in trade, inhabit this place. This city is said to have been destroyed by an earthquake about the close of the summer 1766.

The city and port of Havanna stands almost directly south of Cape Florida, and consequently commands the gulph of that name. According to the last and most exact map of these parts, it lies under  $23^{\circ} 12'$  of latitude; and its longitude west from London is  $82^{\circ} 13'$ . It stands on the west side of the harbour, in a very beautiful and pleasant plain, having the sea before it, and being surrounded on all sides by two branches of the river Lagida. The buildings are fair, but not high, built of stone, and make a very good appearance, though it is said they are but meanly furnished. One part of the island is under the jurisdiction of this city, as the other is under that of St. Jago; but the district belonging to the Havanna is by far the best cultivated, and has the most towns and villages in it; and these are not above six in

number, which shew how strangely things are managed in this part of the world.

The port is not only the best in the West Indies, but perhaps one of the finest in the universe: it is so capacious, that a thousand sail of ships may ride there commodiously without either cable or anchor; and there is, generally speaking, six fathom water in the bay. The entrance is by a channel about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile in length, which is pretty narrow, and through it you come into the bay, which lies like a basin at the bottom of it, with a small island seated in the east corner thereof. At the entrance of the channel there are two strong castles, which are supposed to be capable of defending the place against any number of ships.

We are now to speak of the commerce in this port, which is the most considerable of any in America. We will, for the sake of perspicuity, divide it into the particular commerce of the Isle of Cuba, and into the general by the galleons. The former consists in hides, usually styled, of the Havanna, which are excellent and of great value; sugar, which is also a good commodity; tobacco, admirable in its kind; ginger, mastic, aloes, sarsaparilla, other drugs, and great quantities of tortoiseshell. It must be observed, that the commerce of the island of Cuba is not entirely confined to the Havanna, but extends itself to other ports, particularly St. Jago, where there are frequently many little vessels from the Canaries, and other parts. As to the general commerce, this port is the place of rendezvous for all the ships which return into Spain from the Indies; so that here are frequently fifty or sixty sail in the port at once. The Havanna was taken by us after an obstinate siege in 1762, and restored in exchange for Florida at the ensuing peace.

HISPANIOLA, which is also called St. Domingo, was by the natives styled Hayti. It lies in the midst, between Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto Rico, and is separated from the last only by a narrow channel. It is



in length from east to west four hundred and eighty miles, and in breadth from north to south, about ninety. It is surrounded by little islands which are very convenient, and of great advantage to the inhabitants. The climate is according to its situation, extremely hot, yet not without some qualification from the winds, which blow here at certain seasons: It also rains here at certain times excessively, yet not in all places alike; but on the whole it cannot be said that the air is by any means comparable to that of Cuba. The soil also differs very considerably, being in some places extremely rich and fertile, in others miserably poor and barren.

The Spaniards were for many years the sole possessors of this island, and for some part of that time it was a very flourishing colony; for as it was the first of their discoveries, so it was the centre of their commerce in these parts. But when Peru fell into their hands, and they began to make great additions to their territories on the continent of North America, this island began to be slighted, which encouraged the French about the middle of the last century to fix themselves on the north side: and they have improved their settlements so much, that it would be not only impracticable to attempt the removing them, but they might, if they pleased, without any considerable difficulty, make themselves masters of the whole island; which in all probability they would have done, if the benefits which they draw from the neighbourhood of the Spaniards were not greater than any which could be derived from their expulsion.

The commodities of this country are hides, sugar, ginger, cocoa, wax, honey, ambergrease, and various kinds of woods for the use of dyers. There were formerly mines of gold, the richest that ever were heard of, and mines of silver of very considerable value, but they are now abandoned as not worth the working.

The capital of the whole island is the city of St. Domingo. It is seated on the south side of the island,

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at the mouth of the river of Ozama, in a fine plain, which renders it extremely pleasant; and shews it to great advantage from the sea. It is a large well-built city, and contains several edifices more magnificent than is usual in the Indies.

The Streight between the islands of Cuba and Hispaniola, which is about 18 leagues over, is that which is so well known to us by the name of the windward passage, by which our ships sometimes return from Jamaica: but as this passage is both difficult and dangerous, it is seldom that ships make choice of it, but on the contrary, sail quite round the island of Cuba, and so through the gulph of Florida. Hence, in few words, the importance of keeping these passages free and open is made apparent, for otherwise not only our navigation suffers, but by degrees the inhabitants of the island of Jamaica must be undone, and that island return into the hands of its old possessors the Spaniards; even without the trouble of an invasion.

St. John de PORTO RICO, though it be less than either Cuba or Hispaniola, is however a very fine island. It is in length from east to west about 150 miles, in breadth between 50 and 60; the midst of the island is in the latitude of 18°. As to the climate, it is excessively hot in summer, which lasts from May to September; and very moist and rainy in the winter; the soil, however, is extremely rich and fertile, abounding in fine meadows, well stocked with wild cattle; which however were originally of Spanish breed.

The capital of the island is the city of Porto Rico; which some suppose to have been so called from the excellence of its port, which is indeed as good as can be, and where the largest ships may lie in the utmost safety. Porto Rico stands on the north side of the island; in another joined to the continent by a causeway, which runs directly cross the harbour. It is the place of residence of the king of Spain's governor, and is likewise a bishop's see, large and well built,

and better inhabited than most Spanish cities ; the true reason of which is its being the center of the contraband trade carried on by the English and French, with the king of Spain's subjects, notwithstanding the severity of the laws, and the extraordinary precautions taken to prevent it. There is a very strong citadel built on the south-west side of the place, which commands and defends it ; and beside this there is a very strong castle, which protects the port.

The principal commodities, in which the traders of Porto Rico deal, are sugar, ginger, hides, cotton-thread, or raw cotton, cassia, mastic, &c. They have also great quantities of salt, and make a considerable profit of the sale of their oranges and lemons, as fruit, and in sweet-meats. They have a great many good vessels, in which they sail to various parts of America ; and this it is that affords them an opportunity of carrying on the illicit trade before mentioned.

JAMAICA is situated in between  $17$  and  $18^{\circ}$  north latitude, and between  $76$  and  $79^{\circ}$  west longitude. It is  $140$  miles in length, and in the middle about  $60$  in breadth, growing less toward each end. It is about  $20$  leagues east of Hispaniola, and as many south of Cuba ; and is upward of  $150$  leagues to the northward of Porto Bello and Carthagená. The whole island is one continued ridge of hills, which run from east to west through the middle of it, and are generally called the Blue Mountains ; and on each side there are other hills much lower. The mountainous part is very steep, and furrowed on the north and south sides of the highest hills, by very deep channels, made by violent rains, which almost every day fall on the mountains. All the high lands are covered with woods, in which there is very good timber, though the soil is there extremely barren ; and they are obliged to shoot their fibrous roots into the cranies of the rocks. Most of the savannahs, or plains fit for pasture and cleared of wood, are like our meadow land, and lie near the south-side of the island, where

where a person may ride many miles without meeting with the least ascent. The savannahs are very green and pleasant after rain; but after a long drought look yellow and parched.

Oliver Cromwell, being sensible of the advantages the Spaniards obtained from their provinces in America, formed a project for taking from them the fine island of Hispaniola: and, for that purpose, sent a considerable squadron of men of war, commanded by general Penn, with a fleet of transports under general Venables; with which they sailed from Portsmouth, and arrived at Barbadoes on the 15th of January, 1654. They afterward sailed to Hispaniola; where being repulsed with loss, it was resolved to try what could be done against the island of Jamaica.

The fleet and troops being arrived at this last island, general Venables issued orders, that if any man attempted to run away, the next man to him should put him to death; and that if he failed to do it, he should be liable to be tried for his life. The troops were no sooner landed than they advanced toward the fort, which they made themselves masters of with little loss: and the next morning when the sun arose, began to march toward the savannah near the town, when some Spaniards coming forward desired to treat: but this that general refused, unless they would send his men a constant supply of provisions, of which they were in great want; and to this the Spaniards consented, and actually performed their promise. After which a capitulation was agreed upon,

Thus the fine island of Jamaica was subdued: and though the Spaniards continued to lurk about some parts of it for several years afterward, and once made a bold attempt to recover the place; yet colonel Doyly forced them to withdraw, and so effectually reduced the whole island, that at the restoration, the Spaniards yielded it to the crown of Great Britain, to which it has belonged ever since, and is the noblest possession we have in those parts.

The chief ports in the island are Port-Royal, which is a fine and capacious harbour; Old Harbour, which lies seven or eight miles west of St. Jago; Port Marrant, at the east end of the island; and Point Negril, at the west end of the island: beside which there are several others on the south and north sides. But it is dangerous approaching the coast without a pilot; on account of the coral rocks, with which it is almost surrounded.

There are near 100 rivers in Jamaica, but none of them navigable; for rising in the mountains in the middle of the island, they precipitate themselves down the rocks to the north and south, falling into the sea before they have run many miles. They frequently carry down with them large trees and great pieces of rock; and it is very common to have cataracts among the mountains 50 or 60 feet high: yet in dry years water is very scarce in the savannas distant from rivers, so that many cattle die with driving to water. It is very remarkable that some rivers in the mountains rise above and sink under ground in many places; and in particular the Rio d'Oro falls and rises for two or three times. Some of the springs and rivers petrify their channels, and stop their course by a cement which unites the gravel and sand in their bottoms. There are several hot springs, and also many that are salt, and form salt lagunes, or great ponds: in these, and other ponds formed by the sea water, great plenty of salt is made by the heat of the sun exhaling the moisture.

This island being  $7^{\circ}$  within the tropic, has the trade wind continually there, which is on the south-side of the island, and is called the Sea Breeze. It comes about eight o'clock in the morning, and increases till twelve in the day; and then as the sun grows lower, it decreases till there is none at four in the afternoon. The land breeze begins about eight in the evening, blowing four leagues into the sea; it continues increasing till twelve at night, and decreases again

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again till four. Thus as the land wind blows at night, and the sea breeze in the day time, no ships can come into port except in the day; nor go out, but at break of day, or very soon after.

This island is so very subject to earthquakes, that the inhabitants expect one every year: some of these have been extremely dreadful; particularly in the year 1692, when the town of Port Royal was almost swallowed up. Thunder is heard almost every day in the mountains, with the rains there; frost and snow, however, are never seen in this hot climate, but hail is sometimes seen very large.

The dews are here so great within land, that in a morning the water drops from the leaves of the trees as if it had rained; and the rains are violent, and the drops very large. Generally speaking, the great rainy seasons are in May and October, when they begin at the new or full moon, and continue day and night for a fortnight; so that Sir Hans Sloane observes, that all the level places are laid some inches under water. In the month of January is also expected a rainy season; but this is neither so constant, nor so violent as the two others.

As to the produce of the island, it has all the tropical fruits, as plantains, cocoas, pine-apples, cacao or the chocolate-nut †, pimento, cotton-trees, woods for dying, mahogany and manchineel wood; ginger, and several medicinal drugs and gums.

Pimento is another of the natural productions of Jamaica, from whence it is called Jamaica-pepper, that being the chief place where it is found. This tree grows on all the hilly parts of the island of Jamaica, but chiefly on the north-side: it is generally left standing when other trees are felled, and is sometimes planted where it never grew before, on account of the great profit arising from the fruit, which is annually exported in great quantities into

† For an account of this tree see Ulloa's Voyage *ante*.

Europe. The pimento-tree flowers in June, July, and August, sooner or later, according to the situation and different season for rains; and after it flowers, the fruit soon ripens: but in clear open grounds it is sooner ripe than in thick woods.

There is no great difficulty in curing or preserving this fruit: this is for the most part done by the negroes, who climb the trees, and pull off the twigs with the unripe green fruit; after which, they carefully separate the fruit from the twigs and leaves, and expose it to the sun for many days. The more fragrant and smaller they are, they are accounted the better. That great physician, Sir Hans Sloane, observes, that this is deservedly reckoned the best, most temperate, mild, and innocent of all spices.

The wild cinnamon, or more properly canella alba tree, also grows in this island. It rises 20 or 30 feet high, having many branches and twigs hanging downward, and forming a very beautiful top. The bark consists of two parts; the outward bark is as thin as a shilling; of a whitish, ash or grey colour, with some white spots here and there upon it, and several shallow furrows of a darker colour, running variously through it. This bark is of an aromatic taste. The inward bark is as thick as a crown piece, smooth, and of a whiter colour than the outward: it has a much more biting and aromatic taste, somewhat like that of cloves.

All the parts of this tree, when fresh, are very hot and aromatic; but the inward bark of the tree is what is chiefly in use both in the English plantations in the West Indies and in Europe, and it is easily cured by only cutting off the bark, and letting it dry in the shade. The ordinary sort of people in the West Indies use it instead of all other spices, it being thought very good to consume the immoderate humidity of the stomach, to help digestion, and expel wind. Rum loses its disagreeable smell if mixed with this bark. The tree grows in the savanna woods, and

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## THE ANTILLES ISLANDS. 247

is found on each side the road between Passage-Fort and the town of St. Jago de la Vega.

As great quantities of indigo have been produced in Jamaica, we shall also give some account of the manner in which it is cultivated and prepared. It thrives best in sandy ground. The seed from whence it is raised, is yellow, round, and somewhat less than a tare. The soil is made light by hoeing; then trenches are dug like those our gardeners prepare for peas, into which the seed is put about March: it grows ripe in eight weeks time, and in fresh broken ground will spring up about three feet high, but in others to no more than eighteen inches. The stalk is full of leaves of a deep green, and will, from the first sowing, yield many crops in one year. When it is ripe, it is cut, and steeped in fats twenty-four hours; after which it is cleared from the first water, and put into proper cisterns, where, when it has been carefully beaten, it settles in about eighteen hours. In these cisterns are several taps, which let the clear water run out, and the thick is put into bags of about three feet long, made commonly of osnabruugs, which being hung up, all the liquid part drops away; and when it will drop no longer, what remains is put into wooden boxes about three feet long, fourteen inches wide, and one and a half deep: these boxes are placed in the sun till the indigo is very hot, and then taken in till the extreme heat is over; and this is repeated till it is sufficiently dried.

In land that proves proper for indigo, the labour of one hand will in a year's time produce between eighty and a hundred weight, if no accidents happen; for indigo, as well as other commodities in those parts, is subject to many: the most common are, blasting and worms, by which it is frequently destroyed.

There is plenty of cotton in Jamaica, which is finer than that in the Caribbee islands. There are beside three sorts of bark used by the tanners, who tan better here than in England; and in six weeks



the leather is ready to work into shoes. There are here also abundance of dyers woods, as fustic, red-wood, logwood, and others. The island also abounds in drugs and medicinal herbs; as guaiacum, china-root, sarsaparella, cassia, tamarinds, vanelloes, &c. But the sugar-cane is the chief glory of Jamaica; for by this the inhabitants have acquired immense riches; and this island is said annually to produce near 100,000 hogshheads.

As to the number of people in the island, various computations have been made; but according to the best accounts, there are said to be near 100,000 white people, and four times as many negroes.

The water is unwholesome near the sea-coasts, and has destroyed great numbers of seamen at Port Royal. The common distempers of the country are fevers, fluxes, and the dry gripes.

BARBADOES may be esteemed the best peopled, and best cultivated island, not only in America, but in the whole known world. It is not easy to determine by whom this small island was discovered; but it is most probable it was first seen by the Portuguese. However, the first Englishmen who landed there are said to have been some of Sir William Curteen's seamen, that were cruising in those seas, in the latter end of the reign of king James I. and they at their return to England reporting that the soil was fruitful, some adventurers went thither in order to plant it: but the island being covered with wood, and there being scarce any other animals upon it than hogs, it was a long time before it answered their expectation.

In the first year of the reign of king Charles I. the property of this island was granted by that prince to James earl of Carlisle, of whom several adventurers purchasing shares, transported themselves thither, and began with planting tobacco; which not succeeding, they proceeded to try cotton and indigo, which yielded considerable profit. But little sugar was made in the island till the year 1647, when colonel Modiford, colonel Walrond, colonel Drax, and several

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several other cavaliers, not chusing to stay in England after the king's death, converted their estates into money, and transported themselves to Barbadoes, with such machines and implements as were proper for carrying on sugar-works: and had such success, that in a few years colonel Drax is said to have acquired an estate of 7 or 8000 l. per annum.

In the year 1661, king Charles II. purchased the property of this island of the lord Kinnoul, heir to the earl of Carlisle, and appointed the lord Willoughby of Parham governor; upon which the colony granted a duty of four and a half per cent. for the support of the civil government, and for maintaining the forces and fortifications of the island; which duty is said to amount to 10,000 l. a year.

The island of Barbadoes is situated in the Atlantic Ocean, in 30° north latitude, and 59° west longitude. It is of a triangular form; and where broadest about 25 miles from north to south, and only 15 from east to west. It is, for the most part, a plain level country, with some small hills of an easy ascent; and though it was covered with woods when the English first settled there, they have been all cut down to make way for plantations of sugar-canes, which at present take up almost the whole island; for their very corn, flesh, and fish, are for the most part imported from the northern colonies.

There is scarce an harbour in the island; the best is that of Bridge Town, in Carlisle bay, which lies open to the westward, but is secure from the north-east. This is here the constant trade-wind, and blows all night and all day; except when they have their tornados and hurricanes, which usually happen in the three summer months, and blow from every quarter. At such times the ships in the bay are in the utmost danger of being wrecked on shore, if they cannot get out to sea; and therefore they seldom attempt to ride out these storms.

The coast is defended on the east from the invasion of an enemy by rocks and shoals; and on the west,

west, where it is most exposed to a descent, breastworks and redoubts are erected for its security. There is scarce a stream in the island that deserves the name of a river, though there are two on the east-side, to which they have given the names of Scotland river and Joseph's river. However, they have good water in their wells almost all over the island, and do not dig very deep for it: they have also large ponds and reservoirs, where they preserve rain water.

Their heats are not so excessive as in the same latitude on the east-side of the continent of America; the air being constantly refreshed by the trade-wind in the day-time, which increases as the sun advances, and abates as the sun declines; but there being no mountain on the island, the trade-wind is not interrupted.

The only town of any consequence in the island is that of Bridge Town, or St. Michael's, in Carlisle-bay, which was formerly encompassed with a morass that rendered it unhealthy; but this has been in a great measure drained. However, the low situation of the town renders it still subject to inundations. It is said to contain 1000 or 1200 houses built with brick and stone\*; and there are commodious wharfs and quays for loading and unloading of goods. The chief produce of the island, as has been already intimated, is sugar; of the molasses, or dregs of which, they make great quantities of rum: they have also some cotton, indigo, and pimento.

They have good poultry and sea-fish, but no fresh water fish; and all manner of provisions are so dear, that there is no dining at an ordinary under a crown a head. Fresh meat is indeed a rarity, and chiefly the food of people of condition; the rest are glad of salt pork, beef and fish, imported from the northern colonies; from whence also comes their wheat, flour,

\* This town was lately almost wholly burnt down; and very handsome subscriptions have been raised in England, for rebuilding it.

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Indian-corn, beans, peas, &c. They make bread also of the Cassavi root, and the negroes feed on yams, potatoes, and other roots and fruits.

The government resembles that of the rest of our American islands, the governor and council being appointed by the crown; these, with the house of representatives, are vested with the legislative power, and make laws for the government of the island. The white people are said to have been once upward of 40,000, and they are at present computed to be near 30,000. The negroes, mulattoes, and mestich slaves are about 100,000, and their militia consists of about 1500 horse and 3000 foot.

The Island of St. CHRISTOPHER's was discovered by Christopher Columbus, in his first voyage to America. He gave it the name of St. Christopher's from the figure of its mountains, there being in the upper part of the island a very high mountain, bearing on its summit another of a smaller size, as St. Christopher is painted like a giant carrying our Saviour on his back. It is situated in 17° north latitude, and is about 73 miles in circumference. Sir Thomas Warner, an English adventurer, and Monsieur Desnambue, a French gentleman, who commanded for the French in America, arrived at St. Christopher's on the same day, and both took possession of the island in the names of their respective masters. It was then inhabited by the Caribbees; and the Spaniards used to put in there, in their West India voyages, to take in fresh water. These last were in such good terms with the Caribbees, that they sometimes left their sick there, of whom the natives took great care.

The above gentlemen left some of their men in the island, and returned to their respective countries for recruits; when their masters approving of their conduct, sent them back in 1626 with supplies of men and provisions, and with commissions to be governors of the new settlement. Monsieur Desnambue arrived  
there

there about the month of January, 1627, with about 300 people, after a long and sickly voyage. The English colony had as many men; and Sir Thomas had proceeded a good way in his settlement before Monsieur Desnambue's arrival. The two governors therefore, to prevent any differences among the people, settled the limits of their respective territories, on the 13th of May, 1627, and a league offensive and defensive was concluded between them against all enemies; after which they proceeded with great harmony.

However, the English receiving supplies of rael and provisions from London, throve better than the French; and not only became strong enough to keep what they had, but to spare men for settling plantations at Nevis, of which Sir Thomas Warner took possession, and left a settlement there in the year 1628.

Mean while the Spaniards being alarmed at the progress of the English and French in the Caribbee islands, thought the safety of their own plantations required their preventing those nations from settling in their neighbourhood; and therefore, in the following year, sent Frederic de Toledo with a fleet of 24 ships and 15 frigates, to dispossess the English and French of the island of St. Christopher's.

Don Frederic having them now in his power, commanded all on the island to depart immediately, on pain of being put to the sword: but as there was not room in his ships to carry off all the families, he consented that those who could not embark, should stay till they could be transported.

Don Frederic having made these regulations, weighed anchor, taking with him 600 of the English, who were fittest for his service. But he was no sooner gone, than the English, who were left, resolved to go on with the settlement: when the French, who were got no farther than Antigua and Montserrat, sent a ship for intelligence to St. Christopher's, and  
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## THE ANTILLES ISLANDS. 253

being informed that the Spaniards were gone, and the English busy in rebuilding and planting, they rejoiced at this happy and unexpected turn; and sailing back to St. Christopher's, resumed the possession of their former habitations.

The English now continued carrying on their colony till they were able to spare more men for their settlements at Barbuda, Montserrat and Antigua, which were peopled and planted by Sir Thomas Warner. At the same time the Dutch made themselves masters of St. Eustatia, and the French took possession of some other islands. Mean while the English built themselves good houses at St. Christopher's, and had wives and families; but the French lived in huts after the Caribbean manner, and as few of them married, they took less pains to furnish themselves with the necessaries and conveniences of life. Monsieur Desnambue died about the year 1637, and Sir Thomas Warner did not long survive him; but before this last gentleman's death, the colony was so increased, that the English in the island amounted to between 12 and 13,000.

The chief employment of the first planters was cultivating tobacco, by which they gained a competent livelihood; but afterward, the quantity lowering the price, they in several places applied themselves to the planting of sugar, indigo, and cotton, and in a little time became a rich and flourishing people. Both the English and French lived cordially together, till the war in the reign of Queen Anne, when the English drove the French entirely from their settlements; and the country being yielded to the crown of Great Britain, by the peace of Utrecht, all the French territory was sold for the benefit of the public; which must have produced a very large sum, since out of it were paid 80,000*l.* for the marriage of the late princess of Orange.

The middle part of the island of St. Christopher's being extremely mountainous, it is thought there

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are not above 24,000 acres of land fit for sugar in the whole island; and yet it annually produces about 10,000 hogheads of that valuable commodity.

The Island of MONTSERRAT, so called by the Spaniards, from its resembling a mountain in Catalonia of the same name, famous for a chapel dedicated to the blessed Virgin, is situated in  $17^{\circ}$  north latitude, and is about three leagues in length, and almost as much in breadth; so that it seems to be round. It was discovered by Columbus, at the same time with St. Christopher's; but no settlement was made upon it, till Sir Thomas Warner procured a small colony to settle there in 1632.

The climate, soil, animals, trade, and productions of this island are the same with those of the other Caribbee islands. This, however, is fuller of mountains, which are covered with cedars, and other trees, that afford a delightful prospect to the sea. The valleys are fruitful, and better supplied with fresh water than those of Antigua; and it is computed, that at present there are in this island about 4500 white people, and about 12,000 negroes. As Montserrat is less than any other of the Caribbee islands, it annually produces only 2500, and sometimes 3000 hogheads of sugar.

BARBUDA, which was planted by Sir Thomas Warner as early as Montserrat, is situated in  $17^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude, and is about 15 miles long. The first colony was so often disturbed by the Caribbees, that the people were frequently forced to desert their plantations; for there hardly passed a year in which they did not make one or two incursions, and that generally in the night, for they durst not attack them by day; so that the English grew weary of dwelling in a place where they were so much exposed to the fury of the natives, and therefore deserted the island. But the Caribbees diminishing daily in number, and the Europeans on the other islands increasing, the  
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English again possessed themselves of Barbuda: in a few years the inhabitants amounted to 500, and they are now increased to 1200 persons. The proprietor chuses the governor, and has the same privilege as the other lords-proprietors in their several jurisdictions in America. The inhabitants apply themselves chiefly to the breeding of cattle; for which there is always a good market in the sugar islands.

The next plantation is that of Anguilla, or SNAKE-Island, so called from its figure; it being long, narrow, and winding almost about. It is near St. Martin's, from whence it may be seen, and lies in  $18^{\circ} 12'$  north latitude. The country is extremely level, and there is not a mountain in it; however, it is very woody. In the broadest part there is a pond, about which the English settled in the year 1650, and applied themselves to the planting of corn and the breeding of tame cattle. They were afterward joined by some people from Barbadoes, and other of the English Caribbee islands, who, incorporating with the rest, learned their manners; and though they are said to amount to 150 families, or 900 souls, yet they have neither minister nor magistrate among them. They apply themselves to farming, in which they have had very good success, and live like the old patriarchs, every man being a kind of sovereign in his own family.

ANTIGUA, or ANTEGO, is the last of these islands, originally settled by the English. Sir Thomas Warner attempted to form a settlement there, but without success. However, Francis lord Willoughby, who was governor of Barbadoes, obtained a grant of the island of Antigua, in 1663, from king Charles II. and planted a colony in it about three years after. It is situated in  $16^{\circ} 11'$  north latitude, and  $63^{\circ}$  west longitude from London. It is of a circular form, about 20 miles in diameter, and near 60 in circumference. The climate is far from being agreeable, since



it is hotter than in Barbadoes, and very subject to hurricanes. The soil too is sandy, and great part of the land is overgrown with wood. The greatest disadvantage is, there being but few springs, and not so much as a single brook in the whole island, the people depend chiefly upon rain-water, for which they are sometimes distressed.

Antigua is divided into five parishes, four of which are towns, as St. John's town, to the northward, which is the capital of the island, and consists of about 200 houses; and Falmouth, Parham, and Bridge Town, to the southward. The other parish is St. Peter's.

Beside St. John's harbour, which is the most commodious, there are other very good ones, as Five-Island harbour, so called from five little islands to the westward of the isle of Carlisle-bay; English harbour, at the bottom of which is Falmouth town, defended by Charles fort; next to it is Willoughby-bay; on the east shore is Green Bay; off which is Green Island; next to this is Nonfuch harbour, which is a spacious bay. There are also several little islands, particularly to the northward. The forts are in pretty good repair: Monk's Hill fort is mounted with 30 pieces of ordnance; the other fort erected at St. John's harbour is mounted with 14; and there are seven other batteries for the defence of so many landing-places.

There are greater plenty of cattle and other beasts, especially venison, in this, than in any other of the Caribbee islands: the other animals and vegetables are much the same. When Antigua was first planted, sugar, indigo, ginger, and tobacco were its chief commodities; but now ginger and indigo are seldom cultivated there. The sugar and tobacco were, however, both bad of the sort. But the planters of Antigua have since improved their art, and now make as good Muscovado sugar as any of our sugar islands,  
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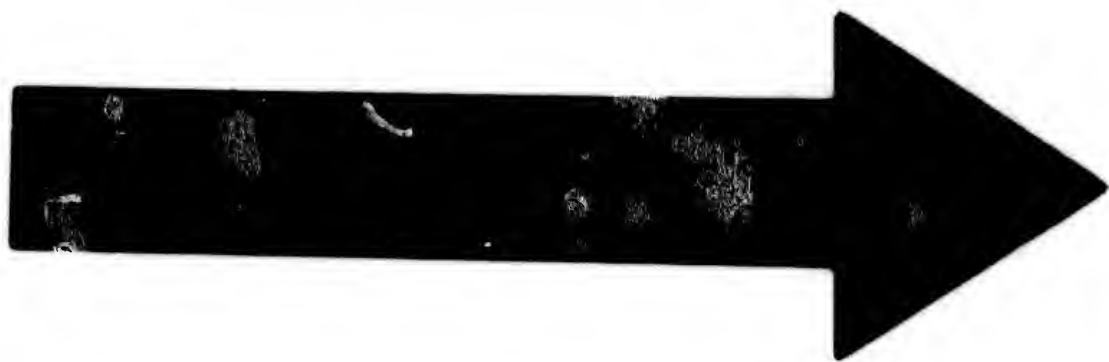
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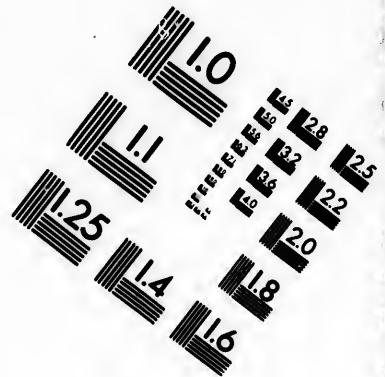
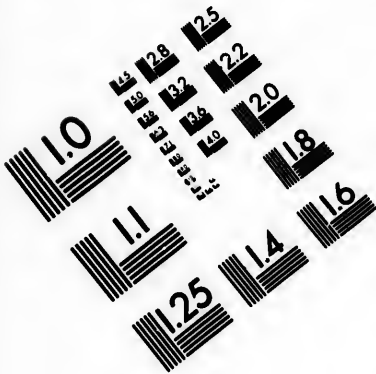
## THE ANTILLES ISLANDS. 257

and though there is not much tobacco planted in this island, yet what there is now, is not so bad as it was formerly. The number of people in this colony are computed at 1500.

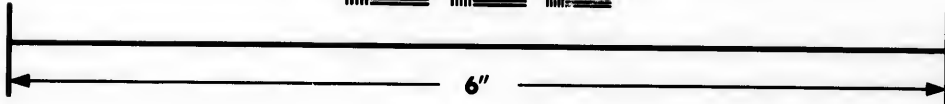
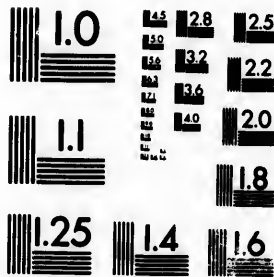
MARTINICO is situated in  $14^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude, and in  $61^{\circ}$  west longitude. It is about 13 leagues in length and seven in breadth. From the inland parts, which are mountainous, fall numerous rivulets; which after watering the country, flow into the sea. It has several bays well fortified; the chief of which is the great bay of Port Royal, the capital of the island, and the bay of St. Pierre, a large town about seven leagues from it to the north-west. In August 1766, a most terrible hurricane drove all the ships in the harbour here ashore, blew down most of their houses and sugar-works, destroyed their canes, and killed 800 blacks and whites. This island was inhabited by Indians when the French first attempted a settlement in the year 1635, but the French overpowered, and cruelly extirpated the ancient inhabitants. The governor of all the Caribbee islands resides there; and it is the seat of the sovereign council, whose jurisdiction extends, not only throughout the Antilles, but over the French settlements in St. Domingo and Ortugo. This island was taken by the English, after an obstinate siege, in the beginning of the year 1762; and restored to the French by the peace of Versailles in the same year.

GUADALOUPE, the largest of the Caribbee islands, is situated in  $16^{\circ}$  north latitude, and  $61^{\circ}$  west longitude, about 30 leagues from Martinico. It is remarkable for the height of its cliffs and mountains. It is about 15 leagues in length and twelve in breadth, divided into two parts by a small arm of the sea, or narrow passage, through which no ship can venture; and the inhabitants cross over in a ferry from one part to the other. The country to the west is called Basse-Terre, where stands the metropolis of the same name, and where the citadel and chief strength of the island





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



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lies: the part to the east is called Grande Terre. The French began to settle this island about the year 1632, but being unacquainted with the nature of the soil, they were in danger of starving, and afterward the planters were almost ruined by their divisions: but since the beginning of the present century, the inhabitants have flourished so much, that they make more sugar than any of the British islands, except Jamaica. The soil is rich, and especially at Grande Terre so fertile, that the canes are frequently cut six times without replanting; and in Martinico, the finest plantation never produces more than seven crops, and but very few have done that. Indeed the far greatest part of what are called Martinico sugars, are the real produce of Guadaloupe, the inhabitants of which were obliged to send them to Martinico, before they could be transported to France.

In 1759, a fleet of 10 men of war besides frigates and bomb ketches, under the command of Commodore Moore, with a body of land forces, commanded by General Hopson, after making an unsuccessful attack on Martinico, sailed for Guadaloupe; which surrendered to the English on the 1st of May 1759. It was restored by the ensuing peace; together with Marigalante, four little islands called the Santos, Defeada, and Petit Terre, which also surrendered to the English. Marigalante is about 20 miles in length, and about 15 in breadth, and is situated in 16° north latitude a little to the south-west of Guadaloupe.

GRANADA is 25 leagues in circumference, and has several good bays and harbours, some of which are fortified. It is situated in 11° 15' north latitude, about 30 leagues south-west of Barbadoes, and about the same distance north of Andalusia. There are several small islands that lie to the north end of Granada which are called the Granadillas; which after being reduced were all ceded to us at the late peace; and with the three heretofore neutral islands of Dominico, St. Vincent, and Tobago; constitute one of the

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the four governments in America: See the proclamation, p. 265.

The smaller Caribbee islands, are St. Bartholomew's, which is about 10 leagues north of St. Christopher's, and was taken in the year 1689, by the English, under the command of Sir Timothy Thornhill; but restored to the French at the peace of Ryswick. St. Martin's, another island of small consequence, situated a little to the north-west of Bartholomew's. St. Croix, or Santa Cruz, situated in  $17^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude, about 20 leagues east of St. Christopher's, and has been contended for by the English, French, Spaniards, and Dutch. Diserada, or Descada, the desirable island, so called by Columbus; from its being the first land he discovered in his second voyage to America in 1493. It is situated about ten leagues north-east to Guadaloupe; and is a small inconsiderable island, not so fruitful as some of the others.

As sugar is the staple commodity of the French islands, it is proper to give a short account of the quantities raised in them. In Martinico it is computed that the inhabitants make one year with another 10,000 hogsheads of about 600 weight each: In Guadaloupe, about 40,000 hogsheads are made; and in the other islands about 1000 hogsheads altogether. These islands also draw a considerable profit, from cacao; or the chocolate nut, and from ginger, cassia, and pimento, which is what is called Jamaica pepper or all-spice, of which they export considerable quantities: The inhabitants also send home rocou for the use of dyers, and a variety of medicinal gums and wet sweetmeats of several kinds; and several sorts of valuable woods used in dying, in-laying, and cabinet work. Mr. Savary observes, that the goods exported from France to these islands, annually, amounted to about four millions of livres, or near 200,000 l. of our money; for which they brought home nearly double the value in West India commodities.

On the south side of the French part of Hispaniola or St. Domingo, is AVACHE, a little island, at about twelve leagues distance from the continent. It is only about eight leagues in compass, but it has a very good soil, and two or three tolerable ports, one of which is capable of receiving ships of 300 tons. It lies very conveniently for carrying on a trade with the Spanish colonies on the continent of America.

CAYENNE, an island situated in  $5^{\circ}$  north latitude and in  $53^{\circ}$  west longitude, was settled by the French in the year 1625. It lies close to the continent of Guiana, from whence it is only separated by the rivers Ovia on the east, and the Cayenne on the west, from which last it takes its name. It is eighteen or twenty leagues in circumference, and is about seven leagues long and three broad. As it stands high on the coast, it at a distance seems part of the continent. It has three principal capes, those of Fort St. Lewis, Seperon, and Matiuri, and its banks are mostly covered with mangroves, which grow in salt water, and from the roots other trees rise up without end.

This island is rendered uncomfortable by the long rainy season which happens every year; by the scorching close air, both by day and night, and by the vapours exhaled from the swampy grounds, which occasion many disorders. The inhabitants are also continually tormented with gnats, flies, worms, ants, bugs, and other vermin; which altogether render the place very disagreeable.

The soil produces plenty of sugar canes which, though small and short-jointed, yield very plentifully. It also abounds in ananas, or pine-apples, oranges, lemons, figs, papaias, ebony, and violet wood, and also in indigo and cotton, as well as in several sorts of American and European grain.

The principal town is also called Cayenne, and stands on the west part of the island in an advantageous situation, nature and art having equally contributed to fortify it.

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The trade carried on with France, chiefly consists in provisions, as salt meat, flour, wine, brandy, linen, stuff, shoes, and other wearing apparel, tools, and small wares; in return for which they export sugar, dying woods, and for the most part the same kind of commodities as the leeward islands. The number of whites, exclusive of the soldiers, are said to amount to about 1500, and the whole number of people, including the soldiers and slaves, is said to be about 3000.

St. EUSTACHIUS, or St. EUSTATIA, is situated to the north-west of St. Christopher's in  $17^{\circ} 40'$  north latitude. This island, which is only five leagues in compass, appears to the southward like a high mountain rising out of the sea, but stretches out to the northward, into a pretty good country. The number of plantations upon it, and the comfortable situation of its inhabitants do great honour to the industry of the Dutch: yet there is not a drop of water in the island but what they are supplied with from the clouds, which they preserve so carefully in cisterns, that they are very seldom distressed. The top of the mountain is covered with a vast wood, in the middle of which, instead of the point that might be expected, as it rises in the form of a sugar loaf, there is a wide and deep cavern, which was probably once a volcano.

To the north-west of this island, lies that of SABA, in  $17^{\circ} 35'$  north latitude. It at first sight appears to be a rock, but the Dutch governors of St. Eustatia have settled a small colony there, in a valley, where they raise tobacco and other things. Both these islands have the misfortune of not having a single port; St. Eustatia, however, has a good road where all the ships ride, and the Dutch have erected a pretty strong fort to command it.

We come now to the island of St. MARTIN, situated in  $18^{\circ} 15'$  north latitude, a little inconsiderable island, about seven leagues in length, and four in breadth, and yet inhabited by two powerful nations: though its smallness is not its only disadvantage, for

the climate is far from being wholesome, and the soil cannot be very fertile, as there are no rivers, and very few springs, and even these are dried up in the hot seasons; so that the inhabitants are obliged to have recourse to their cisterns of rain water: yet as insignificant as this place may appear, it has been contended for, by the Spaniards, French, and Dutch.

In the island of St. Martin there is great plenty of a kind of tree, which both the Dutch and French call candle wood, for the small sticks serve for candles, and, at the same time they light the room, yield a very agreeable scent.

We are now to proceed to their other islands which lie nearer the Spanish coast, and from which they receive still greater advantages.

CURACAO, or as it is pronounced, and sometimes written by the Dutch, Curraſſaw, is an island about nine or ten leagues long, and five broad, situated in  $12^{\circ} 40'$  north latitude; but though the soil is far from being fruitful, and the climate still farther from being either agreeable or healthy, yet such have been the care and industry of the Dutch, that they receive great advantages from this small, and to appearance inconsiderable country.

The harbour of Santa Barbara is on the south side of the east end of the island, but the chief harbour is about three leagues from the south-east end of the south side, where the Dutch have a very good town, and a strong fort: there is no anchoring at its entrance, but being got in, it is a place of great security. The Dutch town is for its size one of the finest in America, and it has every thing requisite to render it commodious and agreeable, as far as the climate and soil will permit. The public buildings are very neat; the port is rendered as safe as possible, and though the entry is dangerous, yet the precautions taken by the government, for the service of strangers, not only free them from all difficulties, but render them also in a great measure insensible of any hazard: by these means it is become one of the most frequented

## THE ANTILLES ISLANDS. 263

quented ports in the West Indies. All kind of labour is here performed by engines, with such dexterity, that ships are lifted at once into the dock, where they are carefully and effectually careened; and all nations are with equal readiness furnished with provisions, naval stores, ammunition, and even artillery.

BONAIRA and ARUBA are also two islands in the possession of the Dutch, dependent upon the island of Curaçao. The former lies ten leagues to the eastward of that island, and is about 17 leagues in compass. The Dutch have a deputy governor, a guard of soldiers, and a considerable number of Indians, with a fort for the protection and security of the place. The island of Aruba lies seven leagues west from Curaçao; but though it is not very considerable, the inhabitants breed some cattle and a great many horses: this renders it of service to the chief colony, which it also furnishes with a great quantity of garden stuff.

But to return to Curaçao: as this island is not above seven leagues from the Spanish coast, it is commodiously situated for carrying on a clandestine trade. This was first begun by the sale of negroes, brought thither by the Dutch from their numerous settlements on the coast of Guinea; but since the English at Jamaica have interfered in this trade, it has sunk considerably.

It has been computed that in time of peace, the trade of this island did not produce less to the Dutch than five millions of florins per annum, which is about half a million sterling. But in time of war the profit is much larger, for then every article of their commerce is vastly increased.

The only remaining island in this part of the world that we shall now mention, is that of St. THOMAS, which belongs to the Danes: it is situated in 18° north latitude, and is one of that cluster of islands called the Virgins. Though this island is not above seven leagues in circumference, it is in a commodious

situation, and has an excellent port of an oval form, in a manner surrounded by two promontories, which defend the ships that lie within from almost all winds. In the bottom of this port is a small fortress, and the king of Denmark has here a governor and a garrison; notwithstanding which, there is a large factory, on the island belonging to the Brandenburgers, the subjects of the king of Prussia.

The neighbourhood of the Spanish island of Porto Rico only at 17 leagues distance, secures the inhabitants from the danger of wanting provisions, to which they would otherwise be exposed: for though the soil is tolerably good, and every foot of it cultivated, yet it would not produce sufficient for the maintainance of the inhabitants, who are very numerous.

The town of St. Thomas consists of one long street, at the end of which is the Danish magazine, a large magnificent and convenient building. The Brandenburg factory is also very considerable, and the persons belonging to it are chiefly French refugees, who fled thither when the Protestants were expelled from the French islands. The chief produce of their plantations is sugar, which is very fine grained, but made in small quantities.

To this island the Spaniards are continually sending large vessels to purchase slaves. This is the chief support of the Danish and Brandenburg commerce, as these slaves are drawn from their settlements upon the coast of Africa, which, if they had not this vent for them, would have long ago become useless, and consequently deserted. The Spaniards also buy here, as well as at Curaçao, all sorts of European goods, of which there is always a vast stock in the magazine, belonging chiefly to the Dutch. But though a prodigious deal of business is transacted in time of peace, in time of war it is vastly increased, for being a neutral port, the privateers of all nations resort thither to sell their prizes.

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**P R O C L A M A T I O N**

For regulating the **C E S S I O N S** made to us by the  
last Treaty of **P E A C E**.

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**G E O R G E R.**

**W**Hereas We have taken into Our royal consideration the extensive and valuable acquisitions in America, secured to Our crown by the late definitive treaty of peace concluded at Paris the 10th day of February last; and being desirous, that all Our loving subjects, as well of Our kingdom as of Our colonies in America, may avail themselves, with all convenient speed, of the great benefits and advantages, which must accrue therefrom to their commerce, manufactures, and navigation; We have thought fit, with the advice of Our privy council, to issue this Our royal proclamation, hereby to publish and declare to all Our loving subjects, that We have, with the advice of Our said privy council, granted Our letters patent under Our great seal of Great Britain, to erect within the countries and islands, ceded and confirmed to Us by the said treaty, four distinct and separate governments, stiled and called by the names of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada; and limited and bounded, as follows, viz.

First, The government of Quebec, bounded on the Labrador coast by the river St. John, and from thence by a line drawn from the head of that river through the Lake St. John to the south end of the Lake Nipissim; from whence the said line, crossing the river St. Lawrence and the Lake Champlain in

45 degrees of north latitude, passes along the high lands which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the said river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the sea; and also along the north coast of the Baye des Chaleurs, and the coast of the gulph of St. Lawrence to Cape Rosieres, and from thence crossing the mouth of the river St. Lawrence by the west end of the island of Anticosti, terminates at the aforesaid river of St. John.

Secondly, The government of East Florida, bounded to the westward, by the gulph of Mexico and the Apalachicola river; to the northward, by a line drawn from that part of the said river where the Chatahouchee and Flint rivers meet, to the source of St. Mary's river, and by the course of the said river to the Atlantic Ocean; and to the eastward and southward, by the Atlantic Ocean, and the gulph of Florida, including all islands within six leagues of the sea coast.

Thirdly, The government of West Florida, bounded to the southward by the gulph of Mexico, including all islands within six leagues of the coast from the river Apalachicola to Lake Pontchartrain; to the westward, by the same lake, the Lake Maurepas, and the river Mississippi; to the northward, by a line drawn due east from that part of the river Mississippi, which lies in 31 degrees north latitude, to the river Apalachicola or Chatahouchee; and to the eastward by the same river.

Fourthly, The government of Grenada, comprehending the island of that name, together with the Grenadines, and the islands of Dominico, St. Vincent, and Tobago.

And to the end that the open and free fishery of Our subjects may be extended to, and carried on upon the coast of Labrador, and the adjacent islands, We have thought fit, with the advice of Our said privy council, to put all that coast from the river St. John's to Hudson's straits, together with the islands  
of

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of Anticosti and Madelaine, and all other smaller islands lying upon the said coast, under the care and inspection of Our governor of Newfoundland.

We have also, with the advice of Our privy council, thought fit to annex the islands of St. John's, and Cape Breton, or Isle Royale, with the lesser islands adjacent thereto, to Our government of Nova Scotia.

We have also, with the advice of Our privy council aforesaid, annexed to Our province of Georgia all the lands lying between the rivers Alatamaha and St. Mary's.

And whereas it will greatly contribute to the speedy settling Our said new governments, that Our loving subjects should be informed of Our paternal care for the security of the liberties and properties of those, who are and shall become inhabitants thereof; We have thought fit to publish and declare, by this Our proclamation, that We have, in the letters patent under Our great seal of Great Britain, by which the said governments are constituted, giving express power and direction to Our governors of Our said colonies respectively, that so soon as the state and circumstances of the said colonies will admit thereof, they shall, with the advice and consent of the members of Our council, summon and call general assemblies within the said governments respectively, in such manner and form as is used and directed in those colonies and provinces in America, which are under Our immediate government; and We have also given power to the said governors, with the consent of Our said councils, and the representatives of the people, so to be summoned as aforesaid, to make, constitute, and ordain laws, statutes and ordinances for the public peace, welfare and good government of Our said colonies, and of the people and inhabitants thereof, as near as may be agreeable to the laws of England, and under such regulations and restrictions as are used in other colonies; and in the mean time, and until such

such assemblies can be called as aforesaid, all persons inhabiting in or resorting to Our said colonies, may confide in our royal protection for the enjoyment of the benefit of the laws of Our realm of England; for which purpose We have given power under Our great seal to the governors of Our said colonies respectively, to erect and constitute, with the advice of Our said councils respectively, courts of judicature and public justice within Our said colonies, for the hearing and determining all causes, as well criminal as civil, according to law and equity, and as near as may be agreeable to the laws of England; with liberty to all persons, who may think themselves aggrieved by the sentences of such courts, in all civil cases, to appeal, under the usual limitations and restrictions to Us, in Our privy council.

We have also thought fit, with the advice of Our privy council as aforesaid, to give unto the governors and councils of Our said three new colonies upon the continent, full power and authority to settle and agree with the inhabitants of Our said new colonies, or with any other persons who shall resort thereto, for such lands, tenements and hereditaments, as are now or hereafter shall be in Our power to dispose of, and them to grant to any such person or persons, upon such terms, and under such moderate quit-rents, services and acknowledgments, as have been appointed and settled in Our other colonies, and under such other conditions as shall appear to Us to be necessary and expedient for the advantage of the grantees, and the improvement and settlement of Our said colonies.

And whereas We are desirous, upon all occasions, to testify Our royal sense and approbation of the conduct and bravery of the officers and soldiers of Our armies, and to reward the same, We do hereby command and empower Our governors of Our said three new colonies, and all other Our governors of Our several provinces on the continent of North America, to grant, without fee or reward, to such reduced officers



officers as have served in North America during the late war, and to such private soldiers as have been or shall be disbanded in America, and are actually residing there, and shall personally apply for the same, the following quantities of lands, subject at the expiration of ten years to the same quit-rents as other lands are subject to in the province within which they are granted, as also subject to the same conditions of cultivation and improvement, viz.

To every person having the rank of a field officer, 5000 acres.

To every captain, 3000 acres.

To every subaltern or staff officer, 2000 acres.

To every non-commission officer 200 acres.

To every private man 50 acres.

We do likewise authorize and require the governors and commanders in chief of all Our said colonies upon the continent of North America, to grant the like quantities of land, and upon the same conditions, to such reduced officers of Our navy of like rank as served on board Our ships of war in North America at the times of the reduction of Louisbourg and Quebec in the late war, and who shall personally apply to Our respective governors for such grants.

And whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to Our interest and the security of Our colonies, that the several nations or tribes of Indians, with whom We are connected, and who live under Our protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the possession of such parts of Our dominions and territories as not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are reserved to them or any of them as their hunting grounds, We do therefore, with the advice of Our privy council, declare it to be Our royal will and pleasure, that no governor or commander in chief in any of Our colonies of Quebec, East Florida, or West Florida, do presume, upon any pretence whatever, to grant warrants of survey, or pass any patents for lands beyond the bounds of their respective governments,

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as described in their commissions; as also that no governor nor commander in chief in any of Our other colonies or plantations in America, do presume for the present, and until Our further pleasure be known, to grant warrant of survey, or pass patents for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west and north-west; or upon any lands whatever, which not having been ceded to or purchased by Us as aforesaid, are reserved to the said Indians, or any of them.

And We do further declare it to be Our royal will and pleasure, for the present as aforesaid, to reserve under Our sovereignty, protection and dominion, for the use of the said Indians, all the lands and territories not included within the limits of Our said three new governments, or within the limits of the territory granted to the Hudson's bay company; as also all the lands and territories lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the west and north-west as aforesaid; and We do hereby strictly forbid, on pain of Our displeasure, all Our loving subjects from making any purchases or settlements whatever; or taking possession of any of the lands above reserved, without Our especial leave and licence for that purpose first obtained.

And We do further strictly enjoin and require all persons whatever, who have either wilfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon any lands within the countries above described, or upon any other lands, which having not been ceded to or purchased by Us, are still reserved to the said Indians as aforesaid, forthwith to remove themselves from such settlements.

And whereas great frauds and abuses have been committed in the purchasing lands of the Indians, to the great prejudice of Our interests, and to the great dissatisfaction of the said Indians: In order therefore to prevent such irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may be convinced of Our justice and determined resolution to remove all rea-  
sonable

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sonable cause of discontent, We do, with the advice of Our privy council, strictly enjoin and require, that no private person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians of any lands reserved to the said Indians within those parts of Our colonies, where We have thought proper to allow settlement; but that if at any time any of the said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said lands, the same shall be purchased only for Us, in Our name, at some public meeting or assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that purpose by the governor or commander in chief of Our colony respectively, within which they shall lie: And in case they shall lie within the limits of any proprietary government, they shall be purchased only for the use and in the name of such proprietaries, conformable to such directions and instructions as We or they shall think proper to give for that purpose. And We do, by the advice of Our privy council, declare and enjoin, that the trade with the said Indians shall be free and open to all Our subjects whatever; provided that every person, who may incline to trade with the said Indians, do take out a licence for carrying on such a trade, from the governor or commander in chief of any of Our colonies respectively, where such persons shall reside, and also give security to observe such regulations as We shall at any time think fit, by Ourselves or by Our commissaries, to be appointed for this purpose, to direct and appoint for the benefit of the said trade: And We do hereby authorise, enjoin and require the governors and commanders in chief of all Our colonies respectively, as well those under Our immediate government, as those under the government and direction of proprietaries, to grant such licences without fee or reward, taking especial care to insert therein a condition, that such licence shall be void, and the security forfeited, in case the person, to whom the same is granted, shall refuse or neglect to observe

PROCLAMATION

observe such regulations as We shall think proper to prescribe as aforesaid.

And We do further expressly enjoin and require all officers whatever, as well military as those employed in the management and direction of Indian affairs within the territories reserved, as aforesaid, for the use of the said Indians, to seize and apprehend all persons whatever, who, standing charged with treasons, misprisions of treason, murders, or other felonies and misdemeanours, shall fly from justice and take refuge in the said territory, and to send them under a proper guard to the colony where the crime was committed of which they stand accused, in order to take their trial for the same.

Given at Our court at St. James's, the 17th day of October, 1763, in the third year of Our reign.

GOD Save the KING.

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C O N C L U S I O N  
 TO THE  
 DISCOVERIES, VOYAGES,  
 and DESCRIPTIONS,  
 relating to  
 A M E R I C A.

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**A**S every article of information relating to America must be interesting to a British reader, the several materials we have collected for that end, cannot be more profitably concluded, than by adding some general reflections relating to the conduct of the British settlers in North America, toward the Indian natives; and of Great Britain, the mother country, toward her American colonies. If authority can add any strength to reasoning, the reader may have the satisfaction of knowing, that they are the remarks of governor Pownall; whose station in America was not only a sanction of his abilities, but gave him the best opportunities of information respecting our American affairs.

This gentleman deduces his subject as follows.

“ The different manner in which this globe of earth is possessed, and occupied by the different species of the human race which inhabit it, must form the specific difference in their interest and politics.

“ The human race, which are at present found on this earth, may be divided into three families, generically, and in their essential properties, distinct and different each from the other. And, perhaps, it is to this natural truth, that the heaven-directed pen of the author of the books of Moses refers, when he

gives precisely, and only, three sons to Noah. These three different species, or race, are—The white race—the red—the black. It is not barely the colour of these two first, which distinguishes them; the form of their skull, and their hair, where there has been no mixture, is specifically different from each other; and a true Indian will not judge by any other distinction: the black race has wool instead of hair, as also a form of skull different from each. These books, after having given a philosophical account, cloathed in drama, of the origin of things, seems to confine its real narrative to the history of the white family; to that race of people who had been land-workers from the beginning; who, wherever they have spread themselves over the face of this globe, have carried with them the art of cultivating vines, and fruit-trees, and the cultivation of bread corn; who, wherever they have extended themselves, have become settlers, and have constantly carried with them the sheep, goat, oxen and horse, domiciliated and specially applied to the uses and labour of a settlement.

“ The black family are not concerned in the present consideration.

“ The red family, wherever found, are wanderers. The Tartars are in one part wandering herdsmen; and in other parts, hunters and fishermen. The American inhabitants are the same race of people from one end of the continent to the other; and are the same race or family as the Tartars, precisely of the same colour, of the same form of skull, of the same species of hair,—not to mention the language and their names.

“ America, in its natural state, is one great forest of woods and lakes, stocked not with sheep, oxen, or horses; not with animals of labour, and such as may be domiciliated, but with wild beasts, game and fish; vegetating not with bread-corn, but with a species of pulse, which we call maize, of which there is great doubt whether it be indigenous or not.—All therefore

fore that this country afforded for food or raiment must be hunted for. The inhabitants consequently would naturally be, as in fact they were, *not land-workers, but hunters; not settlers, but wanderers*. They would therefore, consequently, never have, as in fact they never had, any idea of property in land; of that property which arises from a man's mixing his labour with it. They would consequently never have, as in fact they never had, any one communion of rights and actions as extended to society; any one civil union; and consequently they would never have any government. They know no such thing as administrative or executive power, properly so called: they allow the authority of advice, a kind of legislative authority; but there is no civil coercion amongst them: they never had any collective actuating power among the whole, nor any magistrate or magistrates to execute such power.

“The race of white people migrating from Europe, still continue land-workers, and have made settlements in parts of America which they occupy, and have transported thither bread-corn, sheep, oxen, horses, and other usual and domestic animals, that are domiciliate with these settlers.

“They are a community—they are a society—they live under government, and have fixed property in their lands, having fixed a permanent interest; which must subsist *under a continued series of security*. The locality of the labour of these settlers, necessarily produces a reciprocation of wants and an intercommunion of supply, by exchange of mutual necessities. This also leads to an intercourse of commerce with others, who are not immediately within their community. And hence arises a commercial interest to these settlers.

“From the European desire of having the furs and peltry of the Indian hunters, and from the Indian desire of having the more useful and necessary tools and instruments of improved life; an artificial

reciprocation of wants has arisen between the European settlers, and the original inhabitants of America, which hath gradually extended itself to many articles not at first called for. And from this intercourse of commerce has arisen a necessary relation of politics between them.

“The only true spirit that ought to actuate these politics, must arise from a due knowledge of the circumstances and interests of each; and from a constant invariable attention to that composite interest which is formed by their alliance.

“The interest of a community of settlers must lie in a *permanent series of security* to their cultured lands; as the making settlements is by the successive yearly application of repeated labour, and of its eventual future effect. Settlers and land-workers want but small tracts of land; but must have a fixed and permanent property therein. A nation of hunters require a much greater extent of country, in proportion to the wide extended produce of a hunt, to the local bounded produce of a farm or settlement; so that the Indian property of country consists of two sorts, their dwelling lands, and their hunt.

“The interest of a tribe of wanderers lies in the protection and support of the aged, of the women and children; under the temporary locations of dwelling, which the severity of the winter season, the occasion of the procuring pulse in the season of vegetation, and the times of parturition, render necessary even to wanderers.

“As fixed regulations and protection of trade, must be the essential spirit of the politics and the law of nations to a commercial nation\*; so an exact and  
strict

\* Hunting being but the amusement, the diversion of a nation of settler, the rights and laws of it may not appear as national points—but to a nation of hunters these become the national interests and the laws of nations.—A violation of these laws of nations, as subsisting between nations of hunters, was the cause of the  
the



strict observance of the laws of sporting, the protection of the game, and the most rigid sanction of the *bunt*, (better perhaps understood by our sportsmen than our politicians) become the *laws of nations* to an *hunting nation*.

“ From these principles let us carry our considerations into facts.

“ The European land-workers, when they came to settle in America, began trading with the Indians; and \* obtained leave of the Indians to cultivate small tracts as settlements or dwellings. The Indians having no other idea of property, than what was conformable to their transient temporary dwelling-places, easily granted this. When they came to perceive the very different effect of settlements of landworkers creating a permanent property always extending itself, they became very uneasy; but yet, in the true spirit of justice and honour, abided by the effects of concessions which they had made; but which they would not have made, had they understood beforehand the force of them.

“ From this moment the politics of the Indians were fixed on, and confined to two points. The guarding their dwelling-lands and their hunts from the encroachment of the European settlers; and their perpetually labouring, to our utter shame, in vain, to

the war between the Five-nation confederacy, and the Illinois. The Ohio hunt, to the south-east of Lake Erie, was common to these nations; the laws of the hunt required, that at each beaver-pond, the Indians should leave a certain number of male and females; the Illinois, on some occasion of pique, destroyed all. The Five Nations declared war against the Illinois. An Indian war ends not but in the total reduction of the one or the other. The Illinois were totally conquered. The conquered country, as well as the hunt, became the right of the Five Nations; and were amongst the rest of their lands, put, by them, into the hands of the English in trust.

\* Perhaps New England may be an exception. The Indians began an unjust war against them: they conquered these Indians; and their claim is best, as well as justly, founded on conquest, which the Indians acknowledge.

establish some equitable and fixed regulations in the trade carried on between them and the Europeans.

“ The European encroachments, not only by the extent of their settlements, but by their presuming to build forts on the Indians dwelling lands, and in the territories of their hunts, without leave, or by collusion; and the impositions and frauds committed against the Indians in trading with them; have been the occasions of constant complaint from the Indians, and the invariable source of Indian hostilities: and yet even these might have been surmounted, were it not that we have constantly added an aggravation to this injustice, by claiming a DOMINION in consequence of a *landed possession*. Against this the free spirit of an Indian will revolt, to the last drop of his blood: this will be perpetual, unremitted cause of war to them against us. Against it, they have at all times, and upon all occasions protested, and they will never give it up. As long as we keep up this useless, faithless claim of dominion over them, so long shall we be embroiled in war with them. The European power may perhaps finally extirpate them, but can never conquer them. The perpetual increasing generations of Europeans in America, may supply numbers that must, in the end, wear out these poor Indian inhabitants from their own country; but we shall pay dear, both in blood and treasure, in the mean while, for our horrid injustice. Our frontiers, from the nature of advancing settlements, dispersed along the branches of the upper parts of our rivers, and scattered in the disunited valleys, amidst the mountains; must be always unguarded, and defenceless against the incursions of Indians. And were we able, under an Indian war, to advance our settlements yet farther, they would be advanced up to the very dens of those savages. A settler, wholly intent on labouring on the soil, cannot stand to his arms, nor defend himself against, nor seek his enemy: environed with woods and swamps, he knows nothing of the country

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try beyond his farm: the Indian knows every spot for ambush or defence. The farmer, driven from his little cultured lot into the woods, is lost: the Indian in the woods, is every where at home; every bush, every thicket, is a camp, from whence, at the very moment when he is sure of his blow, he can rush upon his prey. The farmer's cow, or his horse, cannot go into the woods, where alone they must subsist: his wife and children, if they shut themselves up in their poor wretched loghouse, will be burned in it: and the husbandman in the field will be shot down while his hand holds the plough. An European settler can make but momentary efforts of war, in hopes to gain some point, that he may by it obtain a series of security, under which to work his lands in peace: the Indian's whole life is a warfare, and his operations never discontinued. In short, our frontier settlements must ever lie at the mercy of the savages: and a settler is the natural prey to an Indian, whose sole occupation is war and hunting. To countries circumstanced as our colonies are, an Indian is the most dreadful of enemies. For, in war with Indians, no force whatever can defend our frontiers from being a constant wretched scene of conflagrations, and of the most shocking murders. Whereas on the contrary, our temporary expeditions against these Indians, even if successful, can do these wanderers little harm. Every article of their property is portable, which they always carry with them: and it is no great matter of distress to an Indian to be driven from his dwelling ground, who finds an home in the first place that he sits down upon.

“ If we entertain an idea of conquest, in support of this ambitious folly of dominion, we must form such a series of magazines and entrepôts for stores, ammunition and provisions; we must maintain in constant employ such a numerous train of waggons for the roads, such multitudes of boats and vessels for the waters; we must establish such a chain of fortified

posts; we must support such a numerous army; we must form and execute such an enlarged and comprehensive system of command; as shall give us military possession of the whole Indian country. Let now any soldier or politician consider the enormous endless expence of all this conduct, and then answer to what profitable purpose such measure leads; which may in a much better and juster way be obtained.

“ If our government considers this well, and will listen to those who are best versed in Indian affairs, it will be convinced that honesty is the best policy; and that our dominion in America, will be best and surest founded in faith and justice, toward the remnant of these much injured natives of the country.

“ The Indian lands are of two kinds—Their dwelling-land, where their castles are; and their hunting-ground.

“ In the year 1684, the Five Nations, finding themselves hard pressed by the French and their Indians, did, by a treaty at Albany, put the lands and castles of the Mohawks and Oneidas *under the protection of the English government*: and the English accordingly undertook *the trust* to guarantee them to these Indians. And as the external mark, by which this act and deed should be announced, the Indians desired that the duke of York's arms might be affixed to their castles.

“ The right of the Five Nation confederacy to the hunting lands of Ohio, Tieûcksouchrondite and Scaniaderiada, by the conquest they had made in subduing the Shaöanaes, Delawares, (as we call them) Twictwes and Oïlinois, may be fairly proved as they stood possessed thereof at the peace of Reswick, in 1697.

“ In the year 1701, they put all their hunting-lands under the protection of the English, as appears by the records, and by the recital and confirmation thereof in the following deed.

“ In the year 1726, the Seneccas, Cayougaes and Ononda-agaes acceded to the same terms of alliance,

in

In which the Mohawks and Oneidas were already. So that the whole of the dwelling and hunting lands of the Five Nation confederacy were put under the protection of the English, and held by them IN TRUST, for and to the USE of these Indians and their posterity.

“ COPY of AGREEMENT with the Sachems of the FIVE NATIONS.

TO all people to whom this present instrument of writing shall come: Whereas the Sachems of the Five Nations did, on the nineteenth day of July, One thousand seven hundred and one, in a conference held at Albany, between John Nanfan, Esq; late lieutenant-governor of New York, give and render up all their land where the beaver-hunting is, which they won with the sword, then eighty years ago, to Coorakhoo\*, our great king, praying that he might be their protector and defender there; for which they desired that their secretary might then draw an instrument for them, to sign and seal, that it might be carried to the king; as by the minutes thereof, now in the custody of the secretary for Indian affairs at Albany, may fully and at large appear.

WE, Kanakarighton and Shanintaronwe, Sinneke Sachems; Ottfoghkoree Dekaniforee and Aenjeueratt, Cayouge Sachems; Raelyakadorodon and Sadageenaghtie, Onondaga Sachems, of our own accord, free and voluntary will, do hereby ratify, confirm, submit and grant; and by these presents do (for ourselves, our heirs and successors, and in behalf of the whole nations of Sinnekes, Cayouges and Onondages) ratify, confirm, submit and grant unto our most sovereign Lord George, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. his heirs and successors for ever, all the said land and beaver-hunting, *to be protected and defended by his said majesty, his heirs and successors, to and for the USE of us, our heirs and successors, and the*

\* It is by this name that they mean the King of England.

said

*said three nations*: and we do also, of our own accord, free and voluntary will, give, render, submit and grant, and by these presents do, for ourselves, our heirs and successors, give, render, submit, and grant unto our said sovereign Lord King George, his heirs and successors for ever, all that land lying and being sixty miles distance, taken directly from the water, into the country, beginning from a creek called Canahôge, on the Lake Otwego, all along the said lake, and all along the narrow passage from the said lake to the falls of Oniâgara, called Canaquaraghe; and all along the river of Oniâgara; and all along the Lake Cataraqui to the creek called Sodons, belonging to the Sinnekes; and from Sodons to the hill called Tegechunckferôde, belonging to the Cayouges; and from Tegechunckferôde to the creek called Cayhunchâge, belonging to the Onondages: all the said lands, being of the breadth of sixty English miles as aforesaid, all the way from the aforesaid lakes or rivers, directly into the country, and thereby including all the castles of the aforesaid three nations, with all the rivers, creeks and lakes, within the said limits, *to be protected and defended by his said majesty, his heirs and successors for ever, to and for our use, our heirs and successors, and the said three nations.*—

In testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our marks, and affixed our seals, in the city of Albany, this fourteenth day of September, in the thirteenth year of his majesty's reign, *annoque Domini 1726.*

Signed, sealed, and delivered, in the presence  
of us

Philip Livingston,  
Peter Vanbrugh,

Mynderst Schuyler,  
Lawrance Clausen.

Secretary's office, New York. The preceding is a true copy of the record in lib. patents, numb. 9. p. 253, 254. Examined and compared therewith by  
GEO. BANYAR, Deputy Secretary."

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“ Instead of executing *this trust* faithfully and with honour, by extending to the Indians our civil protection against the frauds of the English, and our military protection against the attempts of the French, we have used this trust only as a pretence to *assume a dominion* over them—We have suffered the English settlers to profit of every bad occasion to defraud them of their lands—We have never made any effectual regulations to prevent their being defrauded in their trade; and until our own interest appeared to be affected, we abandoned them to their own chance and force, opposed to the strength of a powerful enemy. Nay, when at last we thought necessary, for the sake, not of national faith and honour; for the sake, not of these our faithful allies; but for the sake of our own safety and interest, to interfere, in opposing the French encroachments, we took it up as disputing the empire of America with the French: not as protecting and guarding the Indian lands and interest to their use, agreeable to the sacred trust by which we are bound.—And thus these savages (as we to our own shame call them) repeatedly told us, “ That both we  
 “ and the French sought to amuse them with *fine*  
 “ *tales* of our several upright intentions: that both  
 “ parties told them, that they made war for the pro-  
 “ tection of the Indian rights; but that *our actions*  
 “ plainly discovered, that the war was only a contest  
 “ who should become masters of that country, which  
 “ was the property neither of the one nor the other.”  
 Since we have driven the French government from America, we have confirmed this charge of the Indians against us, by assuming that dominion which in faith and justice we cannot say we have gained over the Indians, which, in fact, we have not gained; and which, be it remembered, will cost more blood and treasure before we do gain it, than it is for the honour and interest of Great Britain to expend in so bad and useless a cause. While these poor tribes of hunters remain, it will be our own fault if they do  
 not

not remain in perfect harmony and good alliance with us. As hunters, their interest can never interfere with ours, as settlers; but, on the contrary, will become the source of the natural and most profitable trade to us as traders. They are continually wearing away; and as they diminish or retire, they cede their lands to us in peace: which we, thus in time as fast as we can really want them, may possess in right and justice, untainted with the impeachment of having been gained by murder and fraud. While therefore we do remain a great and just nation, as we pride ourselves Great Britain is, we should abhor the black base thought of using the power which Providence hath given us, to the ruin and destruction of these brave and free people; of these people who gave us our first settlement in this country, and have lived with us, except under some temporary interruptions, in a series of faithful alliance."

With all due deference, however, to the ingenious sentiments of this gentleman, whose hypothesis we must suppose to be grounded on his own knowledge of these people whom he assumes to be wanderers *constitutionally*, rather than such from the want of civilization; we have only to hint, that from the authority of Major Rogers and other authentic information, the nations to the southward *do* cultivate their lands, and breed cattle. If we turn our eyes still farther southward into the Spanish settlements, however the enslaved inhabitants may now have sunk into barbarism, the heretofore *populous* nations of Mexico and Peru cannot be supposed to have subsisted themselves by hunting, but to have been settlers: and it is admitted that this whole continent is inhabited by one cast of inhabitants.

The antient natives of Britain, as described by Caesar, with their painted bodies, cloathed with the skins of beasts, shifting their habitations for the convenience of pasturage, and divided into petty nations or tribes, ever agitated by intestine jars; appear to have borne



borne a very near resemblance to the present North Americans. The Britons, discovered and enslaved by more improved strangers, arrived slowly at greater degrees of knowledge and civilization, through a long apprenticeship under the bondage of Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans: taught by, and incorporated with whom, all the world has sufficient experience of what Britons are at this time. The Indians, of *North America* at least, with all their complaints, have not experienced such hard usage as our ancestors had; but it should seem, as if human nature found no propensity to quit savage manners, and apply to the arts of civil life, without the application of force, or the obligation of necessity.

With respect to the encroachments complained of by the Indians, though their resentment of the present injury they receive thereby, may prevent their seeing the true state of the case, or tracing its consequences; these encroachments are evidently the necessary effects of the growth of our flourishing settlements: which by an increase of inhabitants must unavoidably extend into the country, and call for those tracks to be cultivated, which hitherto lay wild. A country can maintain but very few inhabitants by hunting, compared with what may subsist on it, by cultivating the land. Instead therefore of being driven out of their native soil, the Indians will only be driven to unite in society and cultivate it: thus will the arts and improvements of civil life insinuate themselves among them; and thus will their savage manners be humanized. And though the visionary philosopher, who professes to set up what he calls natural society, in opposition to civil, may dwell on the vices and evils which may be carried among the Indian tribes, together with our arts and manners; a fair comparison will be far from terminating against the advantages of improved society. A cultivated country, full of inhabitants, under the regulation of laws, amply supplied with necessaries themselves, and capable of supply-

supplying the wants of other countries; has little to apprehend from a comparison with the same country, of necessity required to be *thin* of people, and lying *waste*, that the animals required for the subsistence of the scattered tribes, may have room to prowl about: these tribes also under an equal obligation to maintain a continual warfare with each other, excited by hereditary antipathies, and disputes concerning their hunting grounds. Such destructive jars being absolutely necessary to keep such inhabitants from increasing beyond what the quantity of game their country affords, will support. — But to return.

Mr. Pownall's observations on the policy by which the trade of our colonies with the mother country is regulated, and his hints for the improvement of it to the mutual advantage of both; appear to be extremely judicious.

He observes, "The general principle of the laws of trade regulating the colony trade, is, that the colonies should not, on one hand, be supplied with any thing but from a *British market*, nor export their produce any where but to a *British market*. In the application of this principle, the present laws direct, except in some special particulars, that the colonies shall import all their supplies *from Britain*, and carry all their produce *to Britain*."

If now, instead of confining this market for the colonies to Britain only, which is a partial and defective application of the general principle whereon the act of navigation is founded; this colony trade was made, amidst other courses of trade, an occasion of establishing *British markets even in other countries*, the true use would be derived to the general interest from these advantageous circumstances; while in particular, the colonies and the mother country would be mutually accommodated. In the first case, the general interest, perverted to partial purposes, becomes so far forth obstructed; in the second, it would be carried by the genuine spirit of it to its utmost extent.

cent. If, under certain restrictions, securing also those duties which the produce of the colonies, carried to market, ought to pay to the mother country, the colonies were permitted to export their produce (such as are the basis or materials of any British manufacture excepted) directly to foreign countries, provided they sold it to any *British house* established in such a place, and were also permitted, if they brought their supplies from a *British house* established in those parts, to supply themselves with the natural fruits and produce of that country (all manufactures that any way interfere with the British manufactories excepted) paying there to some British officer, or upon their arrival in the colonies, the same duties as they would have paid by purchasing the same commodities in England; every end proposed by the principle of the act of navigation would be answered: the exports of the colonies would be encouraged; and the *British market* greatly extended.

The colonies would not only trade to, and be supplied by, a *British market*; but would become an occasion of establishing that British market in foreign countries. The same reasons of commerce, which, in a narrower view, became the grounds for establishing factories at Peterburgh, Riga, Hamburgh, Lisbon, Cadiz, &c. would on a more general and extensive basis become the foundation for establishing and building up *these British markets* in every region to which our trade extended itself. For while it necessarily enlarged the special interest of the colonies, it would enlarge it only at British markets, and to the final profit of the British general commerce. The profits of such markets finally centering in Great Britain. If this maxim be not true, that the profits of the factories settled in foreign ports finally center in Great Britain, the measure of establishing such, is false policy; if the maxim be true, the permitting our colony exports to go directly to the ports where such factories are established, is not contrary to the

principle on which the act of navigation arose, but becomes coincident with, and aiding to it; in extending the British navigation and British markets, and securing the final profits thereof to Britain only.

If this method of reasoning be found not contrary to the principle of the act of navigation; if this measure, at the same time that it encourages the trade of our colonies, is found to do it in a way subservient to the general commerce of Great Britain, extending the British markets, and securing the final balance of profit to Britain only: if this spirit of administration, so far as government has a right to direct the course of trade, be adopted in this part of it; the great points which it has to secure, are first, that the colony exports to, and the supplies purchased by them from these foreign ports, *be sold and bought at a British market only.*—The government has a right to extend its laws to these colony traders, and to the factories established in foreign ports.—It can therefore, partly by such laws as it finds proper to enact, for the regulation of this factory trade, and partly by obliging these colony traders to give bond before their departure from the colonies, secure and confine all these transactions of that commerce, which is permitted at any such port, to a British market only: the laws that established these being a favour extended to the colonies, and promoting the interest of these factories, would, as all laws of trade should do, execute themselves; and by giving the requisite powers to a consul, or naval resident there, would be easily administered by such officer.

The next point to be guarded, would be the securing those duties which this trade ought to pay to the government of Great Britain: if the same duties were paid, or security for them taken, in these foreign ports; as would be or should be paid by the colony trade, if the traders were still obliged to come to Britain; every end would be answered to the government revenue, and these charges might be sufficiently secured by

by obliging all these traders to sell under bond. The arrangements to be taken in such case ought to be that of adding to the office of consul, such powers as in the colonies, before the establishment of special revenue officers there, were given to the naval officer, or to establish a naval officer. The consul or naval officer, in this branch of his administration, should be subordinate to the commissioners of the customs, and the lords of the treasury. If the duties were collected by him in the ports of his district, he should account and give security for the same; if bonds only, as security for the payment at such British or plantation ports, were given, he should keep the register of the same, and correspond with the commissioners of the customs, and such officers as they direct, as to the fulfilling, cancelling, or prosecuting to effect said bonds. These general arrangements taken, together with such further special regulations, as the experience of the commissioners of the customs should suggest; the revenue of the colony and factory trade, under this mode of administration, would be well secured, cheerfully paid, and easily collected.

Under the administration of such measures, there does not appear any reason why all the produce of the British colonies, which are not the basis of, or which do not interfere with the British manufactures, might not be carried directly to a British market at a foreign port: and why the carrying of rice to foreign ports might not be extended, under these laws, to all such foreign ports whereat a British factory is established. Under this mode of commerce, can any sufficient reason upon earth subsist, why the colony traders should not be permitted to load at these ports, the fruits, wine, oil, pickles, or other produce of the countries; and also such raw unmanufactured produce, as would not interfere with the manufacture of Great Britain; instead of being obliged to come to Britain to buy or load here, after the expence of an unnecef-

fary voyage, those very commodities which they might have bought in a *British market*, at the port which they left. Why not any of these as well as salt, as well as wines from the *Madeiras* and western isles? In the same manner, by the same law, why may not our colony traders be permitted to carry sugar, ginger, tobacco, rice, &c. to such ports in the rivers *Wefer* and *Elbe*, in the *Sound* and in *Russia*, whereat a *British factory* is, or may be established? It can never be right policy to suffer labour in vain in a community; it is just so much lost to the community: and yet this coming round by *England* is labour in vain. If the subordinacy of the colony-trade, and the duties arising thereon, can be by any other means secured, it is so much labour lost. The two points of a *British market*, and the revenue of the duties being secured; why may not these traders be permitted to load at these ports directly for the colonies, hemp, yarn, and such coarse linens, as do no way interfere with the *British manufactories*? These measures being taken, which would prove to be the true means of encouraging the colony-trade, the best method to put a stop to the contraband trade carried on in this branch of business, and the true grounds whereon to establish the general commercial interest of *Great Britain*; government could not be too strict in enforcing the execution of the laws of trade, nor too severe in punishing the breach of them. Wherever they found these traders endeavouring to carry from these ports to the colonies raw silk, silks, velvets, foreign cloths, laces, iron, steel, arms, ammunition, sails or rigging, or any manufactures whatever, that interfere with the manufacture of *Great Britain*: whenever they found these traders endeavouring to carry from the colonies to those ports, any dying-wood whatever, indigo, cotton, silk, bees or myrtle-wax, flax-seed, naval stores, furs, skins or peltry, hides, provision, grain, flour, bread or biscuit; whale-oil, blubber, bone, or any other fish-oil,

oil, or tallow, or candles, with an exception perhaps to myrtle and spermaceti candles, government could not be too strict to restrain them. Under proper regulations, the rum of the northern colonies should be carried to Africa, and the sale of it to the French on the Banks of Newfoundland encouraged; if such vent could be procured, we should thereby reap at the least some share even of the French fishery.

In the above revision of, and the proposed regulations for the colony trade, as connected with that of Europe, it will be seen that all mention of East India goods is purposely omitted. A special measure might be contrived of supplying the colonies with East India goods, in a way that would effectually put a stop to that contraband trade; by which it is complained they are at present supplied: in a way by which one of the greatest marts in the world, with every attendant advantage to the British general commerce, and the special interest of the East India trade, might be established.

If measures were at this juncture taken, between the government and the East India company, so that an East India ship might annually stop at some island in the West Indies, the traders, not only of the West Indies, but of North America, would supply themselves with every advantage at such mart, not only for their own proper consumption, but also for a trade of the greatest extent: and this mart, in return, would be to the East India company, the collector of all the surplus silver of America, and perhaps even of some of the gold and ivory of Africa also. The extensive advantages of this measure cannot but be seen; nor would this any way interfere with that supply with which the East India trade, by way of the Manillas, furnishes the Spanish West Indies, so far as our East India company may be supposed to be concerned; but would, in other respects, open a better channel of trade between the East and West Indies, which our

company must command. The difficulties in the execution lie in securing to government the revenue that should arise from the duties duly paid by this trade, and in securing the company against the perversion of this trade to the profit of their officers and servants.—If some of the islands surrendered to us, as the Granadas, or of the neutral islands, were made the place of this mart, with a grant of lands to the company; at the same time that a profit might derive hence to the company, the collateral good advantage to the public would arise, of having created a very beneficial settlement.

In the same manner, some revision of the state of the trade of the colonies of the several maritime powers amongst each other will be necessary. The laws and ordonnances of these do in general prohibit all trade of foreign colonies with their own: and yet, without some such trade as supplies the Spanish provinces with British goods and provisions; as supplies the British colonies with Spanish silver; as supplies the French islands with British lumber, fish, provisions, horses, and live stock; as supplies the British colonies with French molasses; the trade and culture of these colonies would be greatly obstructed and impaired: and yet, notwithstanding this fact, our laws of trade, by an impracticable duty, extend to the prohibiting the importation of French molasses into our colonies. If the government, under this law, could prevent effectually this importation, not only into the northern colonies, *but into the British isles also*; the reward of that pains would be the destruction of a beneficial branch of trade, perhaps of driving the British American distillery into the French, Dutch, or Danish isles; or of forcing the French, contrary to their own false policy, into a profitable manufacture of that produce which they now sell as refuse materials. It is needless to point out here the very essential change that this would make in the colony trade.—On the contrary, it is the duty of  
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government to permit, nay even to encourage, under proper regulations, these branches of trade: in the first place, in order to extract out of the foreign colonies, to the benefit of the British commerce, as much as possible the profits of these colonies, and which is more material, in order to create a necessary dependance in the trade and culture of those colonies for their supplies on the British commerce. When it is remembered that the law, which lays a duty equal to a prohibition, on the importation of French molosses in the British colonies, was obtained at the solicitation of the British isles, it will be seen, that the obtaining this law is not so much meant to prohibit totally the introduction of French molosses into the British trade, as to determine a struggle between the West India and North American traders, who should have the profits of it. And thus, from the predominant interest of these partial views, has government been led to embarrass the general courses of its trade. But as the West India traders see that this law has not, never had, and never will have the effect proposed, they will be better reconciled to its ceasing: and as government must now, after the experiment, see the false policy of it, there is no doubt but that it will cease, so far as to reduce the duty to a moderate and practicable charge, such as will be paid, and such as will raise to the crown a very considerable revenue thus paid.

The governor observes, "that he does not speak this by guess; but, from a comparison of the quantity of sugars and molosses brought to account in the custom-house books of the *King's revenue*, with the quantity of the same article, in the same ports, brought to account in the impost-books of the *colony revenue*, for six years together; could, with some precision, mark the extent of it. He apprehends, that two-pence per gallon on foreign molosses imported into any British plantation; and so in proportion of sugars, was the best rate at which to fix this duty:

that being thus *moderate*, it might be easier, and with less alarm and opposition collected; and might therefore the sooner introduce the practice of fair trade, and the sooner become an *effective revenue*. But a groundless clamour is raised, which represents the rate fixed by the late revenue-act as destructive of the American distillery, as ruinous to the American fishery, as a prohibition of the returns made from the foreign islands for the North American fish; without any fact stated, or calculation fairly made, on which such assertions found themselves.

Some revision also will be necessary in the laws about naval stores, especially that respecting the masts. The present law, under an idea of preserving the white-pine or mast-trees, directs, That no white-pines shall be cut or felled within the limits of any township, if not actually private property.— This part of the law arises from a mistaken apprehension of a township; there being no lands within such, but what are private property.—2dly, That no pines out of a township, of the dimensions of 24 inches and upwards, diameter, at the height of 20 inches from the ground, shall be felled.—This part of the law is *felo de se*.—Those who find their profits in cutting down these trees for logs, or making shingles, &c. or who know the embarrassments which would arise to their property, if they should ever apply for a grant of these lands, by letting such pine-trees, the property of the crown, grow there, never (if they have not other means to evade this law) will permit these pines to come to *this dimension* which makes them royal property. The false policy of this law, and the defects in the establishment of an office of surveyor-general of his majesty's woods, will soon, if not obviated, be felt in the scarcity and price of masts; which will be the effect of it. The necessity of their going a great distance from the rivers for the masts has already taken effect; and the case of there being none within any practicable distance

tance will soon follow. The navy-office finding that their mast ships do come regularly hither to England, cannot entertain any fear of such want; and it will be the interest of others to suppress and contradict this fact: yet it is a fact, and will be soon known in its effects. On the contrary, if it is considered how disproportionate a value the price of the pine-tree growing bears to the price of the mast when brought in the middle of winter, over the snow, with 70 or 80 yoke of oxen to the water-side; if, instead of aiming to make these trees, thus growing, *royal exclusive property*, the crown was not only to permit a free masting in lands not granted, and to make the mast-trees of all dimensions, *private property*, on lands actually granted; but also (as it is done in other cases of naval stores) to give a bounty, beside the price, to the person who should bring down any such masts to the water-side, it would have an immediate effect in supplying the crown with masts at a much cheaper rate, and in the preservation of these trees, thus become a branch of trade.

Were some such arrangements taken for a revision and further establishment of the laws of trade, upon the principle of extending the British general commerce, by encouraging the trade of the colonies, in subordination to, and in coincidence therewith; the trade of the colonies would be administered by that true spirit from whence it rose, and by which it acts: and the true application of the benefits which arise to a mother country from its colonies would be made. Under this spirit of administration, the government, as I said above, could not be too watchful to carry its laws of trade into effectual execution.— But under the present state of those laws, and that trade; there is great danger that any severity of execution, which should prove effectual in the cases of the importation into the colonies of foreign European and East India goods, might force the Americans to trade for their imports, upon terms, on which

the trade could not support itself; and therefore become, in the event, a means to bring on the necessity of these Americans manufacturing for themselves. Nothing does at present, with that active and acute people, prevent their going into manufactures, except their proportionate dearness of labour, as referred to the terms on which they can import; but increase the price of their imports to a certain degree, let the extent of their settlements, either by policy from home or invasion of Indians from abroad, be confined, and let their foreign trade and navigation be, in some measure, suppressed; their paper-currency limited within too narrow bounds, and the exclusion of that trade which hath usually supplied them with silver-money too severely insisted upon;—this proportion of the price of labour will much sooner cease to be an object of objection to manufacturing there, than is commonly apprehended. The winters in that climate are long and severe; during which season no labour can be done without doors. That application therefore of their servants labour, to manufactures of home consumption; which under any other circumstances would be too dear for the product created by it, becomes, under these circumstances, all clear gain. And if the colonists cannot on one hand purchase foreign manufactures at a reasonable price, or have not money to purchase with; and there are, on the other hand, many hands idle which used to be employed in the navigation; and all these, as well as the husbandmen, want employment; these circumstances will soon over-balance the difference of the rate of labour in Europe and in America. And if the colonies, under any future state of administration, which they see unequal to the management of their affairs, once come to feel their own strength in this way; their independence on government, at least on the administration of government, will not be an event so remote as our leaders may think, which yet nothing but such false policy

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policy can bring on. For, on the contrary, put their governments and laws on a true and constitutional basis; regulate their money, their revenue, and their trade, and do not check their settlements; they must ever depend on the trade of the mother country for their supplies: they will never establish manufactures, their hands being elsewhere employed; and the merchants being always able to import such, on \* terms that must ruin the manufacturer. Unable to subsist without, or to unite against the mother country, they must always remain subordinate to it, in all the transactions of their commerce, in all the operation of their laws, and in every act of their government: the several colonies, no longer considered as demesnes of the crown, meer appendages to the realm, will thus become united therein, members and parts of the realm, as essential parts of a one organized whole, *the commercial dominion of Great Britain*. The taking leading measures to the forming of which, ought, at this juncture, to be the great object of government.

\* This is a fact too well known and understood to need any particular proof—but if need were, the writer of these papers could demonstrate this from the prices of wool, hemp, and flax, and the labour of carding, dressing, spinning, weaving, &c. in North America, compared with the prices of the same articles of produce and labour in Britain. It is therefore an idle vaunt in the Americans, when they talk of setting up manufactures *for trade*; but it would be equally injudicious in government here to force any measure that may render the manufacturing for *home consumption* an object of prudence, or even of pique in the Americans. And yet after all, should any thing of this sort extend itself to a degree that interfered with the exports of Great Britain to the colonies—the same duties of an excise which lie upon the manufactures of Great Britain, levied upon those of America, would soon restore the balance. This consideration, one might imagine, would induce those who are prudent in America, to advise the rest to moderation in their opposition.

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T H E  
F I R S T V O Y A G E  
T O T H E  
E A S T I N D I E S ;  
By V A S Q U E Z de G A M A.

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**B**Efore a passage to the East Indies was discovered by sailing round the southern extremity of Africa; all the spices and rich goods of India, China, and the islands, were brought in the junks and barks of those parts, to the port of Adlu, then a great and commercial city on the southern coast of Arabia Felix. Here these vessels unloaded and returned, while the merchants of Adlu, partly relading the goods in ships of their own, and partly sending them by land-carriage to Jeddo, conveyed them up to the port of Suez at the bottom of the gulph or Red Sea. They were landed here, and carried over land on camels, and other carriages, to the river Nile \*, a passage of

\* The isthmus that parts the gulph of Suez from the Mediterranean is said to be about 50 miles broad; and several of the ancient kings of Egypt, sensible of the vast advantage it would be to cut a passage between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, attempted it at different times with immense labour and charge. We are informed by Herodotus, that in the time of Necus, or Pharaoh Necho, a plan was laid for it, which was obliged to be laid aside, after 120,000 men had perished in the undertaking. This work was again resumed under the Ptolemies, but was once more relinquished; from the apprehension that the Red Sea being higher by three cubits than Egypt, would overflow it. However a safer expedient was fell upon, which was to dig a canal that should join the Red Sea with the Nile. Upon this the ports of the latter began to grow very famed and opulent; and the cities of Coptus and Berenice, became the centre and mart for all the merchandize brought from India. But this canal being neglected went to ruin.

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Degrees East from London 70

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# EAST INDIES.

Scale  
Miles 60 to a Degree  
to 120 180 240 300



V Hours East from London

VI

VII



EAST  
INDIES.

Scale  
1° = 60 Miles  
1" = 40 40 300



VII

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about 50 miles; and thence, to Alexandria, where the Venetian merchants, who then had that trade entirely in their own hands, received them, exported them chiefly to Venice; and from thence to all the trading ports of Europe.

This was the ancient, and at that time the only way of carrying on commerce between Europe and the Indies: it was the Portugueze who had the honour of first finding a direct communication with the eastern seas.

The Portugueze have been always famous for their application to maritime affairs: after they had driven the Moors out of their country, they followed them into their own, and, under the reign of King John the First, defeated them in a great battle, and took from them the fortress of Ceuta, which still remains in the power of the king of Spain.

It was to the zeal and magnanimity of the Infant Don Henry, the fifth son of King John, that the Portugueze stand indebted for all that glory which they have acquired by their discoveries and conquests in the east: and we may justly consider the attempts made by them at this juncture as the more extraordinary, since their country was but just recovered from a long and dangerous civil war; the power of their prince very far from being great, his finances very low, and the country so indifferently peopled, that he was obliged to have recourse to other nations for men to recruit his armies, and to serve on board his fleets. These were very far from being considerable, in comparison of the fleets that were then employed by the crown of Spain, and the republics of Italy. Yet under such discouragements this spirit of trade and navigation not only sprung up, but prospered; and this too, notwithstanding that many of their statesmen were very averse to such undertakings, from the danger and difficulties that attended them: nor could they in all probability have been carried into execution, but from the zeal of the clergy, who, out of a  
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desire of propagating the Christian faith, promoted them to the utmost of their power.

By comparing the force of the kingdom of Portugal with the conquests gained by the Portugueze in the East Indies, the reader will be satisfied, that there was nothing in it more than a nation's turning their thoughts to that for which nature designed them: for with respect to East India voyages, as the art of navigation then stood, the Portugueze were better seated than any other people in Europe: and their discoveries are of the greater importance, considering the great alteration made in the commerce of all Europe, by the finding out a direct passage to the East Indies.

The Infant Don Henry Count de Viseo was a prince endowed with all the great qualities that distinguish heroes from other men: He had shewn his courage in his youth in the wars against the Moors; but he was far from valuing himself on the power of destroying or making miserable his fellow-creatures: and therefore thought the proper object of valour was the facing those dangers that hindered the prosecution of such designs as might be beneficial to the human species. He resolved therefore to make himself master of the Canaries, which were then in the hands of Maciot de Bethancourt, who held them under a grant from the King of Castille; and who for a valuable consideration made over his right to Prince Henry about the year 1406. He sent Ferdinand de Castro, who was at that time master of his household, to take possession of them; and conceiving that they might be of great use in the discovery of the coasts of the great continent of Africa, which were then very little known, he began about the year 1410, to fit out ships for that service, and took Spaniards, and others who were skilled in navigation, into his pay for that purpose.

The utmost limits of the south-west parts of Africa, then known to the Portugueze, was a cape running out from the foot of Mount Atlas, the proper name

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of which was Chaunar, but called by the seamen Cape Non; situated in the latitude of  $28^{\circ} 10'$  north; and these vessels proceeded along the coast to Cape Bojadore, in  $26^{\circ}$  north latitude, but they had not the courage to double it. In 1418 Tristan-Vaz discovered the island of Porto Santo, and gave it that name, because he first saw it on the feast of All Saints. The next year the Portugueze discovered the island of Madeira, to which they gave that name, on account of its being covered with wood. In 1439, a Portugueze captain doubled Cape Bojadore, which some think is the same that in the writings of Ptolemy is called Cape Canarea. The next year they sailed as high as Cape Blanco, in the latitude of  $20^{\circ}$ , and soon after discovered the Rio del Oro, with several small islands upon the coast. In 1446, Nuno Tristan doubled Cape Verd, in the latitude of  $14^{\circ} 40'$ . In 1448, in the spring, Don Gonzalo Vallo sailed to the islands called Açorres, or the Hawk-Islands, from the word açor, which in the Spanish language signifies a hawk. They were at that time uninhabited, and were settled by this commander, who did not, however, visit at this time the islands of Flores and Corvo, which were settled by some Flemings, and from thence were called the Flemish islands.

In the year 1449, the islands of Cape Verd were discovered on the behalf of the Infant Don Henry. The progress made by the Infant Don Henry gave great satisfaction to the princes that possessed the crown of Portugal, insomuch that King Alphonso IV. or rather the Infant Don Pedro, who governed the kingdom during his minority, made him a grant of the islands of Porto-Santo and Madeira. The Infant, however, judged it requisite, according to the custom of those times, to obtain the sanction of the holy see, and for that reason sent Don Ferdinand Lopez d'Azevedo as his ambassador to Pope Martin V. who, as the gift cost him very little, made a free grant to the crown of Portugal of all that should be discovered on  
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that side as far as the Indies. This bull is dated in 1444; and was confirmed by his successors, Eugenius IV. Nicholas V. and Sixtus IV. which occasioned afterward high disputes.

This transaction shews, that Don Henry was a very great politician, for by pretending that all countries were to be disposed of at the will and pleasure of the pope of Rome, he secured his holiness's consent to whatever he demanded: and he very well knew, that whatever was bestowed upon him by those grants, would be infallibly supported by the thunder of the church. This great prince died in the year 1463; the continent of Africa under his auspice having been discovered from Cape Non to Cape Sierra Leona, which is in the latitude 8° north, by which the foundation was laid of all that was afterward performed.

In 1471, Pedro d' Escovar discovered the island of St. Thomas, and Prince-Islands, and on the first day of the next year another island on the same coast, which for that reason he called Anno Bueno, which is the same that is now called corruptly Annobon. In 1484, Diego Cam, a Portugueze, discovered the kingdom of Congo, and having heard there of a Christian monarch, who reigned in Ethiopia; he magnified his power so much on his return, that John II. who was at that time on the throne, took a resolution to send by land two persons he could trust, to gain some certain intelligence of this Christian prince, whom he judged to be Prester John: and at the same time to gain the most satisfactory knowledge they could of the state of the Indies. The persons who went with this commission, were Pedro de Covillan and Alphonso de Payva, who had strict orders to commit to writing whatever they judged worthy of notice; but more especially the situation of places, and the navigation on the coast of Ethiopia, by which it was judged some discovery might be made of the means of passing by a new rout to the Indies. Our  
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travellers, who spoke the Arabic tongue perfectly, went together to Alexandria, and from thence to Cairo, from which city they proceeded to the famous port of Aden in Arabia, where they had an opportunity of conversing with traders of all nations, and from all parts of the Indies. From thence they learned many things which were of great consequence to them, inasmuch that they seemed to put it in their power to give the king a good account of the commission with which they were entrusted. Here they resolved to part, in order, that while one made a tour through the Indies, the other might go to the court of the emperor of Ethiopia. Accordingly, Pedro de Covillan went to the Indies, and having made a very exact map of the coasts, he crossed the Arabian sea to Africa; and after having visited most of the principal ports there, came to Sofala, fully persuaded, as well from the reason of the thing, as from the concurring opinions of the seamen he conversed with, that a short and easy passage might be found round the continent of Africa to the Indies. Full of joy from this discovery, he made the best of his way to Cairo, where he was to meet his companion; but when he came thither, he was informed that the unfortunate Alphonso de Payva had been murdered on the road to Ethiopia. He was somewhat at a loss as to the measures which he was next to take; but, after mature consideration, he resolved to acquaint the king with the discoveries he had made, by letter; and to continue his journey into Ethiopia: that, at his return to Portugal, he might be able to satisfy the king, in every respect, so that his majesty might not be under a necessity of sending any other person to make farther enquiries. He executed his second journey with the same good fortune that he did the former, at least at the beginning, and was extremely well received by Alexander, who was at that time emperor of Abyssinia; and who was extremely well pleased with the offers made him of the assistance of a powerful prince; and promised to send Pedro de Covillan

Covillan back again with letters to the king his master. But he dying suddenly, his successor Nahu treated our Portugueze, not only with coldness and disrespect, but with the greatest cruelty, refusing him leave to return home, and keeping him at his court as a prisoner for many years; so that in Portugal they concluded him dead, though he lived afterward to recover his liberty.

The same worthy king of Portugal John II. while he endeavoured by these his ambassadors, to gain a perfect knowledge of the state of the Indies by land, neglected not the prosecution of what had been so long laboured with the same view at sea. It was to facilitate this design, that he employed Bartholomew Diaz, one of his courtiers, and a person remarkable for great prudence, much skill in the art of navigation, as well as for invincible courage, to proceed still farther along the south coast of Africa; which accordingly he did in the year 1486, and executed his commission with equal conduct and success. He carried with him several negroes, who had been many years in his service, and who, from time to time, he set on shore, well dressed, with a small quantity of goods, on purpose that they might inform the people of the country how well they had been used, and how kindly treated by the Portugueze. He likewise set up crosses of stone, with the arms of Portugal engraven upon them, to assert his master's title to the countries by him discovered.

At last, arriving in sight of a high cape, near which he met with very bad weather, he lost the company of his victualling bark; upon which his crew mutinied, complaining that it was too much to endure at one time the hardships of the sea and of famine. But Captain Diaz represented to them, that the former was not to be escaped by going back, and that the only means they had of preventing the latter, was to proceed till they came to some place where they could get refreshments: he prevailed upon them to double the  
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cape, and to sail a good way beyond it, to a place where he erected another pillar of stone; and having obtained a small supply, he returned, and, in his passage homeward, met with his bark again, in which, of nine men that he had left, three only survived; and of these Ferdinand Colazza died with joy at the first sight of the captain. He continued his voyage safely to Lisbon, where he arrived in December 1487, sixteen months and seven days after his setting out, having discovered above a thousand miles along the coast.

He gave the king his master a very full account of all that had happened to him, and insisted particularly on the difficulty with which he had doubled that stupendous promontory, which, from the stormy sea about it, he thought fit to call *Cabo Tormontofo*, that is, *The Tempestuous Cape*: but the king, who from the lights he had received from Covillan's letters, knew how to form a right judgment of the importance of this discovery, stiled it *Cabo del Bueno Esperanza*, or; *The Cape of Good Hope*, which name it has ever since retained: for he saw clearly from the agreement between these accounts, that the passage was now open, and that there wanted but one voyage more to finish what they had so much desired, viz. the finding a direct passage by sea to the East Indies.

But while King John meditated this great design in his mind, and busied himself in contriving the means of executing it in such a manner as might be most honourable to himself and advantageous for his subjects; the great Ruler of all things disposed of him otherwise, by calling him out of this life. In his last sickness he appointed his cousin Don Emanuel, who also married his sister, his heir. This prince, who succeeded to the throne of Portugal, 1495, was in the flower of his age, being then about twenty-seven, and possessed in an eminent degree, those qualities that are most worthy of a monarch. He had great parts, much penetration, and an excellent judgment; yet

he was so diffident of his own abilities, that, foreseeing the execution of his predecessor's projects would be attended with a larger expence than the discoveries hitherto made had induced, he declined entering upon them, without taking the advice of his council, before whom he laid all the informations that either himself or his cousin King John had received. The Portugueze statesmen were extremely divided in their opinions, for some pressed the king warmly to tread in the footsteps of his ancestors, and, to compleat with glory, what with so much reputation they had begun; while others as vehemently opposed his pursuit of this design, each party supporting their opinion by very plausible arguments.

Such as were desirous that this new navigation might be attempted, observed that the trade to the Indies had been the great source of power and riches to every empire that had been possessed of it; that Providence seemed to have thrown it into the hands of their nation, in such a manner that it would not only be disadvantageous but dishonourable to refuse it; that all difficulties now were in a manner overcome, so that there remained scarce any thing but the going to take possession of those fine countries, and that vast wealth which all the world thirsted after, though none but themselves knew how to reach; that the engrossing so rich a trade to Portugal would balance their small extent of territory, and enable his subjects to make as great or greater figure than the inhabitants of kingdoms much more potent in appearance: that, in fine, there was no less danger to be apprehended from abandoning this design, than benefit to be expected by pursuing it; since, in all probability, their ambitious neighbours, the Spaniards, would pursue and accomplish this great work, which would enable them to execute, with ease, whatever they might be prompted to by their boundless ambition.

On the other side it was alleged, that there were many things more apparently necessary to the kingdom

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dom than such long, such expensive, and such uncertain expeditions; since there were several large tracts of land, and particularly that spacious plain between the Ebro and the Tagus, that were not properly cultivated, the improvement of which would free them from the necessity of depending for their daily bread upon strangers: that their country was but thinly peopled, at least, in proportion to the numbers it might be able to maintain, if, instead of maritime expeditions, they turned their thoughts toward making the most of what was in their power; so that it was very unreasonable to squander away men that might be immediately useful to their country, for the sake of distant, and perhaps fallacious expectations: that all their discoveries and conquests hitherto, had furnished him only with a few negroes, elephants teeth, strange birds, and other curiosities; in procuring which they had suffered many shipwrecks, and run the hazard of many more: that, for a century together, they had been amused with these golden dreams, and therefore it was high time to awake from this delusion: that the kings his predecessors had been at vast expences, to very little purpose, in pursuit of the like designs, and that this ought to render him not only the more cautious in following their example, but oblige him also to consider the consequence of running an exhausted nation into expences she was unable to bear; and that beside the success of the undertaking, might bring such demands upon the crown of Portugal, as would greatly exceed her forces; so that perhaps her interests at home might come to be sacrificed to those abroad.

The deliberations into which the king entered upon this important affair, though they did not absolutely carry him from his purpose, or engage him to abandon a design which was, in some measure, recommended to him, with his last breath, by that great prince to whom he owed his throne; yet they, for a long time, retarded his preparations, and hindered

him from undertaking that project in the manner he had first intended. At last, however, fearing that his neighbours might reap the advantage of a longer neglect, especially as he understood that the Spaniards very vigorously pushed forward their discoveries; he came to a final resolution to wait no longer, but to make a trial of what might be done in this way, by sending a few ships only with a small number of men: in which he endeavoured to avoid extremes, and to steer as it were in the middle, between the opinions of such as were of his council. It was in consequence of this determination, that in the spring of the year 1497, he ordered four ships to be equipped for his expedition; of these, three were armed vessels, with some pieces of cannon on board, and the fourth a small store-ship. We may be sure that their force was not very great, since, in the whole, it consisted in no more than an hundred and sixty soldiers and seamen.

The reader will easily perceive, from this instance, that it is not a great force, or a vast expence, that is necessary to the execution of an important design, but the choice of a good officer, one who knows what he is to do, and goes with a resolution to do what he is sent to do. All the maritime expeditions, from the beginning of the world to this period of time, are not comparable to what was performed in the narrow compass of seven years time by Christopher Columbus and Vasquez de Gama: for the former sailed on the 11th of October, 1492, and the other on the 9th of July, 1497, so that the discovery of the East Indies and the West, were compleated in seven years, with a force that would be scarce thought sufficient for equipping, at this day, three privateers.

The person chosen to command was Don Vasquez de Gama, a man of quality, who possessed all the talents necessary for such an employment. On the 9th of July, 1497, he embarked on board the Gabriel, which was the admiral of this little fleet, of the burthen

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then of one hundred and twenty tons, and the same day put to sea: and after being exposed to continual storms, in which they frequently gave themselves over for lost, they entered a large bay, which the men called Angra de Santo Elena, or the bay of St. Helena, from their first seeing it on that saint's day.

The inhabitants of this island were blacks, small of stature and ill-favoured. When they spoke, it seemed as if they sighed. They were cloathed with the skins of beasts, and concealed what modesty taught them to hide, in wooden cases, that were very well made. Their arms were oaken staves, hardened with fire, and pointed at the end with the horns of beasts.

They sailed from St. Helena with a south-west wind, on the 16th of November, and on the 18th in the evening came in sight of the Cape of Good Hope, which they doubled on the 20th, sounding their trumpets, and engaging in several diversions, as expressions of their joy. As they coasted along the shore, they had the prospect of a very fine country, interspersed with woods and lawns, abounding with numerous herds of large and small cattle, and peopled with blacks, who resembled those of St. Helena. De Gama, having at length run 70 leagues beyond the Cape, arrived at another bay, to which he gave the name of Angra de San Blas, near which is a small island, where the ships lay to take in a supply of water. The land about this bay is very fertile, and abounds with elephants and fine oxen, used by the natives instead of horses. There were also a multitude of penguins, and a prodigious number of seals.

A few days after their arrival, there appeared about 90 of the inhabitants, some on the sands, and others on the mountains; upon which the admiral landed with all his men well armed, and drawing near the shore, threw upon the land little bells, which the negroes took up, and some came so nigh as to receive

them out of his own hand; when venturing on shore with his men, he exchanged some red nightcaps for ivory bracelets. A few days after, above 200 blacks came down with 12 oxen and four sheep, and on the Portugueze going on shore, they began to play upon four flutes, accompanied with several voices, which made no disagreeable music. The admiral striking in with this humour, ordered the trumpets to sound, while his men danced along with the natives, and thus the day passed in mirth and feasting. Not long after, many more blacks, men and women, came again with cattle, of whom the Portugueze bought an ox; but perceiving some young negroes behind the bushes, with weapons in their hands, the admiral suspected some treachery, and therefore ordered his people to retire to a place of greater security. The blacks then went along the shore, keeping pace with the boats till they came to the place where the Portugueze had landed, and then joined themselves in a body, as if they intended to fight; but the admiral being unwilling to hurt them, withdrew in his boats, only ordering two pieces of ordnance to be shot off to frighten them: at this they were so terrified, that they ran away in confusion, leaving their weapons behind; but afterward sending some of his men on shore to erect a pillar, on which were the king of Portugal's arms and a cross, the negroes pulled it down before their faces.

De Gama left this place on the eighth of November, and soon after met with a dreadful storm. On Christmas-day they saw land, which for that reason they called *Tierra de Natal*. After this they came to a river, which they called *De los Reyes*, or, *Of the Kings*, from its being first seen on the day of Epiphany. Here De Gama left two men to inform themselves of whatever was worthy of notice in the country, and to give him an account of what they had learned at his return. For this purpose he had some malefactors with him, whose punishments were changed for these dangers.

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dangers. Here he dealt for some ivory and provisions, so much to the satisfaction of the blacks, that their king came on board.

On the 11th of January again drawing near land, the men went in their boats along the coast to take a view of it, when they saw a great number of men and women, who appeared to be quiet and civil people. The admiral then sent one of his men who was well versed in the languages of Africa, attended by another person, to pay his respects to the king, who received them with great civility, and dismissed them with presents. In return the admiral sent his majesty a red jacket, a pair of stockings, and a cap of the same colour, with a copper bracelet, which he received with pleasure; and in return promised to give the person who brought this present any thing his country afforded, and invited the gentleman and his companion to his town. De Gama having given him leave, this gentleman, whose name was Alonzo, went forward with the king, whose subjects beholding him on the road in his new habit, clapped their hands with signs of joy and admiration. On their entering the town, the king went round it, to give the inhabitants an opportunity of beholding his finery; and then taking Alonzo to his house, supped with him upon a hen and boiled millet. Here many of the negroes came to see Alonzo and his attendant; and the next day they were sent back with some blacks loaden with hens for the admiral, who returned them thanks, and called the place, The Land of Good People.

Departing from thence on the 15th of January, they proceeded along a low coast, full of very large and lofty trees, as far as Cape Corientes, or the Cape of Currents, proceeding 50 leagues beyond Sofala, without seeing that city. On the 24th they entered the mouth of a very large river, up which De Gama, with several of the men, proceeded in their boats\*:

\* This country is now called Cuama.

the land was low like the former, and abounded in tall trees, loaden with a variety of fruits; and proceeding farther they found several boats with sails made of palm. The Portugueze were encouraged at seeing people who understood something of sailing, a circumstance which they had not met with before on all these coasts. The natives came in their boats to the ships without fear or hesitation, and behaved to the Portugueze with as much familiarity, as if they had been old acquaintance. The admiral treated them kindly, gave them small bells and other toys, and talked with them by signs; for none on board understood their language. They afterward returned in their boats with others, bringing provisions, and more of the natives came along the water-side, among whom were some pretty women.

On the third day two persons of rank came in their boats to visit the admiral. These had their aprons larger than the rest, and one of them wore on his head an handkerchief wrought with silk, and the other a green fatten cap. De Gama gave them a courteous reception, invited them to eat, and gave them apparel with other things; but they seemed by their looks to set no value on them. However, it appeared from certain signs made by a young man, that they were of a distant country, and had seen as large ships as those they were then in; and when they were landed, they offered some pieces of callico to sale. De Gama rejoiced at these happy tokens, and all on board were elevated with hopes of soon reaching the treasures of India; wherefore the admiral called this, the River of Good Signs, and erected a pillar, on which was carved a crucifix, and under it the arms of Portugal. Here they also refitted their ships, and endeavoured to cure the men who were sick of the scurvy.

They sailed from hence on the 24th of January, and on the first of March descried four islands; from one of which came seven or eight small boats that followed

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lowed the ships, the men calling out and making signs to induce them to stay for them. As soon as they were at anchor, the boats came up with several people of a good stature, and dark complexion, cloathed with striped callico of several colours. On their coming on board they discoursed in Arabic, and the admiral having ordered an entertainment to be provided for them they ate and drank heartily, during which he desired to know the name of the island, together with the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and the exact distance from thence to India: to which they replied, that the island was called Mosambique, and was subject to the king of Quiloa; that there was a town in it full of merchants who traded to India for spices, precious stones, and other commodities.

The town of Mosambique stands in  $15^{\circ}$  south latitude; and the country, which is rendered unhealthy by its numerous marshes, was inhabited by blacks, who lived in huts made of clay, and thatched with straw; but a great number of ships resorted thither for the convenience of trade, though at this time the power and wealth of the island was chiefly engrossed by the Arabian merchants, who used vessels fastened together with wooden pegs, instead of nails, and the sails were of mats made of palm-tree leaves. These Arabians made use of the compass; had sea charts that were tolerably accurate, and were furnished with several astronomical instruments.

The sheik, and the rest of the people, taking the Portugueze for Turks or Moors, visited the first ship that entered the harbour, but soon returned, because there were none on board who understood their language; but the rest of the ships having entered the harbour, the sheik sent them presents and provisions, desiring leave to come on board; and in return De Gama sent him red hats, short gowns, coral, brass basons, hawks bells, and other things, which he made slight of, asking what they were good for, and why

why the admiral did not send him scarlet? De Gama, to prepare against his coming, ordered all the sick men to be kept out of sight, and those that were perfectly well in the rest of the ships to be sent to his, where they were put under arms. The sheik appeared richly dressed: he was attended by armed men, with drums and ivory trumpets. The admiral received him at the entrance of the ship, and conducted him with some of his people into the cabin, while the rest remained in the boats. De Gama apologized for his not sending him scarlet, by assuring him he had brought none with him. The sheik and his company ate and drank very heartily; asked whether they were Turks, which he supposed they were, from the whiteness of their complexion, and desired a sight of their bows, and of the books of their law. The admiral answered, that he came from the West, and belonged to a great kingdom bordering upon Turkey; but had no books of their law with them. He shewed him some cross-bows, which were shot off before him, and some armour that greatly raised his admiration. He desired the sheik to supply him with two pilots, which he readily granted, and returned with them the next day; when the pilots consented to undertake the voyage, upon his giving each of them 30 crowns and a coat.

This harmony was, however, but of short continuance; for the sheik or governor, no sooner discovered the Portuguese to be Christians, than his friendship was converted into aversion, and he began to lay schemes for destroying De Gama and seizing the ships. However, the ships being in want of water, the admiral sending the boats, took it away by force, while the Moors kept at a distance for fear of the ordnance.

On the 24th of March one of the natives braving the fleet from the shore, the admiral, to revenge this insult, and the other injuries he had suffered, manned out the boats, in which he caused some ordnance to be

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be placed, and after driving a body of men from the shore, who came to oppose his landing, and taking a few of them prisoners, among whom one of them happened to be a pilot; he destroyed the town with his great guns, and obliged the inhabitants to fly into the country.

De Gama finding that his staying longer here would be attended with great danger, now steered to another island at four miles distance, and from thence sailed to Quiloa; but being forced by contrary winds and tempestuous weather to return, an Arabian, with his son, desired to be carried to Melinda, in his way to Mecca, from whence he came as a pilot, to which the admiral readily consented, his brother having seized another pilot at Mozambique. The weather no sooner became favourable, than they again put out to sea, and proceeded to Mombassa, a city which the pilots observed was chiefly inhabited by Christians.

They arrived at that city on the 27th of April; but as the ships lay without the bar, a bark approached them in the night, with about 100 men in Turkish habits, armed with scimeters and bucklers, and would have boarded them, had they not been prevented by the admiral's giving orders that no more than four should be admitted. These four seemed by their dress to be above the common rank, and these he obliged to lay aside their arms before they came, excusing his precaution by observing, that he was a stranger to the coast. He, however, entertained them in a very handsome manner, on which they told him, that the king being informed of his arrival, had sent them with compliments of congratulation, and promised to load his ships with spices; observing that there were many Christians on the island, which agreeing with the report of the pilots, he readily believed what they told him. The next day the king sent to compliment the admiral, and made him a present of fruit. These deputies told him there were many Christians in the place, and that they themselves

were

were of that number. They advised him to approach the city, and come to an anchor in the harbour, where the king could more conveniently give the Portuguese fresh proofs of his inclination to serve them. The admiral believing them to be sincere, expressed his acknowledgments, and treating them very kindly, promised to comply with his majesty's request. He set on shore two of his exiles with presents to the king, who treated them with the utmost hospitality, and ordered some of the natives to shew them the city. In their way they saw many prisoners in irons, and were carried to the house of two merchants of India, who were Christians, after which the king sent them back with samples of corn and spices, bidding them tell the admiral, that he might have what quantity he pleased for gold, silver, amber, and other commodities, at a less price than any where else.

It was immediately resolved to accept of this offer of spices, and the next morning at flood they prepared to enter the harbour; but the admiral's ship striking on a shoal, he again cast anchor, upon which, the natives who were on board went into their boat, and at the same instant the two pilots jumped into the sea, and were taken up by the natives, who could not be prevailed upon to return and deliver them. This naturally gave the admiral a distrust of the king, whose affected civility was only dissimulation; for having heard of what had passed at Mofambique, he had resolved to destroy the Portuguese, while the ships were in the harbour, and two of the persons whom the admiral had seized and brought from Mofambique, being put to the torture, confessed that they had plotted the destruction of the ships, and that the pilots had escaped from the fear of its being discovered.

The execution of the project for destroying the Portuguese, being thus prevented, the king immediately concerted another scheme for destroying them;

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but in the night the watch perceiving that the cables shook, at first imagined it was caused by some tunny fish, of which there are great numbers in those seas, till several men were found swimming about, and cutting it with their swords, in order that the ship might run a-ground. Others had also got among the tackle of the foremast of another ship; but on their being discovered, they plunged into the sea, and swam to some boats, that lay at a distance to receive them. The admiral being therefore convinced of the treachery of these people, resolved to sail immediately to Melinda.

Mombassa is an island situated near the continent, from which it is divided by a river that falls into the sea by two mouths. The city, which was governed by a king, was very large, and seated upon an high rock. At the entrance of the port was a small low fort, near the water. The houses were built with stone; the cielings wrought in figures, with a composition like plaister of Paris, and the streets made a good appearance. A great trade was carried on for various sorts of merchandize, and the harbour was continually full of ships. Here they found plenty of provisions, as millet, rice, cattle, and fowls, which were all very fat, and their sheep, which were very fine, had no tails; from the main-land were also brought ivory-ware, and honey. The island was very pleafant, and afforded excellent water. It was full of orchards, and planted with oranges, lemons, citrons, Indian figs, and pomegranates.

The admiral having got clear of the bay, left Mombassa on the 13th, and soon after chased two sambucos, or small pinnaces, one of which he took, with 17 men on board, and a considerable quantity of gold and silver; and the same day reached Melinda, which is 18 leagues from Mombassa, and situated in 3° south latitude. The city is seated on the plainest part of a rocky coast, and encompassed with palms, and woods of fruit-trees. The city was large, with

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handsome streets and houses, built with stone, several stories high, with terraces on the top. The natives of the country were very swarthy; they had curled hair, and were strong, and well proportioned. They wore turbans wrought with silk and gold, and from the waist downward were cloathed with silk and cotton stuffs, while others wore short cloaks of callico; their swords and daggers were handsomely ornamented; they were left-handed, and being good archers, never went without their bows and arrows.

De Gama rejoiced at seeing a city that had some resemblance to those of Portugal, and anchored within a league of it. But nobody came on board for fear of being made prisoners; for the pinnace the admiral had just before taken, probably raised the belief of their being pirates. De Gama therefore ordered an Arabian prisoner who was one of those he had taken in the pinnace, and had promised to get him pilots in this place, to be set on a shelf over against the city, from whence a boat came immediately to fetch him. This man being conducted to the king, he informed him, that the admiral desired to enter into an alliance with him. The king returned an answer to the admiral's satisfaction, with a present of three sheep, and a considerable quantity of oranges and sugar-canes, which was returned with a present of a hat, three brass basons, some small bells, and two scarves.

The next day De Gama proceeded with his ships nearer the city, and anchored by four vessels belonging to the Christians of India, where the king sent some persons to visit him, and to let him know, that he himself would visit him the next day.

In the mean time the Christians from the India ships, with the king's leave, visited De Gama. They were well proportioned, and of a brown complexion. On seeing a picture representing the virgin Mary and some of the apostles, they fell down and worshipped it, for which purpose they afterward repaired thither

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The next day, in the afternoon, the king of Melinda came in a large boat, dressed in a gown of crimson damask, lined with green sattin, with a rich scarf rolled round his head. He sat in a very handsome chair, neatly inlaid with wire, on a silk cushion, with another by him, on which was placed a hat of crimson sattin. Near him stood an old man, who held a very rich sword with a silver scabbard. He was also attended with about 20 of his subjects richly dressed, with musicians who played on sackbuts, and two ivory flutes, eight spans in length, neatly made, with a little hole in the middle, on which they played. De Gama went to meet the king in his boat, adorned with flags, and attended by twelve of the principal persons in his three ships. After many salutations, he at the king's desire went into his boat. His majesty viewed him and his men very attentively, asked him several questions in relation to the country he came from, the name of his king, and the motives which had brought him into those seas. These questions the admiral answered, after which the king promised him a pilot for Calicut, and invited him to take the pleasure his palace afforded. De Gama, however, excused himself; but promised to call there at his return, and at the same time made his majesty a present of all the prisoners he had lately taken, at which he was highly pleased.

The king was afterward rowed up to the ships, which he beheld with surprise, and was highly delighted with the firing of the ordnance, telling the admiral, that he never saw any men who pleased him so well as the Portuguese, and he wished he had some of them to assist him in his wars.

De Gama set sail from Melinda on the 22d of April, and resolved now to quit the shores, which he had hitherto coasted, and trust himself in the main ocean. In this run he had remarkably good weather, and

crossed that great sea of 700 leagues, which lies between Africa and the hither peninsula of India, in 25 days. On the 17th of May they saw land, and on the 20th the pilot perceived the mountains of Calicut, and immediately informing the admiral, the latter was so transported with joy, that he made an entertainment for the whole crew, and soon after came to an anchor in an open road two leagues below Calicut.

On the 20th of May the admiral came to an anchor on the coast of Malabar, about two leagues from Calicut, and soon after several fishermen in their boats rowed up to the fleet, greatly admiring the ships. They were of a brown complexion, and naked, except a small piece of linen which hung before. De Gama gave these people a courteous reception, and bought some of their fish, after which they conducted him nearer to Calicut, where he cast anchor without the bar, and immediately sent one of his banished men on shore in one of the fishermen's boats, to get intelligence of the place. The people immediately thronged about this stranger; asked the fishermen many questions, and were greatly surprised at his dress, which was so unlike that of the Arabs who came from the straits of Mecca. They however carried him to the house of two Moors, one of whom, called Bontaibo, could speak Spanish, and knowing him to be a Portuguese, asked, what brought him thither? which being answered, he said, that he was acquainted with the Portuguese at Tunis, whence he came; but could not conceive how any Portuguese ships could come thither. He then gave the man some refreshments, and went with him to see the admiral.

The admiral and those who were with him, were so surprised at meeting with one who could speak their language, so far from home, that tears of joy started into their eyes. De Gama embraced Bontaibo, and making him sit down, seated himself by him, and

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asked if he was a Christian; and how he came to Calicut? Bontaibo answered, that he was indeed a Christian, and had been chief contractor for the warlike stores which King Ferdinand had purchased at Tunis; and that he had arrived at India by the way of Cairo. He concluded with observing, that as he had on all occasions been a friend to the Portuguese, he would now continue to promote their designs to the utmost of his power. De Gama thanked him heartily, and promised to reward him nobly for whatever service he should do him. He then asked Bontaibo several questions relating to the sovereign of Calicut; to which he replied, that he was a prince of a very good disposition, and he did not doubt but he would gladly receive the admiral as ambassador from a foreign king; especially, if he came to settle a trade; since the king's revenue chiefly arose from the duties on goods.

The Zamorin, or emperor, being informed that the admiral had letters to him from the king of Portugal, a Christian prince, he sent to bid him welcome; and at the same time ordered him a pilot to conduct him to Padarane, where there was a good harbour for the ships: with orders for the admiral to go from thence by land to Calicut, where he would be ready to receive him. De Gama accordingly steered with the ships to Padarane, but would not enter too far into the port for fear of treachery. Here an order was sent him from the Cutwal, or officer for foreign affairs, with permission to land whenever he pleased. Upon which De Gama calling a council, let them know that he intended to go and settle a treaty of commerce, and perpetual amity with the Zamorin: to this his brother alleged, that though the Zamorin and the natives, as they then imagined, were Christians, yet there were many Arabs among them, who were their mortal enemies, and would be still more so from the consideration of their coming to interfere in their trade: and therefore, as the suc-

cess of the voyage depended on his life, he thought it more adviseable to send some other person in his stead, and in this opinion he was seconded by all the rest. But De Gama declared, that whatever happened he was resolved to go himself, alleging that it was his majesty's interest to encourage traders, and that he had nothing to fear, as the inhabitants were Christians; but that in case any accident happened to him, they should give themselves no concern about his safety, but sail directly homeward, to carry to the king of Portugal the news of their having discovered the Indies.

The next day De Gama set out in his boat, which was furnished with ordnance, attended by 12 of his officers, with flags waving, and trumpets sounding. The Cutwal waited for him on shore, attended by 200 naires, or gentlemen of the country, and a multitude of people. He was received very politely at his landing, where there were two litters, one for him and the other for the Cutwal; into which having entered, they were carried very swiftly on mens shoulders, all the rest going on foot. At a place called Capocats, they rested, and having dined on rice and fruit, they entered some boats, and sailed down the river. De Gama and his attendants were afterward conducted to a large Indian temple built of free-stone, and covered with tiles. On the walls of this temple were many painted images, some with great teeth sticking above an inch out of their mouths, and others with four arms, and such frightful faces, that the Portuguese began to doubt, whether it was a Christian church or not. In the middle was a little round chapel, over which was a tower, built with freestone, with a small wire door, and stone stairs, to which they ascended on the outside by steps. In the wall opposite to this entrance stood an image, which, from the darkness of the place, could not be distinctly viewed; and admittance was denied to all, except the priest, who approaching and pointing to the figure, called aloud,

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Maria! Maria! When the cutwal and his attendants came before the chapel, they fell flat on the ground with their hands before them three times, and then prayed standing; while De Gama and the rest, who took it for an image of the virgin, fell on their knees and prayed: but one Juan de Sala who had some doubt, said as he was kneeling, "If this be the Devil, I worship God," which made De Gama and the rest of the Portuguese smile.

They now walked in procession toward the palace, followed by a prodigious multitude of people; but at their entering the city, the press was so great, that they were almost stifled, and could scarce move forward: which obliged the cutwal to take them into a house, where his brother, who was a person of great distinction, met him with several naires, who were sent by the Zamorin to conduct De Gama to court. They were now attended by at least 3000 men in arms, and De Gama was highly pleased with the manner of his reception; for turning to those who were with him, he said, "They little think in Portugal what honour is done us here."

An hour before sun-set they arrived at the Zamorin's palace, which was very large, and made an handsome appearance. At the palace gate they were received by several of the grandees, who conducted them through five large courts, with gates to each, attended by ten porters. On their approaching the audience chamber, they were met by the king's chief Bramin, a little old man, who embraced De Gama, and conducted them all in: but the people pressed so violently to get in with them, in order to see the Zamorin, that several were squeezed to death; and this had like to have been the fate of two of the Portuguese, had not the porters laid on unmercifully to make room for them.

The hall into which the Portuguese were conducted, was set round with seats, rising one above another in the manner of an amphitheatre; the floor was covered

vered with a rich carpet, and the walls hung with silk tapestry interwoven with gold. The Zamorin, who was of a brown complexion, lusty, and advanced in years, lay reclined upon a sofa covered with white silk wrought with gold, with a rich canopy over his head. He wore a short coat of fine callico, adorned with branches and roses of beaten gold. It was buttoned with large pearls, and the button holes were of gold thread: about his waist was a piece of white callico, which reached to his knees. On his head was a mitre adorned with jewels; in his ears were jewels of the same kind, and both his toes and fingers sparkled with diamond rings. His arms and legs were naked and adorned with gold bracelets; and in short, his person was graceful, and his air noble and majestic.

On De Gama's approaching the Zamorin, he, according to the custom of the country, bowed his body three times, with his hands above his head. His majesty looked on him with complacency; but returned his salute in so slight a manner, that the motion of his head could scarcely be perceived. Then making signs to him to advance, he caused him to be seated near him; and the rest entering and bowing in the same manner, he gave orders for their being seated opposite to him; and water to be brought for them to cool their hands, it being very hot, though in winter. He then ordered a collation of figs and jakas to be brought in; and on their calling for water to drink, a gold cup with a spout was brought them; when being informed that the Malabars reckoned it insolent to touch the vessel with their lips when drinking, they in compliance with the custom, held it at some distance above their mouths: but not being used to that manner of receiving liquor, it either overcharged their throats, and made them cough, or falling on one side, wet their cloaths, which made diversion for the whole court.

At length the Zamorin ordered De Gama, by his interpreter, to lay his business before his officers, who  
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were present, that he might be informed of it from them; upon which the admiral let him know, that he could not with honour recede from the custom observed by the Christian princes of Europe, which was to hear embassadors themselves, in the presence of only a few of their counsellors. The Zamorin said, that he approved that custom, and ordering De Gama to be conducted into another apartment, which was like the first, followed with only his interpreter, his chief bramin, his betel server, and the comptroller of the household. Being seated on a sofa, he asked the admiral what country he came from, and the occasion of his coming; to which he answered, that he was embassador from the king of Portugal, the greatest monarch for power and riches in all the west; who having heard that there were Christian kings in the Indies, of whom the king of Calicut was reported to be the chief, he had thought fit to send an embassador to settle a trade and friendship with him; and that the predecessors of the king his master, had for the space of threescore years attempted to discover India by sea; but that none of his captains had, till now, been able to accomplish that design. In confirmation of the truth of what he advanced, he promised to produce the letters of his king at the next audience; and observed, that he had orders to tell his majesty, that the king his master was his friend and brother, and hoped, that if his majesty accepted of his friendship, he would send his embassador to Portugal to confirm it. The Zamorin replied, that nothing could be more agreeable to him than such an alliance; and then asked several questions, in relation to the king's power; the distance between Calicut and Portugal, and how long he had been on his voyage. These questions the admiral answered. But it being now late, and he chusing to lodge in a house by himself, and not with either the Indians or the Christians, ordered his factor, who was an Indian, to go with him, and provide whatever he should have occasion for: he was also accompanied by the Cutwal and his attendants;

dants; but there falling a heavy rain, they were forced to shelter themselves at the factor's, who would have lent him a horse; but as he had no saddle, he chose rather to go on foot to his lodging, whither his men had already carried his baggage.

Thus every thing seemed to offer De Gama the fairest prospect for promoting the glory and advantage of his nation; but he was even now on the brink of seeing them ravished from him. Formidable rivals rose up against him. Mahometanism had followed the Tartars to the Indies, and was as predominant there as Paganism. The declared hatred that the Musselmén then bore to the Christians, animated them against the Christians; and the Arabs carrying on a very considerable commerce in the countries of Mogul and Malabar, to which they came from the coasts of Africa, Arabia, and Persia; the fear of being supplanted, made them conspire the destruction of the Portuguese.

As they had the admiral in their possession, several artifices were now made use of by the Cutwal, through the instigation of the Arabs, to obtain possession likewise of the ships: in this, however, De Gama disappointed them; and after much trouble, happily got again on board his own vessels.

De Gama, though he would not land again himself, yet gave his men liberty, by turns, to see the city; where they were kindly received by the Indians, and sold their goods with the utmost freedom. The natives, on the other hand, daily resorted to the ships in boats, either to sell provisions, or out of meer curiosity; and were kindly entertained by the admiral's order.

Thus matters went on quietly till the 10th of August; when the season for returning from the Indies being come, De Gama sent Diaz his factor to the Zamorin with a present of scarves, silk, coral, and other things; ordering him to let his majesty know that he intended to depart; and to desire, in case he was disposed to send an ambassador to Portugal, that

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he might be dispatched. He also informed the Zamorin, that he designed to leave his factor and secretary at Calicut, with the goods that were there, till the arrival of the next fleet from Europe; and as a confirmation of his having been in India, desired his majesty would send his master a bahar of cinnamon, another of cloves, and a third of other spices, which should be paid for out of the first goods that were sold, of what were on shore.

Diaz, after waiting four days, was admitted to the presence of Zamorin; who, with a frowning countenance, asked him what he wanted? Diaz, with great tremor, delivered his message, and was going to offer the present; when the Zamorin refused to see it, and ordered it to be delivered to his factor; and then bid him tell the admiral, that if he would go, he might; but that he should first, according to the custom of the port, pay him 600 sharafins. Diaz, however, had no sooner returned to the factory, than he was confined there; and proclamation was made through the city to forbid any persons going on board the fleet upon pain of death. However, Bontaibo had the courage to disobey this command, in order to advise the admiral to be on his guard; and to let him know, that the Arabs had persuaded the Zamorin that the Portuguese were pirates; and came with no other design, but to carry off by force the merchandize brought to the city, and to pry into the strength of the country. Two days after, four boys came on board, bringing precious stones to sell; but though the admiral took them for spies, he seemed to be ignorant of what had passed, and suffered them to depart, in hopes of alluring on board others of more consequence. This had the desired effect; for the Zamorin, imagining from hence that De Gama was ignorant of the imprisonment of his factor and secretary, sent people on board to amuse him, till he could fit out a fleet, or the ships of Mecca should arrive to take him. At length there coming six of the principal Malabars with fifteen attendants, he

ordered them to be seized ; and sent back two of the boatmen, with a letter in the Malabar tongue, to the Zamorin's factor, demanding his factor and secretary in exchange. But De Gama not seeing them arrive so soon as he expected, set sail, and came to an anchor in an open road four leagues below Calicut ; where having waited three days, he put to sea almost out of sight of land ; when a boat with Malabars came on board, and told the admiral, that his people were in the Zamorin's palace, and would be with him the next day. De Gama let them know, that they should instantly bring his men, or letters from them : that if they returned without either, he would sink them ; and if they did not return at all, he would cut off the heads of those he had seized. As soon as the boat was departed, he steered toward the shore, and came to an anchor over against Calicut.

The next day seven boats made up to the admiral's ship ; in one of which were Diaz and Braga, whom the Malabars put into the ship's boat, and then withdrew to some distance, waiting for the admiral's answer. They brought a letter to the king of Portugal, which was written by Diaz on a palm-tree leaf, and signed by the Zamorin. It was expressed in these laconic terms : " Vasco de Gama, a  
 " gentleman of thy house, came to my country ; of  
 " whose coming I was glad. In my country there  
 " is plenty of cinnamon, cloves, pepper, and pre-  
 " cious stones. The things which I am desirous of  
 " having out of thy country, are gold, silver, coral  
 " and scarlet."

De Gama returned no other answer, but that he had sent back the Naires, and would keep the rest till all his merchandize on shore were restored. The next day, Bontaibo came on board, and told the admiral, that the Cutwal, by the king's order, had seized all his effects ; saying he was a Christian, and had been sent over-land by the king of Portugal, as a spy. He added, that he knew that it was all done at the instigation of the Arabs ; and not doubting, as

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they had taken his goods, they would injure his person, he had fled away to avoid their malice. De Gama immediately ordered a cabin for him; and told him, that on his arrival at Portugal, he should meet with ample amends for the loss of his goods. There afterward came three Almadias, with scarves laid over the benches; and those who came in these vessels pretended that they had brought all the merchandize, and desired that the Malabars might be delivered up in return: but the admiral perceiving that this was only an artifice, told them he would carry the Malabars to Portugal to confirm his discovery, and would soon return to Calicut, when the Zamorin should know whether the Christians were pirates, as the Arabs had pretended.

Calicut is seated in the middle of the coast of Malabar, upon an open shore, where there is no shelter for European ships, which are forced to ride at anchor in the road: but those of the country, being made of planks, bound together with ropes, and flat-bottomed, are easily brought on land. Though the city was at that time large, the houses were made of hurdles, except the palaces of the Zamorin and the temples, which were the only buildings of lime and stone; for none else, by their laws, were allowed to be erected with those materials. This city was, at that time, the greatest mart in India, for all sorts of spices, drugs, precious stones, silks, calicoes, gold, silver, and other rich commodities. The people are Pagans; and pay an implicit obedience to their Bramins or priests, in secular, as well as in religious affairs.

Two days after De Gama departed, being becalmed a league from Calicut, the Zamorin sent 60 tonies filled with soldiers to take the ships: however, a fresh gale suddenly springing up, the fleet escaped; but was followed by the Malabars for about an hour and a half. It was very happy for the Portuguese that they arrived at Calicut in the beginning of winter, when the king's fleet, which was very numerous,

ous, was hauled up; for had it been summer, when his vessels are at sea, their ships might have been easily destroyed.

Notwithstanding this attempt, the admiral dismissed one of the captives at the first port at which he touched, with a letter to the Zamorin; in which he mentioned the snares that had been laid for him by the Arabians; apologized for his carrying away the Malabars, and professed the utmost regard for his majesty. He promised to labour to establish such a league between him and the king of Portugal, as would redound to their mutual advantage: assuring him, that the prisoners he had taken away, should be well treated, and sent back with the next Portuguese fleet to their native country.

Still steering along the coast, De Gama entered among certain small islands; from one of which there came several pinnaces with fish and other provisions. The Portuguese treated the people kindly; and having given them shirts and other things, with their leaves, set up a cross, and named the place Santa Maria. A week after he left the last mentioned place, the admiral anchored at six small islands near the shore, where he took in water; and the people brought him hens, gourds, and milk: at the same time, they informed him, that the country abounded with cinnamon. Some Portuguese were sent on shore to learn the truth of this report; who returned with the news that they had seen entire woods of cinnamon trees.

From hence he proceeded to one of the Anchediva islands, which are five in number, where the admiral resolved to careen his ships: but while the first was a-ground, there appeared two brigantines with their drums beating and trumpets sounding, beside five others that were near the shore. These the Malabars said were pirates; who under the colour of friendship, plundered all the vessels that came in their way. Upon receiving this intelligence, he gave orders for firing upon them, as soon as they were in reach

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reach of his guns : and at this unexpected reception, they retreated as fast as possible.

Among the multitudes that crowded to the shore to view the ships, came a person in a small vessel, who seemed to be about 40 years of age, and of a different country. He no sooner landed, than he ran up to the admiral, and then to the other captains, embracing them as familiarly, as if they had been his intimate acquaintance : and having paid his compliments in the Italian tongue, told them he was a Christian, born in Italy ; but that having been taken by pirates in his youth, while on a voyage to Greece with his parents, he had suffered a variety of misfortunes, and been hitherto excluded from the hopes of revisiting his native country. He observed, that he had been forced to enter into the service of a Mahometan prince, named Sabay, the sovereign of an island at about twelve leagues distance, called Goa ; but that, though he was obliged to comply with the worship of the Mahometans, he was still in his heart a Christian. He told the admiral that he was the prime minister and confidant of his sovereign ; and that hearing there were certain strange ships at Calicut, whose men were cloathed from head to foot, and spoke a language unknown in the Indies, he judged them to be Christians, and besought Sabay to give him leave to go and see them : which he had not only granted, but ordered him to tell them, that whatever his country afforded was at their service. He concluded with desiring that he might have a cheese to send to a companion of his on shore, as a token of his being well received. Though this gave the admiral some suspicion, he ordered him the cheese, with two loaves ; which the stranger accordingly sent on shore, and continued talking to De Gama, asking him a number of questions, that seemed to denote an uncommon curiosity. His being so full of words increased the admiral's jealousy, and his brother asked some of the natives who he was ? when they told him, that he was a pirate, and had been on board  
other

other ships that had been there before. Upon this, the admiral ordered him to be carried on board and whipped, to make him confess who he was, and the design of his coming; and this having no effect, he had the inhumanity to order him to be hung by the genitals, and hoisted up and let down by a pulley. After the fourth torture, he confessed that he was a Polish Jew; and that Sabay, having a design to attack the Portuguese ships, had sent him to discover their strength and manner of fighting. The admiral then ordered him to be confined under the hatches, and cured of the hurt he had suffered; telling him, that he did not design to make a slave of him, but would carry him to Portugal, to give some account of the country to the king: and being used kindly, he was afterward baptized by the name of Jasper de Gama, and became very serviceable to the Portuguese on many occasions.

On the 5th of October, De Gama left this coast, having first ordered the vessel he had taken to be burned. He now steered for Melinda; but was exposed to great danger by the length of the passage, occasioned by storms, calms, and contrary winds: by which means, the men became so dreadfully afflicted with the scurvy, that there were not above 16 men fit for labour in each ship. To prevent their over-shooting Melinda, the ships came to an anchor every night: but on their arriving at a village of Moors, within ten leagues of that city, there appeared eight large boats, filled with soldiers, steering directly toward the ships; but the admiral firing upon them, they soon tacked about, and fled. At length he arrived at Melinda; where he again met with a most friendly reception, and was supplied with refreshments. He staid there five days, and then sailed, taking with him the ambassador the king of Melinda had before promised to send to Portugal; and as the admiral had not a sufficient number of men to navigate the three ships, he burned the St. Raphael, commanded by his brother.

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On the 27th of February, De Gama reached Zanzibar, a pretty large island, in  $6^{\circ}$  south latitude; near which are two others, Pemba and Monfia, all of them very fertile. The prince of Zanzibar, though a Mahometan, entertained the Portuguese with great hospitality; and furnished them with a supply of fruit and fresh provisions. De Gama steered from thence along the coast; and passing Mosambique, took in wood and water at the island of San Blas. On the 26th of April, he doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and then steered for the island of St. Jago: but the two ships being separated by a violent storm, Nicholas Coello, who commanded the *Berrio*, being in haste to carry the news of the discovery to the king, steered directly for Lisbon; and on the 10th of July put into Cuscais. The admiral, on his arriving at St. Jago, left his ship to be fitted up; and hiring a caraval, arrived at Belem in September, 1499, after a voyage of two years and two months, in which he had lost above half his men.

The King, overjoyed at his return, sent a nobleman and several gentlemen to conduct him to court; in the way to which, he passed through crowds of spectators, and was received with extraordinary honours. For this service, he was honoured with the title of Don: a part of the king's arms was added to his, and an annual pension of 3000 ducats was granted to him. Nicholas Coello was made a Fidalgo, and had an appointment of 100 ducats; and, in short, the king himself augmented his own title on account of this new discovery, vainly styling himself Lord of the Conquest and Navigation of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and the Indies. Upon this occasion, public thanksgivings were made throughout the kingdom, for the success of the voyage; to which succeeded feasts and entertainments: and those who had long represented these designs as impracticable, now grew ashamed of their opposition, and became the most zealous in recommending them.

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**THE FIRST VOYAGE**  
**MADE TO THE EAST INDIES,**  
 ON ACCOUNT OF THE  
**ENGLISH EAST-INDIA COMPANY:**  
 Under the Command of Captain, afterward  
 Sir JAMES LANCASTER.

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**T**HE first person who proposed the establishing the East India trade in England, was one Mr. Robert Thorne, a merchant of London, who settled at Seville in Spain; and residing there many years, gained a perfect knowledge of the manner in which both the East and West Indies were discovered. This very judicious gentleman, who, from his writings yet extant, appears to have drawn his knowledge, in an equal degree, from books and experience, applied himself, about the year 1527, to his majesty king Henry VIII. to whom he represented very fully, yet in few words, the vast advantages that would accrue to his subjects by a direct commerce to the East Indies: and to suit his proposal to the great genius and high spirit of that prince, he advised him, not only to encourage this new navigation, but to attempt it by a new rout; for as the Portuguese had pushed their discoveries to the east, and the Spaniards to the west, so he was ambitious that the English nation should find a way to the Indies of their own, and that by the north.

But it is worthy of observation, that this gentleman was early aware of the insuperable difficulties that

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that have been since found in searching for a passage to the north-east; and therefore proposed, for good reasons, sailing directly north, or at least very near it: from which he thought many advantages might be gained, and many inconveniences avoided. As for instance, he conceived that this might be undertaken at such a season of the year, as to enjoy the benefit of the half year's day in that climate: and he thought it absurd to suppose, that the seas were frozen under the north-pole, at a time when the sun, from its long continuance on the horizon, must have such prodigious force. He likewise judged, that whatever difficulties might occur in the beginning of such a passage, they must be quickly and certainly got over; and be fully recompensed, by coming soon on the coast of Tartary and Japan, and so to China and the Manillas. To say the truth, if we consider the time when this proposal was made, the sagacity and penetration of this gentleman can scarce be enough commended or admired; since it is very certain, that if ever any discovery is made on this side, it must be by this method.

But, how wise or how practicable soever Mr. Thorne's scheme might be, it was considered in no other light, than as a project too bold to be put in execution; and to say the truth, the first person that gave us any light into this navigation was Sir Francis Drake, in the year 1578. The very next year Mr. Stevens went from Lisbon to Goa by the Cape of Good Hope, and wrote a large account of his voyage while he resided at Goa. A. D. 1586, Candishe made his voyage round the world; which having clearly opened a passage to these parts, captain George Raymond, in a ship of his own, called the *Penelope*, accompanied by two others, called the *Merchant-Royal*, and the *Edward Bonaventure*, sailed in the year 1591 for the East Indies, not with a view to trade, but to cruize upon the Portuguese. This voyage was extremely unfortunate; for captain Raymond found

him-

himself obliged, at the Cape of Good Hope, to send home the Merchant Royal, with the sick men they had in the three ships. Having doubled that Cape, and sailed about sixty leagues, he was lost in the Penelope; so that captain James Lancaster, in the Edward Bonaventure, was the only one that performed this voyage, and that too with very indifferent fortune: for after a disastrous voyage to the east, he was obliged to pass from thence to the West Indies, where having lost his ship, he with much difficulty, by the assistance of a French privateer he met with in those parts, returned home.

But in this space of time, though no English ships had been sent to the Indies for commerce, abundance of Englishmen had been there in different services; and on their return home, gave such an account of those countries, and of the ease with which the English might settle factories, and establish a regular trade thither, that many great men, and rich merchants, began to entertain a desire of establishing such a commerce: and that they might do this effectually, they applied themselves to queen Elizabeth for a charter, and she accordingly granted them one, which was dated the 31st of December 1600, in the forty-third year of her reign. This charter was exclusive; and the queen bound herself not to grant any charter to other merchants, for the space of fifteen years: but with this proviso, that if within that space this charter should appear to be detrimental to the public, it should, upon two years warning, under the privy-seal, become void: but if from experience it should appear, that this new corporation was a public benefit, then she promised to renew their charter, with such additional clauses in their favour, as should appear requisite.

It was in consequence of this charter that the company immediately began to raise a joint stock for carrying their project into execution; and this with such industry, that in a very short space their treasurer had

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in his hands seventy-two thousand pounds: upon which it was resolved to fit out five able ships to begin their correspondence in that part of the world. These were the Dragon of 600 tons and 202 men, commanded by captain James Lancaster, general; the Hector of 300 tons and 108 men, under the command of captain John Middleton, vice-admiral; the Ascension of 260 tons and 32 men, in which was William Brand, chief governor; and the Susan carrying 84 men, commanded by captain John Hayward: to which was added the Guelt, a ship of 130 tons, as a victualler. There were in each of the four ships three merchants, who were to succeed each other in case of death; and the fleet was furnished with provisions for 20 months. There were on board in merchandize and Spanish money to the value of 27,000*l.* and all the rest of the company's stock was laid out in the purchase and equipment of the ships; in providing them with necessaries, and advancing money to the mariners. Queen Elizabeth gave them letters of recommendation to several princes of India; and as no great action can be well carried on, without an absolute authority, she granted the general a commission of martial law.

This fleet sailed from Dartmouth on the 18th of April, 1601, and put into Torbay, where the general sent instructions on board all the ships, for keeping company at sea; and appointed the places of rendezvous, in case of separation.

On the 22d of April they departed for the Canaries, and in the morning of the 5th of May, had sight of Alegranza, the most northerly of these islands; but being frequently becalmed, and often meeting with contrary winds, it was the 21st of June before they got into two degrees north, where spying a Portuguese ship, they chased and took her †.

† Portugal was at that time subject to the Spaniards, with whom queen Elizabeth was then at war.

The English took out of her 146 butts of wine, 176 jars of oil, 12 barrels of oil, and 55 hogheads of meal, which were distributed among the ships, and was a great help to them during the whole voyage.

On the last of June they passed the line, and the 25th of July, got into  $19^{\circ} 40'$  south latitude, where they unloaded the Guest victualler; and, after taking her masts, sails, and yards, broke down her higher buildings for fire-wood, and left her floating in the sea. Nine days after, they crossed the tropic of Capricorn, when many of them falling sick from their continuing so long under the line; by the first of August, all the ships, except the general's, were so thin of men, that they had scarce a sufficient number to handle their sails: and the want of hands, became at last so great, that in some of the ships the merchants took their turns at the helm, and, like common sailors, went aloft to take in the sails: but at length, a fair wind springing up, they, on the 9th of September, reached Saldanna, and the Hector came to an anchor. The general sent his boats to assist the other ships in entering the harbour; and even went on board them himself, with a sufficient number of men, to hoist out their boats for them.

The reason why his crew were in better health than those of the other ships, was owing to the general's having brought some bottles of the juice of lemons to sea with him; of which he gave to every person on board, as long as it lasted, three spoonfuls every morning fasting, not suffering them to eat any thing after it till noon.

Mr. Lancaster, having revived the spirits of the feeble crews in the other ships, by the assistance he afforded them, went on shore; and meeting with some of the natives, gave them several trifles, as knives, and pieces of iron, making signs for them to bring him cows and sheep; which he easily made them understand, by speaking in the language of the cattle themselves. He made a noise like the lowing of

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of horned cattle, to shew that he wanted them; and used the sound *baa* for sheep, which the natives easily understood. Having dismissed the people, well satisfied with their presents and kind usage, he gave orders that every ship's company should bring their sails on land; erect tents for their sick, and also raise works for their defence, in case the natives should take any disgust, and make an attempt against them. Mr. Lancaster also gave orders, that when the natives came down with cattle, only five or six men, appointed for that purpose, should go to deal with them; and that a body of men, with muskets and pikes, which were never to be less than 30, should come no nearer the place of sale than 140 or 200 yards; but should always stand drawn up in a rank, with their muskets on their rests, to be ready against all accidents. This prudent order being strictly observed, none could go to speak with any of the natives without leave; which had so happy an effect, that the harmony which now subsisted between them, was not broken during their stay.

The third day after their arrival, the people brought down beef and mutton, which the ships companies bought for pieces of old iron hoops; giving two pieces of eight inches each for an ox, and one piece of eight inches for a sheep: which so well pleased the natives, that in ten or twelve days they sold them 1000 sheep, and 42 oxen, and would have supplied them with many more if they had wanted. These oxen were full as big as the English, and very fat: many of the sheep were much larger than those of the English breed, and the flesh exceeding good, fat and sweet. However, after this trade was over, though the natives often came to visit them, they shewed no inclination to renew it; but when the English made signs for more sheep, they pointed to those that had been bought, which were kept grazing upon the hills about the tents: it was therefore imagined, that the natives were under some apprehensions of their intending to settle there.

The General having caused all the tents to be taken down, and received on board a fresh supply of wood and water, put to sea on the 29th of October; and on the 26th of November, fell in with the head-land of the island of Madagascar, somewhat to the east of Cape Sebastian, and continued plying to the eastward till the 15th of December, about which time, the men began again to fall sick of the scurvy.

On the 17th day, they had sight of the southermost part of St. Mary's Island; and the next day, having anchored between it and Madagascar, they sent their boats ashore to the former island, where they got plenty of lemons and oranges.

St. Mary's Island is high land, and full of woods: the people are black, and the men tall and handsome, with curled hair; only they stroke up that on their foreheads, by which means it stands about three inches upright. They go quite naked, except a small covering hanging from the waist; and seem to be extremely brave, yet are easy to converse with. Though their principal food is rice and fish, the English could get but a small quantity of the former; for as harvest was at hand, they had nearly consumed their whole stock. They could therefore obtain nothing more than a little goat's milk; for they saw only one cow, and that was driven away as soon as the people perceived the English were landing. As there was so little refreshment to be obtained, and as the place they rode in was very dangerous, they sailed on the 23d for Antongil: on the 25th, they entered that bay, and came to an anchor between a small island lying in the bottom of the bay and the main, which was a very safe road; but on landing on this little island, they found a writing laid in the rocks, that five Dutch ships had been there about two months before; and that while they rode in that place, they had lost 150 or 200 men by sickness.

Landing the day after in the main island, the people soon repaired to them; and by signs informed them

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them of the five Dutch ships, and that they had bought the most part of their provisions. However, they entered into barter with the English; to whom they sold hens, rice, oranges, lemons, and plantains, but held them up at a high rate. The natives were very subtle in buying and selling, continually insisting upon having a little more; and if that was once complied with, none would afterward sell under that price.

The General, perceiving this troublesome disposition, ordered measures to be made for rice, which held near a quart; and appointed how many glass beads should be given for every measure. The like order was made with respect to oranges, lemons and plantains. The number to be given for every bead was fixed; nor were they to deal on other terms. The natives, after holding off a little, at length consented; and from this prudent regulation, their dealing became frank, and without any further cavilling or dispute. The English bought here 15 tones and a quarter of rice, 40 or 50 bushels of peas and beans; great store of oranges, lemons and plantains, eight cows, and some fowl. While they rode in this bay, they joined together a pinnacle of 18 tons, brought out of England in pieces; and cutting down some of the trees, which grew there in great abundance, sawed them into boards, and sheathed her. The vessel was of use in going before their ships, in order to make the proper soundings, to prevent the large vessels running on the rocks and shoals.

In this bay there died out of the Dragon, the master's mate, the chaplain, and the surgeon, with ten common men; and out of the Hector, the master and two others: all of whom were carried off by the flux, supposed to be occasioned by the water they drank on shore. Unfortunately, as the master's mate of the Dragon was carrying to land, in order to be interred, the captain of the Ascension took his boat to attend the ceremony; and as it is the custom

at sea, to discharge some pieces of ordnance at the interment of any officer, the gunner fired three guns; and the bullets being in them, one struck the Ascension's boat, and killed both the captain and boatswain's mate: who thus by going to see the burial of another, were both buried there themselves.

On the 6th of March, the ships left this bay; and on the 16th, fell in with an island, called Roque-Piz, in  $10^{\circ} 30'$  south latitude. Here the General sent his boat in search of a proper road; but she mostly found deep water where ships could not ride in safety. In coasting this island, they found that it had a beautiful appearance: it was exceeding full of cocoa-nut trees, and the fowls came flying about them in such multitudes, that the sailors killed many of them with their oars; and these were found to be the fattest and best they had tasted in all their voyage.

After being several times in danger of running upon the rocks, they, on the 9th of May, had sight of the islands of Nicobar; and bearing in, anchored on the south-side under a small island that lies near the shore. Here they met with few refreshments, except fresh water, and some cocoa-nuts. The people came on board in long canoes, each of which would hold at least 20 men, bringing gums to sell instead of amber, by which several on board were deceived. They also brought hens and cocoa-nuts; but set so high a price upon them, that few were bought.

On the 6th of June, they anchored in the road of Achen, in the island of Sumatra, about two miles from the city; where they found 16 or 18 sail of several nations, some of Bengola, and others of Calicut, Guzerat, Pegu, and Cathay. There soon came on board two Holland merchants, who had been left to learn the manners and language of the country: by whom they were informed, that they would be very welcome to the king, who was desirous of entertaining strangers; and that the Queen of England was renowned in these parts, for the great victory she had obtained over the king of Spain.

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The same day in which the ships came to an anchor in the road of Achen, Mr. James Lancaster sent captain Middleton, with four or five gentlemen to attend him, to wait on the king; and inform him, that he was sent from the General of those ships, who had a message and letter from the most illustrious Queen of England, to the most worthy king of Achen and Sumatra. He was also to desire to know, if it was his majesty's royal pleasure, to give the General audience, with a safe conduct for himself and his people, in order to deliver his letter and message.

Captain Middleton was very kindly entertained by the king, who readily granted his request, and asked him many questions; after which, he caused a banquet to be prepared for him, and at his departure gave him a robe and callico turban wrought with gold, as a special mark of his favour. He sent word, that the General should stay one day on board his ships, to rest himself after the fatigues of his voyage; and the next land to receive an audience: and that he might venture on shore with as much security, as if he were in the kingdom of the Queen his mistress.

On the day fixed, the General landed, with about 30 attendants; and, on his going on shore, was met by the Dutch merchants, who as it had been agreed, conducted him to their house: for he would take no house of his own, till he had spoken with the king. Soon after, a nobleman coming, saluted the General; and having declared that he came from his majesty, demanded the Queen's letter: but the General refused to give it him; saying, it was the privilege of ambassadors in those parts of the world from whence he came, to deliver their letters to the princes themselves, and not to any who represented their person. The nobleman then desired to see the superscription, which he copied; and having looked earnestly at the seal, he with great courtesy took his leave, to make a report of what had passed.

Soon after, the king sent six large elephants, with many trumpets, drums, and streamers, and a considerable number of people, to accompany the General to court. The largest of the elephants was about 13 or 14 feet high, and had a small castle like a coach upon his back, covered with a crimson velvet; in the middle of which, was a great gold bason, covered with a piece of silk richly embroidered: and into this cup was put the Queen's letter. The General was mounted upon another of the elephants: some of his attendants rode, and others went on foot: but on his coming to the gate of the palace, he was stopped by a nobleman, till he went in to know the king's farther pleasure; but soon returning, he desired the General to enter.

On his being admitted into the king's presence, he paid him his respects after the manner of the country; declaring, that he was sent from the most mighty Queen of England to congratulate his highness, and enter into a treaty of peace and amity with him. As he was going on with his discourse, the king interrupted him, saying, "I am sure you are weary with the long voyage you have taken, and would have you sit down to refresh yourself: you are very welcome, and shall have whatever you can in reason demand; for your mistress's sake; for she is worthy of all kindness, since fame speaks her to be a princess of noble disposition."

Upon this, the General delivered the Queen's letter; which his majesty readily received, and then delivered it to a nobleman who stood by. The General next offered the present, which was a silver bason with a fountain in the middle, the whole weighing 205 ounces; a large silver cup, a rich looking-glass, a head-piece, on which was a plume of feathers; a case of very handsome daggers, a rich embroidered belt, and a fan of feathers. These were all received by a nobleman; only the king took the fan into his

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own hand, and seeming most pleased with that, caused one of his women to fan him with it.

The General then seating himself cross-legged on the ground, according to the custom of the country, a very great banquet was served up; all the dishes of which were either of pure gold, or of another metal much esteemed at Achen, called Tambaick, which is a mixture of gold and brass. During this entertainment, the king, as he sat in a gallery about a fathom from the ground, drank several times to the General in arrack; but Mr. Lancaster perceiving its strength, after the first draught, drank either water alone, or mixed with the arrack. The feast being over, his majesty sent for some girls to come and dance, and his women to play to them on music: these women were richly dressed and adorned with bracelets and jewels. This was esteemed an extraordinary favour; as they were not usually seen by any, but such as the king would greatly honour. The king then gave the General a fine white robe of callico, richly embroidered with gold; a very handsome Turkey leather belt, and two crosses, which are a kind of daggers; all which a nobleman put on for him in the king's presence. In this manner he was dismissed, and a person sent with him to make choice of a house in the city, where the General should think most convenient: but he declined this favour, and rather chose to return on board the ship.

The next time the General went to court, he had a long conference with the king about the Queen's letter; with which his majesty seemed much pleased. He professed that he was very desirous of entering into a league with the Queen of England: observed, that as to the demands relating to trade, he had given two of his nobles orders to confer with him on that subject; and promised, that whatever her majesty had requested, should be granted.

With this satisfactory answer, the General, after another banquet, departed; and the next day sent to  
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the noblemen the king had mentioned, to know the time they would chuse for the conference: one of them was the chief-priest of Achen, a man who well deserved the high esteem, which both the king and the people had placed in him; the other was one of the ancient nobility, a person of much gravity, but not so fit for transacting business as the priest. The conference was held in Arabic, which, both the priest and nobleman understood; and a Jew, whom the General brought from England, and who spoke that language perfectly, served as interpreter. Several demands being made relating to the privileges of the merchants, the priest asked him what reasons he had to offer, to induce the king to grant them. Upon which the General alleged the Queen's affection and friendship; her worthiness in protecting others against the king of Spain, the common enemy in those parts: that sovereigns grew renowned and formidable, in proportion to the wealth of their subjects, which was augmented by commerce: that the more kindly strangers were entertained, the more trade flourished; and consequently the prince became more rich. That with regard to Achen in particular, the port lay well for the trade of Bengala, Java, the Moluccos, and China; which countries, having a vent for their merchandize, would not fail to resort thither with them. That as by this means the king's power would increase, the trade of the Portugese, and their great strength in the Indies, would gradually diminish. That in case his majesty should want any artificers, he might have them from England; only satisfying them for their voyage, and allowing them free liberty to return when they thought fit. That any other necessary, which his country afforded, should be at the king's service; presuming that his majesty would not demand any thing, to which the Queen could not with pleasure consent, or that should be contrary either to her honour, the laws, or her leagues with Christian princes.

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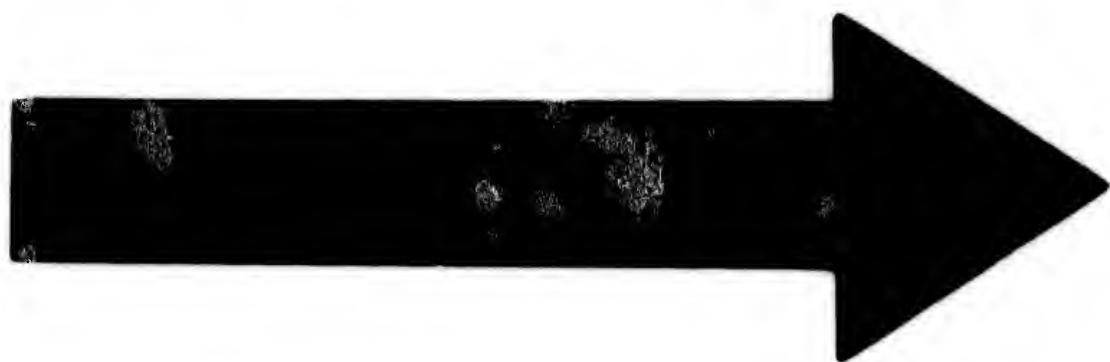
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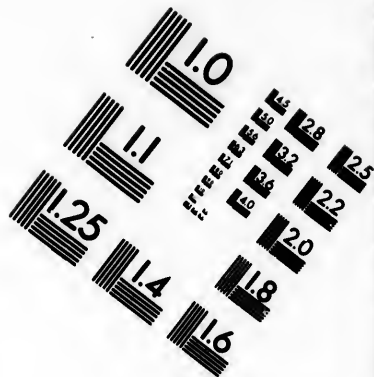
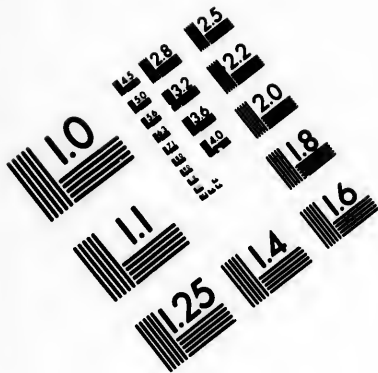
The conference being ended, the high-priest desired the General to let him have a memorandum in writing of his reasons, and the privileges he demanded in the Queen's name; telling him, that within a few days, he should have his majesty's answer. After this, some discourse passed relating to the affairs of Christendom; and then they broke up for that time.

The General, having taken care to send a copy of his demands to these commissaries, the next time he went to court, finding the king engaged at a cock-fighting, which was one of his majesty's chief diversions; he sent his interpreter, to desire his majesty to be mindful of the business, about which he had conferred with his nobles. Upon this, the king calling the General, told him, that he would willingly enter into a peace with her majesty; and that, as for the articles he had set down in writing, they should all be drawn up fair by one of his secretaries, and authorized by himself: and accordingly, within five or six days, they were delivered to the General, by the king's own hand, with many expressions of kindness.

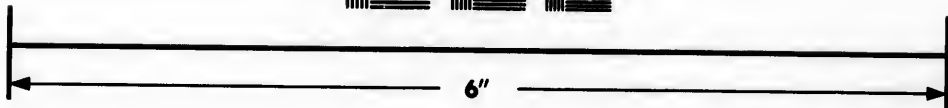
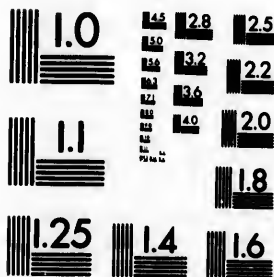
The substance of the articles were, first, That the English should have free liberty and trade. Secondly, That their goods should be custom free, whether imported or exported; and that they should be assisted with the vessels of Achen to save their ships, commodities, and men from being wrecked, in case of danger. Thirdly, That they should have liberty to make wills, and bequeath their effects to whom they pleased. Fourthly, That all bargains should be confirmed, and orders granted for payment, by the subjects of Achen. Fifthly, That they should have authority to execute justice on their own men. Sixthly, That they should have justice against the natives for injuries done them. Seventhly, That their goods should not be stopped, nor prices set on them; and eighthly, That they should be allowed liberty of conscience.

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This league of peace and amity being settled, the merchants attempted to provide pepper for lading the ships; but found there was little to be had, on account of the last years sterility. However, being informed by some of the natives, that at a port called Priaman, about 150 leagues from thence, they might lade one of their small ships. Mr. Lancaster sent the Sufan thither, and appointed Mr. Henry Middleton captain and chief merchant of that vessel.

The General was not a little concerned, that capt. John Davis, the principal pilot, had told the merchants before their leaving London, that pepper was to be had here for four rials of eight, the hundred-weight; whereas it cost them almost twenty: and on this account, he was perplexed how to lade the ships, so as to save his own credit, preserve the esteem of the company by which he was employed, and keep up the reputation of his country; considering how disgraceful it would appear, in the eyes of the neighbouring nations, if they should return empty from the Indies. Beside, the Portuguese ambassador watched every step they took, though he was no ways acceptable to the king: for having, the last time of his being at court, asked leave to settle a factory, and build a fort at the entrance of the harbour, under the pretence of securing the merchant's goods from fire; the king asked him, If his master had a daughter to give his son, that he was so careful of the preservation of his country? and added, that he need not be at the charge of building a fort, since he had a proper house within land, about two leagues from the city, which he would spare him for the use of his factory; where they might dwell without fear, either of enemies or fire, for he would protect them. The king was much displeas'd at the insolence of the demand; and the ambassador went from court much dissatisfied.

Soon after, an Indian came to the General's house to sell poultry; and as this Indian belonged to the  
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Portuguese captain, who came with a cargo of rice from the port of Bengala, and laying in the ambassador's house, the General suspected that the Indian was only sent as a spy. However, he gave orders that he should be well used; and that they should always buy his hens, and give him a handsome price for them. At last, the General took occasion to talk with him; asked whence he came, and to what country he belonged? and brought him to confess, that the Portuguese ambassador employed a spy to give him an account of the strength of the English ships; intending to send the particulars to Malacca, in order that he might obtain a sufficient force to attempt them. The General promised him his liberty, provided he gave him from time to time intelligence of the ambassador's proceedings.

The Indian went away highly satisfied, as was visible by his countenance, and the quickness of his pace; and by his means, the General learned whatever the ambassador did in the day, either the same night or the next morning: and he behaved with such caution, that neither any of the ambassador's family, nor the English themselves, knew what he came about.

The next day the General was sent for to court, where his majesty discoursed with him about an embassy sent him by the king of Siam, relating to the conquest of Malacca, and the forces he would assist him with by sea, if he undertook that service. This proposal the General seconded with many reasons; and took occasion to mention how insolently the Portuguese ambassador behaved; and that he only came as a spy to discover the strength of the kingdom. The king replied, that he knew them to be his enemies; but wondered how he came to know it. The General answered, That the ambassador had planted spies about him to observe all his actions, and to pry into his designs; and had gotten a draught of his ships, in order to send it to Malacca, and to procure a force from thence to attack them by surprise. At this



this the king smiled; observing, that he need not fear any danger from that quarter, since all the strength they were able to muster at Malacca could not do him any harm. To which the General replied, that he did not fear any attempts they could make against him: but that such intelligence would make them keep within their ports, and prevent his being able to come at them; and therefore intreated his majesty to detain two of the ambassador's servants, who, within three days, were to set out for another port, in order to avoid being intercepted, and were there to hire a boat to sail with this intelligence to Malacca. This the king promised, and the General took his leave.

The ambassador's servants accordingly departed, with the draughts and their master's letters, to a port about 25 leagues from Achen, where, having agreed for their passage, they embarked; but as they were going over the bar, they were followed by a frigate, which caused them to lower their sails, that the officer might see their lading. As soon as he was on board, he perceived the two Portuguese, asked them whence they came, and whither they were going? to which they answered, that they came from Achen, and belonged to the Portuguese ambassador. But the officer told them, that they had robbed their master; and therefore, he would send them back to answer for themselves. In the confusion which arose upon this occasion, they lost their draughts and letters; their trunks also were broken open, and they sent bound to Achen, to be delivered to the ambassador in case they belonged to him.

The General had intelligence of all that passed, and the Indian came daily to sell his fowls; with his master's consent. By this time, the summer was pretty well over; and it being now September, it was time for the General to put to sea. But at this very time, he heard, that the ambassador had obtained his dispatch from the king to be gone. Upon which, going

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ing to court, he sent his interpreter to desire the honour of an audience; which being granted, the king demanded his errand? when the General replied, That it had pleased his highness to do him many favours, which had emboldened him to request one kindness more. The king asked him what it was, and whether there were more Portuguese going to Malacca, to hinder his measures? The General replied, that there were: and that the ambassador, having obtained his majesty's dispatch, was determined to depart within five days; and that he begged of his majesty to detain him ten. To which the king replied, that he would, provided he would bring him a Portuguese maiden when he returned.

With this answer the General took his leave; and three ships being ready, the captain of a Dutch vessel who was in the road, desired he might bear the General company, and take a part in this adventure. His ship was about 200 tons; and it was agreed that he should have an eighth of what should be taken. Mean while the Ascension was to stay behind to compleat her lading, of which she had above three parts on board.

After Mr. Lancaster's departure, the Portuguese ambassador appeared very eager to be gone; but the king deferred signing his passport for 24 days after the general's putting to sea, and then expressed his wonder that he should be in such haste, since the English Commander was at sea, observing, that as he was stronger than the ambassador, he might do him a mischief, if he should meet with him. But he replying, that he depended upon the swiftness of his frigate, and that he defied all the force of the English, the king seemed reconciled to his departure, and gave him his dispatch.

On the 3d of October, cruising near the streights of Malacca, the Hector observed a sail; upon which, directions were given to spread themselves out a mile and a half, that she might not pass them in the dark.

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The ship at length fell in with the *Hector*; and after a short engagement, she was taken. This ship came from St. Thomas's in the bay of Bengal, and was bound for Malacca: she was of 900 tons burden, and had above 600 persons, men, women, and children, on board. In five or six days they had entirely unladen her cargo, consisting of 950 packs of calicoes and pintadoes, a great quantity of rice and other goods. After which, a storm arising they returned the ship to her commander, sent all her men on board, and then left her riding at anchor.

On the 24th of October, they again cast anchor in the port of Achen; when the General went on shore, and found all the merchants highly satisfied with the entertainment they had received from the king during his absence. The General, therefore, to express his gratitude, chose such of the prize goods as he thought would be most agreeable to his majesty, and presented them at his first going to court. The king received the present; welcomed the General, and seemed to rejoice at his good success against the Portuguese; but jestingly told him, he had forgot the most important business he had requested from him, which was the fair Portuguese maiden: but the General replied, That he met with none who deserved that honour. The General afterward commanded the merchants to put on board the *Ascension* all the spices they had bought in his absence, which were scarcely sufficient to compleat her lading, and there was no more to be expected till the next year: he resolved therefore to sail to Bantam, where he was told that he would meet with a good sale for his commodities, and plenty of pepper, much cheaper than at Achen. But before his departure, he went to court, and had a long conference with the king; who delivered him a letter for the Queen, written in Arabic, with a present to her majesty of three rich pieces of cloth of gold, and a ring set with a very fine ruby. He also made the General a present of another ruby ring,

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ring. On his taking leave, the king asked him, if the English had the Psalms of David amongst them? To which he answered, that they had, and sung them daily. Then said the king, I, and these nobles about me, will sing a psalm to God for your prosperity: which being ended, the king asked him to sing another psalm, though it were in his own language: and there being twelve in company, they immediately complied with his request. This done, the General took his leave; when the king said, He hoped God would bless them all in their voyage, and conduct them safe to their own country: adding, if hereafter your ships return to this port, you shall find the same good usage you have hitherto experienced.

On the 9th of November, they left Achen; and after keeping company ten days, the admiral dispatched his letters for England by the Ascension, she steering her course toward the Cape of Good Hope, and they for Bantam, in search of the *Susan*, which had orders to lade at Priaman. Continuing their course, they passed the line the third time, and reached Priaman on the 26th of November, where the *Susan* had purchased about 600 bahars of pepper, and 66 of cloves. Their pepper cost them less than at Achen, though none grows near the port; it being brought from a place called Manangacabo, at eight or ten leagues distance in the country.

Priaman produces no other commodity, but gold-dust washed out of the sands of the rivers that fall from the mountains. It is a good place of refreshment, and is very healthful; for though it lies within 15 minutes of the line, the air is extremely good.

The General having taken in provisions, and ordered the captain of the *Susan* to compleat her lading with pepper as soon as possible, and then to depart for England; sailed on the 4th of December toward Bantam. On the 15th, he entered the streights of Sunda; and coming to an anchor under an island, called Pulo Panfa, the next morning he made the

road of Bantam. On the 17th, the General sent captain Middleton to inform the king, that he was come by order of the Queen of England, and had both a message and a letter from her; requiring his majesty's safe conduct, that he might land and deliver it.

The king answered, that he was very glad of his coming, and sent a nobleman back with the captain to welcome the General, and accompany him on his landing. Being arrived at court, he found the king, who was a child of ten or eleven years of age, sitting with sixteen or eighteen noblemen about him. When Mr. Lancaster paying his respects, the king welcomed him; and after some discourse, he delivered the Queen's letter into his majesty's hand, with a present of plate and other things, which the king received with apparent pleasure, and referred the General to one of his nobles, who was then protector. After talking an hour and a half on different subjects, that nobleman invited him to land his men; assuring him, that they might buy and sell without molestation, and with as much safety, as if they were in their own country.

As fast as they bought their pepper, they sent it on board; so that by the 10th of February, 1603, their ships were compleatly laden, and ready to depart. In the mean time, capt. Middleton, of the Hector, fell sick on board; upon which the General went to visit him, but though he found him walking about, he died early the next morning.

The General now ordered the pinnace, which held about 40 tons, to be laden with commodities; and putting in her twelve men, with some merchants, sent her to trade and settle a factory at the Moluccas, against the return of the next ships from England. He also left eight men and three factors at Bantam; appointing Mr. Storkey, the principal person amongst them, to sell such goods as he left behind, and to provide lading for the ships against the next return. Then going to court to take leave of the king, he  
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received a letter and present for Queen Elizabeth ; which consisted of some bezoar stones, with one for himself, together with a Java dagger.

On the 20th of February, they set sail for England ; and after suffering by several violent storms, the sea, on the 3d of May, beat with such violence on the Dragon's quarter, that it shook the iron-work of the rudder with such force, that the next morning it broke quite off from the stern and sunk. The terror and apprehension of the men were now at the greatest height, the most experienced mariners being at a loss how to proceed ; for in this tempestuous sea, the ship drove up and down like a wreck, which way soever the wind carried her ; so that she was sometimes within three or four leagues of the Cape of Good Hope, and was then driven by a contrary wind to almost 40° southward into the hail and snow, where they suffered greatly by the cold, which rendered their case still more deplorable. Yet all this while, the Hector industriously kept her company ; but after trying several expedients, they found, that unless they could make a new rudder, and hang it, they must perish in these seas. This they were at a loss how to perform in so dangerous a part of the ocean, the ship being of 7 or 800 tons burden : but necessity obliging them to try all possible means, the General ordered the carpenter to make one out of the mizen-mast ; and though they had lost most of the irons which fastened it, they proceeded with the work ; and one of the men dived down the side of the ship to search what irons were left behind, when he found only two whole and one broken.

The rudder being finished, and having a fair day, they fastened it on, and proceeded homeward ; but within three or four hours, the sea took it off again, and they had much ado to save it ; with the loss of another of their irons ; so that now having only two to hang it by, the men despaired of succeeding, and desired to quit the ship and go in the Hector : but

this the General opposed, and going into his cabin, wrote a letter to England to be carried by the Hector, which he ordered to depart, and leave him there, without letting one of the company know of it. This letter being delivered, the General expected the Hector would have left him in the night: but he found her within sight in the morning, and she still kept two or three leagues from him; for the master, who was an honest worthy man, loved the General, and was loath to leave him in such distress. However, the people on board now found it necessary to exert themselves: the carpenter mended the rudder again, and within two or three days, the weather beginning to be somewhat fair, and the sea smooth, they made a signal to the Hector, who came up; and the master bringing with him the best swimmers he had in his ship, helped them to hang the rudder again so firmly, that they were in hopes of at length getting into a port.

Being sensible that they had doubled the Cape of Good Hope by the height they were in to the northward, they sailed directly for the island of St. Helena; which, to their great joy, they reached on the 16th of June, and cast anchor in twelve fathoms water, opposite a small chapel which the Portuguese had built there long before. On their landing, they found many writings, by which they were informed that the Carracks had departed but eight days before. While they staid there, they repaired their ships; and all their sick recovered by the refreshments they received on shore, of which they had great need: since they had been continually beating the sea for three months without seeing land.

On the 5th of July, they set sail from this island, steering north-west; and on the 11th of September, 1603, completed their voyage, by arriving safe in the Downs.

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V O Y . A G E  
T O T H E  
CAPE DE VERDE ISLANDS,  
by Capt. GEORGE ROBERTS.

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**T**HIS voyage is inserted for the sake of giving a more distinct account of the Cape de Verde islands, than is to be met with in the voyages of those who have only touched at them, or staid for a day or two to take in fresh supplies of wood and water. By giving this, and the following account of the Cape of Good Hope, we avoid numerous repetitions that would have swelled this work, and many erroneous accounts that would have rendered it inaccurate.

IN the year 1721, Mr. Roberts agreed with several merchants of London to sail to Virginia, and there to take the command of a sloop, which he was to load with a cargo for the coast of Guinea; and having sold it, he was to purchase slaves, and return with them either to Virginia or Barbadoes, as he found it most for the interest of his employers: and when he had disposed of them, he was to take in a freight for London. He accordingly set sail, and on his arrival at Virginia purchased a sloop and proper cargo, with which he steered to the Cape de Verde islands.

But this unhappy gentleman was soon involved in the deepest distress. Near St. Nicholas, one of these islands, he was taken by pirates, who had three ships. One of the commanders treated him with great civi-



lity; and extraordinary offers were made him to induce him to join them: but he resisted them with the utmost steadiness. They, however, at last consented to his going on board his own ship, when a proposal was even made to allow him some spare goods and necessaries; but refusing to drink the Pretender's health, one of the commanders, who had before opposed every favourable measure, attempted to shoot him through the head: and had afterward the cruelty, having first insulted over him in the most inhuman manner, to put him on board his own vessel at midnight, without provisions, without water, without sails, or any hands, but his two boys, one of whom was not more than eight years old. His condition was rendered still more dreadful by the want of candle, and his sloop being leaky, and having much water.

Mr. Roberts went on board with a mind composed and resigned. He first with great labour and fatigue, by the assistance of his biggest boy, pumped his sloop dry; and day-light no sooner appeared, than he rummaged to find if the barbarous wretches had left him any thing that might support life: but found only a few crumbs in the bread-lockers, a little tobacco, ten gallons of rum, a small quantity of rice, a remnant of flour at the bottom of a cask, and about two quarts of water, which he carefully drained out of all the casks. He had also the happiness to find some old sail-cloth, with which in three days he patched up a kind of sail, during which he fed on raw flour and rice, drinking nothing but rum: but the heat of the climate, and the fatigues to which he and his boys were daily exposed, rendering other food necessary, he made cakes of dough, and his water was consumed. They now felt the extremities of parching thirst, which the rum would not assuage, and had the prospect of dying for want of water, when they were happily relieved by a shower of rain; of which they saved about a gallon, beside what they drank while the precious drops were falling. They now made a kind of

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of pap, of flour and water; which hunger made them think a delicious food. They husbanded their provisions with the utmost care; and about a fortnight after caught a shark, on which they also fed, drying what was left, in the sun.

About three weeks after their leaving the pirates, they, to their great joy, came in sight of the island of St. Anthony; but having had, a day or two before, a fresh supply of water from the clouds, Mr. Roberts chose to steer for St. Nicholas, where he was known. It was late in the evening when he reached the anchoring place of that island, and almost dark before the boat could be got out; he therefore deferred landing till the next morning. But his scanty supply of water being now spent, the biggest boy earnestly pressed his master to let him scull the boat ashore and fill a cag. To this he consented, on his promising to return directly on board.

The boy was no sooner gone, than Mr. Roberts, overcome by his past fatigues, was taken ill; and, ordering the little boy to look out for the boat, went into his cabin, where he insensibly dropped asleep, and thus continued till midnight: when, returning on deck, he found the ship almost out of sight of the island. Astonished and afflicted at this misfortune, and finding that the vessel had made a great deal of water, he began to despair of his ever being able to make the land without the boy, or to keep the ship from sinking by labouring at the pump: her anchor too was out, and he apprehended that he should be unable to haul it up.

However, the danger of sinking being the most imminent, he applied to that; and in three or four hours, sucked the pump dry. Afterward, with much fatigue, he heaved the anchor on board. Parched with thirst, and without a drop of water, he remained for some time near the island, without being able to make it for want of hands; but at last found a sandy bay, where he cast anchor. The same even-

ing seven negroes came in a boat to his assistance bringing with them twenty gallons of water: a seasonable supply, that raised his drooping spirits. These people came on board at the solicitations of the boy on shore: but Mr. Roberts could not prevail with them to stay till the next morning, before they attempted to steer the ship into the port of Paraghesi. They immediately weighed the anchor, and set sail: but in the night the main-sail split, which so daunted these negroe sailors, who had got drunk with the rum they had found on board, that they betook themselves to their boat; and Mr. Roberts was once more left destitute in his leaky vessel, which he the next day endeavoured to steer to land.

While he was thus employed, he, to his great surprise, heard the voices of three men in the hold; and, on enquiry, he found they had been left there dead drunk by their companions. One of these fellows offered to pilot the sloop either into St. Jago's or St. John's: but not being able to make the land so soon as they expected, they were all so discouraged, that they laid down in the hold, giving themselves up for lost; and would neither pump nor work the ship, till they heard Mr. Roberts instructing the boy at the helm; when they called out to know if he saw land? and being answered that he was sailing directly to St. John's, they came with the utmost alacrity on board, and of their own accord pumped the ship dry. One of them pretended to know the harbour, but when he came near the island was utterly at a loss, and in this distress resolutely insisted on putting the sloop upon the rocks; till Mr. Roberts took up an old gun, which had been left by the pirates, and threatened to shoot the first who attempted it: upon which the pretended pilot leaped overboard, and swam to land; and soon after Mr. Roberts hauled in so close to Punto de Sal, that he could almost leap on shore, on which he was left by the other negroes.

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It may here seem somewhat extraordinary, that Mr. Roberts should be able to converse with the negroes; but the wonder will cease when the reader is informed, that the language of the natives of all these islands is a dialect of that of the Mandingo negroes, mixed with a corrupt Portuguese; of both which he had a tolerable smattering.

That night Mr. Roberts saw several of the natives on the top of the rocks; and the next morning three of them came down, swam to the ship, and welcomed him to their island: they offered to get him what he wanted, if he would go ashore with them; and on his telling them he could not swim, expressed their surprise, that a man should venture to sea without so necessary a qualification. These were soon followed by other negroes, who brought him refreshments; and he having made a hearty meal of a pom-pion and boiled rice, three of them went to catch him some fish, while the others staid to work the ship dry. In short, after the dreadful fatigues he had suffered, and his being emaciated by abstinence and watching, he was kindly regaled with a dish of fish for his supper; and persuaded to take some repose, which he gladly accepted.

The next day the weather beginning to look very unpromising, Mr. Roberts was in some fear of being driven out to sea; and the negroes having in vain endeavoured to fasten a rope to the rocks, they offered to swim with him and his boy to land: however, he did not chuse to leave the vessel, while there was the least probability of saving her. But the following day proving very stormy, in spite of all his efforts, she drove on the rocks, and beat a great hole in her bottom. The water now rising as high on the inside as without, the affrighted negroes left him with the boy; but when the storm abated, kindly returned and swam ashore with the lad: and Mr. Roberts now consenting to leave the vessel, two of them took him, one by each arm, bidding him not be afraid,

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but trust in St. Anthony, for they did not doubt of carrying him safe. However, when they had got about midway, the sea breaking over them, one of the blacks dived down and let go his hold; but a third, who was behind, rose like a fish, and supplied his place; which the other who had forsok him seeing, he swam back to the vessel to save what he could: but he had hardly got ashore with a looking-glass and some old shoes, before the form of the hoop was lost, her stern and part of the deck being driven away.

Thus was our author happily delivered from the danger of a boisterous sea. Some of the natives who were on the tops of the rocks, but could not see whether he got on shore, came down to his relief; and finding him safe, swam to the wreck, and brought all the pieces of the vessel, and every thing else they could save, to the rocks, and deposited them in safety out of the reach of the sea. They made a fire to dry Mr. Roberts's cloaths; expressed their admiration at the wisdom of the white men, and their regard for the English: caught him fish, and dressed it for him. The governor of the island sent several persons to him, with the most friendly offers of giving him all the assistance in his power. He was now supplied with milk and fruit; and the son of a person who had been formerly governor, came in a most obliging manner with several kinds of fruit, and a cake of bread made of bananas and maize. In short, every one strove who should most oblige him, without expecting or desiring any thing in return.

Mr. Roberts's situation was however still very uncomfortable. He had fixed himself upon a shelf of the rocks, under the covert of others which hung over his head. The rocks arose above to an amazing height; and it was not without great difficulty and danger, that the friendly natives descended these dreadful precipices to his assistance, which it was impossible for him to climb. They were forced to swim from thence, not only to the fishing place, but to

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get fresh water, at a place where a spring ran from the rocks: they, however, spared no pains to serve him; and some of them made beds of leaves and staid with him in the night, while he lay upon his own bed, which they had found swimming in the sea, and had dried in the sun.

Mr. Roberts and the boy had been some days in this situation, when discoursing with the friendly natives, he observed a man who had light hair that was not woolly, and a very tawny complexion; who instantly, to his great joy and surprise, spoke to him in English. This was a Welchman, named Charles Franklin; who, having been taken by some pirates, had escaped from them in the port of Sierra Leona: and after staying a considerable time in Africa, came to this island. His conversation afforded our author the highest satisfaction; and he had hopes of being soon delivered from his disagreeable situation among the rocks, by having the only boat in the island sent to take him round into the bay: this boat, however, not coming at the time expected, Mr. Roberts, contrary to the advice of all the negroes, resolved to attempt to climb the rocks; and they, finding him resolute, lent him their assistance. With great difficulty he ascended half way up the first rock; when looking down, his head grew dizzy, he trembled, and narrowly escaped falling at once to the bottom: but he was supported by the friendly negroes. He then got to the first resting place, which is at least as high as St. Paul's cupola from the bottom. They had then a path about three feet broad, which seemed like a gallery, only wanting rails. Along that path they walked about three quarters of a mile, or more, sometimes descending, but mostly ascending; and in some places it was so narrow, that they were obliged to pass first, and to reach the ends of their poles to him. At length, the ascent grew in a manner perpendicular; and two of the negroes mounting before the rest, struck a crag of the rock, as was their custom, to try whether

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whether it would bear them; when a huge piece tumbled over them, and raised such a dust, that the air, as far as the sight could reach, seemed filled with smoke; and it made such a terrible noise, that Mr. Roberts thought all the rocks above them were falling on their heads. After all was quiet, and the dust laid, the two above, whom it was imagined had been dashed to pieces, came down to those who staid with Mr. Roberts, and rejoiced to find them all safe. The ascent for the rest of the way was now found too steep for so poor a climber as our author; they therefore with great difficulty and danger descended with him, and at last reached the bottom, without any accident.

But the excessive heat of the sun reflected by the rocks, and the fatigues our author had endured in this excursion, threw him into a fever, that lasted near a month; during which he was attended with the utmost care and affection by these humane people, and on his recovery was taken in the boat to the harbour: and being now so weak as to be scarcely able to stand, was fastened upon the governor's horse, and conducted to his house; the road to which was extremely rocky and uneven.

The governor welcomed him with all the signs of joy imaginable, and would have persuaded him to lodge in his house; but this honour, as it was termed, had been earnestly solicited by Singore Gumms, the son of a former governor, who frequently attended him while he was confined among the rocks, and had treated him with the utmost care and affection. Mr. Roberts therefore excused himself as handsomely as he was able; and after having staid some hours at the governor's house, he was conducted to the cottage of his friend Singore Gumms, where he was received with joy, and provided for with the utmost care. Every day some of the inhabitants came to see him, bringing fowls, banana-cakes, pompions, water melons, &c. He was also visited by the Ro-

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miss priest of the island ; who had likewise been very desirous of having him at his house. Mr. Roberts was no sooner able to walk abroad, than he returned these visits ; and on his recovering his strength, he frequently went with the natives to hunt wild goats : but oftener attended them in fishing, on account of its being less fatiguing ; on which occasion, they carried with them calabashes of fresh water, with a number of pompions, bananas, and other fruit for food. As to their hunting, the governor having the sole privilege of killing the wild goats, none dare hunt without his consent. This was a law made by the Portuguese when they peopled these islands from the coast of Africa, in order to prevent the breed being entirely destroyed.

This is one of the principal privileges enjoyed by the governor ; who is also the only magistrate, and decides the little differences that sometimes happen among the people. Upon their not submitting to his decision, he confines them till they do, in an open place, walled round like a pond ; but instead of a gate, they generally lay only a stick across the entrance, and those innocent people will stay there without attempting to get out, except when overcome with passion, they rush out in a rage : but these are soon caught again, tied hand and foot, and a sentinel set to watch them, till they agree with their antagonist, ask the governor's pardon for breaking out of his prison, and have remained there as long as he thinks they have deserved. Nay, if one kills another, which hardly happens in an age, the governor can only confine him till he has pacified the relations of the deceased, by the mediation of his friends, who are bound for the criminal's appearance, in case a judge should be ever sent from Portugal to execute justice : but imprisonment here is reckoned such a scandal, that it is as much dreaded as Tyburn is by the criminals in England.

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The natives, who are the most ignorant and superstitious, as well as the most innocent, harmless, and friendly of all the Cape de Verde islands, wear in common only a little slip of cotton fastened to a string before, which passing between the thighs, is tied to the same string behind: but their full dress is also a piece of cotton cloth, which the men hang over their shoulders and wrap round their waists; while the women put it over their heads, and then wrap it about their bodies: and on both of them it extends to the calf of the leg or lower. This cloth they spin and weave themselves.

The priest, who was a negroe, and very ignorant, says mass, baptizes, and buries the dead; but the natives have intermixed with these rites some of their heathenish customs.

This island, which is named St. John's, is situated in  $15^{\circ} 25'$  north latitude, and  $7^{\circ} 2'$  west from Cape de Verde; and though very high and rocky, yet lying near St. Philips', appears in comparison of that to be low. It has more salt-petre than any of the Cape de Verde islands; and the governor offered to procure Mr. Roberts a cargo sufficient to load with it a larger sloop than that he had lost. It grows in several caves there, covering all the sides like a hoarfrost; and in some hollow rocks, like icicles, as thick as a man's thumb. Our author gives very strong reasons to believe that this island also abounds with copper and gold; and formerly great quantities of ambergrease were found floating in the sea.

Mr. Roberts endeavoured to persuade the governor to let him repair his old boat, and to go over with it to the island of St. Philip; but he thinking it too small and crazy, denied his request: yet proposed his building another, and promised to assist him in the work by the labour of all the men in the island, if he would make it large enough to sail in without danger. This proposal Mr. Roberts gladly accepted; and having saved a great number of nails  
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and pieces of iron, while confined among the rocks, out of the pieces of the wreck brought ashore by the natives, the boat was begun. He dreaded that he should never be able to finish it; but having seen several built from first to last, his desire to return to England made him exert all his abilities; and the work was completed: for these friendly people hewed down the trees, and chopped them into boards and timbers: he afterwards caulked his little vessel with oakum, made of some pieces of old ropes, and with cotton and moss: he cased the bottom with tallow mixed with asses dung burnt to ashes; the governor generously ordering a general hunting-match to procure him the fat of goats, and also killing a cow for that purpose: of an old piece of canvas he made a jib-sail. The boat was launched by the assistance of the natives; and a small anchor and hawser were got up, which had been left with a buoy in the road by a Portuguese vessel, before his coming to the island.

Every thing being thus finished, he was plentifully supplied with beef, goats flesh, maize flour, and fruit; and having passed four or five days with the governor and the inhabitants, who desired no other reward but that he would speak well of them to his countrymen, which might induce some English ships to trade with them, he took his leave: and going on board with his boy, and two negroe mariners who came to the island in his sloop, and belonged to St. Nicholas, with three of the natives, he set sail, leaving Mr. Franklin, the Welchman, who chose to continue at St. John's.

The same evening Mr. Roberts reached St. Philip's, and landing the next morning, was treated there too with great kindness. Captain Thome Santee, who had the title of Procurador of St. John's, wanted to go to that island; and informed him, that if he would have any thing done to his boat, there were two negroes at St. Philip's, who had been educated

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at the French factory at Senegal, and taken from thence to Nants, to learn the art of ship-building. These were sent for; and Mr. Roberts promising, that if he could find no other method of returning to Europe, he would set them on shore near the place of their birth on the coast of Africa, they joyfully agreed to make some alterations, which it was thought would render the boat more commodious: and there being no timber at St. Philip's large enough for that purpose, they consented to return with him to St. John's. Captain Thome also prevailed on a smith to go with them, in order to lend his assistance. Beside these, Mr. Roberts took in some other passengers, who paid him ten cotton cloths for their passage, such as they wear to cover them from head to foot; and of this cloth he made a foresail.

The island of St. Philip, also called the island of Fogo, or Fire, is about seven leagues from St. John's; it is situated in  $15^{\circ} 20'$  north latitude, and  $6^{\circ} 54'$  west from Cape de Verde; and received its name from its being discovered by the Portuguese on the first of May, the feast of St. Philip and James. It is much higher than any other of the Cape de Verde islands; and appears like a continued mountain up to the top. In sailing by it no valleys are to be seen, they seeming only gutters made by the streams of rain running down the mountain.

The peak is a terrible volcano, which casts forth rocks of an amazing size to a vast height: these make such a noise by their fall, and their breaking and rolling down, that our author has heard them in calm weather at eight or nine leagues distance; and when they are blown up, you may hear a report like a great gun, or rather thunder. In the night-time Mr. Roberts has seen the stones rolling down the peak all of a flame; and he was told by the inhabitants, that flaming brimstone sometimes pours from the peak like a torrent of water: after which they can gather what quantity they please. Some pieces of it they

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shewed Mr. Roberts: it is like common brimstone, but of a much brighter colour; and on being burnt, gives a clearer flame. At other times, this volcano casts forth such a quantity of ashes mixed with cinders, that the adjacent parts are covered, and some of the goats smothered by them.

This island has no running brooks; and in some places the inhabitants are obliged to go six or seven miles for fresh water: yet notwithstanding this, it produces great quantities of pompions, water-melons, feshoons, and maize; but no bananas and plantains, and hardly any fruit-trees, excepting wild-figs: however, in some of their gardens they have guava trees, oranges, lemons and limes. They have also some good vineyards, of which a small quantity of wine is made; but is generally all drank before it has done fermenting.

The island was originally inhabited by the Portuguese, to whom the king gave the land. These brought negroë slaves with them, and stocked the country with cows, asses, horses, and hogs; the king sending goats, which run wild on the mountains. Hence the profit of their skins is reserved to the crown; and he who has the management of this revenue is called Captain of the Mountains, none daring to kill any of them without his licence. It is customary here, and at all the other islands, for every person at his death to give freedom to his blacks. These are now the principal inhabitants, there being an hundred negroes on the island to one of the whites. They make cotton cloths for cloathing; and breed mules, which they sell to other nations. All the inhabitants are Roman Catholics; but mingle with that religion some pagan superstitions. Most of the whites live with the governor in the town of St. Philip; and have, at the same time, country-houses on that part of their estates which they keep in their own hands, and manage by their slaves. These supply them with food;

and the rents of the plantations let to the blacks, are paid them in cotton cloth.

The day after Mr. Roberts weighed from this island, he landed at St. John's, to the great satisfaction of all the passengers, as well as the natives of that island, and especially those who accompanied him in the voyage: these did not fail to brag of it, more perhaps than an English raw sailor would of his first voyage to the East Indies. Mr. Roberts met with the same kind behaviour from the governor and people as before; and the negroe carpenters being set to work, every one endeavoured to assist them.

In about two months the boat was compleated, and rendered stronger and more commodious than before. Captain Thome had by that time finished his business there, and therefore Mr. Roberts set sail with him, together with three inhabitants of St. Philip's, and the two carpenters; and having set them on shore on the last mentioned island, sailed to St. Jago. He afterward traded for some time with the different islands, carrying provisions to Mayo, where the people suffered greatly by famine, and loading there and at Bona Vista with salt: till at length, being at St. Nicholas's, his boat, while he was on shore, was staved to pieces on the rocks. He however met with a very kind treatment from the inhabitants, and sold the pieces of the boat that were saved for 12 dollars.

While Mr. Roberts was there, an English vessel arrived, commanded by Mr. Harfoot; who proposed to trade among the islands for cloths, and then to proceed to Barbadoes. At that gentleman's desire, our author consented to assist him in this trade; and, in return, he very readily agreed to give him and his little boy, who attended him from island to island, their passage. Having weighed from thence, they proceeded to Bona Vista; from thence to Mayo, and then steered to Porta Praya in the island of St. Jago, where they found an English ship freighted by the

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Portuguese merchants, which had come laden with slaves, wax, and elephants teeth from the coast of Guinea: she had buried the greatest part of her crew, and was bound to Lisbon. This vessel, beside being weakly manned, was in a very crazy condition; whence Mr. Durell, the captain, who had just recovered from a dangerous fit of sickness, was very solicitous to persuade Mr. Roberts to sail with him, and assist him in taking care of the ship: and to this Mr. Roberts consented.

[These islands, which the Portuguese call Ilhas Verde, and the Dutch, Salt Islands; lie directly opposite to Cape de Verde: yet so that the nearest of them is seventy, and the most remote one hundred and sixty leagues distant from the continent. They are in all ten; extending from the 15° to the 19° of north latitude. The Portuguese have given them the name of Green Islands, either from the cape, or else from a certain green weed, called by them Sargasso, which is like our water-creffes; of which such prodigious quantities float upon the surface of the sea, from the 20° to the 24°, that without a strong gale, ships are sometimes stopped in their passage: but what is most surprizing is, that the sea having no bottom here, and this herb not being seen in any other part of the sea, at least not within 150 leagues of the African shore, how should this verdure come to this particular track? Some allege, that it is washed from the rocks in the West Indies, and forced thither by the winds; but as the north-east winds reign here all the year round, there is but little probability in this opinion.

When these islands were first discovered by the Portuguese, they were without inhabitants; but now produce rice, millet, Turkey-wheat, oranges, citrons, bananas, ananas; potatoes, melons, citruls, cucumbers, figs, and raisins, twice a year. The considerable quantity of salt these islands produce, has made the Dutch give them the name of the Salt

Islands. The Portuguese have also taken care to stock these islands with all sorts of tame and wild fowl; which are multiplied at such a rate, that they may be had almost for nothing. Rabbits are here in vast numbers, and the sea furnishes them with incredible store of fish; which is the reason you see here at all times a considerable number of Portuguese fisher-boats, who carry what they catch to Brasil. These islands are extremely commodious for such ships as trade to the Indies; inasmuch as going thither, they take in refreshments, at a very easy rate, in the island of Mayo; and, in their return, at that of St. Anthony, the Portuguese inhabitants being not in a condition to prevent it. The isle of Jago, as it is the chief, so there the governor and the archbishop keep their ordinary residence: the spiritual jurisdiction of the last extends not only over these islands, but also over all the African coast, as far as it is in the possession of the Portuguese.]

This island of St. Jago, or St. James, which took its name from its being discovered on the 1st of May, the festival of that saint, is situated in  $15^{\circ}$  north latitude, and  $6^{\circ} 5'$  longitude from Cape de Verde; and was not only the first of these islands inhabited by the Portuguese, but is the largest and most fruitful of them all. The inhabitants, who are about three whites to 40 blacks, pay no tax to the crown. This island has plenty of water, and many valleys; and as it affords good pasture, it abounds with cattle and variety of fowl. The capital of the island is Ribeira Grande, where the governor, Oviadore, and bishop reside. Most of the priests among these islands, as also those sent to Guinea, are negroes. There are four other towns in the island, which are St. Jago, St. Domingo, St. Domingo Abaceu, and Braya; this last is the most noted port in the island.

Bona Vista, or Good Sight, so named from its being the first of the Cape de Verde islands discovered by the Portuguese, is situated in  $16^{\circ} 10'$  north latitude,

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tude, and in 5° 14' west longitude from Cape de Verde. The island is mostly low land, with some rocky mountains and sandy hills. It produces great quantities of indigo, and more cotton than all the Cape de Verde islands beside; yet there is not one of them where there are fewer cotton cloths to be sold: for the inhabitants will neither gather the cotton till a ship is arrived to buy it, nor will the women spin till they want it. When our author was there, most of the cattle had died by a famine; the natives had however tame goats, and lived on their milk: they also fed on fish and turtle. And the English, who often came there to take in a lading of salt, hired asses and men to bring down the salt to the sea; for which they paid them in biscuit, flour, or old cloaths. They used also to have a pretty good trade for horses and asses; which are the best of all that are upon the Cape de Verde islands. Raw silk is much coveted by them, for working the bosoms of their shirts, shifts, caps, and womens waistcoats.

The men generally wear the European dress, and most of them have suits of cloaths bought of the English, and have learnt to make cotton cloths to imitate the European fashion. The women wear one, two, or three cotton cloths wrapped about them like petticoats, and tied on with a girdle above the hips, and sometimes without a girdle. Their shifts are made like a man's shirt, but so short as not to reach the girdle: the wristbands, collar, and neck of the young people of some rank, are wrought in figures, with needle-work of silk in several colours; but the old and the poor have theirs worked with blue cotton thread. Over their shifts they wear a waistcoat, with sleeves to button at the arms, not above four inches deep in the back part, but long enough before to tie with strings under their breasts. Over all they wear a cotton cloth in the manner of a mantle: those of the married women are generally blue, and the darker the colour the richer it is reckoned; but the maidens,



and gay young wives or widows, wear blue and white, some spotted, and some figured. They wear neither shoes nor stockings, except on holidays; and, indeed, at other times, the women generally wear only a small cotton cloth wrapped round their waist, and the men a ragged pair of breeches: to which, if there be but a waistband, and a piece hanging to it before, to hide what modesty teaches them to conceal, they think it sufficient. The people of Bona Vista are fond of the English, and most of them can speak a little of the English tongue.

The isle of Sal, which is the windermost of all the Cape de Verde islands, lies in  $17^{\circ}$  north latitude, and in  $5^{\circ} 18'$  west longitude from the Cape de Verde. It is mostly low land, having only five hills. This island formerly abounded with goats, cows and asses; but was deserted for want of rain. There are abundance of land crabs about the island; and the sea abounds with many sorts of fish.

The isle of Mayo, or May, took its name from its being discovered on the first of that month. There grows on this island, as well as on most of the others, and particularly at Bona Vista, a kind of vegetable stone; which shoots in stems, and forms something like the head of a colliflower: it is extremely porous, and of a greyish colour. The inhabitants, who amount to about 200, are not so well affected to the English as those of Bona Vista; but they have more cows, and these are generally the best and fattest on the Cape de Verde islands: they have also most of them goats. They have more cotton than they can use; but are so lazy that half of it is lost for want of gathering.

The island of St. Nicholas is the longest of all the Cape de Verde islands, except St. Jago, and is situated in  $16^{\circ} 45'$  north latitude, and  $6^{\circ} 52'$  west longitude from Cape de Verde. The island is mostly high land. It is fruitful in maize; and the inhabitants have vineyards, of which they make a tartish  
fort

fort of wine. There is here likewise a dragon-tree; from which flows gum-dragon. The natives make the best cloths and cotton quilts of all the islands: these are too good for the Guinea trade, but fit for that of Brasil. They make them up in cloaths as neatly as our common country taylors; and will make buttons to imitate almost any pattern: they knit cotton stockings, tan cow-hides, and goat-skins, and make tolerable good shoes. Their women are by far the most housewifely and ingenious with their needles of any of the islands; and she who does not appear with a worked cap, like those worn at Bona Vista, is thought very idle. The people speak the best Portuguese; and are the exactest Roman Catholics of any of the islands.

The isle of Branca is only a high steep rock, where the St. Nicholas men come to catch fish.

St. Lucia is about three or four leagues to the westward of St. Nicholas: it has some goats and asses, but neither inhabitants nor water.

St. Vincent is also uninhabited; but on the north-west side is a good bay, called Porto Grande, where ships may have both wood and water, and also wild goats for taking the pains to shoot them. Here also are many asses; and as great a plenty of nitre as in the island of St. John. There are more turtle and fish caught at this island, than at all the other Cape de Verde islands.

The island of St. Antonio is situated in  $17^{\circ} 19'$  north latitude,  $8^{\circ} 2'$  west longitude from Cape de Verde. It is little inferior in height to St. Philip's; and considering the loftiness of the mountains, and the lowness of the valleys, it contains as much ground as St. Jago. It has many brooks of fresh water, that render the valleys through which they run as fertile as any of the Cape de Verde islands. The mountains abound with goats; and on one of them is found a stone, called by the natives a topaz: but whether it be the true topaz or not, Mr. Roberts acknow-

leges himself not to be a judge. In this island are likewise produced great quantities of gum-dragon, and abundance of indigo; which is cultivated here with great care, as are also large plantations of cotton. The natives are almost as innocent and humane as those of St. John's. There are computed to be 2500 souls on the island, four-fifths of which number are made up by the slaves; who, like the free negroes, have plantations, houses and wives: and they cultivate some of the best places for cotton, indigo, &c. which are well worked up by these slaves, and managed by a steward placed there by a Portuguese merchant, who is proprietor of the island.

It is now time to return to the voyage. Mr. Roberts set sail with captain Durell; but they had hardly left St. Jago, when the leaks they had attempted to stop at that island broke out afresh, and were continually increasing: to add to this misfortune, the crew were a set of the most profligate fellows, that would scarcely submit to the least discipline, or obey any orders. Being in danger of sinking, and the trade winds not permitting them to return to the Cape de Verde islands, it was at last resolved to steer to Barbadoes, and that island they happily reached, entering Carlisle bay on Christmas-day, 1724, where the vessel being hove down, was sheathed. They staid about three months in that island, and then sailed to Lisbon; when Mr. Roberts took the first opportunity of a passage to London, where he arrived in the latter end of June, 1725.

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PETER KOLBEN, A. M.  
TO THE  
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

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**A**S I had early felt an ardent desire to travel, the reader may imagine that I was filled with a transport of joy, when I was told by my generous patron the Baron van Krosick, privy counsellor to the late king of Prussia, whom I had the honour to serve in the quality of secretary, that if I approved of it, he would send me at his own expence to reside at the Cape of Good Hope: in order to make proper observations of the appearance of the heavenly bodies on that southern extremity of Africa. With the highest expressions of gratitude I accepted of this employment, and my noble patron having settled upon me an annual salary, I prepared for my voyage; and, leaving Berlin, set out for Amsterdam, where I embarked on board the Union, one of the Dutch East India ships that then lay in the Texel.

On the 8th of January 1705, the Union set sail with eight more of the company's ships bound for the East Indies; and on the 13th of March steering round St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd islands, we had a distinct view of the rocks and mountains, and of the situation and extent of the city of the same name. After saluting the castle of the harbour of

Braya

Braya with 15 guns, which was returned, we were visited by a Portuguese gentleman, accompanied by a negro Romish priest, who had received an univerty education at St. Jago, and had been made priest, the better to promote the conversion of his countrymen. They were liberally entertained; and the father, beside other things, ate at least two pounds of Dutch cheefe, and drank an astonishing quantity of brandy; after which he sung, danced, and performed so many antic tricks, as convinced us all, that though he appeared a very indifferent priest, he would make an excellent harlequin. At parting, the father invited several of us to take a dinner with him, and to view what he called his fine library. This invitation was accepted; and two days after we waited on him at his house, where he received and entertained us handsomely enough, shewing us his library, which consisted of a body of the civil law, (for he told us he was a doctor of laws) some Popish legends, and a few breviaries.

On the 18th we paid a visit to the governor of the castle. He introduced us to his lady, who was with several women in her own apartment, and received us with much civility, gave us bread of Turkish wheat, butter and cheefe; and we returned the kindness, by making her a present of a paper of tobacco, which she and other women immediately smoaked in the presence of us all.

While we staid at Braya we had some thoughts of taking a trip to the city of St Jago; but we were persuaded from this design. The ways were represented as steep and craggy, and the ground so hot and parched, from the scarcity of rain, that the slaves sometimes perished in the way with thirst, there being rarely any such thing as water; or the least kind of refreshment to be found upon the road. In the mean time the ships wooded, watered, and took in fresh provisions, together with every sort of fruit produced at St. Jago, which were so incredibly cheap,

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cheap, that I bought a hundred sweet oranges for half a paper of pins ; and, for the other half, five fat fowls.

On the 19th of March we sailed from the harbour of Braya. After suffering several tempests of thunder and lightning, on the 9th of April, a large flash, followed by a noise like that of the report of a cannon, startled all on board. The captain, who was at breakfast in the cabin, imagining that somebody had presumed to discharge one of the great guns, run in a rage to punish such rashness, when he found his foremast shattered by thunder ; but no hurt was done to any on board. When we came to consider the risk of the powder-room, in which we had 3000 quintals of that dangerous commodity, every man's heart sunk within him ; and, I dare say, felt some sensations of gratitude to the author of our preservation.

On the 10th of June we discovered the Cape of Good Hope, and the next day arrived safe in the harbour. Being introduced to the governor, that gentleman, on sight of my recommendatory letters, treated me in a very friendly and affable manner, and soon assigned me a commodious abode.

Notwithstanding the Cape of Good Hope was discovered so early by the Portuguese as the year 1493, not one of them landed till 1498, when the Portuguese admiral Rio d'Infante went ashore in his voyage to India ; and on his return gave such an account of the advantages of the place to Emanuel king of Portugal, that it was resolved to form a settlement there : but this was not carried into execution. At length Francisco d'Almadei, viceroy of Brasil, returning from thence with a fleet for Portugal, took his course by the Cape ; and casting anchor there, sent a party on shore to traffic for cattle ; but they were repulsed by the natives, and driven back to their ships. Upon their landing a second time the natives attacked the Portuguese with such fury, that 75 of them were laid  
dead

dead on the shore, among whom was the viceroy ; and the rest fled in confusion to their ships.

The Portuguese, mortified at this disgrace, vowed revenge ; but after smothering it for two or three years, a fleet for the Indies landed at the Cape ; and the Portuguese knowing what a value the natives set on brass, landed a large brass cannon loaded with several heavy balls, and to the mouth fastened two long ropes. The Hottentots, transported with joy at receiving so large a piece of their admired metal, laid hold of the two ropes in great numbers, as they were directed, in order to drag it along : thus a great body of them extended in two files all the length of the ropes, full in the range of the shot, when the cannon being suddenly discharged, a terrible slaughter was made ; and those who escaped the shot, fled up into the country in the wildest consternation. After this cowardly exploit, the Portuguese re-embarked at their leisure ; and from that day to this it seems that the Hottentots have constantly dreaded both the sight and touch of fire-arms.

It does not appear that any Europeans afterward landed at the Cape till the year 1600 ; when it began to be visited by the English, French, and Dutch, in their voyages to and from the East Indies. But in 1650, a Dutch fleet anchoring before it, Mr. Van Riebeck, a surgeon on board, observing that the country was well stocked with cattle, the soil rich, the harbour commodious, and the people tractable, digested his observations ; and on his return to Holland laid them before the directors of the India company ; who, after a grand consultation, resolved to attempt a settlement at the Cape without loss of time. Accordingly four ships were immediately ordered out on that design, with all the materials, instruments, artificers, and other hands necessary for such an expedition. The surgeon Van Riebeck was appointed governor and commander in chief of the intended settlement,

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ment, with power to treat with the Hottentots, in what manner he should think fit.

With these four ships Van Riebeck arrived safe at the Cape, and so captivated the natives by his address and good humour, and with the presents he brought them of brass toys, beads, tobacco, brandy, &c. that a treaty was instantly concluded; and he giving the natives toys and commodities to the value of 50,000 guilders, they granted the Dutch full liberty to settle there, resigned to them a part of the country; and a trade was established with them, on a good and solid foundation.

The settlement being firmly established, increased to such a degree, that being still joined by other settlers, the Dutch in a few years extended themselves in new colonies along the coast. They now form four principal settlements: The first is at the Cape, where are the grand forts, and the capital city, called also the Cape; in which, and its neighbourhood, are many genteel buildings, with all sorts of accommodations: the second is the Hellenboghish; the third, the Drakenston; and the fourth, the Waverish colony. The company have likewise provided for a future increase of people, by purchasing all the tract of land called Terra du Natal, lying between Mosambique and the Cape; for which they paid in toys, commodities, and utensils, to the value of 30,000 guilders: so that the province is of great extent.

The greatest part of the country about the Cape is full of rocks and mountains, which long after the discovery, being only viewed at a distance, were considered as barren: but their spacious tops are covered with rich meadows, every where enamelled with a variety of flowers of uncommon beauty and fragrance, and abound with delicious springs, running in many streams into the valleys. These mountains are in clear weather seen at sea at the distance of fifteen leagues. On their skirts are interspersed groves, that afford excellent wood for the joiners and turners. The plains



plains and valleys are all delightful meadow-lands, where nature appears with such a profusion of charms as to ravish the eye of the beholder. They every where smile, and are adorned with beautiful trees, plants, and flowers, that fill the air with the sweetest odours: among these are the aloe, and other curious trees and herbs.

The soil is so rich, as to be capable of every kind of culture; it bears all sorts of grain, and every kind of fruit-tree. The country abounds with salt, and hot baths of mineral waters, that have been found salutary in many diseases. The regions about the Cape are, however, subject to boisterous winds, that generally blow from the south-east while the sun is in the southern signs; and from the north-west, while in the northern signs. These winds, however, though they frequently do considerable damage to the trees and corn, are of service in purging the air, and contributing to the health of the inhabitants; who, after a calm of a week or ten days, generally complain of the headach and other disorders, which vanish when they blow again.

The Cape Town, which extends from the sea-shore to the valley, is large and regularly built, containing several spacious streets with handsome houses, which have large courts in the front, and beautiful gardens behind them. The streets, the court-yards, the houses, and every thing in them, are extremely neat and clean. The houses are of stone; but most of them are only one story high, and none more than two, on account of the violence of the easterly wind; and for the same reason most of them are only thatched. Building at the Cape is very much encouraged by the Dutch East India company: for if any man has a mind to build a house, whether contiguous to the town or in the country, he has ground allotted him *gratis*, extensive enough for a court-yard, out-houses, garden, &c.

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The castle is a very strong and stately edifice, of a large extent, provided with all manner of accommodations for the garrison, which consists of about 200 soldiers. It covers the harbour, and is an excellent fortress. The superior officers of the company have here very spacious and beautiful lodgings; and within are the company's store-houses, which are large, handsome, and commodious.

The church is a plain neat edifice, built of stone; but both the body and steeple are thatched. There is an hospital in the town for the sick, situated near the company's garden, and large enough to accommodate several hundred patients. Those who are able to walk about have the liberty of the company's garden, from which the hospital is furnished with roots and herbs. This garden is perhaps the most extraordinary in the world; it contains all the rich fruits, the beautiful flowers, and most of the valuable plants that are produced in Asia, Africa, and America.

There is in the town a large building called the Lodge, for the use of the company's slaves, who are mostly brought from Madagascar. It is divided into two wards, one for the lodging of each sex, and provided with convenient store-rooms, with a large room in which the slaves receive and eat their allowance, and a strong prison wherein the drunken and disobedient are confined and punished. It has decent apartments for the officers set over the slaves, and a school for the negro children.

The company has also a very handsome range of stables, capable of containing several hundred horses; and a great number of fine Persian horses are kept there, for the service of the company and the use of the governor; who has a master of the horse, an under master, a sadler, coachman, and grooms. The governor's body coachman is esteemed a considerable person.

Some authors have represented the Hottentots as so brutal, as to be in a manner incapable of reflection,

as having no sense of religion, nor any notion of order or decency, and scarcely possessing the least glimpse of reason or humanity: but this is far from being true. Many of them understand Dutch, French, and Portuguese, to a degree of perfection, and one I knew, who learnt English and Portuguese in a very short time; and having conquered the habits of pronunciation contracted from his native language, was said by good judges to understand and speak them with a surprising readiness and propriety.

They are, perhaps, the most faithful servants in the world. The Europeans at the Cape are so fond of them in this capacity, that they are loth to part with them. Though they are infinitely fond of wine, brandy, and tobacco, and will at any time part with the most valuable things they have to purchase them, yet they will neither diminish them themselves, nor suffer any one else to diminish the least drop or part of those commodities, when they are committed to their trust. It is surprising to see the care and fidelity with which they acquit themselves on these occasions. They are even employed by the Europeans in affairs that require judgment and capacity. An Hottentot, named Cloas, had such integrity and discernment, that he was often entrusted by Mr. Vander Stel, the late governor at the Cape, with large quantities of wine, brandy, rice, and other commodities, and directed to exchange them for cattle among the Hottentot nations at a great distance from the Cape, attended by a guard of two armed men of the governor's own people. He executed his commissions with address and reputation; and generally returned the governor more and finer cattle than the commodities he carried out could be judged to be worth. To these qualities he joined the greatest humanity and good nature; and notwithstanding the ignorance in which he was born, and in which, with respect to religion, he always lived, was a man of excellent morals, and had, perhaps, as much charity and benevolence

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lence as the best of us all. Many an European in distress has been relieved by this generous good-natured creature, who, by means of a handsome stock of cattle, in which the wealth of the Hottentots chiefly consists, was very able to lend them his assistance.

Notwithstanding what has been said, the Hottentots seem to place their whole earthly happiness in sloth and indolence. They can think to the purpose, if they please; but they hate the trouble of thought, and look upon every degree of reasoning as a tormenting agitation of the mind: they therefore never reason but in case of necessity; that is, when it is requisite to remove some pressing want of their own or their friends. If the Hottentot is not roused by some present appetite or necessity, he is as deaf both to thought and action as a log; when urged by these, he is all activity; but when these are gratified, and his obligation to serve is at an end, he retires to enjoy again his beloved idleness.

Some authors have said, that all the Hottentots devour the entrails of beasts, uncleaned of their filth and excrements, half broiled; and that whether sound or rotten, they consider them as the greatest delicacies in the world: but this is not true. I always found, that when they had entrails to eat, they turned and stripped them of their filth, and washed them in clean water. They then boiled them in the blood of the beast, if they had any; if not, they gave them a thorough broiling. This, however, is done in so nasty a manner as to make an European loath their victuals. But, uncleanly as their manner of dressing their provisions is, those who keep to the diet of their country have few diseases, are seldom sick, and live to an extreme old age. But those who drink wine, brandy, or other strong liquors, suffer diseases before unknown to them, and shorten their days: even the meat dressed and seasoned after the European manner is very pernicious with respect to them.

What chiefly renders the Hottentots a nasty generation, is a custom observed from their infancy of besmearing their bodies and apparel, which is only a skin thrown over their shoulders, and another round their waist, with mutton, fat, marrow, or butter, mixed with the soot that gathers round their boiling pots, in order to make them look black, they being naturally of a nut or olive colour. This custom is repeated as often as the grease is dried up by the sun or dust, if they are able to get either fat or butter. The meaner sort are mostly obliged to make use of that which is rank; but the more wealthy always besmear themselves with the freshest and choicest that can be had. No part of the body from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot escapes this paint; their skins are thoroughly daubed with it. The richer they are, the more fat and butter they employ; for this is the grand distinction between the rich and poor; but they abominate the fat of fish.

This rubbing and greasing promotes the suppleness and activity of the body; and the Hottentots, though a lazy race, are, perhaps, the swiftest of foot in the world: for they not only dart away from the swiftest European, but frequently out-run a very fleet horse. Beside, living almost naked in a region where the sun's heat is very great all the year round, by closing their pores with grease, they prevent that excessive perspiration which would, in all probability, exhaust and destroy them.

What renders them most disagreeable is their suffering their woolly hair to be matted together with fat and dirt, their offensive smell arising from these uncleanly customs, and their abominable lousiness. Add to this, their language is a composition of the strangest sounds that ever were uttered by any people; and their pronunciation depends upon such collisions of the tongue against the palate, and upon such strange vibrations and inflections of that member, as a

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stranger cannot easily imitate, and neither they themselves, nor hardly any one else can describe.

These people are, however, neither so small of stature, nor so deformed and wrinkled as they have been described by some authors: for most of the men are from five to six feet high; but the women are a great deal less. Both sexes are very erect and well made, keeping a due medium between being fat and lean. There is not a crooked limb, or other piece of deformity, to be seen among them, which is the more remarkable, as they do not take near so much care of their children as the European women. Their heads being generally large, their eyes are so in proportion. Their general mien is so far from being wild and terrible, that it is sweet and composed, and declarative of the highest benevolence and good nature. The worst features they have is their large flat noses, and their thick lips, especially the uppermost; but the flatness of their noses is not natural, but caused by art. Their teeth are as white as ivory, and their cheeks have something of the cherry; but from their continual dawblings, it is not easily discerned. The men have large broad feet; but those of the women are small and tender. Neither the men nor the women cut the nails of their fingers or toes. But what is very extraordinary, all the Hottentot women are distinguished by having a broad callous kind of flap growing to their bellies, which seems intended by nature to hide what other nations are taught most carefully to conceal; and some of them have it so large, that it can hardly be covered by the piece of sheepskin they wear before them; it being often seen below it. This no Hottentot considers as a deformity; but through their nastiness and daubings, it is always in such a condition, as to make an European loath the sight of it: yet for a little tobacco they will suffer you to handle and examine it.

In hot weather the men constantly go without any other covering on their heads, than the composition

of fat, foot, and dirt, with which their hair is matted together; for they say, that the fat keeps their heads cool under the fiercest sun-beams; but in the cold seasons, and in wet weather, they wear caps made of cat or lamb skins, which they tie on with two strings; but the face and fore-part of the neck of the men are always uncovered. About the man's neck hangs a little greasy bag, in which he carries his pipe and tobacco, with a little piece of wood of a finger's length, burnt at both ends, as an amulet against witchcraft.

Their Krosses, as they term them, or the mantles they hang over their shoulders, are worn open or closed according to the season. The krosses of the most wealthy are of tyger or wild cat-skins; and those of the common people of sheep-skins: in winter they turn the hairy side inwards, and in summer turn it outward. They lie upon them in the night; and when they die, they are tied up and interred in them.

Three rings of ivory they generally wear upon the left arm; these they form from the elephants teeth they find in the woods, which they cut into rings, and finish with such art and exactness as would surprise the ablest turner in Europe. These rings, or bracelets, serve as guards when they fight against an enemy; and when they travel, they fasten a bag to them for the conveyance of their *viaticum*, which they fix so cleverly, that it is hardly any incumbrance. Round their waists hang what they call a kull cross, a square piece of the skin of a wild beast, generally of wild cat, tied on with the hairy side outward. When they drive their herds to pasture, they put on a kind of leather stockings to secure their legs from being scratched by briars and thorns. When they are to pass over rocks and sands, they put on a kind of sandals, cut out of the raw hide of an ox or elephant, each consisting of only one piece, turning up about half an inch quite round the foot with the hairy side outward, and fastened on with strings.

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The women wear caps all the year round, made of the skins of wild beasts, that point up spirally from the crown of the head. They generally wear two krosses round their shoulders; which, like those of the men, cover their backs, and sometimes reach down to their hams. Between these krosses they fasten a sucking child, if they have one, with the head just peeping over their shoulders. The under krosse serves to prevent their bodies being hurt by the children at their backs. About their neck is tied a string to which is fastened a leather bag, which they constantly wear from morning till night, both at home and abroad; it contains some kind of food, a pipe, tobacco, &c. The girls, from their infancy to twelve years of age, wear bulrushes tied in rings round their legs from their knees down to their ancles. These bulrush rings are then laid aside, and their place is supplied with rings of the thickness of a little finger, made of slips of sheep or calf-skins, from which the hair is singed; for the Hottentot sheep have nothing like wool. Some of the women have above an hundred of these rings upon each leg, so curiously joined, and so nicely fitted to the leg, and to each other, that they seem like curious pieces of turnery. They are smooth and as hard as wood, and make a clattering noise in dancing. These rings are kept from slipping over their heels by wrappers of leather or rushes about their ancles: and as the women are obliged every day to walk through bushes and brambles to gather roots and other things for food, they preserve their legs from being torn by the thorns and briers. These rings are one great distinction of their sex, and are considered as very ornamental; for the more rings they wear, the finer they are reckoned: but this is not all, they are provisions against an hour of hunger and great scarcity; for when that arrives, they pull them off and eat them.

But the principal part of the finery of both sexes among the Hottentots, are brass buttons, and plates



of the same, which they buy of the Dutch, and then polish to an amazing lustre: these dangle in the mens hair. They are also extremely fond of bits of looking-glass, which they likewise fix in their hair, and consider as very splendid ornaments. Diamonds are not more admired in Europe, than these trinkets in the Hottentot nations. They wear small ear-rings made of brass wire, which they always polish very neatly: and to these rings the most wealthy and eminent hang bits of mother of pearl, to which they have the art of giving a curious shape and polish. These are advantages in point of ornament, of which they are extremely proud; for they imagine they draw upon them the admiration of all who behold them.

To their commerce with the Europeans they owe likewise several other ornaments for the body, as brass and glass beads, of which they are extravagantly fond. Hardly a Hottentot of either sex can be met with, who is not adorned with some of them. But the preference is universally given to beads of brass, because they are not so liable to break as those of glass. They wear them in necklaces, bracelets, and girdles; of which every one has more or less according to his ability. They chuse the smallest beads they can meet with for the neck and arms. The large ones they wear about their waists. Some wear half a dozen necklaces together, and others more, so large, that they fall very gracefully to their navels. They likewise cover their arms with bracelets from their elbows to their wrists; and wear half a dozen or more strings of beads about their waists, which are the largest they can get, and stained of various colours. For these ornaments the Hottentots part with their cattle very freely. If they serve the Europeans, they always stipulate for some ear-rings, if they are not already provided; and whenever one of them serves an European, though it be but for a week or a day, he hardly ever fails in the bargain to article for beads.

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It is an invariable custom among the men to wear the bladders of the wild beasts they have slain, blown up and fastened to their hair, where they hang as honourable trophies of their prowess.

But with all this finery the men do not reckon themselves compleatly dressed, unless their hair be also lavishly powdered with a pulverised herb called Buchu; and this being done, they are beaux and grandees, and appear in their utmost magnificence. As the hair of the women is constantly hid under their caps, they lay this powder as thick as they can upon their foreheads, where being rubbed into the grease, it sticks very firmly. The women also paint their faces with a red earth, with which they make a spot over each eye, one upon the nose, one upon each cheek, and one upon the chin. These red spots they consider as striking beauties; and therefore this is their constant practice, when they are called to mirthful assemblies, or intend to make a conquest: but whatever the Hottentot men may think of women thus painted, they appear frightful to an European.

Each of the Hottentot tribes or nations, has a chief, whose office is to command the army, and without whose consent they neither make peace nor war. His office is hereditary; but he is not permitted to enter upon it, till he has solemnly engaged in a national assembly not to attempt the subversion of the old form of government. He was anciently distinguished only by the beauty of the skins of which his kroffes were composed: but the Dutch, soon after their establishment at the Cape, made a present of a brass crown to the chief of every nation in alliance with them, which they wear upon solemn occasions. However, in time of peace, the chief has little else to do but to govern the kraal or village where he resides.

The captain of a kraal preserves the peace, and administers justice; and from his sentence there lies no appeal. But state criminals are tried by a chief assisted by the captains of kraals. In time of war he

has, under the chief of the nation, the command of the troops furnished by his kraal. His office is also hereditary, though he cannot execute it till he has solemnly engaged before the people not to alter or deviate from the antient laws and customs of the kraal. These kraal captains were likewise antiently distinguished only by the fineness of the skins they wore, which were those of tygers or of wild cats: but all of them have now a cane with a brass head, given them by the Dutch, which descends along with the office. But neither the chiefs of the nations, nor these captains, have any revenue or any perquisite attending the execution of their office.

Whenever a dispute about property arises, the captain summons all the men of the kraal into the open field, who squat down in a circle. The plaintiff and defendant plead their own causes; and the witnesses on both sides are heard. The depositions being finished, the captain, after some debate, collects the voices, and immediately pronounces the decree according to the majority; when full and quiet possession is instantly secured to the party in whose favour the decree passes.

The criminal matters which employ the kraal courts are murder, adultery, and robbery: for adultery is punished with death. When a Hottentot is known or suspected to have committed any of these crimes, notice is given to all the men of the kraal to which he belongs; who, considering themselves as officers of justice, look out sharply in order to seize the suspected party; and it is in vain for him to think of finding sanctuary in any other Hottentot nation; for he would be taken up as a fugitive or a spy. The criminal being apprehended, he is secured till the men of the kraal can assemble, which is done the very day he is brought back to the kraal. The court sitting squat upon their hams in a circle, the prisoner is placed in the middle; because the Hottentots say, that in an affair in which a man's life is at stake, he ought

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ought to have the best situation for hearing and being heard. The prisoner being in this place, the charge against him is pronounced by the prosecutor; and the prosecutor's witnesses give their evidence. Next the prisoner makes his defence, calling his own witnesses, who are heard with the greatest indulgence. Then the captain, after some debates on the evidence, collects the voices; a majority of which acquits or condemns him. If he is acquitted, the court assigns him damages out of the prosecutor's cattle. If he is convicted and judged worthy of death, sentence is immediately pronounced. The court rises, while the prisoner stirs not a limb: for a minute or two all is silent; when suddenly the captain flies at the prisoner, and with one blow on the head with his kirri lays him sprawling on the ground. This is followed by all the rest, who rush forward, and striking him with all their might, he in a moment expires. They then, bending the corpse neck and heels, wrap it up in his krosse, and bury it with every thing they find about it; except his ear-rings, and other ornaments of copper or brass, which are given to his family or his heir, who suffers nothing either in name, privilege, or property. His family, relations, and friends are treated with the same respect as before; and every thing proceeds as if no such misfortune had happened.

All the riches of the Hottentots descend to the eldest son; or, when a son is wanting, to the next male relation: and the younger sons of an Hottentot, who are at home and unprovided for at the death of their father, are at the courtesy of the eldest, both with respect to their fortune and their liberty. Marriage with first and second cousins is forbidden; and punished by being cudgelled to death: but yet a Hottentot may have as many wives as he can maintain, though the richest seldom exceed three. A man may be divorced from his wife, and a woman from her husband, upon shewing such cause as shall  
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be satisfactory to the men of the kraal. But one of the most extraordinary of their laws is, that a widow, for every husband she marries after the first, is obliged to cut off a joint of a finger; which she presents to her husband on the wedding-day, beginning at one of the little fingers.

The Hottentots have no lawyers; and the only public officers, beside those already mentioned, are the physician and the priest. In every kraal there is a physician, and the large ones have two; who have some skill in botany, surgery, and medicine. They are chosen out of the sages of each kraal, and appointed to watch over the health of the inhabitants. This they perform without fee or reward; the honour of the employment being judged a sufficient recompence for their trouble. They suffer none to see them gather and prepare their remedies; for all their preparations are kept a profound secret: and if a patient dies under their hands, they constantly assert that all their medicines were rendered ineffectual by witchcrafts.

The priest is, at the Cape, inferior to the physician. His office is also elective; but he is neither to pray for the people, nor to instruct them in religious matters. He presides at their offerings, and has the ordering of all ceremonies.

As the chief of a Hottentot nation presides over the captains of the kraals, so the Hottentots call the Supreme Being the Great or Supreme Captain; whom they believe to be the Creator of all things, and the Governor of the world: and that he is endowed with unsearchable perfections. They commonly call him Gounja Gounja, or Gounja Tiquoa, the God of all gods; and say that he is a good man, who does nobody any hurt; and that he dwells far above the moon: but it does not appear that they address any act of devotion immediately to the Supreme God. Their adorations are paid to what they call inferior deities, dependent upon him: for the most sensible

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of them, when they are in the humour to answer the questions asked them on this subject, say, Their first parents so grievously offended the God of gods, that he cursed them with hardness of heart; therefore they know little of him, and have still less inclinations to serve him.

The moon with them is an inferior visible god. They call this planet Gounja, or God; and say that he is the subject and representative of the High and Invisible. They assemble for the celebration of its worship at the change and full, and no inclemency of the weather prevents them: they then throw their bodies into a thousand different postures, scream, prostrate themselves on the ground; suddenly jump, stamp like mad creatures, and cry aloud, "I salute thee; thou art welcome: grant us fodder for our cattle, and milk in abundance." These and other addresses to the moon they repeat over and over, singing "Ho, ho ho," many times over, with a variation of notes, accompanied with clapping of hands. Thus they spend the whole night in worshipping this planet, which they consider as the distributor of the weather.

They likewise adore as a benign deity a certain insect, said to be peculiar to the Hottentot countries. It is of the size of a child's little finger; the back is green, and the belly speckled with red and white: it has two wings, and on its head are two horns. Whenever this insect appears in sight, they pay it the highest tokens of veneration; and if it honours a kraal with a visit, the inhabitants assemble about it with transports of devotion. They sing and dance round it, troop after troop, in the highest raptures, throwing to it the powder of buchu, with which they cover the area of the kraal, and the tops of the cots. They likewise kill two fat sheep as a thank-offering for this high honour; and fancy all their past offences are buried in oblivion. If this insect happens to alight upon a Hottentot, he is looked upon as a man with-

without guilt, and ever after revered as a saint. The fattest ox is immediately killed for a thank-offering, and is eaten in honour of the deity and the saint; who feasts alone on the entrails, which are boiled, while the men devour the meat dressed the same way, and the women are regaled with the broth. He is obliged to be very careful of the fat, and to anoint his body and apparel with that alone, while any of it remains. But the most extraordinary part of the ceremony is, that the caul, well powdered with buchu, and twisted like a rope, is put in the manner of a collar about his neck; and he is obliged to wear it day and night till it rots off, or till the insect, at another visit, lights upon another inhabitant of the kraal; when he is at liberty to remove it. The case is the same if the insect settles upon a woman: she commences a saint with the same ceremonies: only here the women feast upon the meat, while the men are regaled with the broth.

The Hottentots will run every hazard to procure the safety of this animal. A German, who had a country seat about six miles from the fort, having given leave to some Hottentots to turn their cattle for a while upon his land there, they removed to the place with their kraal. A son of this German was amusing himself in this kraal, when the deified insect appeared. The Hottentots flew tumultuously to adore it, while the young gentleman ran to catch it, in order to see the effects such a capture would produce. He seized it in the midst of them: but how great was the general cry and agony when they saw it in his hand! They stared at him, and at each other, with looks of distraction. "See, see, see! cried they: what is he going to do to it? will he kill it? will he kill it?" Mean while every limb shook with fear. He asked them why they were in such agonies for that paltry insect? "Ah! Sir, (they replied, with the utmost concern) 'tis a divinity. 'Tis come from heaven: 'tis come on a good de-  
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“ sign. Ah! do not hurt it : do not offend it. We shall be the most miserable wretches upon earth if you do. This ground will lie under a curse, and the crime will never be forgiven.” He appeared unmoved by their petitions ; but seemed as if he intended to maim or destroy it. On which they started, and ran about like people frantic ; asking where was his conscience ? and how he dared to think of perpetrating a crime that would bring upon his head all the curses and thunders of heaven ? But this not prevailing they all fell prostrate on the ground ; and, with streaming eyes and the loudest cries, besought him to spare the creature, and give it liberty. The young man now yielded, and let the insect fly ; on which they capered and shouted in a transport of joy : and running after it, rendered it the customary honours.

They also pay a religious veneration to their deceased saints and men of renown ; whom they honour, not with tombs, statues or inscriptions, but consecrated woods, mountains, fields and rivers, to their memory.

The Hottentots likewise worship an evil deity ; whom they consider as the father of mischief, and the source of all their afflictions. They call him Touquoa, and say, he is a little crabbed inferior captain, whose malice will seldom let him rest : and therefore they worship him in order to avert it, and wheedle him by the offering of an ox or a sheep.

It is also their belief that the soul survives the body ; and therefore, upon the death of any man, woman or child, they remove their kraals to a new settlement ; from the opinion, that the dead never haunt any place but that in which they died, unless any thing that belongs to them is carried out of it : and then they apprehend the departed spirits will follow a kraal, and be very troublesome. They therefore leave the huts they died in, standing ; and in them all the utensils belonging to the deceased.

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This is the absurd system of the Hottentot religion; of which those people are so fond, that I never heard of one of them dying a Christian: though the Dutch have sent missionaries who have undergone numberless fatigues, and taken the greatest pains to make profelytes. Of this the following incident may serve for a proof. Mr. Vander Stel, governor of the Cape, took an infant Hottentot, whom he educated after the genteel manners of the Europeans, allowing him little or no conversation or intercourse with the Hottentots. He became well versed in the mysteries of religion, and in several languages; he was always richly dressed, and his manners were formed after the best European models at the Cape. The governor seeing him thus qualified, entertained great hopes of him; and sent him with a commissary-general to the Indies, where he remained employed in the commissary's affairs, till the death of that gentleman, when he returned to the Cape. A few days after, at a visit among his relations, he stripped himself of his European apparel, and equipped himself in the manner of his country, in a sheep-skin. This done, he packed up his cast-off cloaths, ran with them to the governor's; and presenting himself before his patron, laid the bundle at his feet, and addressed his excellency to the following purpose: "Be pleased, Sir, to take notice, that I for ever renounce this apparel. I likewise for ever renounce the Christian religion. It is my design to live and die in the religion, manners, and customs of my ancestors. I shall only beg you will grant me (and I am persuaded you will grant me) the collar and hanger I wear. I will keep them for your sake." Here he stopped, and turning his back, fled swiftly away, and was never more seen in that quarter. This man I frequently conversed with up in the country; and found, to my great amazement, that he had a surprising stock of Christian knowledge. But though

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I made use of the most persuasive and endearing language, to call him back into the fold of Christ, he continued deaf to all my reasoning and remonstrances.

We shall now take a view of those ceremonies that are generally considered as of a religious nature; and begin with the marriages of the Hottentots. If a bachelor or a widower has a mind to marry, he discovers his views to his father; and if he is dead, to the next in authority of kindred; who, if he consents, attends him to the woman's relations, whom they regale with a pipe or two of tobacco, or of dachu, which they all smoke. The father of the lover then opens the business to the woman's father; who, having heard it, generally retires to consult his wife, and soon returns with a final answer, which is generally favourable. If the lover's father receives a denial, which rarely happens, nothing more is said about it; and the lover at once tears his choice from his heart, and looks out for another. If it be complied with, the lover chuses two or three fat oxen from his own herd, or his father's, and drives them to the house from whence he is to take his destined bride, accompanied by all his relations of both sexes who live near him. They are received with caresses by the woman's kindred: the oxen are immediately slain, and the whole company besmear their bodies with the fat, and then powder themselves all over with buchu; while the women spot their faces, as already described, with a kind of red chalk. The men then squat on the ground in a circle, the bridegroom squatting in the center: the women at some distance also squat in a circle about the bride. At length the priest, who lives at the bride's kraal, enters the circle of the men; and coming up to the bridegroom, pisses a little upon him. The bridegroom receiving the stream with eagerness, rubs it all over his body; and makes furrows with his long nails, that the urine may penetrate the farther. The priest then goes to the other circle, and evacuates a little upon

upon the bride, who rubs it in with the same eagerness as the bridegroom. To him the priest then returns, and having streamed a little more, goes again to the bride, and again scatters his water upon her. Thus he proceeds from one to the other till he has exhausted his whole stock, uttering from time to time to each of them the following wishes, till he has pronounced the whole upon both: "May you live long and happily together. May you have a son before the end of the year. May this son live to be a comfort to you in your old age. May this son prove a man of courage, and a good huntsman."

The nuptial ceremony being thus over, the oxen are cut into many pieces, and the whole dressed; some pieces being boiled, and the rest roasted. The men and women sit in different circles: The bridegroom alone eating in company of the women. They are all so nasty as to use the lappets of their greasy mantles for plates; but their spoons are sea-shells. Dinner being over, what is left is set by, and they go to smoking; each company having one tobacco-pipe. The person who fills it, after taking two or three whiffs, gives it to his or her neighbour; and thus it goes round. The best part of the night is spent in smoking and merriment, till the bridegroom retires to the arms of his bride, and the company separate. The next day they again assemble, and feast and smoke as before: and this is continued every day, till the provisions dressed on the day of marriage are consumed. Upon these occasions they have neither music nor dancing; and they have only their ordinary drink, which is milk and water.

A Hottentot never has a hut of his own till after his marriage, and then his wife assists him, not only in erecting it, but in getting the materials, which are all new, and in providing the furniture. This being done, he abandons to her the care and toil of seeking and dressing the family provisions, except when

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he goes a hunting or fishing : she also bears a part in attending the cattle.

At the birth of a child the parents have a solemn feast by way of thanksgiving, of which all the inhabitants of the kraal partake. But upon the birth of the first son, the rejoicings are far superior to those attending any other birth. The parents slay cattle very liberally for the entertainment of the whole kraal ; and every one, on such an occasion, is particularly zealous to congratulate them on the obtaining an heir. If at any time a woman has twins, and they are both boys, they kill two fat bullocks, and all their neighbours, men, women, and children, rejoice at their birth as a great blessing. The mother only is excluded from the entertainment ; and has only some fat sent her, to anoint herself and her infants. However, if the twins are girls, there is little or no rejoicing ; and all the sacrifice they make, is at most a couple of sheep. On these occasions they often give the lie to these thanksgivings by a cruel custom, practised indeed by other nations, but contrary to every sentiment of reason and humanity. If the parents are poor, or the mother pretends that she has not milk for both the twin girls, the worst featured of the two is buried alive at a distance from the kraal ; cast among the bushes, or tied on its back to an under bough of a tree, where it is left to starve, or to be devoured by the birds or beasts of prey.

An exposed female infant is sometimes found by an European : when, if it be dead, he generally stays to bury it ; but if it be alive, he always takes it home ; and if he is not willing to breed it up, he easily finds those who are. These children receive a good education ; and great care is taken to instruct them thoroughly in the knowlege of Christianity, and to secure them from falling off to the Hottentot nastiness and idolatries : but these generous labours have never produced any lasting effect. Not once has it appeared that a Hottentot mind is to be deprived of

its native biafs: for these unhappy females no sooner come to years of maturity, than flying to their own people, they constantly renounce the Christian religion, with the European manners and apparel; embrace the religion and customs of their ancestors, and remain with the Hottentots ever after.

At eight or nine years of age, the young Hottentot is, with great ceremony, deprived of his left testicle: but the poverty of the parent sometimes occasions its being deferred till the youth is eighteen years of age; this cruel ceremony being attended with some expence. This is supposed to contribute to the agility of the Hottentots: they have also a prevailing opinion, that a man with two testicles constantly begets two children; and was a young man to try the experiment, both he and the woman would lie at the mercy of the rulers, and the woman would, for so great a crime, be perhaps torn to pieces by her own sex.

This is one act of legitimation for the marriage of the males; but it is not the only one. Till they are about eighteen years of age they are confined to the tuition of their mothers, and live and ramble about with them: there is therefore a second act of legitimation by which they are made men: when the father, or the generality of the men in the kraal, resolve to call a young man into their society, all the inhabitants assemble in the middle of a kraal, and sit upon the ground in a circle: the young fellow to be admitted, being without the circle, is ordered to squat down upon his hams; and then the oldest man of the kraal rises, and asks, Whether the youth without shall be admitted into their society, and made a man? To this all answering, Yes, yes, he leaves the circle, and stepping up to the youth, informs him, That the men having thought him worthy of being admitted into their society, he is now to take an eternal farewell of his mother, the nursery, and all his puerile employments: that if he is but once seen talk-

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ing to his mother, and does not always carefully avoid her company, he will be considered as a child, and unworthy of the conversation of the men, from which he will be banished : that all his thoughts, words and actions must now be manly. This he repeats till he judges that he has fixed these admonitions on his mind. The youth having before well daubed himself with fat and foot, the old man evacuates a smoking stream of urine all over him, having before reserved his water for that purpose. The youth receives the stream with eagerness and joy ; and making furrows with his long nails in the fat upon his body, rubs in the briny fluid with the quickest action. The old man having given him the last drop, utters aloud the following benediction : " Good fortune attend thee. Live to old age. Increase and multiply. May thy beard grow soon." The youth is then solemnly proclaimed a man ; and all the men feast upon a sheep, part roasted, and part boiled.

If after this the young man is seen eating and drinking with the women, he is treated with the utmost contempt : he becomes the jest and derision of the whole kraal, and is excluded from the conversation of the men, till the ceremony is performed over again.

A Hottentot, thus freed from the care of his mother, may be so brutish and unnatural as to cudgel her, merely to shew his independence ; and it is common for a young fellow, on his being admitted into the society of the men, to go and abuse his mother, as a testimony of the sincerity of his intentions to follow the admonitions given him.

We have already observed, that some of the Hottentots have a kind of honourable distinction in wearing bladders tied to their hair, as trophies of their valour. These are those, who having singly encountered and slain a lion, tyger, leopard, elephant, rhinoceros or elk, are considered as heroes. Such a person, on his return home, squats down ; but is soon

visited by an old man deputed by the rest of the kraal, to thank and congratulate him upon so beneficial an exploit: and to acquaint him, that the men of the kraal expect him immediately to receive from them the honours that are his due. The heroë instantly rises, and attends the messenger to the middle of the kraal, where all the men wait for him; and squatting down on the mat spread for him, all the men squat round him, while the heroë's face is flushed with joy. The deputy then marches up to the heroë, and pours a plentiful stream all over him from head to foot; pronouncing over him certain terms, which I could never get explained. The heroë, as in other cases, rubs in the smoking stream upon his face and every other part, with the greatest eagerness. This done, the deputy lights his pipe, and having taken two or three whiffs, gives it to whomever he pleases in the circle; who having taken the same solace, gives it to another: and thus it goes round till only the ashes remain, which the deputy shakes upon the heroë, who rubs them into the fat on his body with an eager motion, as if he would not lose one particle of it. The circle then rises, he does so too; and every one congratulates him on the high honour he has received, and thanks him for the service he has done his country. The heroë now considers himself as raised to the highest summit of human glory; and by the bladder of the beast he has killed, which he wears fastened to his hair, and the majestic port he ever after assumes, demands the homage and respect which Hottentot custom assigns to his dignity.

The death of no wild beast gives such joy to a kraal, as that of a tyger. The Hottentots are infinitely fond of the flesh; which, indeed, I found to be most delicious food, and much superior to the finest veal.

I now come to the last ceremonies that have a reference to a private person: those that attend and succeed his departure out of life. A Hottentot man,

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woman or child, being in the agony of death, the friends and relations assemble and set up a terrible howling: but the breath is no sooner out of the body, than they join in so dreadful a chorus of screaming, howling, yelling, roaring, and clapping of hands, that it is impossible for an European to stay in the kraal with safety to his brains. The corpse is instantly wrapt up neck and heels together, much in the posture of a child in the womb, in the krosse of the deceased, so close, that not the least part of it is to be seen. The grave is almost always either a cleft in a rock, or a hole made by a wild beast; for the Hottentots never dig one when either of these is to be found at a convenient distance. About six hours after the death, the burial is performed. When the corpse is ready to be brought out, all the men and women of the kraal, but such as are employed about the corpse, assemble before the door of the hut; and squatting in two circles, the men in one, and the women in another, they clap their hands, crying in doleful accents, "Bo, bo, bo, or father, father, father." The covering being removed, the corpse is brought out from the back part of the hut; for it must not be taken out at the door. The bearers are named by the captain of the kraal, or by the relations of the deceased; and they carry the body in their arms. When it is brought out, the circles before the door rise and follow it to the grave, the men and women in separate bodies, all the way wringing their hands; howling out, "Bo, bo, bo," and putting themselves in such ridiculous postures, that it is difficult for an European to be present and forbear laughing. Having put the corpse into the hole, they fill it up with the mould of ant-hills, that it may be the sooner consumed; and cram stones and pieces of wood into the grave to prevent its being devoured by wild beasts. This being done, they return to the kraal, squat again in two circles before the door, and for about an hour longer continue their lamentations,



till the word being given for silence; two old men, the friends or relations of the deceased, enter into each circle, and sparingly dispense their streams upon each person, so that all may have some: all the company receive their water with eagerness and veneration. This being done, each steps into the hut; and taking up a handful of ashes from the hearth, comes out by the passage made by the corpse, and strews the ashes by little and little upon the whole company. This, say they, is done to humble their pride; to banish all notions of distinction; and to shew them, that old and young, rich and poor, the weak and strong, the beautiful and the ugly, will all be alike, and reduced to dust and ashes. If the deceased has left any cattle, the heir now kills a sheep; and some of his nearest relations, if they are able, do the same, for the entertainment of the kraal. The caul of the sheep killed by the heir is well powdered with buchu, and put about his neck; and he is obliged to wear it till it rots off. The other relations wear likewise about their necks the cauls of the sheep they kill on this occasion. These cauls are the mourning the rich Hottentots put on for the dead. But if their relations are so poor, that they cannot afford to kill any cattle for the entertainment of the kraal, they shave their heads in narrow stripes, alternately leaving a stripe of hair, and another shaved.

But they have a most horrid custom with regard to those of both sexes who are grown superannuated. So long as an old man or woman is able to fetch in a stick a day, or can perform any office of kindness, care is taken to render their lives as easy as possible: but when they can be of no manner of service, they are, by the consent of the kraal, placed in a solitary hut at a considerable distance, with a small stock of provisions within their reach; where they are left, without any one to assist them, to die of hunger, or be devoured by the wild beasts. Cruel as this custom is, they consider it as an act of mercy; and are

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filled with amazement at hearing the Europeans speak of it with horror.

Beside these, they have some ceremonies of a general concern: as upon the overthrow of an enemy; on a considerable slaughter being made of the wild beasts that devour their cattle; on the removal of a kraal, when the pasture about it becomes too barren for the support of their cattle; when an inhabitant dies in it, whether a violent or a natural death; or to propitiate the deity when a disease is got among their sheep.

When they resolve to remove a kraal, on account of the barrenness of the pasture, they kill a fat sheep; part they roast, and part they boil, sending the women the usual regale of broth. The feast is conducted with a great deal of mirth and good humour; and is considered as a thank-offering for the bounties of nature enjoyed in that place. When they have done, they demolish their cots, pack up their furniture, and remove at once, the men in one body, the women and children in another, to the place marked out for a new settlement: where being arrived, in about two hours time, they erect the kraal, and dispose of their furniture. A sheep is then killed by the women, and dressed as before; but they now send their husbands the broth, and eat the flesh themselves. Having anointed their krosses with the fat, they powder their hair with buchu, and go to the several diversions among themselves; which they continue the rest of the day, and till pretty far in the night. The sheep is here considered as a sacrifice; and the unctions and powderings are religious formalities, for the prosperity of the kraal, and the continuance of plenty in that neighbourhood.

It may be here proper to describe the manner of building their huts, and disposing of their kraals. The huts are all oval, about fourteen feet the longest way, formed of sticks; one end of which is fixed in the ground, and the other bent over the top so as to

make an arch: but they are rarely so high as for a man to stand upright within them. The arches being fixed by tying bent sticks with a kind of rope made of rushes, the whole is covered with mats; which are made so fast to each other and the sticks, as not to be removed by the wind or rain. Those of the wealthy Hottentots have also a covering of skins. They have no other opening but at the entrance, which is also arched, and only about three feet high; on the top of which is fixed a skin to be taken up and let down, in order to keep out the wind: and this is the only passage for the smoke. Their furniture consists of earthen pots for dressing their victuals, and several other vessels for holding water, milk, and butter. Their fire-place is a hole made in the middle of the hut; and their bed, a skin spread in a hole sunk a little below the surface of the ground. A kraal consists of twenty or more of these huts, placed near each other in a circle, leaving an area in the middle; each kraal containing from one to three or four hundred souls. The huts of the wealthy are often hung with beautiful skins, and a variety of trinkets: but though all the Hottentot huts are narrow, dark, and filthy, harmony reigns continually in almost every one of them: that heavenly charm, so rarely to be found in the palaces of Europe. When a difference happens between a man and his wife, it is soon accommodated: all their neighbours instantly interpose, and the quarrel is speedily made up. The Hottentots run to the suppression of strife, when it has seized a family, as we do to put out a fire, when it has seized a house; and allow themselves no rest till every matter of dispute is adjusted.

The last public ceremony we shall here mention, is the propitiatory offerings for a disease among their sheep, which last for three days; on each of which the old men assemble by themselves, and feast on fat sheep; while the young men at a distance eat the

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entrails, and the women and children sup the broth prepared from the part that is boiled. The feast being over, they spend the remainder of each day in singing and dancing.

The cattle of a kraal run all together; and the meanest inhabitant, who has but a single sheep, has the privilege of turning it into the flock; where as much care is taken of it, as of the sheep of the richest and most powerful of the kraal. They have no particular herdsmen or shepherds, for driving their cattle to the pasture, and guarding them from wild beasts. This office they take upon them by turns, three or four of them together: the women milking the cows morning and evening. Between five and six in the evening, they generally drive them home. In the area of the kraal they lodge the calves and all the small cattle; and on the outside range their great cattle, tying two and two together by the feet. These are in the night guarded by the dogs, of which every hut has one or two,

The Hottentots have what they call Backeleyers, or fighting oxen, which they use in their wars, as some nations do elephants: these gore, kick, and trample the enemy to death with incredible fury. Each army has a drove of them, which they take an opportunity to turn upon their foe. The courage of these creatures is amazing; and the discipline upon which they are formed, does not a little honour to the Hottentot genius and dexterity. They are also of great use to them in the government of their herds at pasture; for upon a signal given them they will fetch in stragglers. Every kraal has at least half a dozen of these oxen; and when one of them dies, or grows so old as to be unfit for service, the most stately young ox is chosen out of the herd, and taught to succeed him. The Backeleyers know every inhabitant of the kraal: but if a stranger, especially an European, approaches the herd, without having with him a Hottentot of the kraal to which they belong,

long, they make at him full gallop; and if he is not within hearing of any of the Hottentots who keep the herds, if there is not a tree which he can immediately climb, or if he has not a lighter pair of heels, or a piece of fire-arms, he is certainly demolished. But they no sooner hear the whistling of the keepers through their fingers, or the report of a pistol, than they return to the herds.

The Hottentots have likewise great numbers of oxen for carriage; whom they break with such art, that they render them as obedient to their drivers, as a taught dog in Europe is to the commands of his master.

The Hottentots are very expert at several arts: they will make mats and ropes of great strength of flags and bulrushes, and form earthen-pots of the mould of ant-hills, in which the bruised ant-eggs form a surprising cement. They fashion the pot on a smooth flat stone, by hand, as a pastry-cook does a pye; let it dry in the sun, and then burn it in a hole made in the earth, by making a quick fire over it. These pots are as black as jet, and of a surprising firmness. They point their weapons with iron, which they even draw from the ore; and with no other implements but stones, beat it out, and shape it into weapons: after which they grind and polish it so nicely upon a flat stone, as to render it a valuable piece of work, both for use and beauty. This ingenuity is not inconsistent with their habitual laziness; for a poor Hottentot having made a set of arms for his own use, and another for sale to a rich one, by which he has got two or three heads of cattle, can hardly ever be induced to set his hand to the same labour a third time.

A Hottentot arrow consists of a small tapering stick or cane, of about a foot and a half in length, pointed with a small thin piece of iron bearded, and joined to the stick or cane by a barrel. Their bows are made of olive or iron-wood; and the strings of  
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the sinews or guts of beasts, fastened to a strong wooden or iron hook at each end of the bow. The quiver is a long narrow bag, made of the skin of an ox, elk, or elephant, and slung over the shoulder by a strap fastened to it; but to the upper end of the quiver is fixed a hook, on which the bow is hung, when they go to war, or to the chase. The hassagaye is a kind of half pike: the shaft is a taper stick, of the length and thickness of a rake-handle, armed at the thickest end with a little thin iron plate, tapering to a point, and very sharp on the edges. The rackum-stick is a kind of dart, little more than a foot long, made of hard wood. In the use of these weapons, the Hottentots shew such quickness of eye, and sureness of hand, as I believe no people upon earth have beside themselves. They stand not, as the Europeans, like statues, to take their aim; but skip from side to side, and brandish and whirl the weapon about in such a manner, that you would take the whole for idle flourish: but, on a sudden, away it flies to the mark. Their dexterity on these occasions is quite incredible.

The Hottentots are very expert and courageous hunters, shewing great art and agility in taking and killing the wildest animals: they are likewise very dexterous swimmers; this they perform in a different manner from other nations; they beat the water with their feet, and raising themselves erect, paddle along with their necks and arms above the surface. Thus they cross deep rivers, and proceed with great swiftness in the sea, dancing forward without the least apprehension of danger, in the manner which the European swimmers call treading the water; rising and falling with the waves like so many corks. They are also extremely expert at fishing.

I have already observed that the wealth of the Hottentots consists in their cattle, and it is never to be seen in any other kind, unless it be in elephant's teeth, of which they get a great number, though they bring but

but few to the Cape. The Dutch imagine they dispose of the best part of them to the inhabitants of Terra du Natal, or to the Portuguese at Mosambique. They have no such thing as money among them; for their traffic with one another, as well as with strangers, is always in the way of barter. Generally speaking, they part with the cattle, both to the Europeans and to one another, at so cheap a rate as is almost incredible. I never offered a pound of tobacco to a Hottentot for an ox, half a pound for a large sheep, and a quarter of a pound for a fat lamb, but the offer was accepted; though I had the bargain the sooner, if I offered to crown it with the present of a dram.

The wild beasts of this country are extremely fierce and savage. The lions here are remarkable for their strength. When they come upon their prey they knock it down, and never bite it till they have given it the mortal blow; which is generally accompanied with a dreadful roar. When the lion is pinched with hunger, he shakes his mane and lashes his sides with his tail. When he is thus agitated, it is almost certain death to come in his way; and as he generally lurks for his prey behind the bushes, travellers sometimes do not discover the motion of his tail till it is too late: but if the lion shakes not his mane, nor lashes himself with his tail, a traveller may pass safely by him. The flesh of a lion eats something like venison.

The Cape elephants are much larger than those of any other country, and their teeth are from 60 to 120 pounds weight. Those authors are mistaken who say that they sleep standing; for I have many a time seen very perfect impressions of their bodies on the ground where they have slept. Their ordinary food is grass, heath, roots, and the tender branches of shrubs. They have no hair; and their skins have a multitude of scars and scratches, which they receive by pressing through thorns and bushes.

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The Cape rhinoceros is of a dark ash-colour, approaching to a black. His skin is also without hair; but is so hard, that it is difficult to pierce it with a sharp knife. He is represented as armed all over with scales; but those at the Cape have really none, though the numberless scars and scratches on his hide make him look at a distance as if fenced with scales. His mouth resembles that of a hog, and upon his snout grows a solid dark grey horn near two feet long, somewhat bent; with which, when he is angry, he will tear up the ground, and throw stones a great way over his head: and on his forehead is another horn, about six inches in length, hollow, and in the form of a half bowl inverted. His ears are small, and his legs shorter than those of the elephant. With that animal he is at perpetual enmity; and wherever he surprises him, he rips open his belly with the horn on his snout. He catches the scent of any creature that is to the windward of him, and marches toward it on a right line, grunting and tearing his way through all opposition of trees and bushes. He never attacks a man unprovoked, unless he wears a red coat; in which case, he rends and destroys every thing that stands between him and the object of his rage: if he seizes him, he throws him over his head with great violence, and then feeds upon him by licking the flesh off the bones with his rough and prickly tongue. His eyes are very small; and he only sees straight forward: though he is pretty swift of foot, he is very slow and awkward in turning. The way then to avoid him is to suffer him to come within eight or ten paces of you, and then to slip a few paces aside; by which means he loses sight of you, and it costs him a great deal of awkward trouble to get you again in his view. This I have more than once experienced. He feeds chiefly on shrubs, broom, and thistles.

The wild asses of the Cape, known by the name of the Zebra, are very beautiful creatures. They are of the size of an ordinary saddle horse, and resemble



resemble an ass in nothing but the length of their ears. The legs of this animal are very slender and well proportioned; and the hair on his body is soft and sleek. On the ridge of his back a black streak extends from his mane to his tail, and on each side are a great many streaks of various colours, that meet under his belly in so many girts: some are white, some yellow, and some of a chestnut-colour; and these colours lose themselves in one another, in a very beautiful manner. His head, ears, mane, and tail, are also streaked with the same variety. He is so swift that, I am apt to believe, there is not an horse in the world that can keep up with him.

The earth hogs in the Hottentot countries are not unlike the hogs in Europe, only they are somewhat red: their heads are longer, their snouts more pointed, and they are quite toothless. The tongue of this animal is very long and sharp. When he is hungry he looks out for an ant-hill, and placing himself near it, he stretches out his tongue to a great length, when the ants mount upon it in vast numbers, where they are held by a glutinous matter; and when it is well covered, he draws in, swallows them, and then lays out his tongue for more. His legs are long and strong. He scratches holes in the ground, in which he hides himself; and is very expeditious at this work. If he gets but his head and fore-legs into the earth, he holds so fast, that the strongest man cannot pull him out. His flesh tastes much like that of a wild hog.

The porcupines of the Cape are about two feet high, and three long. His head and feet are like those of a hare, and his ears resemble those of a man. His flesh is wholesome and well tasted. This animal does great mischief in the gardens: and therefore, when the breach is discovered by which he enters them, a musket is planted against it, charged and cocked: to the trigger is tied a string, which runs close along by the barrel to the muzzle, where a car-

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rot or turnip is fastened. The porcupine, on seizing this bait, pulls the trigger, and is shot.

The baboons at the Cape are very numerous, and frequently enter the gardens and orchards, they being great lovers of fruit. On their entering them, they set a party to watch upon the fences, and a number of them begin to strip the trees, while the rest stand at a distance from each other, in a line from the orchard or garden to the place of rendezvous. The fruit as it is gathered is tossed to the baboon at the head of the line; and it immediately passes from hand to hand; they being so very nimble and quick sighted, as hardly ever to fail catching in their paws the fruit that is thrown to them. All this is done with great silence and dispatch. When the baboons upon the watch discover any body approaching, they give a loud cry, and the whole troop scours away as if destruction was at their heels; the young ones jumping up on the backs of their mothers.

One of the most extraordinary animals at the Cape is called by the Dutch *Stinkbingssem*, or *Stinkboez*: stinking being the grand defence nature has given this creature against all its enemies. It is shaped like a ferret, and is of the size of a middling dog. When its pursuer, whether man or beast, is come pretty near, it pours from its tail so horrid a stench, that it is impossible to endure it. A man is almost knocked down by it, before he can get away; and a dog, or other animal, is so strangely confounded by it, that he is obliged every minute to stop, to rub his nose in the grass, or against a tree. The *stinkbingssem* having thus stopped his pursuer, gets a great way a-head of him before the chace can be renewed; and if he comes up with him a second time, he gives him another dose, and by that means escapes again. Thus he proceeds, till his pursuer is stunk out of the field. This animal is sometimes shot by the Europeans, but they are obliged to suffer it to lie till it rots; for it is no sooner dead, than its body contracts

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all over so nauseous a smell, that if you do but touch it with your fingers, they retain a stench that you can neither endure, nor easily get off by any kind of washing.

Beside these, there are many other quadrupedes at the Cape, some of which are well known in Europe; and the rest, which are common to other hot countries, have frequently been described by travellers.

There are in this country many of the birds common in Europe, and a multitude of others. The Flamingos of the Cape are larger than swans, and their necks much longer: the bill is crooked, furnished with short sharp teeth, and is of a dark blue. The head and neck are white; but the lower parts of the wing feathers are black, and the upper parts of a flame colour: the legs, which are as long again as those of a stork, are of an orange colour; and the feet resemble those of a goose. The flesh is well tasted; and the tongue, which is large and fat, eats like marrow.

Ostriches are so numerous, that a man can hardly walk a quarter of an hour in the country without seeing one or more of them. The feathers of some of them are black, and of others white: the head is very small in proportion to the body, which is the largest in the feathered world: the neck is long, the legs thick and of great strength; and the feet, which are cloven, resemble those of a goat. The weight of the ostrich's body prevents her being able to fly; but when she sees herself in danger, she runs, and promotes her speed by clapping her wings, proceeding with such swiftness, that a man must be well mounted to overtake her. If she finds she cannot escape her pursuer, she hides her head, and stands stock still, till she is shot or seized. Ostriches will swallow pebbles, or pieces of iron; but void them whole, without any remarkable change. They are easily tamed; and their eggs are so large, that one of them will give a pretty good meal to three or four persons. The ostriches

Ostriches at the Cape do not leave their eggs to be hatched in the sun; for the male and female sit upon them by turns. They lay them in the sand; but if any one touches them, even without doing them the least hurt, the ostrich will forsake them. The young ones are not able to walk till some time after they are out of the shell; and are therefore attended by the old one, till they are in a condition to take care of themselves.

Among the reptiles at the Cape there are several sorts of serpents, of which the tree-serpent seems one of the most singular. It is about two yards long, and three quarters of an inch thick. This serpent winds itself about the branches of trees in such a manner, as to be hardly distinguished from them: all the difference in point of colour, is its being a little speckled. While persons are gazing at the tree, it darts its head in their faces, and sometimes wounds them.

The dipsas or thirst-serpent, is so called from its bite causing a burning thirst. It is frequently to be met with in the Cape countries, and is about three quarters of a yard long. The asp is of an ash-colour, speckled with red and yellow. The head and neck are very broad; the eyes are flat, and sunk in the head; and near each of them grows a fleshy protuberance: they are of various lengths, and some of them several yards long. The Cape hair-serpent is about a yard long, and three quarters of an inch thick. It is more dangerous than any of the other serpents, its bite causing immediate death, unless there be a remedy at hand. Scorpions are very numerous at the Cape, and harbour mostly among the stones; on which account the Europeans are very cautious of removing the stones with their hands, for fear of being stung.

They have fish at the Cape in great plenty: whales, porpoises, pilot-fish, sharks, flying-fish, pike, barbels,

bels, carp, eels, lobsters, crabs, oysters, and many other kinds.

There are several sorts of sea-snails; among which the pearl-snails are most worthy of notice. It is no small pleasure to observe them on the surface of the water in calm weather, when their shells serve them as boats. They erect their heads considerably above these natural vessels, and spreading out a kind of sail with which nature has furnished them, move along in a manner very diverting to the spectator. \* If when they sail they find they are in any danger, they draw themselves close into their shells, and sink out of sight. Many of these shells will hold near a quart; and are used at the Cape as drinking cups. The Cape Europeans put to them a foot of silver, ivory, or wood; and some are curiously embellished with ornaments, engraved on the outside.

I have now given an account of the most material circumstances relating to the nations of the Hottentots, and the Dutch settlement at the Cape; and shall therefore only add, that on the 9th of April, 1713, I embarked on board the Company's ship the Stadt-house for Holland; and after an agreeable voyage, in which nothing remarkable happened, arrived on the 22d of May at Amsterdam, from whence I had the pleasure of returning to my native country.

\* This is probably the nautilus, celebrated in the following lines of Mr. Pope.

' Learn of the little nautilus to sail,

' Spread the thin oar, and catch the driving gale.'

Essay on Man. Ep. III.

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Mr. JOHN NIEUHOFF'S VOYAGES  
TO THE  
EAST INDIES.

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**A**UGUST the 23d, 1633, Mr. Nieuhoff embarked at Amsterdam for the East Indies, on board the *Calf*, Cornelius Just master.

October the 10th, they came in view of the island of St. Vincent; in the bay of which they came to anchor about noon, and provided themselves with fresh water, goats, and fruit, which they purchased at very trifling rates.

St. Vincent is one of the Cape Verde islands; about five leagues in circumference, and subject to the Portuguese. The inhabitants who live in a most miserable manner, are negroes sent thither from several neighbouring colonies to catch wild goats; the skins of which they send to Portugal, where they sell to advantage.

They sailed from this place on the 26th, and on the 9th of March got into the Table Bay, in the Cape of Good Hope, about noon. It was well they arrived here so soon, on account of the plenty of medicines and refreshments of all sorts, for which the Cape of Good Hope is remarkable; above forty of their men lying sick, beside eighty that they had lost upon their voyage. The fields about the Cape, a little way up the country, are covered with lillies and tulips. Things in general are extremely dear here: arrack selling for sixpence a quartern, brandy for a shilling, and a sizeable water melon at no less than half a crown. The Hottentots, who are sometimes

very shy of trafficking with strangers, exchange their cattle for tobacco pipes, bits of copper, and other toys\*.

Whales are sometimes found in the Table Bay; but they are very lean: and among their fish, to most of the species of which we are strangers, is the foal, the Hottentot fish, something like a cod; and the torpedo, or cramp-fish, so called from its communicating that disorder to those whom it chances to touch while it is alive.

No place in the world is more subject to storms than the Cape; but ships are sufficiently sheltered from their violence, by the several commodious bays wherewith nature has provided it.

March the 13th, they quitted the Cape, steering their course westward, and on the 24th of May anchored to the north-north-east of the isle of Java, where several boats came off to them with provisions and refreshments: they left this place on the 26th; and on the 30th, about four in the afternoon arrived off the city of Batavia, where our author went ashore, and was soon after sent in the train of an embassy from the governor of Batavia to China, in quality of a steward. After his return from thence, he made a voyage home in a ship called the Pearl, and arrived in Amsterdamb on the 6th of July, 1658.

DECEMBER the 22d, 1658, Mr. John Nieuhoff was ordered by the East India company to embark on board a ship called the Arnheim, of five hundred tons, carrying forty guns and four hundred and thirty men. They came to anchor before the city of Batavia, July the 18th, 1659; where Mr. Nieuhoff having delivered up his charge as supercargo, was ordered on board the Henrietta Louisa, bound for Amboyna, some of the company's goods being delivered to his care.

\* For an account of the Cape and its inhabitants, see Kolben's Voyage thither, immediately preceding.

Amboyna

Amboyna is by some counted one of the Molucca islands: it lies in  $3^{\circ}$  south latitude, 24 leagues from the isle of Banda; is about 24 leagues in circumference, and abounds with cloves, which were first planted there in the year 1636. The inhabitants are entirely devoted to the service of the East India company; and are divided into villages, each of which is obliged to furnish its annual quota of spice. The air of the island is but indifferent, and infects the body with a scrophulous disorder, not unlike the French-pox; which is easily cured in the first stage, but is found very stubborn if allowed to proceed to any height.

Amboyna is fertile in millet, tobacco, sugar, coco, potatoes, oranges, lemons, citron, sugar, bamboes, &c. The nutmegs are not so good here as in the other islands: its most remarkable commodity is the clove.

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[HAD Mr. Nieuhoff been of any other country than Holland, it would have been impossible for him to have mentioned Amboyna, without recollecting the tragical scene which at the time of his writing had been so recently transacted there. But though his silence is very naturally to be accounted for, the relation is very proper to introduce at this place, and ought never to be forgotten by the British nation. It is taken from an authentic account published by our English company of that black affair, at the time.

This island, as has been observed, produces great quantities of cloves; for gathering and buying in whereof, the English company, for their part, had planted five factories: the head and rendezvous of all at the town of Amboyna. Here the English lived, not in the Dutch castle, but under protection thereof, in a house of their own, in the town; holding themselves safe, as well in respect of the ancient bonds of amity between both Nations, as of the strict conjunction made by late treaty.



They continued here two years conversing and trading with the Dutch, by virtue of the said treaty; in which time there fell out several differences and debates between them; the English complaining, that the Dutch did not only lavish away much money in building, and unnecessary expences upon the forts, and otherwise, and bring large and unreasonable reckonings thereof to the common account; but also did, for their part, pay the garrison with victuals and cloth of Coromandel, which they put off to the soldiers at three or four times the value it cost them, yet would not allow of the English company's part of the same charge, but only in ready money, thereby drawing from the English more than two thirds of the whole true charge. Hereupon, and upon the like occasions, grew some discontents and disputes; and the complaints were sent to Jaccatra, in the island of Java Major, to the council of defence of both nations there residing: who also not agreeing upon the points in difference, sent the same hither over into Europe, to be decided by both companies here; or in default of their agreement, by the king of England and the lords the States-general, according to an article of the treaty of the year 1619 on this behalf. In the mean time, the discontent between the English and the Dutch about these and other differences continued, and daily increased; until at last there was a sword found to cut in sunder that knot at once, which the tedious disputes of Amboyna and Jaccatra could not untie; and this was used in the manner as followeth.

About the 11th of February 1622, O. S. a Japanese soldier in the service of the Dutch in their castle of Amboyna, walking in the night upon the wall, came to the centinel, and among other talk, asked him some questions touching the strength of the castle. It is here to be observed, that those Japanese were not lodged in the castle, but were upon occasion called out of the town to assist the watch. This Japanese was,  
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for his said conference with the centinel, apprehended upon suspicion of treason, and put to the torture; thereby he was brought to confess himself and sundry others of his countrymen there, to have contrived the taking of the castle. Hereupon other Japanese were examined and tortured; as also a Portuguese, the guardian of the slaves under the Dutch. During this examination, which continued three or four days, some of the Englishmen going to and from the castle, upon their business, saw the prisoners, heard of their tortures, and of the crime laid to their charge; but all this while suspected not that this matter did any whit concern themselves, having never had any conversation with the Japanese, nor with the Portuguese aforesaid.

At the same time, there was one Abel Price, chirurgion to the English, prisoner in the castle, for offering in his drunkenness, to set a Dutchman's house on fire. This fellow the Dutch took, and shewed him some of the Japanese, whom they had first most grievously tortured; and told him, they had confessed the English to have been of their confederacy for the taking of the castle; and that if he would not confess the same, they would use him even as they had done the Japanese, and worse also. Having given him the torture, they soon made him confess whatever they asked him. This was on the 15th of February 1622, O. S. Forthwith, about nine of the clock the same morning, they sent for Captain Towerson, and the rest of the English that were in the town, to come to speak with the governor in the castle. They all went, save one that was left to keep the house. Being come to the governor, he told Captain Towerson, that himself and others of his nation, were accused of a conspiracy to surprize the castle; and therefore, until further trial, were to remain prisoners. Instantly also they attacked him that was left at home in the house, took the merchandize of the English company there into their own custody, by an inventory, and

seized all the chests, boxes, books, writings, and other things in the English house.

Captain Towerson was committed to his chamber, with a guard of Dutch soldiers. Emanuel Thomson was kept prisoner in the castle; the rest were sent aboard the Dutch ships then riding in the harbour; some to one ship, and some to another, and all made fast in irons. The same day also, the governor sent to the two other factories in the same island, to apprehend the rest of the English there; who were brought in irons to Amboyna; the 20th of the same month. In the mean time, the governor and fiscal went to work with the prisoners that were already here: and first, they sent for John Beamont and Timothy Johnson, from on board the Unicorn; who being come into the castle, Beamont was left with a guard in the hall, and Johnson went into another room; where, by and by, Beamont heard him cry out very pitifully, then to be quiet a little while, and then loud again.

After taste of the torture, then Abel Price the chirurgeon that first was examined and tortured, was brought in to confront and accuse him: but Johnson not yet confessing any thing, Price was quickly carried out, and Johnson brought again to the torture, where Beamont heard him sometimes cry aloud, then quiet again, then roar afresh. At last, after he had been about an hour in this second examination, he was brought forth wailing and lamenting, all wet, and cruelly burnt in divers parts of his body, and so laid aside, in a bye-place in the hall, with a soldier to watch him, that he should speak to nobody. Then was Emanuel Thomson brought to examination, not in the room where Johnson had been, but in another somewhat farther from the hall; yet Beamont being in the hall, heard him roar most lamentably, and many times. At last, after an hour and an half spent in torturing him, he was carried away into another room another way, so that he came not by Beamont through

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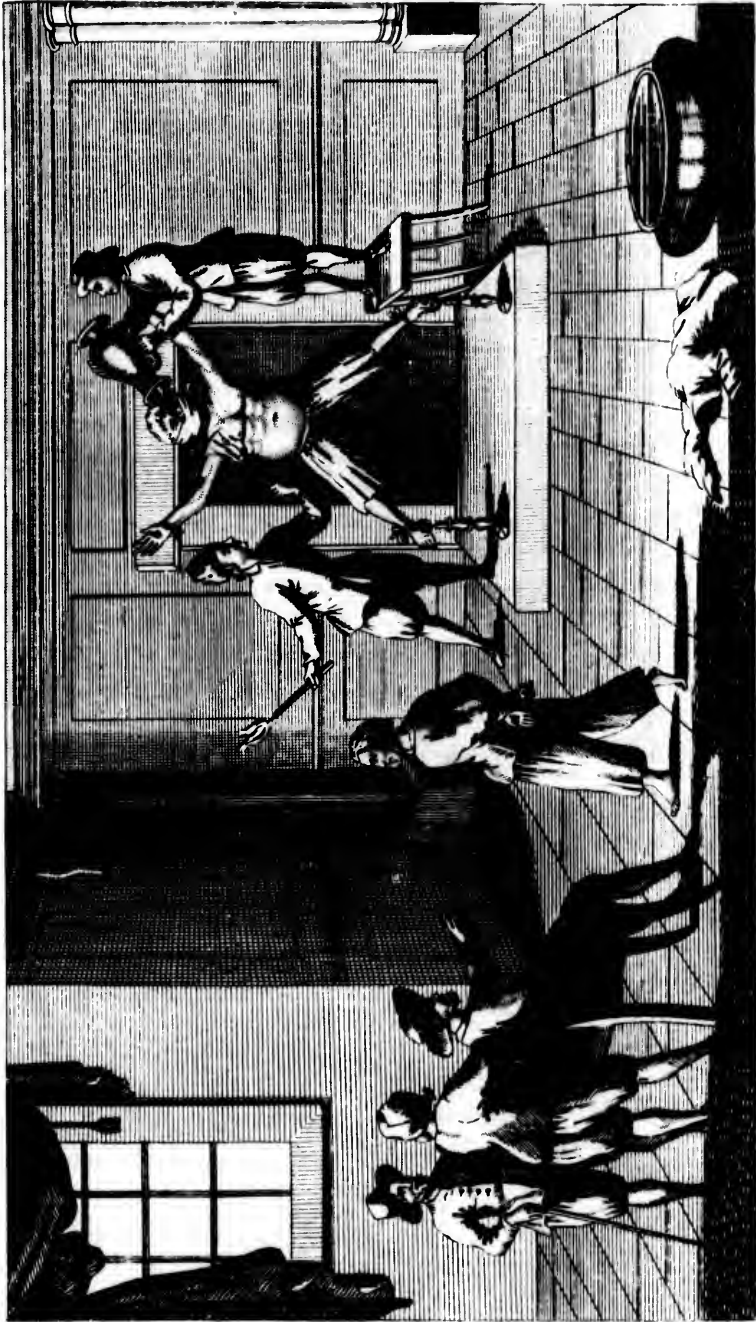
through the hall. Next was Beaumont called in ; and being demanded many things, all which he denied with deep oaths and protestations, was made fast to be tortured, a cloth tied about his neck, and two men ready with jars of water to be poured on his head ; but yet for this time the governor bad loose him, he would spare him a day or two, because he was an old man : this was all Saturday's work, the 15th of February aforesaid.

On the 16th William Webber, Edward Collins, Ephraim Ramsay, and Robert Brown, were fetched from aboard the Rotterdam to be examined : At the same time came Samuel Colson, William Griggs, and John Clark, George Sharrock, and John Saaler, from Hitto and Larica ; and were, immediately upon their arrival, brought into the castle-hall. Robert Brown, taylor, was first called in, and being tormented with water, confessed all in order as the fiscal asked him. Then was Edward Collins called in, and told, that those that were formerly examined had confessed him as accessary to the plot of taking the castle ; which, when he denied with great oaths and execrations, they made his hands and his feet fast to the rack, bound a cloth about his throat ready to be put to the torture of the water. Thus prepared, he prayed to be respited, and he would confess all. Being let down, he again vowed and protested his innocency ; yet said, that because he knew they would, by torture, make him confess any thing, though ever so false, they would do him a great favour to tell him what they would have him say, and he would speak it, to avoid the torture. The fiscal hereupon said, What, do you mock us ? And bad up with him again, and so gave him the torment of water ; which he not being able long to endure, desired to be let down again to his confession. Then he devised with himself and told them, That about two months and a half ago, himself, Thomson, Johnson, Brown, and Fardo, had plotted, with the help of the Japanese, to surprize the castle. Here  
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he was interrupted by the fiscal, and asked, whether Captain Towerson were not of that conspiracy? He answered, No; You lie, said the fiscal, did not he call you all to him, and tell you, that those daily abuses of the Dutch had caused him to think of a plot, and that he wanted nothing but your consent and secrecy? Then said a Dutch merchant, one John Igoft, that stood by, Did not you all swear upon a Bible to be secret to him? Collins answered with great oaths, that he knew nothing of any such matter. Then they bad make him fast again; whereupon he then said, all was true that they had spoken. Then the fiscal asked him whether the English in the rest of the factories were not consenting to this plot? He answered, No; The fiscal then asked him, whether the president of the English at Jaccatra, or Mr. Welden, agent in Banda, were not plotters, or privy to this business? Again he answered, No. Then the fiscal asked him by what means the Japanese should have executed their purpose? Whereat, when Collins stood staggering and devising of some probable fiction, the fiscal helped him, and said, Should not two Japanese have gone to each point of the castle, and two to the governor's chamber-door; and when the hurly-burly had been without, and the governor coming to see what was the matter, the Japanese to have killed him? Here one that stood by, said to the fiscal, Do not tell him what he should say, but let him speak of himself: whereupon the fiscal, without attending the answer to his former question, asked, what the Japanese were to have had for their reward? Collins answered, 1000 rials a-piece. Lastly; he asked him, When this plot should have been effected? Whereupon, although he answered him nothing, not knowing what to devise upon the sudden, yet he was dismissed, and very glad to come clear off the torture, though with certain belief that he should die for this his confession.

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*The Creolians instructed by the Dutch on the English, at AMBOYNA.*

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Next was Samuel Colson brought in, being newly arrived from Hitto, as is before touched, and was the same day brought to the torture; who, for fear of the pain wherewith he saw Collins come out, in such a case, that his eyes were almost blown out of his head with the water, chose rather to confess all they asked him, and so was quickly dismissed, coming out weeping, lamenting, protesting his innocency. Then was John Clark, that came with Colson from Hitto, fetched in, and a little after was heard to cry out amain. They tortured him with water and with fire, by the space of two hours. The manner of his torture, which was likewise that of Johnson's and Thomson's, was as followeth: First, they hoisted him up by the hands with a cord, on a large door, where they made him fast, upon two staples of iron fixed on both sides, at the top of the door-posts, halling his hands one from the other as wide as they could stretch. Being thus made fast, his feet hung two foot from the ground, which also they stretched asunder as far as they could, and made them fast beneath, under the door-trees on each side. Then they bound a cloth about his neck and face, so close, that little or no water could go by; that done, they poured the water softly upon his head, until the cloth was full up to the mouth and nostrils, and somewhat higher, so that he could not draw breath but he must withal suck in the water: which being still continued to be poured in softly, stifling or choaking him; at length threw him into a swoon, or fainting. Then they took him quickly down, and made him vomit up the water: being a little recovered, they tied him up again, and poured in the water as before, often taking him down as he seemed to be stifled. In this manner they handled him three or four several times, till his body was swoln twice or thrice as big as before; his cheeks like great bladders, and his eyes starting out; yet all this he bore without confessing any thing, in-somuch that the fiscal and tormentors reviled him,

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saying, that he was a devil, and no man, or surely he was a witch, at least had some charm about him, or was enchanted, that he could bear so much; wherefore they cut off his hair very short, as supposing he had some witchcraft hidden therein. Afterward they hoisted him up again, as before, and then burnt him with lighted candles in the bottom of his feet, until the fat dropped out on the candles; yet they applied fresh lights unto him: they burnt him also under the elbows, and in the palms of his hands; likewise under the arm-pits, until his inwards might evidently be seen.

At last, when they saw he could of himself make no handsome confession, then they led him along with questions of particular circumstances by themselves framed. Being thus wearied and overcome by the torment, he answered, Yea, to whatever they asked, whereby they drew from him a body of confession to this effect; to wit, That Captain Towerfon had, upon New-Year's-Day then last past, sworn all the English at Amboyna to be secret and assistant in a plot that he had projected, with the help of the Japanese, to surprize the castle, and to put the governor and the rest of the Dutch to death. Having thus martyred this poor man, they sent him out by four blacks, who carried him between them to a dungeon, where he lay five or six days, without any chirurgeon to dress him; until his flesh being putrified, great maggots dropped and crept from it in a most loathsome and noisome manner. Thus they finished their Sabbath-day's work; and it growing now dark, sent the rest of the English that came that day from Hitto, and till then attended in the hall, first to the smith's shop, where they were loaded with irons, and then to the same loathsome dungeon, where Clark and the rest were accompanied with the poor Japanese, lying in the putrefaction of their tortures.

The next morning, being Monday, the seventeenth of February, O. S. William Griggs, and John Fardo, with

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with certain Japanefe, were brought into the place of examination. The Japanefe were firft cruelly tortured to accufe Grigg; which, at laft, they did; and Grigg, to avoid the like torture, confefled all that the fifcal demanded. By and by the like was alfo done by John Fardo and other Japanefe: but Fardo himfelf endured the torture of water, and at laft confefled whatfoever the fifcal asked him, and fo was fent back to prifon. The fame day alfo John Beamont was brought the fecond time to the fifcal's chamber, where one Captain Newport, a Dutchman's fon, born in England, was ufed as an interpreter: William Griggs was alfo brought in to accufe him, who faid, That when the confultation was held for taking the caftle, he the faid Beamont was then prefent. Beamont denied it with great earneftnefs and deep oaths; at laft, being ftretched up, and drenched with water till his inwards were ready to crack, he answered affirmatively to all the fifcal's interrogatories. Yet, as foon as he was let down, he clearly demonftrated to Captain Newport, and Johnson, a Dutch merchant, then alfo prefent, that thefe things could not be fo; neverthelefs he was forced to put his hand to the confeffion, or elfe he muft to the torture again; which, to avoid, he fubfcribed; and fo had a great iron bolt, and two fhackles riveted to his legs, and then was carried back to prifon.

After this George Sharrock, affiftant at Hirto, was called in queftion, who feeing how grievoufly others were martyred, made his earneft prayer to God, as fince upon his oath he hath acknowledged, that he would fuffer him to make fome fuch probable lies againft himfelf, as the Dutch might believe, and fo he might efcape the torment. Being brought to the rack, the water provided, and the candles lighted, he was by the governor and fifcal examined, and charged with the confpiracy. He fell upon his knees, and protefted his innocence: then they commanded him to the rack, and told him, unlefs he would confeis

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he should be tormented with fire and water to death, and then should be drawn by the knees to the gallows, and there hanged up. He still persisting in his innocence, the fiscal bid him be hoisted up; then he craved respite a while, and told them, that he was at Hirto, and not in Amboyna, upon New-Year's-Day, when the consultation was pretended, neither had he been there since November before, as was well known to sundry of the Dutchmen themselves that resided there also with him.

Hereupon they commanded him again to the rack; but he craving respite, as before, now told them that he had many times heard John Clark say, that the Dutch had done them many insufferable wrongs, and that he would be revenged on them: to which end he had once broken with Captain Towerfon a brave plot; at which word the fiscal and the rest were attentive, encouraging him to proceed. So he went on, saying, that John Clark had entreated Captain Towerfon that he might go to Macassar, there to consult and advise with the Spaniards to come with gallies, and rob the small factories of Amboyna and Secan, when no ships were there. Here they asked him what Captain Towerfon said to this? To which he answered, that Captain Towerfon was very much offended with Clark for the motion, and from thenceforth could never abide him. Hereupon the fiscal called him rogue, and said he prated all from the matter, and should go to the torture. He craved favour again, and began another tale, to wit, That upon Twelfth-Day, then last past, John Clark told him at Hitto, that there was a practice to take the castle of Amboyna, and asked him whether he would consent thereto: whereupon he demanded of Clark whether Captain Towerfon knew of any such matter; which Clark affirming, then the said Sharrock said, he would do as the rest did. Then the fiscal asked him what time the consultation was held? He answered, in November last. The fiscal said that could not be, for the

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the consultation was on New-Year's-Day. The prisoner said as before in the beginning, that he had not been in Amboyna since the first of December till now, that he was brought thither. Why then, quoth the fiscal, have you belied yourself? Whereto the prisoner resolutely answered, that all that he had spoken touching treason, was false, and feigned only to avoid torment. Then went the fiscal out into another room to the governor, and anon returned and sent Sharrock unto the prison again.

The next day he was called again, and a writing presented him; wherein was framed a formal confession of his last conference with Clark at Hitto, touching the plot to take the castle of Amboyna; which being read over to him, the fiscal asked him, whether it was true or no? He answered, No. Why then, said the fiscal, did you confess it? He answered, for fear of torment. The fiscal and the rest, in a great rage, told him he lied, his mouth had spoken it; and it was true; and therefore he should subscribe it; which, as soon as he had done, he fell presently into a great passion, charging them bitterly with the guilt of the innocent blood of himself and the rest, which they should look to answer for at the day of judgment: Withal he grappled with the fiscal, and would have stopped him from carrying in the confession to the governor, with whom he also craved to speak, but was instantly laid hold on, and carried away to prison. William Webber being next examined, was told by the fiscal, that John Clark had confessed him to have been at Amboyna on New-Year's-Day, and sworn to Captain Towerfon's plot, &c. all which he denied, alleging he was that day at Larica; yet, being brought to the torture, he then confessed he had been at the consultation at Amboyna upon New-Year's-Day, with all the rest of the circumstances in order as he was asked.

He also further told them, he had received a letter from John Clark, after which was a postscript, excusing

cusing his brief writing at that time, for that there was then great business in hand. But one Kender, a Dutch merchant, then standing by, told the governor, that upon New-Year's-Day, the time of this pretended consultation, Webber and he were merry at Larica; so the governor left him, and went out. But the fiscal held out upon the other point, touching the postscript of Clark's letter, urging him to shew the same; which, when he could not do, though often terrified with the torture, he gave him respite, promising to save his life, if he would produce the letter. Then was Captain Towerson brought to the examination, and shewed what others had confessed of him. He deeply protested his innocency. Samuel Colson was brought to confront him; who being told, that unless he would now make good his former confession against Captain Towerson, he should go to the torture, coldly reaffirmed the same, and so was sent away. They also brought William Griggs and John Fardo to justify their former confessions to his face. Captain Towerson seriously charged, that as they would answer it at the dreadful day of judgment, they should speak nothing but the truth. Both of them instantly fell down upon their knees before him, praying him, for God's sake, to forgive them; and saying further, openly, before them all, that whatsoever they had formerly confessed, was most false, and spoken only to avoid torment. With that the fiscal and the rest ordered them again to the torture; which they would not endure, but then affirmed their former confessions to be true.

When Colson, who had accused the captain before, was required to set his hand to his confession; he asked the fiscal upon whose head he thought the sin would lie, whether upon his, who was constrained to confess what was false, or upon the constrainer? The fiscal, after a little pause upon this question, went in to the governor, then in another room; but anon, returning, said he must subscribe it; which he did;

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did; yet withal made this protestation, Well, quoth he, you make me to accuse myself and others, of that which is as false as God is true; for God is my witness, I am as innocent as the child new born. Thus they examined all the English company in the several factories of the island of Amboyna. February the twenty-first they examined John Wetherel, factor at Cambello, in the island of Seran. He confessed he was at Amboyna upon New-Year's-Day; but for the consultation whereof he was demanded, he said he knew of no other but touching certain cloth of the English company that lay in the factories rotting and worm-eaten, which they advised together how to put off to the best avail of their employers. The governor said, he questioned him not about cloth, but of treason; whereof, when he had protested his innocence, he was for that time dismissed. But the next day he was sent for again, and Captain Towerfon brought to confront and accuse him, having before confessed somewhat against him. But Mr. Towerfon spoke these words only, O Mr. Wetherel, Mr. Wetherel, speak the truth, and nothing but the truth, as God shall put it in your heart: so Captain Towerfon was put out again, and Mr. Wetherel brought to the torture of water, with great threats, that if water would not make him confess, fire should. He prayed them to tell him what he should say, or to write down what they would, he would subscribe it. They said, he needed no tutor, they would make him confess himself: but when they had hoisted him up four several times, and saw he knew not what to say; then they read him other mens confessions, and asked him from point to point, as they had done others; and he still answered, Yea, to all.

Next was called in John Powel, Wetherel's assistant at Cambello; but he proving that he was not at Amboyna since November, save now, when he was brought thither prisoner; and being spoken for by one John Joost, who had long been well acquainted

with him, was dismissed without torture. Then was Thomas Ladbroke, servant to Wetherel and Powel at Cambello, at the time of the pretended consultation, and serving in such quality, as that he was never acquainted with any of the letters from the agent of Amboyna, he was easily and quickly dismissed. Ephraim Ramsey was also examined upon the whole conspiracy, and particularly questioned concerning Captain Weldon, the English agent in Banda; but denying all, and proving that he was not at Amboyna at New-year's-tide, being also spoken for by John Joost, was dismissed, after he had hanged in the rack a good while, with irons about his legs, and the cloth about his mouth. Lastly, John Sadler, servant to William Griggs at Larica, was examined, and being found to have been absent from Amboyna at New-year's-tide, when Griggs and others were there, was dismissed.

Thus have we all their examinations, tortures, and confessions, being the work of eight days, from the 15th to the 23d of February; after which were two days respite before the sentence. John Powel being himself acquitted as aforesaid, went to the prison to visit John Fardo, one of these that had accused Captain Towerson; to him Fardo religiously protested his innocency, but especially his sorrow for accusing Mr. Towerson: for, said he, the fear of death doth nothing dismay me; for God, I trust, will be merciful to my soul, according to the innocency of my cause. The only matter that troubles me is, that through fear of torment I have accused that honest and godly man Captain Towerson; whom, I think in my conscience, was so upright toward all men, that he harboured no ill-will to any man; much less would attempt any such business as he is accused of. He farther said, he would before his death receive the sacrament, in acknowledgment, that he had accused Captain Towerson falsely and wrongfully, only through fear of torment.

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On the 25th, O. S. all the prisoners, as well the English as the Portuguese and Japonese, were brought into the great hall of the castle, and there were solemnly condemned, except, John Powel, Ephraim Ramsey, John Sadler, and Thomas Ladbrook, formerly acquitted as aforesaid. Captain Towerson, during all his imprisonment, having been kept from the rest, so that none could come to speak with him, writ much in his chamber: but all was suppressed, save only a bill of debt, which one Thomas Johnson, a free burgher, got of him, by favour of his keepers, for an acknowledgment, that the English company owed him a certain sum of money. In the end of this bill he writ these words, "Firmed by the form of me Gabriel Towerson, now appointed to die guiltless of any thing that can be justly laid to my charge. God forgive them their guilt, and receive me to his mercy. Amen." This bill being brought to Mr. Weldon, the English agent at Banda, he paid the money, and received in the acknowledgment. William Griggs, who had before accused Captain Towerson, writ a solemn asseveration of his innocence, pleading his torture in excuse for his former confessions of guilt; in his table book.

This table-book was afterward delivered to M. Weldon, before mentioned, by one that served the Dutch. Samuel Colson also, another that accused Captain Towerson, writ to the same effect in the waste leaves of a book, wherein were bound together the Common-Prayers, the Psalms, and the Catechism. This book he delivered to one that served the Dutch, who sewed it up in his bed, and afterward, at his opportunity, delivered it to Mr. Weldon beforementioned. These writings are yet extant, under the hands of the several parties well known to their friends here in England.

The twenty-sixth day of February, O. S. the prisoners were all brought into the great hall of the castle, except Captain Towerson, and Emanuel Thom-



son, to be prepared for death by the ministers. The Japanese now all in general, as some of them had done before in particular, cried out unto the English, saying, Oh! you Englishmen, where did we ever in our lives eat with you, talk with you, or, to our remembrance, see you? The English answered, why then have you accused us? The poor men perceiving they were made believe each had accused others, before they had so done, indeed; shewed them their tortured bodies, and said, If a stone were thus burnt, would it not change its nature? How much more then we that are flesh and blood? Whilst they were all in the hall, Captain Towerston was brought up into the place of Examination, and two great jars of water carried after him; what he there did, or suffered, is unknown to the English; but it seemeth, they made him then to underwrite his confession. After supper, John Powel, Ephraim Ramsey, Thomas Ladbrook, and John Sadler, who were found not guilty, as aforesaid, were taken from the rest, and put into another room: by and by also were Samuel Colson and Edward Collins brought from the rest, into the room where Emanuel Thomson lay. The fiscal told them, it was the governor's mercy to save one of those three; and it being indifferent to him which of them were the man, it was his pleasure they should draw lots for it; which they did, and the free lot fell to Edward Collins, who then was carried away to the chamber, where John Powel, and the rest that were quit, lodged; and Samuel Colson back into the hall. Anon also John Beaumont was brought out of the hall into the chamber, where John Powel, and the rest of the acquitted persons were; and was told, that he was beholden to Peter Johnson, the Dutch merchant of Loho, and to the secretary, for they two had begged his life. So then there remained in the hall ten of the English; for Captain Towerston and Emanuel Thomson were kept in several rooms apart from the rest. To these that remained in the hall came the

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the Dutch ministers, who telling them how short a time they had to live, admonished and exhorted them to make their true confessions; for it was a dangerous and desperate thing to dissemble at such a time.

The English still professed their innocency, and prayed the ministers that they might all receive the sacrament, as a seal of the forgiveness of their sins; and withal, thereby to confirm their last profession of their innocency; but this would by no means be granted. Whereupon Samuel Colson said thus unto the ministers, You manifest unto us the danger of dissimulation in this case; but tell us, if we suffer guiltless, being otherwise also true believers in Jesus Christ, what shall be our reward? The preacher answered, by how much the clearer you are, so much the more glorious shall be your resurrection. With that word Colson started up, embraced the preacher, and gave him his purse, with such money as he had in it, saying, *Domine*, God bless you. Tell the governor I freely forgive him; and I intreat you to exhort him to repent him of his bloody tragedy wrought upon us poor innocent souls. Here all the rest of the English signified their consent to this speech. Then spake John Fardo to the rest, in the presence of the ministers, as followeth: My countrymen and brethren, that are here with me, condemned to die, I charge you all, as you will answer it at God's judgment seat, if any of you be guilty of this matter, whereof we are condemned, discharge your consciences, and confess the truth, for satisfaction of the world. Hereupon Samuel Colson spake with a loud voice, saying, According to my innocency in this treason, so, Lord, pardon all the rest of my sins; and if I be guilty thereof, more or less, let me never be partaker of thy heavenly joys: at which words every one of the rest cried out, Amen; for me, Amen; for me, good Lord. This done, each of them knowing whom he had accused, went one to another, begging forgiveness for their false accusation.

being wrung from them by the pains or fear of torture; and they all freely forgave one another: for none had been so falsely accused, but he himself had accused another as falsely. In particular, George Sharrock, who survived to relate this night's passage, kneeled down to John Clark, whom he had accused of the tale at Hitto above-mentioned, and craved forgiveness at his hands. Clark freely forgave him, saying, How shall I look to be forgiven of God, if I should not forgive you; having myself so falsely accused captain Towerson and others? After this they spent the rest of the doleful night in prayer, singing of psalms, and comforting one another; though the Dutch that guarded them offered them wine, bidding them drink lustily, and drive away the sorrow, according to the custom of their own country in the like cases, but contrary to the nature of the English.

Upon the morrow morning, being the execution day, the 27th of February, O. S. John Powel being freed, as before recited, came into the room where the condemned prisoners were, and found them at prayers. They all requested him to relate unto their friends in England the innocency of their cause; taking it upon their deaths, that what they had confessed against themselves and others, touching this crime, was all false, and forced by fear of torture. The same morning William Webber was called again into the fiscal's room, and there pressed to produce the letter which he had before confessed to have received from John Clark; in the postscript whereof some great business was intimated: they promised him his life, if he would deliver, or produce to them that letter; which, though he did not, nor indeed could, yet at last they pardoned him, and sent him back to the rest that were saved, and Sharrock with him. That morning Emanuel Thomson, understanding that John Beaumont was pardoned, made means to have him come and speak with him; which, with much ado, he obtained. Beaumont found him sitting

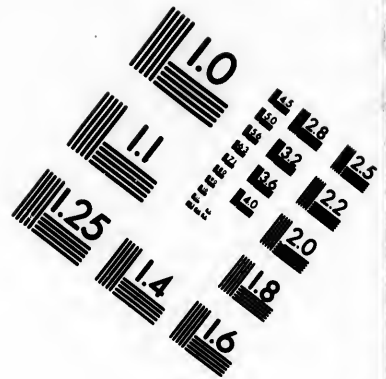
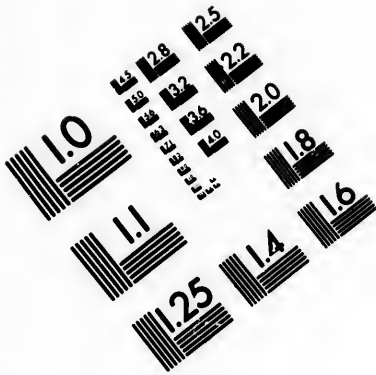
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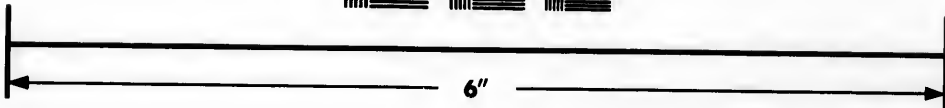
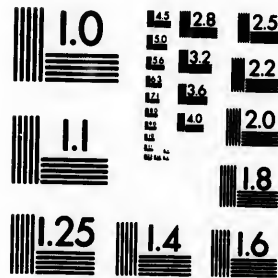
in a chamber all alone, in a most miserable fashion; the wounds of his torture bound up, but the matter and gore-blood issuing through the rollers: he took M. Beaumont by the hand, and prayed him, when he came into England, to do his duty to the honourable company his masters; to M. Robinson, and to his brother Billingsley; and to certify them of his innocence: which, said he, you yourself know well enough.

All things being prepared for the execution, the condemned were brought forth of the hall along by the chamber, where the quit and pardoned were; who stood in the door to give and take the farewell of their countrymen, now going to execution: staying a little for this purpose, they prayed and charged those that were saved, to bear witness to their friends in England of their innocence; and that they died not traitors, but so many innocents, merely murdered by the Dutch, whom they prayed God to forgive their blood-thirstiness, and to have mercy upon their own souls. Being brought into the yard, their sentence was read unto them from a gallery, and then they were thence carried unto the place of execution, together with nine Japanese and a Portuguese; not the ordinary and short way, but round about, in a long procession through the town, the way guarded by five companies of soldiers, Dutch and Amboynese, and thronged with the natives of the island, that upon the summons given the day before by the sound of the drum, flocked together to behold this triumph of the Dutch over the English. Samuel Colson had conceived a prayer in writing, in the end whereof he protested his innocence; which prayer he read to his fellows the night before, and now also at the place of execution pronounced the same; then threw away the paper, which the governor caused to be brought to him, and kept it. Emanuel Thomson told the rest, he did not doubt but God would shew a sign of their innocence; and every one of the rest affirmed solemnly





**IMAGE EVALUATION  
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ly at their death, that they were utterly guiltless: and so one by one, with great chearfulness, suffered the fatal stroke. The Portuguese prayed over his beads very devoutly, and often kissed the cross, swearing thereupon, that he was utterly innocent of this treason.

The Japanese likewise, according to their religion, shut up their last act with the like profession of their innocence: so there suffered ten Englishmen, one Portuguese, and nine Japanese. Beside these, there were two other Japanese, the one named Soyfimo, born at Firando, and the other Sacoubu, of the same place; the former of which being tortured, confessed both to have been privy to this private treason, and to have offered his service to the English to aid them in the taking of the castle: and the latter confessed to have had knowledge of the consultation of the other Japanese to this purpose; but neither of them was executed, or so much as condemned; the reason whereof was not known to the English that were saved. They had prepared a cloth of black velvet for captain Towerfon's body to fall upon; which being stained with blood, they afterwards put to account of the English company. At the instant of the execution there arose a great darkness, with a sudden and violent gust of wind and tempest; whereby two of the Dutch ships riding in the harbour were driven from their anchors, and with great labour and difficulty saved from the rocks. Within a few days after, one William Dunckin, who had told the governor, that Robert Brown the English taylor, had a few months before told him, he hoped that within six months the English should have as much to do in the castle of Amboyne as the Dutch: this fellow, coming upon an evening to the grave where the English were buried, being all, except captain Towerfon, in one pit, fell down upon the grave; and having lain there a while, rose up again stark mad, and so continued two or three days together, and then died.

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Forthwith also fell a new sickness at Amboyna, which swept away above one thousand people, Dutch and Amboynefe; in the space whereín there usually died not thirty at other seasons. These signs were, by the surviving English, referred to the confident prediction of Emanuel Thomson above named; and were by the Amboynefe interpreted as a token of the wrath of God for this barbarous tyranny of the Dutch.

The next day after the execution, being the 28th of February, O. S. was spent in triumph for the new general of the Dutch then proclaimed; and in public rejoicing for the deliverance from this pretended treason. On the 1st of March, John Beaumont, George Sharrock, Edward Collins, and William Webber, were brought to the governor, who told Beaumont and Sharrock, that they were pardoned in honour of the new general; and Collins, that he was to go to Jaccatra, there to stand to the favour of the governor: so the governor made them drink wine with him, and courteously dismissed them, willing them to go and consult with the rest that were saved, who were fit to be placed in the several factories. Which done, and their opinions reported to the governor, he accordingly commanded each to his place, adding, that he would thenceforth take upon him the patronage and government of the English company's business, to which purpose he had within a few days past opened a letter that came from the English president at Jaccatra, directed to captain Towerison, being the first English letter he ever intercepted; further saying, that he was glad he found by the letter that the English at Jaccatra were innocent touching this business. The governor and fiscal having just made an end at Amboyna, dispatched themselves for Banda, where they made very diligent enquiry against captain Weldon, the English agent there, yet found no colour or shadow of guilt to lay hold on him; but at last entertained him with courteous speeches,

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professing to be very glad that they found him, as well as the English at Jaccatra, to be without suspicion of this treason.

Captain Weldon perceiving the disorder and confusion of the English company's affairs at Amboyna, by means of the dealing of the Dutch, forthwith hired a Dutch pinnace at Banda, and passed to Amboyna; where, instantly upon his arrival, he recalled the company's servants, which were sent by the Dutch governor to the upper factories. Having enquired of them, and the rest that were left at Amboyna, of the whole proceedings lately passed, he found by the constant and agreeing relation of them all, that there was no such treason of the English as was pretended: as also understanding what strict command the governor had given to the surviving English not once to talk, or confer with the country people concerning this bloody business, although the said country people every day reproached them with treason, and a bloody intention to have massacred the natives, and to have ripped up the bellies of women with child, and such like stuff, wherewith the Dutch had possessed the poor vulgar, to make the English odious unto them. The said Mr. Weldon therefore finding it to suit neither with the honour nor profit of the English company, his masters, to hold any longer residence in Amboyna, he took the poor remnant of the English along with him in the said hired pinnace for Jaccatra, whither the governor had sent John Beaumont and Edward Collins before, as men condemned and left to the mercy of the governor. When this heavy news of Amboyna came to Jaccatra, and the English there, the president sent forthwith to the general of the Dutch, to know by what authority the governor of Amboyna had thus proceeded against the English, and how he and the rest of the Dutch there at Jaccatra did approve these proceedings. The governor returned for answer, that the governor of Amboyna's authority was derived from the lords states-general of the  
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United Netherlands; under whom he had lawful jurisdiction, both in criminal and civil causes, within the district of Amboyna: further, that such proceeding was necessary against traitors, such as the English executed at Amboyna might appear to be by their own confessions; a copy whereof he therewith sent to the English president, who sent the same back to be authentickly certified, but received it not again. Hitherto hath been recited the bare and naked narration of the progress and passage of this action, as it is taken out of the depositions of six several English factors; whereof four were condemned, and the other two acquitted, in this process of Amboyna: all, since their return into England, examined upon their oaths in the admiralty-court. The particulars of captain Towerfon's, as also of Emanuel Thomson's examinations and answers, are not yet come to light; by reason that these two were kept apart from all the rest, and each alone by himself; nor any other of the English suffered to speak with them, except only that short farewell which John Beaumont took of Thomson the morning before the execution before-mentioned. The like obscurity is yet touching the examinations and answers of divers of the rest that were executed; being, during their imprisonment, so strictly looked to and watched by the Dutch, that they might not talk together, nor mutually relate their miseries: but because the Dutch defend their own proceedings by the confession of the parties executed, acknowledging severally under their hands, that they were guilty of the pretended crime; it will not be amiss to recollect and recal unto this place, as it were unto one sum and total, certain circumstances dispersed in several parts of this narration, whereby, as well the innocence of the English, as the unlawful proceeding against them, may be manifest.

First, therefore, it is to be remembered, that the Japonese were apprehended, examined, and tortured  
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three or four days before the English were attacked; and the same, as well of their apprehension as torture, was notorious in the town of Amboyna, and the parts adjoining. Thomson, in this interim, and the very first day of the examination of the Japanese, went to the castle to ask leave of the governor to land some rice; and brought back the news with him to the English house of the cruel handling of these poor Japanese. This had been *item* enough to the English, if they had been guilty, to shift for themselves; where-to also they had ready means by the curricurries, or small boats of the Amboyners, which lie along the strand in that number wherewith they might easily have transported themselves to Seran, to Bottoun, or Macassar, out of the reach and jurisdiction of the Dutch: but in that they fled not, in this case, it is a very strong presumption, that they were as little privy to any treason of their own, as suspicious of any treacherous train laid for their bloods.

In the next place, let it be considered, how impossible it was for the English to atchieve this pretended enterprize. The castle of Amboyna is of a very great strength; the garrison therein, two or three hundred men, beside as many more of their free burghers in the town. What their care and circumspection in all their forts is, may appear, not only from the quick alarm they took at the foolish jesting of the poor Japanese, made to the centinel above recited; but also by that which a little before had happened at Jacca-tra, where one of their soldiers was shot to death for sleeping on the watch. Durst ten Englishmen, where-of not one soldier, attempt any thing upon such a strength and vigilance? As for the assistance of the Japanese, they were but ten neither, and all unarmed, as well as the English: for, as at the seizure at the English house, all the provision there found, was but three swords, two muskets and half a pound of powder: so the Japanese, except when they are in service of the castle, and there armed by the Dutch,

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are allowed to have no arms, but only a *catan*, a kind of short sword; and it is forbidden to all the Dutch, upon great penalty, to sell any hand-gun, powder or bullets to the Japanese or Amboyners.

But let it be imagined these twenty persons, English and Japanese, were so desperate as to adventure the exploit; how should they be able to master the Dutch in the castle, or to keep possession when they had gotten it? What second had they? There was neither ship nor pinnace of the English in harbour. All the rest of the Japanese in the island were not twenty persons, and not one English more. The nearest of the rest of the English were at Banda, forty leagues from Amboyna, and those but nine persons; all afterward cleared by the governor and fiscal themselves, from all suspicion of this pretended crime, as were also the rest of the English at Jaccatra.

On the other side, beside the strength of the castle, and town of Amboyna, the Dutch have three other strong castles, well furnished with soldiers, in the same island, and at Cambello, near adjoining. They had then also in the road of Amboyna eight ships and vessels, well furnished with men and ammunition. It is true, that the stories do record sundry valiant and hardy exploits of the English nation, and the Dutch are witnesses of some of them; yea, have reaped the fruit of the English resolution: yet no story, no legend, scarcely reported any such hardiness, either of the English or others, that so few persons, so naked of all provisions and supplies, should undertake such an adventure upon a counter-party, so well and abundantly fitted at all points. But let it be further granted, that they might possibly have overcome all those difficulties, yet to what end and purpose should they have put themselves into such a jeopardy? They knew well enough, that it was agreed between both companies at home, that the forts in the Indies should remain respectively in the hands of such as had possession of them at the date of the treaty *anno 1619*; and that the same

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was ratified by the king's majesty and the lords states-general. What reward therefore could these English hope for of their valour and danger? Certainly none other than that which is expressly provided by the treaty itself; that is, to be punished as disturbers of the common peace and amity of both nations.

But let these Englishmen have been as foolish as they will in this plot, as the Dutch will have them, is it also to be imagined, that they were so graceless, as when they were condemned, and seriously examined, and admonished by the ministers to discharge their consciences, yet then to persist in their dissimulation; being otherwise of such godly behaviour, as to spend the time in prayer, singing of psalms, and spiritually comforting one another, which the Dutch would have had them bestow in drinking to drive away their sorrow? Their general and religious profession of their innocence to their countrymen at their last parting with them; and finally, their sealing this profession with their last breath and blood, even in the very article of death, and in the stroke of the executioner! What horrible and unexampled dissimulation was this?

It must be confessed, that this is in all respects a most astonishing and surprising relation. That the Dutch should be desirous of engrossing the spice-trade, had nothing in it but what might be easily accounted for; because of the former instances they had given us of their avarice, that they should make no scruple of attacking and destroying the English that were settled in the spice-islands, and consequently stood in the way of their design, is what might have been expected from their boundless ambition, by which they were become formidable even to their own states: but that they should take this method, which was at once the most barbarous, the most provoking, and the most contrary to the solemn treaty they had made, is strange in the highest degree. But perhaps it may be accounted still stranger, that, when they

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they had done it, they durst justify it, and justify it even here: this, however, they did, which produced the account we have given the reader, as appears from that very account which the East India company were not at liberty to publish till the Dutch made an appeal to the public themselves.

After this, indeed, the publishing of their case could be no longer refused them; especially as what they offered was supported by the fullest proofs upon oath, registered in the court of chancery. We see from hence, the great consequence of the liberty of the press: had it been open at that time, it had been impossible to have hindered the nation from receiving ample satisfaction for such a flagrant injury, such an intolerable insult. But as it was, we are told, there was a party in king James's court, that if they did not justify, at least excused this horrid fact, from the Dutch account of it.

It may not be amiss also to observe, that at this juncture, the states were actually demanding and receiving assistance from the crown of Great Britain; and that too as large in its nature, and as effectual in its consequences, as any which they had received in the time of queen Elizabeth; and for which the states expressed as much gratitude and thankfulness to that monarch, as ever they did to the queen, and, as it clearly appears, with just as much sincerity. It is not likely that the tragedy of Amboyna was acted in consequence of any instructions from Holland; but in the Indies they were at full liberty, and therefore the true genius of the nation displayed itself: and the Dutch writers, in those very times, boast, that the general of the East India company kept as great a court, and made in every respect as magnificent an appearance as the prince of Orange himself; which plainly proves, that as they hated the government of the princes of Orange, so they were willing that strangers should take notice of their independency and power in another part of the world, where

where the government was in such hands as they best approved.

The death of king James happened in a very short time after this misfortune, and the troubles of various kinds, which very early disturbed the reign of king Charles I. put it out of his power to pursue that matter as he seems to have intended: for, in the beginning of his reign, he granted letters of request to the states-general for obtaining satisfaction, which, however, had no effect, neither did the king pursue that point any farther. The reason of this appears to have been that, finding other causes of complaint against the Dutch, he absolutely determined to lessen their strength as a maritime power; the rather, because he found them joining with the French, in order to the execution of a scheme which they have had always in view, of dividing the Spanish Low Countries with France, and then disputing, in confederacy with her, the sovereignty of the English claim over the narrow seas. This king Charles I. saw; and in order to prevent, found it necessary to fit out a fleet, which induced him to demand ship-money; and that began those confusions, which ended in the ruin of our government; and leaving the Dutch in possession of all that trade, which they had acquired at our expence. Return we now to Mr. Nieuhoff.]

Part of the island of Amboyna is under the jurisdiction of the East India company, and part of it under that of the king of Ternate.

There was a large crocodile killed, during our author's residence at the port, Victoria, which place belongs to the Dutch: it had lived a great while in the ditch, destroying the governor's poultry; and once made an attack upon his secretary, who narrowly escaped with his life.

The inhabitants were formerly pagans and canibals, but at present they are Mahometans and Christians. The men are brave, but deceitful, and very lazy,



with thin beards and large whiskers. Their weapons are bows, arrows, half-pikes, javelins, scymitars, and a kind of poisoned arrow, the wound whereof is mortal, and these they blow through hollow pipes: and they are dextrous in managing fire-arms.

Our author left this place on the 3d of May, and arrived at Batavia on the 29th of the same month. He was soon after dispatched on a voyage to the Pifcadore islands, from whence he went to the island of Teywan; which place he quitted on the 11th of December, and came on the 30th of the same month to the city of Malacca, the capital of a kingdom of the same name, which was formerly supposed to be joined to the island of Sumatra, by a small neck of land, now lost in the ocean. This city lies in  $2^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude; it is populous, large, and close built, some of the houses being of stone, but most of them of strong bamboe-cane. The streets are broad and handsome, planted on each side with trees.

Malacca surrendered to the Portuguese, under the command of general Albuquerque, in the year 1510, after an obstinate resistance; the king being obliged to fly to the woods, where he died. It was re-taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch, in the year 1640, after a siege of six months, and in it was found a vast booty.

It is a place of prodigious great trade, in gold, precious stones, and all the rarities of the East. The harbour is one of the finest in the Indies, always crowded with ships from China, Japan, Siam, Bengal, Coromandel, Banda, Java, Sumatra, &c. The coin of this place was formerly only tin, being of great weight, but little value; but at present both gold and silver are current here, a piece of eight passing for two guilders and eleven stivers.

The natives of Malacca are tawny, with long black hair, large eyes, and flat noses. They go naked, except a piece of stuff wrapt about their middle. The women are extremely proud, very fond of gold brace-

lets, and ear-rings, as well as of precious stones and fine silks.

There is a species of men in Malacca, who can see only in the dark, being blind all day, which they generally spend in sleeping, never rising till sun-set. They are well proportioned, and in complexion something like the Europeans; their feet are bent inward, and their hair of a yellowish hue, is extremely long, that of the women hanging down to their hips.

The vast tract of land called Malacca or Malaya, is the most southern continent of the East Indies, comprehending, beside, many other kingdoms.

Jor is situated at the streights of Malacca, and abounds with lemons, ananas, bananas, citrons, as large as a man's head, and other Indian fruits. Here is also great store of pepper, cinnamon, buffaloes, monkeys, stags, &c. The inhabitants are brave, but lascivious, proud, and lying, civil, and deceitful: their complexions are light-blue; their noses are crooked, and their teeth black: they wear their nails extremely long, and paint them yellow; length of nails is among them a mark of quality. Their richer sort of people wear poinards set with precious stones; and Ratispont, king of Jor, who came on board the Dutch fleet in 1608, had a poinard by his side set with sapphires and diamonds that were valued at fifty thousand guilders. He had three gold chains about his neck, which were also curiously adorned with precious stones.

In the kingdom of Pahan are found nutmegs, mace, pepper, hogs stones, which are a good antidote to expel poison; camphire, and eagle-wood; but, above all, gold and diamonds. The capital city, which takes its name from the kingdom, is situated about a league from the sea-shore, and is inhabited only by the nobility, the poorer sort living in the suburbs. It is not large; and round it runs a wall four fathoms high, made of the trunks of trees joined one within the other very strongly and compactly.

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The king's palace is of wood; the other houses are of reed and straw: the streets are enclosed on each side with hedges of reeds, planted with coco; so that the place looks rather like a garden than a city.

The natives of Potany are of an ash-coloured complexion, but well-shaped, proud, and ostentatious: they are however civil in conversation, and no great soldiers. They are extremely jealous; and though adultery is frequent among them, the women being extremely wanton, yet it is punished with death when found out: the criminal's nearest relation, though it should be a father, is by the laws obliged to supply the place of the executioner; yet fornication is thought to be no great crime.

The nobility keep many female slaves, whom they let out, at so much a month; and nothing is more common than for a stranger to have his choice of young women, who will bargain to live with him during his stay amongst them, for certain wages. This woman, by day, does all the necessary household offices, and serves as a bedfellow by night: but then a man must be careful to have no commerce with any other woman; and he may assuredly rely upon the fidelity of her whom he hires. The natives are, for the most part, lazy and idle, the traffic being entirely in the hands of the Chinese. The chief riches of the natives consist in lands and slaves, and the foreign merchants supply them with all sorts of rich commodities.

From Patan the people of Lahor get rice, salt, fowl, and oxen: those of Malacca are thence also supplied with the bezoar stone: to Borneo they send iron, steel, and copper; to China, pepper, camphire, sandal-wood, both white and yellow, skins, ivory, &c. and to Japan, tin, lead, silk, &c. The country is so populous as to be able to bring one hundred and eighty thousand armed men into the field. It is tributary to the king of Siam, and pays yearly some fine

clothes, velvets, scarlet-cloths, and a curious artificial flower, richly wrought with gold.

This kingdom was governed in the year 1602 by a woman, who, though a widow, was then but fifteen years of age: her name was Pratie, and she kept in her court a vast number of ladies of honour, none of whom she permitted to marry, though she connived at their amorous intrigues. When she went abroad, which was very seldom, she had a cavalcade of two thousand noblemen, all dressed in the liveries of her deceased spouse.

Thirty leagues to the north of Malacca is an island called Dingding, with two good bays, wherein ships may have a very safe anchorage. This island is destitute of inhabitants, but has plenty of tortoises and oysters. Our author staid upon this island four days; after which he coasted along in sight of the land of Sumatra.

March the 5th, they passed by the bar of Goa, which was then blocked up by a Dutch fleet. On the 6th they came to anchor in the road of Wingurla, where they found the Bantam yachts waiting to transport the queen of Golconda from thence to Mocha, in her way to Medina; where she proposed visiting the tomb of Mahomet. Her guards, which had conducted her eighty leagues, consisted of four thousand cavalry, with long coats of mail, the shoulders whereof were embroidered with serpents heads, like the ancient Romans: they had bright polished helmets, were armed with bows and arrows, wore long beards, and were mounted on very fine Persian horses.

On each side of every man of quality that attended her was a footman holding the bridle: the queen and all her ladies were carried in close litters, concealed from public view; and they were preceded by several camels covered with rich furniture, on one whereof was mounted a kettle drummer, who performed with great dexterity.

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The Dutch commodore, and the director of the East India company, met her two leagues from the town; in which, while she staid, she dictated to her secretaries in several different languages. There was a magnificent tent erected for her on the sea-shore; the passage from whence to the shallop, which was to carry her on board her yacht, was covered with calico. It was supposed the captain of the yacht became a Mahometan; for he never returned from the voyage, the ship being brought back by the boatswain.

Wingurle lies in fifteen degrees of north latitude: it is a large village on the sea-shore of the kingdom of Golconda, where the Dutch East India company have a factory; and most ships bound to Persia are obliged to touch in their passage for wood and water. From Wingurle our author proceeded to Gambron, a celebrated city of Persia, where he arrived on the 6th of April.

Gambron is the only sea-port of Persia, lying on a flat sea-shore, in twenty-seven degrees of north latitude, just as you enter the Persian gulf; and close to it is a barren sandy mountain, which produces neither grass nor tree. It rose out of the ruins of the celebrated city of Ormus. It is defended by three stone bastions on each side, whereon are mounted many pieces of iron cannon. It is very weakly fortified on the land-side, as they fear no enemy from that quarter.

The houses stand very close together, being each crowned with a very high turret, full of air-holes, wherein the inhabitants sleep in winter. They are built of square pieces of earth, dried in the sun, which soon became hard as stones; the outsides of these are whitened with lime, made of burnt mussel-shells. Their out-houses are covered with palm-leaves, and are miserable huts. The streets are short and narrow; and though the houses slope in such a manner that they almost all meet at top, they scarcely

answer the purpose of excluding the heat, which is here excessive. The streets are not paved, but filled up with earth; which being continually watered to allay the dust and heat, become in time very hard. The Dutch and English have each a factory in this place, distinguished by their respective flags, hoisted on the tops of their houses.

Water is very scarce here, it being brought by the slaves from a distance of three leagues every morning, and kept to cool in earthen vessels or sheep-skins. The only tree produced hereabout is the palm; but the inhabitants have plenty of Persian wine, of a sweet flavour, a high red colour, and pretty strong: they have also arrack distilled from coco and rice; and are fond of a sherbet, made of water, lemons, and sugar, which if taken in too great a quantity, is apt to give the bloody flux.

Strangers who will venture to reside here from March to October, a space during which the heat is excessive, must expect to be attacked with an ague, which they can hardly ever get rid of. Most people then either sleep upon leather, or in their turrets, with the body immersed in water. Some of the richer sort of people employ their slaves in pouring rose-water down their necks.

Such ships as are obliged to stay in this port during the summer season, must be closely covered up with thick sails, otherwise the planks would run the hazard of splitting; for the pitch and tar boils up so hot upon deck, that there is no venturing to walk bare-footed over it.

This excessive heat is in a great measure caused by the city being placed at the foot of a barren mountain, directly opposite to the south, a quarter from which the wind blows during the best part of the summer season; and the breezes, instead of refreshing, are stifling to man and beast.

All the inhabitants of Gambron are merchants, who have country-houses ten or twelve leagues from the city,

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city, most of them lying upon the banks of a rivulet; where, during the summer season, they merrily spend the profits of the winter: leaving their town houses to the care of their slaves until the month of October, when the foreign ships and merchants begin to arrive, and business encreases as the heat subsides.

The staple commodities of Gambron are cloth of gold, tapestries, pearls, Persian wine, the best rose-water, and fruits of all sorts; as plums, raisins, currants, nuts, dates, oranges, citrons, pomegranates, peaches, &c.

There are caravans, consisting of many thousand camels, dromedaries, and asses, loaden with all sorts of rich goods, from Babylon, Turkey, and Persia, brought in here annually, to be exchanged for East Indian wares.

The women are kept very close, living in separate apartments from the men, who lay aside all business during the time of amorous dalliance. The women who are to be hired for money, sit at night upon benches at their doors, with lanterns in their hands, and each man may chuse among them as he likes. The inhabitants are of a brown complexion; and the poorer sort, if they do not go quite naked, are very near it. The more wealthy affect the splendor of the Persians in their dress; but some few, who are biassed to antiquity and whim, habit themselves like their forefathers, wearing gold and silver rings in their hands, ears, and noses. The common people use dates instead of rice or bread; and dates and fish are in general their principal food, not only here, but all along the coast; even their cattle are fed with date-stones, and the guts and heads of fish boiled and mashed together; fodder being extremely scarce.

About a league to the eastward of the city is the sepulchre of a famous Banian saint, lying under a tree; the branches of which bending downward, take root again, and produce other trees, so forming a naturally continued succession of arbours, to which the

people repair in parties of pleasure, to shelter themselves from the heat of the sun. The intermediate spaces of ground, which are not engrossed by the rooting of the tree, are paved with brick, and adorned with neat benches, to accommodate those who are wearied. Hither several sects of Indians repair to offer sacrifice. Over the sepulchre is built a small pagod, wherein are many lamps burning both night and day under a silken canopy.

There is a sect of Bramins who always go naked, excepting barely what decency requires: they have no regular dwelling-places, but sleep on dunghills, or in the porches of the temple. These are often to be met with, sitting cross-legged on the highway. They never pare their nails, shave their beards, or cut their hair; so that they have a most savage appearance. The strange penances which these people inflict upon themselves are almost incredible; for, they voluntarily subject themselves to miseries which one would think human nature was unable to endure.

Some of them have been known to continue in devotion nine or ten days, without eating or drinking: others of them never sit; and when they intend to sleep, tie a rope about their middles, and hang themselves to the branch of a tree: a third sort carry their hands always above their heads, and distort their eyes strangely, never looking upon any body, as if it were criminal to distinguish objects; neither can the stinging of the gnats, nor the heat of the sun, induce them to alter their mortifying positions. They besmear their bodies with ashes and cow-dung mixed, as well as sandal-wood and saffron; so that they cut a most nauseous figure. These wretches are the principal objects of the devotion of the Indian women, who kiss the extremities of their finger ends, but direct their adoration particularly to the privities, to which they apply their lips with the profoundest respect; and if these miserable creatures should chance

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to manifest the least sensibility from the contact, they would be no longer ranked among the holy.

The governor of Gambron is accountable for his conduct to certain commissioners, who are sent yearly to examine into it by the king of Persia, with a power to take his head if he has acted illegally. He is obliged to meet these officers unarmed; but it is very seldom he is known to pay the forfeit. If he is found to have behaved well, he is presented with some pieces of cloth by way of reward; and they enter the city together, where they feast for some days.

There are foot-posts between Gambron and Isfahan; wonderfully expeditious: they are appointed by the governor, who first tries their ability by setting them to run with a single horseman; and if they answer expectation, he gives them the title of runners, together with a suit of cloaths, and permits them to attend any stranger who comes hither for hire, when he himself has no occasion for them.

The island of Ormus lies between twenty-five and twenty-six degrees of north latitude; it is intersected by a ridge of mountains, stretching from east to west along the whole island. Behind these are seen nothing but white and barren hills, producing very fine salt; one of them is pyramical, and composed of nothing else. On the top of another, which is called the Mountain of the Dead, the Portuguese formerly built a chapel, sacred to our Lady of the Rock, to which the natives have cut steps, it being naturally very steep. The chapel of St. Lucy is near this mountain, rising upon the ruins of certain old towers, in which the kings of Ormus used formerly to imprison their brothers, after having bereft them of their eyesight.

Here is a large plain, in which are kept, safely locked, certain cisterns of rain-water, there being no springs in the island; and this is much better than any that is gathered either in pools or ponds,  
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though it does not equal the fresh water brought from Quixome.

On the north side of the island lies the city of Ormus, once one of the most flourishing places in the world, being then frequented by people of all nations and of all religions, on account of its wealth. It was once said, that if the world were a ring, Ormus must be considered as the diamond. Ormus was once one of the most famous cities in the world, on account of its trade, and the conveniency of its situation, before a passage by sea to the East Indies was discovered; nor did the Portuguese, after they had conquered it, neglect adding to its beauty: for, so far did their ostentation extend, that the very iron of their doors and windows was plated with gold. It was said, that had it remained in their hands till now, they would have turned it all into massy gold: and although the Persians have despoiled it of its beauties, there still remain glorious traces of its former splendor; among which an high steeple, admired for the beauty of its architecture, is not one of the least of its considerable ornaments.

The fortifications of this city, when in the hands of the Portuguese, were but indifferent. The Persians have fortified the town much better; they have deepned the ditch, and erected an half-moon that commands a good way round. The harbour is made by two points of land jutting out, on one of which stands a castle, and on the other a church, built by the Portuguese in honour of our lady of Good Hope. This harbour was not always safe for shipping, being too much exposed to easterly winds, whereby vessels are often driven ashore. The governor of Ormus commonly resides at Gambron, appointing a deputy who lives in the city of Ormus, in the palace belonging to the ancient kings.

It sometimes does not rain in this island for three years; consequently, it cannot be expected that the soil,

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soil, which is nothing but a lump of salt, should be fertile; and, if we except the products of the royal garden, there is neither grass nor verdure, nor yet scarcely any thing fit for the sustenance of a human creature, the spontaneous growth of the island. Many things concur to support the truth of this island's having formerly continued on fire for seven years together; such as, its being often subject to earthquakes, the south winds which blow from the mountains impregnating the air with brimstone, the earth being in many places black and red, making a most frightful appearance, and the vallies covered with ashes, not unlike quick-lime; there being beside these marks of a fire, a spongy kind of pumice-stone all along the coast, just under the water; and this being light, brittle, and porous, easily mixes, when powdered, with the water, causing an excellent cement, which hardening in time, proves a sufficient protection against the severity of the weather.

The heats here are much more intense than at Gambron, continuing at least five months, and sometimes lasting from May to December. During this season the wind is south-east, and west south-west, very seldom southerly. It is remarkable, that this last wind, though it do not waft any great refreshment to the houses, yet cools the water, which the inhabitants every where bathe themselves in; for they seldom venture to swim or plunge in the sea, the saltness and heat of which would excoriate the body.

Ormus was formerly governed by its own kings, who, from customs and imposts, raised prodigious treasures, whereby they were enabled to extend their conquests on the continent: but what they had gained here by their arms, they afterward lost by their neglect, giving themselves up entirely to voluptuousness, and abandoning the care of public affairs to favourites; who, preferring their own private interest to the advantage of their sovereign, and the honour of their country, became an easy prey to the arms of  
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the Portuguese, who forced them to pay tribute, and domineered over them till the year 1622, when they were driven out by the Persians, assisted by the English; who, in consideration of their great services, were granted a moiety of all the customs to be collected in that port. All the Indian commodities were formerly brought into Europe by the way of Ormus, from whence they were carried down the Persian gulph and the river Euphrates to Bassora; from Bassora they were borne upon camels to Bagdad, a city upon the Tigris, where joining several other caravans, they made a journey of forty days through the deserts of Syria, in their way to Aleppo. From Aleppo they went to Tripoli, which lies upon the Mediterranean; on which sea they were embarked for the different ports of Europe. The discovery of a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, has entirely destroyed this tedious and expensive method of carriage, and consequently been of prodigious detriment to the city of Ormus, though some merchants still resort thither to buy pearl; and a few Persian silks are carried by land to Bagdad.

Having taken in his lading at Gambron, our author quitted it the 2d of June, proceeding along the coast of Malabar, intending for Puntogale in the island of Ceylon, to the governor of which he had recommendatory letters; but these he sent ashore by a small vessel, not chusing to land himself, and went forward to Jafnapatnam.

The Dutch were about this time preparing to lay siege to St. Thomas; measures to which they were diverted by that island's being sold to the pagans by the Portuguese.

The city of St. Thomas, otherwise called Calamena, and by the natives Maliapor, lies upon the coast of Coromandel: it is one of the handsomest towns in all the east, whether we consider it with respect to the magnificence of its buildings, or the number and wealth of its inhabitants. It is fortified with a stone-wall,

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wall, and several bastions, having three hundred villages and towns under its jurisdiction, and being one of the most convenient harbours in all the East Indies.

From Jafnapatnam our author proceeded to Negapatnam, which is compounded of two Malabar words, signifying serpent and city; and is so named from the abundance of serpents, called Cobro Capellos, that swarm hereabout. It lies in  $9^{\circ} 45'$  north latitude.

It appearing necessary to confirm an alliance with some of the neighbouring princes who inhabit the sea-coast of Malabar; Nieuhoff was pitched upon by Mr. James Hustart, chief counsellor of the Indies, for that department; and being supplied with credentials, and all necessary instruction, he set out on the 21st of January, 1664, for the city of Calcolang, attended by a serjeant, an interpreter, and several soldiers.

On his arrival in that city, notice being given of it to the king, he and an under-factor of the East India company, whose name was Willing, were introduced to the royal presence, and met with a reception both respectful and satisfactory. His majesty had the character of an honest sincere man; to the belief of which his countenance invited, and his actions confirmed it. The principal affairs of this kingdom were managed by one of his residoors; a principal favourite, who, like most other ministers of state, never separated private interest from public advantage, but upon the whole, was rather swayed by the former.

From this place, our author set out to visit the king of Porka, whom he followed to his country seat, about ten leagues up the country, which was flat, having a number of dykes cut through it, like the province of Holland; the land on each side bearing crops of rice, or being ornamented with stately trees: and here being no high roads, most people travelled by water.

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The king was rebuilding his palace, which was an old fashioned square structure, wherein there was a vast number of apartments, some of them ornamented with good carved work, and the windows being either twisted canes or transparent shells of mother of pearl. In it were also some very fine bathing rooms, which were to be ascended by broad stone steps; some whereof were twenty feet in length, and a foot and a half thick.

After he had delivered his credentials, the king, who spoke good Portuguese, conferred with him in private, and granted every thing that he demanded in behalf of the company, in consideration of a sum of money to be paid him at a certain time. His majesty was an absolute prince, independent of any other power; and so severely just, that no man in his dominions dared be guilty of the most trifling theft whatsoever. He was well made, had a good share of natural understanding, and was not above thirty years old. He was master of above five hundred small craft, and in these consisted his principal strength.

Our author having settled the company's affairs upon a good footing, and secured their trade, by concluding treaties with several of the princes upon the coast of Malabar, set out from Coulang, where he had chiefly resided more than two years, for Toutedekorin; there to supply the place of the company's chief director, who was ordered to Persia upon very important business.

March the 12th, our author embarked for that city, where he arrived on the 18th, having been harassed by contrary winds. He staid here about six months, and was then remanded back to Coulang, where he was supposed to be in high estimation, to take upon him once again the government of the company's trade in that city; leaving to Mr. Laurence Piil, the care of their interest at Toutedekorin.

Toutedekorin is, properly speaking, no better than  
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the chief village, there being six others upon the coast of Madura. It is a beautiful sea-port, situated on a flat, ornamented with some good stone buildings; among which are three Christian churches, a convent of Franciscans, and a protestant chapel. The inhabitants are rather Heathens than Christians, though they seem very attentive to the performance of divine service; of which, however, they understand but little. They are strong and black, deceitful, cunning, and amorous; paying but little respect to their wives, and keeping generally many favourite mistresses. They feed upon meat and rice, drink nothing but water, and subsist upon pearl fishing, weaving, and painting of calicoes.

The captains and governors of these seven villages, who are chosen annually, swear fidelity to the Dutch East India company. They are principally under the jurisdiction of the nayk or prince of Madura, whose country is about seventy-five leagues long, and thirty broad, the sea-coast being full of pearl; the land void of any sort of verdure, houseleek and thistles excepted; nor will even the coco, which springs up almost any where, flourish in this soil.

The country is full of noxious and venomous creatures; and so fearless are their serpents, that one of them cast its skin in the night at the feet of our author's bed. In October, November, and December, the westerly winds are pestiferously hot; bearing with them such showers of light sand from the mountains, that it is dangerous walking in the fields, for fear of being smothered by them.

The pearl-fishery lies between the coast of Madura and the island of Ceylon. Some of the banks whereon the oysters are laid, are six or seven fathoms under water, and double that distance from the shore. The pearl-banks are rather rocks of white coral: the oysters, when they come to be six years old, vomit out their pearls, which are consequently lost. October is the best season to fish for them, the weather  
being

being then calm, and the sea pretty quiet. The divers are covered with a thin waistcoat, having gloves on their hands, and nets tied about their necks; into which they put the oysters they pick up from the rocks. To each of them is appended a stone of about fifty pounds weight, whereby they are carried more swiftly to the bottom; and this stone is drawn up as soon as they give the signal of their having touched the ground: they then go to work as fast as they can, scraping the shells wherewith they fill their nets from the rocks. When they find themselves unable to stay any longer under water, upon pulling the rope which ties them, one end of it being held by a person in the boat, they are immediately drawn up. These boats, which are called toniis, together with their crews and divers, are hired for so much a day. The divers and fishermen are often devoured by sharks; against which voracious creatures they arm themselves with charms and incantations, notwithstanding their being Christians.

All the oysters that are brought on shore are laid in a heap till the time of fishing is over, and then they are opened in a wooden house erected for that purpose, before a factor belonging to the company, and one of the nayk's agents. It often happens, that the bad smell, arising from their having been kept too long, communicates an infectious distemper. In some shells are often found no pearls; in others, six or seven, nay sometimes eight. They are brightened before they are sold, by rubbing them with powdered rice and salt.

Our author, in his journey to Coulang, crossed the Balligate, which is a dreadful ridge of mountains, above a hundred leagues long; the surface of the earth being of a bright red, causes, by reflection, a most dreadful appearance in the sky, upon a sunshiny day.

As there are no inns between Toutekorin and Coulang, wherein travellers may rest and be refreshed, our author was attended by several slaves; who car-

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ried provisions, and a guard of soldiers; to which last addition to his train he was obliged for protection from a party of Malabar robbers; who, had he not thus been defended, would have certainly stripped him and his people: for, they had the boldness to seize two of his followers, who were loaden with Persian wines; however, they were put to flight upon perceiving a file of musqueteers ready to discharge upon them.

May the 25th, Mr. Nieuhoff arrived at Coulang, where he took measures for fortifying and repairing the city; but having some difference with Mr. Goens, who presided in the room of Jacob Houstart, then at Batavia, he was ordered to the city of Columbo in the isle of Ceylon: from which place, having staid there about a year, he went to Batavia on the 20th of August, 1667, where he remained three years without being at all engaged in the company's service.

December the 17th, 1670, he set sail for Holland in an East India ship; and on the 9th of July, came to an anchor in the Texel. In a few days after, our author went to Amsterdam, where he had a conference with count Maurice of Nassau, who was particularly pleased with the observations that he had made in his various voyages and travels; nor were the directors of the East India company less satisfied with his behaviour and conduct. In token of their approbation, they a third time appointed him one of their factors to the East Indies; in which station, going on shore on the coast of Madagascar, he was supposed to be murdered by the natives; as he was never heard of more.

We shall now proceed to give his account of the island of Jaya in general, and the city of Batavia in particular; for no man could be more exact in his observations during his stay upon that island, he having lived upon it three years, without being employed by the East India company, as is before observed. His remarks not only abound with matter sufficient

to entertain and instruct a curious and intelligent reader ; but, upon the whole, they are allowed to be the best description of that island, both for truth and exactness, that has been hitherto published.

The island of great Java lies six degrees southward of the line. It is divided from Sumatra by the streights of Sunda, the distance between them not being more than five leagues. Small vessels may pass conveniently between it and Borneo, an island lying to the north. It is separated on the east from the Lesser Java, otherwise called Baty, by the channel of Balambuam ; on the south, it is washed by the main ocean. It is supposed to be near one hundred and forty leagues long ; its breadth is different in many places. On the north coast of Java, are several good harbours, commodious creeks, and flourishing towns, with some small islands near the shore.

This island was formerly divided into several petty kingdoms, but they are all at present united under the jurisdiction of the king of Bantam, who is in possession of the western part of the island, and the emperor of Mataram, who governs the eastern, and by far the better part of Great Java, whereof he is stiled emperor by the Dutch. The land is fertile about the sea-coast ; but the Europeans have as yet made very little progress in the country, the ingress whereof is forbid by forests that are impassable, and the mountains that wrap their hoary heads in clouds. They have plenty of rice and salt, with good hogs, oxen, sheep, fish and fowl, both wild and tame. The woods are infested with tygers, rhinoceroses, and various other sorts of wild beasts ; and crocodiles lurk in almost all the rivers. There are no vegetable productions natural to the soil of Malabar, which are not known here. Few climates are more temperate and wholesome ; the east and west winds blowing all the year along the sea-shore, beside the common land and sea-breezes.

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The coast is very dangerous in the month of December, on account of the violence of the western winds: but the sky is generally serene from May to November; when it begins to overcast, and rains sometimes so vehemently for three or four days together, that all the low countries are laid under water. Yet, one conveniency attends that inundation, that of carrying off numberless broods of insects, which would otherwise prove destructive to their fruit.

The natives of Java are proud, barbarous, cheats and liars: they have flat faces, of a brown hue, with little eyes, like the antient Chinese, from whom they boast themselves descended; large eye-brows, with big cheeks, and thin hair. The men are strong-limbed and robust; wearing a piece of calicoe wrapped several times round their bodies, which, among the better sort, is flowered with gold. The religion of the Javanese, who live near the sea-side, has been that of Mahomet for near two centuries: the rest of the natives are pagans, and they are all indulged in the liberty of having two or three wives, beside as many concubines as they can keep.

Batavia was formerly no more than an open village, inhabited by pagans, and surrounded by a pallisado of bamboes; but since the Dutch have established a settlement here, it is said to be one of the finest cities in the East Indies. The Chinese and Javanese call it Kalakka, from a sort of cocoa fruit, which abounds in its neighbourhood: it lies in  $5^{\circ} 50'$  south latitude, having to the southward a fenny soil, and being bounded to the northward by woods and mountains: it is watered by a beautiful river, that takes its rise in a neighbouring mountain; and after wandering through a thousand little meanders, collects itself into a body before it enters the city of Batavia, where it empties itself into the sea.

Batavia is of a quadrangular figure, fortified with a stone wall, having twenty-two battions and four great gates; two whereof are extremely magnificent, be-

ing the workmanship of the famous John Lifting. The bay, in which it is situated, has seventeen or eighteen islands in and about it, whereby the violence of the waves and winds is checked and broken; so that the harbour, which will contain above a thousand vessels, is one of the safest in the world; and several barks may lie close under the banks of the river, in a muddy bottom, without anchors: it is shut up every night at nine o'clock by a chain, through which no ship is permitted to pass without paying a certain custom, being guarded by a strong party of soldiers.

The streets of this city run in straight lines, and are most of them thirty feet broad, being paved with brick near the houses, which are handsome and commodious; each having a good flower-garden, handsomely laid out, and well stocked with fruits, flowers, and plants. There are fifteen streets which have canals of water in them; and over one of these canals, which is edged and lined with stone, are four fine strong bridges, consisting each of as many arches, every one of which being twelve feet broad: there are fifty-six bridges in this city, beside many draw-bridges without the walls, made of wood. The town-house stands in the center of the city; it is built of brick two stories high, the ascent to the second story being by a flight of winding stone-stairs. In this house the courts of justice meet, as well as the senators, the directors of hospitals, and other public buildings; criminals are executed upon a scaffold erected before it for that purpose: the officers of justice, and the prison-keeper have their lodgings within the inner court, which is surrounded with a high wall and a double row of stone pillars.

In the hospital for the sick, which stands upon the banks of the great river, two or three hundred poor patients are provided with every necessary in a plentiful manner, at the company's expence.

On the brink of the river stand two slaughter-houses, supported by wooden piles; by which means the offal of the beasts that are killed are easily disposed of in the river: here they kill twice a week, and every butcher has a particular stall, in which he kills his meat, being obliged to pay a tenth penny of excise for every beast, according to the value put upon it by the farmer: beef and pork, in our author's time, sold at four pence a pound, and mutton much dearer. Opposite to the town-house, in the same square, is a structure divided into shops, which are occupied by the Chinese, at the rate of three crowns a month for each shop; in these they sell all sorts of cloths ready made, and stuffs and calicoes.

The Chinese hospital is a neat brick building, maintained by a tax laid upon marriages, burials, and public shews, as well as the voluntary contributions of Chinese merchants. There is also in the same street a foundling hospital, and a little farther off a structure, in which all the artisans in the company's service are lodged.

The fish-market of Batavia stands on the west-side of the river; supported by strong wooden piles, covered with pantiles. About the middle of it is the dwelling-place of a certain officer, who stops all fishing-boats, and immediately obliges them to sell their cargo by public cant to the fairest bidder. The purchasers are Chinese, who pay the officer two-pence in the crown for every bargain he makes; and they have their different stalls, at the rate of two rials a month. This market is kept open from ten in the morning till four in the afternoon: the fish-mongers, at other hours, are to be found behind the flesh-market on the river side. From four in the morning till late at night, there is scarcely any passing, the crowds are so very great through the fruit market, which is stocked with all sorts of herbs, fruits, &c. by the Chinese and negroes, who are obliged to pay the hundredth penny excise.

A printing-house was established in the year 1667, which has met with good encouragement.

In the castle, which is a quadrangle lying upon a flat, are apartments for all the members of the council of the Indies, as well as for most of the company's servants; such as the general book-keeper, the secretary of the great council, &c. but the palace of the governor, which is within the walls of the castle, is extremely magnificent. It is a brick edifice, exceeding in height all the other buildings in this city; and an iron ship, curiously wrought, which crowns the turret instead of a weather-cock, may be seen a great way at sea. The great hall is ornamented with bright polished armour, besides ensigns, flags, and other spoils, taken from their enemies by the Dutch, in several engagements: it is here that the governor hears and redresses complaints, and generally attends at prayers, which are said every night.

The government of Batavia is settled upon the same basis as that of Holland, being regulated by six colleges or councils; in the first of which all matters of state are transacted under recognizance of the members of the council of the Indies, over whom the governor-general of the Indies presides. In the second council all matters relating to the public revenue, customs, and the treasury, are debated and decided. The third council consists of the aldermen and senators; and herein are determined all disputes arising between private citizens and the company's servants. This college also takes cognizance of the regulations of public buildings; and the chief justice has herein a decisive sentence in criminal causes. The fourth council consists of overseers of the orphan hospital. In the fifth council presides a member of the council of justice, who licenses marriages, granting none to men under twenty-one years, nor to women under eighteen; neither permitting marriages between Christians and Pagans, or Mahometans; nor allowing Hollanders to wed with natives who cannot speak Dutch. All matters relative to the soldiery and militia

litia are determined in the sixth council of Batavia, which is called the council of war.

The ecclesiastical government of this city is managed by ministers, church-wardens, and overseers of the parish.

There are forts erected all round the city, though at some distance, to protect the inhabitants of the plain from their neighbouring barbarians; who, before these were erected, used often to come down and plunder their plantations.

Beside the foot-garrison, there is a troop of horse maintained at the company's expence, as a guard to the general. These have great privileges, and make a very handsome appearance on Sundays.

The inhabitants of Batavia are a compound of divers nations, among whom the Dutch are the most powerful and wealthy. Next to these are the Chinese, who are perhaps the most ingenious cheats in the world. They farm excises and customs, and have a finger in every thing from whence they can derive profit. They live under a governor of their own, and dress in a silk or calicoe coat, with wide sleeves, as they do in China, with their hair long and neatly twisted; for here they pay no respect to the Tartarian edicts, which in China oblige the natives to cut all their hair off, excepting one lock. The Malaysians are next in riches and trade to the Chinese: they also live under a governor of their own; their houses being covered with leaves, and planted round with cocotrees. They wear light silks and calicoes, and are continually chewing betel, or sucking tobacco, through lackered sugar-canes. In one part of the suburbs live many natives of Amboyna, in houses made of wooden planks, not very low, and indifferently carved. Their women wrap a piece of calicoe round their bodies, and another round their shoulders, leaving their arms bare. The natives of Amboyna are ill-looking, daring, and quarrelsome; they have long black hair, and are armed with scymitars and

shields of an oval figure; they are most of them carpenters, and reckoned very dextrous in their way.

The houses of the Javanese are built of bamboe-cane: they maintain themselves by husbandry, planting of rice, building of boats, and fishing: their boats are extremely swift, turned up in the manner of horns; and for their expedition, called Flying-boats.

The country all about may be laid under water by sluices upon occasion; and its fertility appears by its flourishing rice and sugar-fields, as well as its blooming gardens and fragrant orchards.

All sorts of vegetables natural to Holland, Persia, and Surat, thrive extremely well at Java; with many other kinds natural to the soil: a review of all which would be too tedious.

At Batavia you see often large scorpions, of a quarter of a yard long; but those of a lesser size are so frequent, that you can scarce move a stool, bench, chest, looking-glass, or picture, without being in danger of being stung by them, unless you be very careful to avoid them. The small ones are about a finger's length, composed of many joints, of the thickness of a goose-quill: they are yellow, speckled with brown streaks: before, they have two claws with two sharp pincers; their tail is long, and lies turned upon the back, at the end of which is the sting, wherewith they poison such as they touch. They have eight long legs, not unlike those of a cray-fish. The sting of a scorpion is accounted mortal, unless prevented in a little time; though some are of opinion, that the scorpions in the Indies are not so venemous as those of Italy and Spain. A scorpion bruised to death, or stifled in oil, and applied to the wound, draws out the poison. They say that a radish sliced, and laid upon a scorpion, kills him in a minute. They have also another story, viz. that the scorpion is sometimes so pestered with pismires, that he stings himself to death in the head with his tail; and so becomes a prey to the pismires.

About



About Batavia you find a kind of locusts of a finger's length, but no thicker than a pen or goose-quill, distinguished by divers joints: they walk upon six feet, and have two small horns. The locusts here are however of divers kinds; some are yellow on the belly, and brown wings, and two horns on the head: they can leap a great way, and fly together in great numbers. There is another sort of the same shape, but green, and of a finger's length. These come sometimes in such prodigious swarms, that they darken the sky as they pass, and devour all in those parts wherever they settle.

Of ants or pismires, there are in Java, and throughout all the Indies, prodigious quantities of divers sorts. Some of them are above a finger in length, of a ruddy colour inclining to black; some with, others without wings. They are very pernicious to the fruits of the earth; and, even in their houses, scarce any thing can be preserved against them without a great deal of care.

There are many sorts of spiders in the Indies, and of very different sizes: some are above four inches long, and have very thick legs; others have eight feet, a thick speckled body, and round head, with brown eyes: these have two teeth bent like hooks, wherewith they bite fiercely. Our author has seen toothpicks that have been made of their teeth.

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THE  
V O Y A G E  
O F  
MR. G R O S E  
T O T H E  
E A S T I N D I E S.

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**H**OWEVER remote the East Indies may be, the voyage thither is so often undertaken now by the ships of the several trading companies of Europe; that few occurrences in so familiar a navigation offer to engage the attention of a curious reader. Hence voyages thither are seldom now published; that of Mr. Grose at present under consideration will nevertheless not only give an idea of the present nature of East India voyages, but is farther deserving attention, as containing likewise a description of our settlements there, by an eye witness.

Mr. Grose, having entered into the service of the East India company in the character of a writer, embarked on board the Lord Anson, captain Fowlis, one of the company's ships, bound for Bombay and China, in March, 1750; and the same month sailed out of the Downs. He had a very prosperous voyage of four months, without any material occurrences until the ship arrived at Johanna, one of the Comro islands, which are situated near the coast of Africa, not far from the island of Madagascari.

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several months at sea, it is impossible to avoid being delighted with its appearance. High hills covered with trees slope down to the sea, forming a beautiful valley; and the whole scene, at a distance from the shore, affords a landscape, that has a romantic wildness, which exceeds all the works of art.

The ship came to an anchor on the 28th of July; and was immediately surrounded with canoes bringing refreshments from the shore, each striving to get first to their market, the ship. Most of these canoes were balanced on each side with out-leagers, formed of two poles each, with one across, to prevent their over-setting. The large vessels, called Panguays, are raised some feet on the sides with branches of trees and reeds, bound together with small cord; and made water-proof, by being plaistered over with a resinous substance. Few have more than one mast, which carries a sail or two, made either of sheer-grass, or cocoa-nut leaves matted together.

The Comro islands take their name from Comro, the largest of them: these are five in number, the other four being Mayotta, Mohilla, Anganzeja, and Johanna, which last lies in the latitude of  $12^{\circ} 15'$  south; they are all opposite the African shore, between which and Madagascar is formed what is called the Mozambique channel, from Mozambique, a small island belonging to the Portuguese, in which they have a considerable settlement. Comro, the largest of them all, is unfrequented by any of the Europeans, it having no safe harbour, and the people being averse to any commerce with strangers; to which the bad treatment they used to receive from the Portuguese in the early navigation of those seas, who took great advantage of the simplicity of the inhabitants, might not a little contribute: three of the other islands are also little resorted to, on account of the superior advantages of Johanna.

On a ship's coming to an anchor in the road, it is usual to pitch a tent on the shore, for the reception  
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of the sick ; who, though in the last stage of that dreadful disease the scurvy, commonly recover in a surprising manner, from the reviving influence of the earth, the goodness of the water, and the variety of refreshments with which this fine island abounds, as oxen, goats, fowls, fruit and vegetables, all admirable in their kind.

The town of Johanna is about a mile from the place where the tents are usually pitched, and is composed of about 200 houses and huts together. Some are of stone, and belong to the king of Johanna, and the principal persons of the island : but no buildings Mr. Grose saw exceeded one story high. Strangers are suffered freely to enter the first apartment ; and all the rest are reserved for the families of the owners. The king's palace is built of stone and mud, and the rooms are only hung with coarse chintz, with here and there a small looking-glass ; and yet he is the sovereign of the whole island, which is about 30 leagues in circumference, and contains 73 villages, and near 30,000 inhabitants. The houses of persons of the common rank, have some resemblance to barns : they are built of a kind of reeds tied together, and plaistered over with a mixture of clay and cow-dung. Their roofs are covered with the leaves of the cocoa-tree.

Every ship that arrives is obliged to obtain the king's licence for trading with the natives, more particularly for oxen and goats, as well as for wooding, watering, and landing the men ; but this may be obtained for a present of a few muskets, a little gun-powder, some yards of scarlet cloth, or other European commodities.

The natives are generally tall and well-proportioned : they have piercing eyes, thickish lips, long black hair, and their complexions are between the olive and the black. Those of distinction are known by their suffering the nails of their fingers and toes to grow to an immoderate length : these are tinged of a yellowish red with the alhenna, a shrub that grows

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in the marshy places of the island. The common people have no other cloathing, but a coarse wrapper round their loins, and a skull-cap of any sort of stuff. Those of a superior rank have long drawers, a wide sleeved kind of a shirt that hangs over them, and a waistcoat; but few wear turbans, except those of great quality. The women wear a short jacket and petticoat, a kind of loose gown and a veil. They usually adorn their arms and wrists with a number of bracelets of glass, iron, copper, silver, or pewter, according to their circumstances. The small of their legs, their fingers and toes, have likewise chains and rings; and their ears are weighed down and greatly dilated with mock jewels, and ornaments of metal. They usually carry large knives, or poniards, which are stuck in a sash they wear round their waists; they have commonly wrought wooden handles, but some are of agate or silver.

The people chiefly subsist on vegetables and milk, which they have in great plenty and perfection; eating with their sallads a kind of syrrop resembling treacle, prepared from the juice yielded by the cocoa-tree on incision. Their language is a corrupt Arabic, mixed with the Zanguebar tongue. Their manners still retain much of the simplicity of uncultivated nature; but the richness of the soil renders them indolent. Their religion is a mixture of Mahometism, and other gross superstitions. They often divorce their wives on slight pretences: they have generally two or three of them, and as many concubines as they can maintain. They are very forward to beg any thing they like; but are not inclined to thieving. They have a great jealousy of most European nations, particularly the Portuguese; but treat the English with much cordiality.

On the 4th of August they weighed anchor, continued their voyage, and without meeting with any thing material in their passage, arrived on the 28th of the same month at Bombay; where our author was received with great politeness by the governor,  
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and in a few days entered upon the discharge of his office, as one of the clerks of the factory.

Bombay is an island situated in  $18^{\circ} 41'$  north latitude, on the coast of the hither peninsula of India, by the province of Decan; the high mountains of which are full in view. This, with the winding of other islands along the continent, forms a most commodious bay, capable of containing any number of ships. It is admirably situated for the center of commerce, with respect to the coast of Malabar, the Persian gulph, and the whole trade of that side of the great peninsula of India, and the northern parts adjoining to it. This island is within the tropics; but the weather, in the hottest season, is moderated by the land and sea breezes; for there are very few calms, and those of a short duration; and then the sultry heat may be rendered supportable, by keeping in the shade, avoiding violent exercise, and using a light diet: but every one should take the greatest care to avoid exposing himself to the night dews, which are extremely dangerous. The seasons are generally divided into three, the cool, the hot, and the rainy; or into the dry weather, which lasts eight months; and into the wet, which continues about four, with short intermissions of fair weather. The setting in of the rains is commonly ushered in by a violent thunder storm, called the elephanta; a name which it probably receives, in the Asiatic style, from a comparison of its force with that of the elephant. This is a pleasing prelude to the refreshment that follows, from the rains moderating the excessive heat, which is then at its height.

The government of the island is subordinate to the directors of the English East India company, who by commission appoint a president, to whom they join a council of nine persons; but all of them are seldom or never on the spot, being employed as chiefs of the several factories subordinate to the president. Those at Bombay are such as enjoy posts of the greatest trust; such as the accountant, the ware-

house-keeper, the land pay-master, and other officers for transacting the company's affairs. These are generally such as have risen by degrees from the station of writers, and take place according to seniority. The president and the members on the spot constitute a regular council, in which every thing is determined by a plurality of votes: yet the influence of the president is generally so great, that every thing is carried according to his dictates; for should any of the council oppose him, he can make their situation so uneasy, as to oblige them to quit the service, and repair home.

The military and marine force are more immediately under the direction of the president; who has the title of General and Commander in Chief. The common soldiers are chiefly those whom the company send in their ships: deserters from the several nations settled in India, as Portuguese, Dutch and French, which last are usually called Reynolds; and lastly Topazes, who are mostly black, or of a mixed breed from the Portuguese. These are formed into companies, under English officers. In this service may also be included regular companies formed of the natives: these soldiers are called Sepoys: they use muskets; but are chiefly armed in the country manner, with sword and target, and wear the Indian dress, the turban, vest, and long drawers.

Nothing has contributed more to render this island populous, than the mildness of the government, and the toleration of all religions; which is so universal, that the Roman Catholic churches, the Mahometan mosques, the Gentoo pagodas, and the worship of the Parfees, are all equally tolerated. They have all the free exercise of their religious rites and ceremonies, without either the English interfering, or their clashing with each other. This toleration forms an amiable and a very advantageous contrast to the rigours of the inquisition exercised in the neighbouring territories of the Portuguese; whose unchristian zeal has rendered them odious, and was one of the principal  
reasons

reasons of their being driven out of the greatest part of their conquests there by the Marattas, who are all Gentoos.

The castle is a regular quadrangle, well built with strong hard stone. In one end of the bastions is a large cistern, that contains a great quantity of rain-water. The town is surrounded with a wall, and a ditch, that can be filled at pleasure by letting in the sea. This renders it one of the strongest places subject to the company: likewise at proper parts round the island, are disposed little out-forts and redoubts; but none of them are capable of making a long defence.

There is but one English church at Bombay, which is a neat, commodious, and airy building, situated in a spacious area before the fort. This area is planted with trees, and has the houses of the English inhabitants on the sides: these consist generally of but one floor, with a yard before and behind, in which are the offices and out-houses. They are well built with stone and lime, and are frequently white-washed on the outside; which, though it has a neat air, is prejudicial to the sight. Glass-windows are but little used; the sashes being generally paned with a kind of transparent oyster-shells, square cut, which gives a sufficient light, and have a cool look: the flooring is usually made of a stucco of burnt shells, that is extremely hard and lasting, and takes so fine a polish, that one may literally see one's face in it.

The houses of the black merchants are extremely ill built, and incommodious; the windows small, and ill distributed: but most of those, both of the English and natives, have small ranges of pillars, that support a pent-house or shed, either round the building, or on particular sides. These afford a pleasing shelter from the sun, and keep the inward apartments cool and refreshed by the draught of air under them. Most of the best houses are within the walls, which are about a mile in circuit. The pagodas of the Gentoos are low mean buildings, that commonly admit  
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the light only at the door, facing which is placed the principal idol. They are very fond of having them built among trees, and near the side of a pond.

There are two very pleasant gardens belonging to the company, laid out after the European manner; one a little way out of the gates, open to any of the English gentlemen who chuse to walk in it; and a much larger and finer one, at a place called Parell, where the governor has a very agreeable country-house. There is an avenue to it of a hedge and trees near a mile long.

The most considerable part of the island is taken up with groves of cocoa-nut trees, which are planted wherever the situation and soil are favourable to them: these are the chief landed property. When a number of these groves lie contiguous to each other, a due space is left for roads; and they are also thick set with houses belonging to the respective proprietors, and with huts of the poorer sort. These trees are easily cultivated; and a person that has 200 of them, is supposed to have a sufficient subsistence.

There are here also fields of rice, and here and there are interspersed wild palm-trees; the chief profit drawn from which arises from the toddy or liquor that flows from incisions at the top: of this liquor arrack is made, that is esteemed better than that prepared in the same manner from the cocoa-nut trees. In short, there is not a spot of the island left uncultivated; but it is far from producing sufficient for the support of the inhabitants. This place, continues our author, which used to carry terror in the name, with respect to its unhealthiness, is now no longer to be dreaded on that account, provided any measure of temperance is observed; without which, health in any climate must be precarious.

As to the islands near Bombay, the first Mr. Grose mentions is Old Woman's island, a narrow strip of land, only separated by the sea at flood; it is about two miles long, and is terminated at the end by a

small eminence, on which is a watch-tower. At the mouth of the harbour are two fortified rocks, called Canara and Henara.

Opposite the castle, at three leagues distance, is Butcher's island; thus named from cattle being kept there for the use of Bombay. It belongs to the English, who have a fort there, with an ensign's guard.

About three miles from thence, is the small island of Caranja, which lately belonged to the Portuguese, but with many of the neighbouring places fell under the power of the Marattas. It produces only a little rice, with goats, fowls, and garden-stuff, for Bombay market.

Two miles from the last mentioned island, and still fronting the fort, is the remarkable island of Elephanta, which is only about three miles round, and consists of almost all hill; at the foot of which as you land, you see above the shore an elephant coarsely cut in stone, of the natural size, which at a little distance may be taken for a real elephant, from the stone being naturally of the colour of that animal: it stands on a platform of stones of the same colour. On the back of this elephant was placed a young one standing, appearing to have been both of the same stone; but it has been long broken off. No tradition is old enough to give an account of the time or use for which this elephant was thus carved.

On ascending near half way up the hill, you come to the entrance of a stupendous temple, hewn out of the solid rock. It is an oblong square 80 or 90 feet long, and 40 broad. The roof is formed of the rock cut flat; it is about 10 feet high, and is supported toward the middle, at an equal distance from the sides, and from one another, by two regular rows of pillars, of a singular order. They are very massy and thick in proportion to their height, and their capitals bear some resemblance to a round cushion, pressed by the weight of the superincumbent mountain, with which they are also of one piece. At the farther

end are three gigantic figures, the face of one of which, is at least five feet in length, and of a proportionable breadth; but these monuments of antiquity were much disfigured by the blind fury of the Portuguese, when they made themselves masters of the place. About two thirds of the way up this temple, are two doors fronting each other, leading into smaller grotts, that open upon the hill. By the door-way on the right hand, are also several mutilated images, single and in groups; particularly one that has some resemblance to the story of Solomon's dividing the child; a figure standing with a drawn sword in one hand, and holding an infant in the other, with the head downward. The door-way on the left hand opens into an area of about 20 feet in length, and 12 in breadth; at the upper end of which, on the right hand, is a colonadé, covered at the top; it is 10 or 12 feet deep, and in length answers to the breadth of the area: this joins to an apartment adorned with regular architecture; it is an oblong square, and has a door in perfect symmetry. The whole is executed in a taste very different from any of the oldest, and the best Gentoo buildings any where extant. It is remarkable that round the cornices are some paintings, the colours of which remain exceeding bright and fresh. The time when this great work was performed is entirely unknown. The most probable conjecture is, that it was formed by the aborigines of the country; and that the religion of the Gentoos has undergone some revolution, since those of the present age have not the least tradition of its origin, or any veneration for the place, except on account of its undoubted antiquity. However, on the most sultry days during the heats, there cannot be imagined a cooler and pleasanter retreat: for though the air be all on fire without, you no sooner enter the cave, than you are refreshed with a sensible coolness. The three openings above-mentioned, not only affording a sufficient light, but a thorough draught of air,

while it more particularly receives a constant temperature, by its being impenetrable to the rays of the sun, from the thickness of the mountainous mass above it.

This small island contains nothing else worthy of observation, there being only two or three huts upon it, and no other water, but what is collected from the rains.

To the northward, is the fertile island of Salfett, which though the Portuguese ceded to England from Bombay, we were basely defrauded of it, in breach of all the rules of good faith: but they themselves have been since deprived of it by the Marattas. There can scarcely be conceived a more agreeable spot. It is about twenty miles long, and, on a medium, eight or nine broad. The soil is very rich, and capable of producing every thing that grows between the tropics; and it is furnished with plenty of all sorts of game. In this island also are several temples cut in the rock, supposed contemporary with that of Elephanta; but none of these are equal to that in bigness and workmanship.

Having treated of the islands, we shall now take notice of the continent bordering on Bombay, to which it is in a manner joined by two forts, by means of which one may pass to it without taking boat. It is inhabited by the Marattas, a powerful Indian tribe, subject to the Mar-Rajah, who is their king or chief. They are generally a clean-limbed, straight people; it being very rare to see a deformed person among them: their complexions are of all shades, from black to light brown, and it is observed, that they are fairer in proportion to their distance from the sea. Their features are generally regular, and even delicate. They shave their heads, only preserving in the middle of it a lock, at full length, so as to tie and hang down behind; and two curls, on each side, just above the ears. Their women are commonly very handsome, while the bloom of youth continues; but that soon fades: for few preserve the charms of their shape

shape and skin till they are thirty, when they are generally past child-bearing.

The common people wear a roll of coarse muslin round their heads; or, perhaps, a bit of cloth or calicoe: they have a short piece of cloth round their waists, and a loose mantle, which they throw over their shoulders, and spread on the ground when they take their rest. They are equally bred to agriculture and to arms; but the pay of those in actual service is extremely small, and not furnished in money, but in rice, tobacco, salt, pieces of cloth, and other necessaries of life. They have extended their dominions by the sword; and by encouraging Europeans to desert to them, have learned the art of war, as practised in Europe, and can form regular sieges: but are more fit for sudden excursions. Their horses, on which they chiefly rely, are small, but hardy, inured to fatigue, and sure footed. Many of the men have muskets; but they are very indifferent ones, and most of them match-locks: but their chief dependence is on their swords and targets; the former being of an admirable temper: they are well trained in the exercise of them, and look with great contempt on those brought by our ships from Europe. Their targets are exactly round, rising in the middle, almost to a point: they are hard, light, smooth, and well varnished; they will, therefore, easily turn a pistol-ball, and at some distance a musket-ball. They have also among them excellent slingers and archers.

Their diet is extremely portable; a little rice, and a leathern flask for water, are all that is necessary; so that every soldier may easily carry his own allowance: nor do the officers fare more sumptuously, nothing being more simple than their food, especially during their expeditions, which they conduct with amazing rapidity, and with great address.

The Marattas affect the appearance of the utmost poverty in their houses and dress, to avoid becoming a prey to their rapacious government, which never

squares a subject known to be rich, though they are sometimes left quietly to amass wealth, which is considered as so much in bank, to be seized whenever the government pleases to call for it: and here no distinction is made with respect to the office and rank of the persons to be plundered, except of the great military officers, who are made the instruments of oppression, and whom it is not safe to disoblige. This has occasioned immense treasures to be buried; not, as has been supposed, from the opinion that they will be of use to the owners in another life; as is evident from their never burying them when they live under a free government.

The Mar-Rajah generally keeps his court, or more properly his head military quarters, at the fort of Raree, in the mountains of Decan; which is said to be the most impregnable place in the world: it being a fortified mound of very high rocks, so steep as to be only accessible by one narrow path. The land thus inclosed, is sufficient to produce grain enough for the support of the garrison; and beside great quantities of corn are constantly kept there in the magazines. A small number of men is sufficient to defend this natural fortress against the greatest armies that could be brought against it, as all the passages and defiles among the mountains leading to it, are extremely rugged and narrow.

Here the Mar-Rajah most frequently resides, with a kind of military court, composed of his generals and officers, in all the state of a sovereign prince: but both he and his court are so engrossed by military operations, that they are extremely incurious with respect to the manufactures and arts of the Europeans. The people in general have an high opinion of judicial astrology, and are superstitious observers of good and bad days. They are by religion Gentoos, or Gentiles; and notwithstanding their being idolaters, are distinguished by allowing an unlimited toleration to every other religion; maintaining that

a diversity of modes of worship is agreeable to the God of the universe: that all prayers offered by man are rendered equally acceptable by the sincerity of the intention; and that the forms of religion being merely accidental, all change is a needless experiment. Hence, instead of persecuting other religions, they will not admit profelytes into their own.

We shall now proceed to give a concise account of all the other possessions and settlements belonging to that wealthy body, the English East India company.

The most westerly of their settlements, and consequently that nearest to England, is that of Mocha, a city seated at the entrance of the Red-Sea, in  $13^{\circ} 11'$  north latitude, a place of great trade, where the English are now much carested, and carry on a prodigious trade for coffee and other commodities, both there and in the adjacent parts of Arabia: but one inconvenience which the company shares here in conjunction with other nations, is the exactions of the Arab princes.

The next settlement to the east, is Gombroon, or Gambroon, on the coast of Persia, in the latitude of  $27^{\circ} 40'$  north, and justly accounted one of the greatest marts in the east. The English began to settle here about the year 1613; when, as a reward for the services performed by that nation against the Portuguese, the Shah Abas granted them half the customs of that port.\* This revenue was, however, at last reduced to a 1000 tomans a year, that is, in our money, 3333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* but this has been ill paid. The company has suffered greatly by the dreadful ravages that have for many years laid waste all Persia; but still maintain a noble factory here, where all their trade in the Persian empire is carried on; a branch of commerce that takes off a prodigious quantity of European commodities.

On the western coasts of India they are possessed of forts, factories, or settlements, at Baroach, Swally,

\* See Nieuhoff's account of this place, p. 453.

Surat, Bombay, Dabul, Carwar, Tellechery, Anjengo, and Conymere; all of them on the Malabar shore.

The Europeans, English, French, and Dutch, have lined as it were the coast of Malabar with their fortified settlements and factories. Some were obtained by force, others by insinuation: but in general the powers in those parts are not displeased with having them in their countries, to which they are undoubtedly a benefit by the protection they occasionally afford them against their enemies, as well as for the trade they bring, and for the vent they procure of the natural and artificial produce of them, by which their revenue is increased: and to do them justice, it is seldom their faults if any quarrels with them happen. It is oftener that of the European governors and chiefs, whom private passions, prejudices, and interests, mislead into engaging their employers into expensive and detrimental feuds or wars; which they represent as honourable and necessary, or under such plausible, though false colours, as to obtain their approbation and sanction; whilst at such a distance, it is hard for the misinformation to be discovered. Those princes who are not a match for the European artillery and discipline, on conceiving any disgust or resentment, have fallen on a way of distressing such settlements, not only by harassing them with alarms, and a war of ambushes to the very gates of their fortifications; but by laying a general interdict on the trade and dealings of their subjects with them. It is true, that themselves are in the mean time not a little sufferers by the cessation of their emoluments, and even that of the subsistence of their people; but this they can often dispense with for a time long enough not to be the first tired. Not unfrequently too, they turn the channel of commerce into other European governments, always alert to supplant one another, and avail themselves of their misunderstandings, of which they have  
perhaps



perhaps under-hand sown the seeds, or fomented the growth.

On the eastern shore of India, or the coast of Coromandel, stands Madras, or Fort St. George, the capital of the English company's dominions in the Indies. It is situated on one of the most incommodious spots imaginable; the sea perpetually beats with prodigious violence on the sands, upon which it stands; there is no fresh water within less than a mile of it; in the rainy season it is subject to inundations from the river; and the sun from April to September is so insufferably hot, that the sea breezes are the only circumstance that renders it habitable. The war carried on by the company at Bombay and Bengal against the Mogul's subjects, was a considerable advantage to Madras. The tranquillity which reigned there, and the vicinity to the diamond mines of Golconda, where good purchases are frequently made, caused a prodigious resort of Indian and Black merchants to this place, and thus principally contributed to render it populous and flourishing. The town is divided into two parts: that inhabited by Europeans, called the White Town, is walled round, and can only be attacked at two places, the sea and river defending the rest. There are two churches here, one for the English, the other for those of the Romish communion. The government of both towns, are absolutely vested in the governor, who likewise commands in chief in military concerns; and all the other affairs of the company are managed by the governor and his council in conjunction. The company have their mint here for coining of money from bullion brought from Europe, and elsewhere, into rupees, and this brings them a considerable revenue: they also coin gold in pagodos of different denominations and value.

The diamond mines lie at a week's journey from this place. When a person goes thither in order to obtain diamonds, he first makes choice of a piece of ground

ground to dig in, and then informs the king's officers appointed for that service of his intentions. The money for leave to dig being paid, the ground is inclosed, and sentinels placed round it. All stones above the weight of 60 grains belong to the king, and frauds in this particular are punished with death. Some get estates, while others lose their money and their labour.

This colony produces little of its own growth, and next to no manufactures for foreign trade. The Moors, Gentoos, and Armenians have got possession of the trade that used to be carried on to Pegu, the English being now chiefly employed in ship-building. The people of Surat share in their trade to China: the gold and some copper only are for their own market: the gross of their cargoes of sugar, sugar-candy, allum, China-ware, and some drugs, are all destined for Surat. Their trade to Persia, is carried on by the way of the river Ganges. The trade to Mocho in Coromandel goods, began about the year 1713, Fort St. David, an English settlement, farther to the south, supplying the goods for that market. Thus the trade of Fort St. George, like that of Holland, consists in supplying foreign markets with foreign productions. There were some years ago computed to be in the towns and villages belonging to this colony 80,000 people, and 500 of these Europeans. The governor has great power, and is treated as a sovereign by the rajahs of the country. He appears abroad with great magnificence, having beside his English guards, seldom fewer than three or four-score persons in arms. Two union flags are carried before him, with a band of music, such as is used in that country; and there are two persons near him, whose office is to cool him with fans, and chace away the flies.

Bengal is the most eastern province of the Mogul's dominions, and is annually overflowed by the Ganges, as Egypt is by the Nile. It lies upon the mouth of  
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the Ganges, and is bounded by the provinces of Patna and Jesnat on the north; the kingdom of Aracan on the east; the bay of Bengal, and the province of Orixá on the south; and by the provinces of Narvar and Malva on the west; extending about 400 miles in length from east to west, and 300 in breadth from north to south.

The bay of Bengal is the largest and deepest in the known world, extending from the south part of Comorandel to the river Huegley; in which space it receives the great rivers Ganges and Guena from the west side; as also the Aracan and Menamkiori or Avat river from the east side. But Bengal, as a coast, is supposed to extend only from Cape Palmiras on the north coast of Golconda, to the entrance into the Ganges. That river rises in the mountains of Nigracut, part of Great Tartary, receives many other rivers, and after a course of 3000 miles, falls into the gulf of Bengal by so many mouths, that travellers are not agreed in the number of them: however, the common passage for European shipping, is up the river Huegley, one of the most western branches.

The foreign and domestic trade of Bengal are very considerable; as may appear from the great number of Persians, Abyssinians, Arabs, Chinese, Guzarats, Malabarians, Turks, Moors, Jews, Georgians, Armenians, and merchants from all parts of Asia, who resort there. All the Christian nations established in the East Indies also send their shipping to Bengal; and it is with the merchandize of this country that they partly make their returns to Europe, beside what they export for their India trade. The principal merchandize at Bengal are silks, cotton-cloths, pepper, rice, salt-petre, wood for dyeing, terra merita, lacca, yellow and white wax, indigo, camphor, aloes, and gum gutta.

The places of the greatest commerce, and where the English, French, and Dutch, have their best establishments

blishments are, Calcutta, Cossimbuzar, Huegley, Pipley, and Balifore. The capital of the viceroy is Muxadabad, which is large and populous : and Fort William, or Calcutta, is the principal place belonging to the English company in Bengal.

There were formerly several other European settlements on the same coasts ; but all of them were abandoned, on account of the exactions of the rajahs of the adjacent countries.

The company are believed to possess the best part of the trade carried on in Sumatra. Their factories there are those of Mocha, Bantal, Cattoun, Bencoolen, Marlborough Fort, and Sillebar. The English were also formerly in possession of several settlements on the coasts of the Chinese empire, as well as in the kingdom of Tonquin ; but they are now all of them withdrawn, though the Company still trade to those parts, especially to Tonquin, for such articles as they want themselves, or purchase in order to sell to the rest of Europe, which latter are abundantly numerous. The company's factory was formerly settled in the island of Chusan, when the trade was carried on at Amoyor, from whence it was removed to Canton.\*

The English and Dutch are the only nations excluded by the Spaniards from trading to the Manila, or Phillippine islands ; and in Japan there is not the least vestige of any English commerce, all the commodities of that empire, with which our company is supplied, being furnished by means of their commerce with the Chinese and Dutch.

The English East India company in their trade, annually employ many sail of fine capital ships, each of the burden of 500 tons, mounting 30 guns, and manned with 100 mariners.

The following remarks on the East India trade, made by Mr. Grose, will be a proper close to this voyage, and to our accounts of the East Indies.

\* For a description of Canton, see Anson's voyage in vol. 3.

In the East Indies, it is scarcely possible to carry on a commerce on other than a precarious, dishonorable, disadvantageous footing, unless a state of force procures a respect to, or confidence in our arms; the country-governments of India being constitutionally such, as scarce ever to neglect occasions of oppression or plunder, where they have no opposition, or vengeance to fear. Nor do they ever solidly bestow their countenance or friendship, but where they can depend on a protection in the revolutions, to which it is in the very nature of their despotism so often to expose them. The merchants especially prefer dealing with that nation, which they see the most powerful and able to shelter them from the tyranny of their own countrymen. Thence arises their preference of our government to live under, and to which they are of such notable benefit. As mere traders, the English would never have got the footing they have, if they had not added to that character the profession of arms both at land and sea. This is so true, that the special privileges, fortified settlements, and favourable grants obtained from the several princes of India, will, conformable to their original dates, appear to have been owing to the figure our nation formerly made there in war; when its victories over the Portuguese, who sunk as fast as we rose, gave it such a reputation, as that hardly any thing was denied to it. And, to say the truth, it is principally on that old foundation, that the extension of our commerce has since taken place. I say principally only, because no doubt our frank, unaffected and generous national character, amidst all the faults of some of our subjects in power there, may be safely said, without any partiality, to have bore in the eyes of the Indians a very favourable comparison with the senseless, sanguinary bigotry of the Portuguese; with the unsocial dryness, imperious conduct, and keenness after gain of the Dutch; and with the super-refined designing politeness of the French.

One of the reasons why the Dutch East India company flourishes, and is become more rich and powerful than all the others, is its being absolute, and invested with a kind of sovereignty and dominion, more especially over the many ports, provinces, and colonies, it possesses in those parts. It appoints magistrates, admirals, generals, and governors; sends and receives embassies from kings and sovereign princes; makes peace and war at pleasure; and by its own authority administers justice to all; appoints tribunals to judge in their name, with plenary power and no appeal; punishes and remits offences; bestows rewards becoming the dignity of kings; settles colonies, builds fortifications, levies troops, maintains numerous armies and garrisons, fits out fleets, and coins money. And though there is acknowledged a dependance upon the States-general, it may be said they seldom exert their power; and while the republic preserves the right of sovereignty, it tacitly leaves the exercise and possession of it to the merchants of this company. These vast powers were, and are still, requisite to cherish and preserve this flourishing branch of trade: and the proprietors justly merited them; for by their own vigilance, care, and expence, they conquered, and preserve all the countries they possess in those parts of Asia, and their fortresses on the coast of Africa, for the refreshment, refitting, and protection of their ships.

The power of the Dutch by sea and land is very great in the East Indies; where, by force, address, and alliances, they raised themselves, and still support a great superiority, in spite of the English, Portuguese, and other Europeans, that have some trade there; but so inconsiderable, that, all together, is not equal to what the Hollanders singly enjoy. If the power of the Dutch, though great in Europe, does not put princes and states upon their guard, they must possess a kind of universal monarchy or dominion in the southern provinces, islands, and seas of  
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Asia, from Arabia to Japan: subjecting, by all possible ways, many of the powers of Europe to their law, in every thing respecting that important branch of trade; a thing which, beside the dishonor of it, very much interferes with their interest. For, in those parts, Holland commands and directs every thing at pleasure, bringing sovereigns under subjection, conquering or reducing large and plentiful provinces, after it laid the foundation of its empire upon the spoils of Portugal, and enlarged it by prescribing narrow limits to the jurisdiction and commerce of the English, and disappointing or reducing that of the French and other Europeans. For this, and other reasons, good policy seems to suggest, that the English, French, and Portuguese, interested and aggrieved, should unite in humbling the pride of the Dutch, and weakening their universal dominion in the East Indies, that all may live independent, and not under a subjection that bears hard upon their honour and commerce.

The East Indies is a bottomless pit for bullion, which can never circulate back to Europe; and when bullion fails, that trade must cease. That this is the present situation of all the kingdoms of Europe, with respect to the trade which they carry on with the East Indies, is asserted by the Marquis Jerome Belloni, a celebrated merchant and banker at Rome; and this for no other reason, than that immense gulph of passive commerce, wherein they are involved by means of the commodities which the Europeans import from those parts. For, according to this author, not only the great quantities of jewels and manufactures, with the numberless liquors and spices, the greatest part whereof the luxury and pride of men have raised to high prices; render that trade so exorbitant; that the great advantage which the Europeans receive from America, by the great quantities of gold and silver, and other useful things, which are brought from thence, are not sufficient to compensate the loss sus-  
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tained by that excessively expensive trade: but even give just ground to make it a question, whether the money that is brought from America to Europe is more considerable, than that which is exported from Europe to the East Indies.

The baron de Montesquieu, in his "Spirit of Laws," speaking of the trade of Europe in general to the East Indies, not only acknowledges this truth, but also gives reasons for it. "We at present, says he, carry on the trade of the Indies merely by means of the silver we send thither, which is exchanged for merchandizes brought to the west. Every nation that ever traded to the Indies, has constantly carried bullion, and brought merchandize in return. It is nature itself that produces the effect. The Indians have their arts adapted to their manner of living. Our luxury cannot be theirs, nor their wants ours. Their climate hardly demands, or permits any thing which comes from ours. They go, in a great measure, naked; such cloaths as they have, the country itself furnishes; and their religion, which is deeply rooted, gives them an aversion for those things that serve for our nourishment. Therefore they want nothing but our bullion, to serve as the medium of value; and for which they give us in return merchandize, with which the frugality of the people, and the nature of the country, furnish them in great abundance."

*The End of the SECOND VOLUME.*



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